

**A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF
PANJABI HINDUS IN SOUTHALL:
LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND
SHIFT**

by

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ABSTRACT

This study of the phenomena of language maintenance and shift among Panjabi Hindus (PHs) in Southall employed a multi-model theoretical approach. It involved a synchronic and diachronic study of the inter-relationship among the three major dimensions, viz: the objective ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles et al. 1977), the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality with a strong 'language attitude' component (Fishman 1964, 1971a; Landry and Allardy 1994a), and habitual language use. These dimensions also took into account the discussion of power and conflict (Williams 1992). The multi-model approach was supported by a multi-model methodology. The quantitative data elicited through survey techniques, i.e. questionnaires and language diaries, was backed by the qualitative data gathered through interviews and ethnographic observations.

The broader trends of language use, the macro aspect, were looked at in terms of domains. The findings suggested that the notion of 'domain' proposed by Fishman (1964, 1965, 1968) is too deterministic in that it demarcates domain boundaries too rigidly and views the functional distribution of languages only in terms of 'norms of appropriacy'. On the contrary, the micro analysis (Giles et al. 1991, LePage 1975b, Gal 1979, Gumperz 1982, and Bell 1984), showed that individual PHs made their language choices strategically even when they were following the community's norms with regard to hierarchical roles of individuals in the family and community.

The PH community showed high objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitalities which favoured language maintenance. Panjabi, Hindi and English languages constituted the main verbal repertoire of the community. My use of the concept of domain showed that the use of Panjabi was mainly associated with the family domain, Hindi with religion, Panjabi and English with community, and English with education and employment. The findings suggest that, even after 30 to 40 years of the minority community's establishment in Britain, English has not encroached enough on the family domain to threaten the survival of the minority languages.

Variation in the PHs' sociolinguistic attitudes and practices were not only evident at the levels of age and gender, but there were differences at the ideological level and in terms of where these PHs emigrated from. The PHs who originated from East Africa appeared to be more maintenance-oriented in their use of the Panjabi language than those who originated from the rural Panjab, urban Panjab City and Delhi respectively; whereas the Delhi group used more Hindi than any other group. The 'age-cohort' analysis (Lieberson 1980) proved to be a useful model in revealing the changes in the patterns of language use of different groups of PHs.

I hope this research will make a useful contribution to the community-level studies of the sociolinguistics of bilingualism in Britain.

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TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONSCharacter Format

NORMAL transcription for Hindi and Panjabi

ITALICS+ translation of Hindi/Panjabi into English
UNDERLINE

BOLD + transcription for English utterances
UNDERLINE

Punctuation

< > marks the beginning of a language:
<Panjabi> marks the beginning of Panjabi
<Hindi> marks the beginning of Hindi
<English> marks the beginning of English

{ } contains researcher's comments

KEY TO TRANSCRIPTIONVowels

	ENGLISH	HINDI/PANJABI
a	about	ab (now)
aa	card	aadmi (man)
i	inn	idhar (here)
ii	keen	tiin (three)
u	book	gussaa (anger)
uu	pool	khoon (blood)
e	ten	der (late)
ai	as	hai (is)
o	ore	log (people)
au	was	aur (and)
~	maison(French) (vowel nasalization)	mai~ (I)

ConsonantsVelar

k	skin	iskaa (his)
kh	car	khaanaa (food)
g	again	gaanaa (song)
gh	Birmingham(native pronunciation)	ghar (home)
ng	bring	rang (colour)

Palatal

c	catch	caar (four)
ch	child (strong aspiration)	achaa (good)
j	jug	jaanaa (to go)
jh	hedge-hog (pronounced quickly)	jhagRaa (fight)
n	onion, manana (Spanish)	paanc (five)

Retroflex

T	store	kaaTnaa	(to cut)
Th	boat house (pronounced quickly)	baiThnaa	(to sit)
D	door	Darna	(to be afraid)
Dh	mud house (pronounced quickly)	Dhakan	(lid)
L		naaL	(by/with)
N		ThaNDaa	(cold)
R		laRnaa	(to fight)
Rh		paRhna	(to read)

Dental

t	at the shop, tu (French)	tiisraa	(third)
th	bath (without friction)	thoRaa	(little)
d	madam (French)	daavaa	(claim)
dh	bathe her (pronounced quickly)	dhiire	(slowly)
n	near	paani	(water)
nh	pan holder (pronounced quickly)	unhe	(to him/they)

Bilabial

p	speak	puraanaa	(old)
ph	pal	phataa	(torn)
b	beer	baRaa	(big)
bh	grab her (pronounced quickly)	kabhii	(sometimes)
m	more	meraa	(mine)
mh	home hunt	tumhaaraa	(your)

Semi-vowels

y	year	ye	(this)
v	you have (falling intonation)	vo	(that)

Trill/Lateral

r	thrive	ronaa	(to cry)
l	little	laal	(red)
lh		kulhaaRii	(axe)

Sibilants

sh	share	shor	(noise)
s	song	safed	(white)
z	zebra	mez	(table)

Fricative

x	loch	taariix	(date)
G	rue (French)	Gariib	(poor)
f	five (difference)	fark	

Uvular Stop

q	craindre (French)	qariib	(near)
---	-------------------	--------	--------

Aspirate

h	hungry	hamaaraa	(our)
---	--------	----------	-------

INTRODUCTION

0.1 Aim

The aim of the present research is to study the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift among the Panjabi Hindu community in Southall.

I have used the terms 'Panjabi Hindu' and 'phenomena of language maintenance and language shift' in the above statement. I shall first define these terms, before outlining the significance, scope, research questions and structure of the thesis.

0.2 Who are 'Panjabi Hindus'?

'Panjabi' is one of the major languages of the Northwestern subgroup of the Indo-Aryan language group. It is spoken by three major religious groups, viz. Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims, both in India and Pakistan. Literature review suggests that historically religeo-political conflicts between the three communities¹ in India led to Sikhs claiming allegiance to the Panjabi language and the Gurmukhi script; Hindus with Hindi language and the Devanagari script; and Muslims with Urdu language and the Perso-Arabic script. As a consequence of this religio-political conflict, the three major ethnolinguistic communities have come to be known as the 'Panjabi Sikhs', the 'Panjabi Hindus' and the 'Panjabi Muslims'. Researchers such as Pandit (1974, 1978) and Mukherjee (1980) suggested

¹ In this study, I shall use the term 'community' in two broad senses: first, to refer to the South Asian population in contrast to the larger Anglo-Celtic society in Britain; and secondly, to refer to individual speech communities, e.g. Panjabi Hindus, Panjabi Sikhs, Gujaratis, etc., within the South Asian population in contrast to each other. The term group/subgroup will be used for PHs of different age, sex, place of origin and ideologies.

that Panjabi Hindus in India were shifting to Hindi from Panjabi so as not to be identified with Panjabi Sikhs.

0.3 What is 'Language Maintenance and Language Shift' ?

The study of language maintenance and language shift deals with the degree of change in the pattern of language use within a speech community that has in its verbal repertoire more than one code for inter-/intra-group communication. 'Language shift' as a phenomenon could be defined as a displacement of linguistic codes among some speakers or else as the shift from the use of one language to the use of another over a period of time in some or all domains of language use in a community; and 'language maintenance' as the retention of a community's native language despite social and psychological pressures.

Sometimes the term 'language death' is also used to refer to language shift, which begs the question: do languages possess 'an inner principle of life', i.e. do they live a natural life span and then die themselves?, or (in contrast) are their allotted lives governed by human society and culture rather than by the laws of nature?

At one time the popular view was that languages had a 'natural' life span since they were considered to be organic in nature. For instance, according to Franz Bopp (1791-1867), as cited by Jespersen:

Languages are to be considered organic natural bodies, which are formed according to fixed laws, develop as possessing an inner principle of life, and gradually die out because they do not understand themselves any longer.

Jespersen (1922:65)

Fishman (1991: 39-40) cautions against the over extension of the metaphors of 'life' and 'death' to languages. In his opinion, since language is a cultural

phenomenon, it does not have a 'natural life-span', which is the essential attribute of a living organism. Languages do not die 'natural deaths', instead, their life-span depends on the people who use them, and who, sometimes, abandon their use for various reasons. As Edwards points out, "The fortunes of language are bound up with those of its users, and if languages decline or 'die' it is simply because the circumstances of their speakers have altered" (Edwards 1985: 49). Similarly, Baker (1993: 41) considers language shift as a reflection of economic, political, cultural, social and technological change, rather than as a 'natural evolutionary process'.

Language death may occur if its users are the only people in the world who speak that language and if they are facing extinction. For example, as Holmes (1992: 61-62) points out: "Manx has completely died out in the Isle of Man -- the last native speaker, Ned Maddrell, died in 1974." According to Dorian (1978), the 'total shift' of a language in a speech community is language death, even if that language is used in other parts of the world. However, I agree with Denison (1977) who does not consider it to be a case of language death if a language ceases to be used in one part of the world and is being used by a speech community in another part of the world.

Language death and language shift may occur when linguistically different populations come into contact and when the languages involved come into conflict. The contact between two linguistically different populations, for various social, economic and political reasons, results in a language contact situation. Such contact situations could be studied at two different but interconnected levels: one

relates to bilingualism, language maintenance and language shift, and the other to the study of social, psychological, cultural and historical factors.

Generally, bilingualism is defined in the context of an individual's linguistic competence. Bloomfield (1933) sees bilingualism as having 'native-like' control in two languages. Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1956) give a more functional definition of bilingualism as alternative habitual use of two languages. What interests us here is societal bilingualism, that is, use of more than one language as a tool of social interaction in a community. However, it does not imply that all individuals in the community should be bilinguals.

The most basic condition associated with the studies of language shift is societal bilingualism. The members of a monolingual speech community are obviously maintaining their pattern of language use if they are not collectively involved in acquiring another language. The question of language maintenance and language shift, as pointed out earlier, arises when linguistically different populations come into contact with each other. This contact situation may result in either steady bilingualism, which may continue for several generations, or language shift, where one language is completely given up in favour of the other. Appel and Muysken (1987) sketch a generalized scenario of inter-generational shift:

The first generation (born in the country of origin) is bilingual, but the minority language is clearly dominant, the second generation is bilingual and either of the two languages might be strongest, the third generation is bilingual with the majority language dominating, and the fourth generation only has command of the majority language. (Appel and Muysken 1987:42)

By looking at minority children's non-reciprocal language use with parents, in contrast to use with siblings, Reid (1988) demonstrated how inter-generational shift towards English was beginning to show in some linguistic minorities in England. He had drawn his data from "some quite small-scale surveys" carried out by the Linguistic Minority Project (LMP 1985) in England in the early 1980s. However, he pointed out that the data "... has to be interpreted with caution, given the nature of the school setting in which the questions were asked..." (Reid 1988:183).

In a community a majority of individuals rarely abandon the use of one language completely and substitute another one within their own life time. Dorian's (1981) study in East Sutherland demonstrated that grandparents used Gaelic (the mother tongue) with grandchildren and expected it in return. Parents used Gaelic with other people of both their own generation and the ascending generation, but used English with their children and expected it in return. As a result the children grew up able to understand Gaelic, but not to speak it. In terms of the future of Gaelic, Dorian noted:

The home is the last bastion of a subordinate language in competition with a dominant official language of wider currency ... speakers have failed to transmit the language to their children so that no replacement generation is available when the parent generation dies away. (Dorian 1981: 105).

In those cases where bilingual parents maintain their mother tongue in socialising the offspring, a stable bilingual situation may exist in which bilingualism does not generate mother-tongue shift. For example, Lieberman's

(1972) demographic study of French-English bilingualism in Montreal was a clear case of stable bilingualism. French Canadians in Montreal used English only when it was demanded by a particular domain, such as employment, and evidently gave up its use as soon as they no longer functioned in that domain, e.g. after retirement. However, stable bilingualism does not necessarily guarantee language maintenance. Sometimes a community may experience a language shift after centuries of steady bilingualism. Gal (1979) cited a case where language shift was in progress after a long history of bilingualism. In Oberwart, in Austria, after four hundred years of Hungarian-German bilingualism, German was slowly replacing Hungarian not only in the domains of work and education but also at home in everyday interaction.

Many studies carried out within and outside the United States have helped a great deal in the understanding of different possible factors responsible for language maintenance and language shift. However, there has been very little success in using any combination of them to predict when language shift will occur. Many scholars (e.g. Kloss 1966, Denison 1977, Gal 1979, Dorian 1981, Appel and Muysken 1990, Baker 1993) agree that we still do not know how to predict shift. Fasold (1984) points out that in study after study the same causes have been attributed for language shift. Among the most frequently cited causes that he and Hoffmann (1991) list are:

Migration, either by members of small groups who migrate to an area where their language no longer serves them, or by large groups who swamp the local population with a new

language (Tabouret-Keller 1968, 1972; Lewis 1972a, 1978; Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter 1977, Lieberson and McCabe 1978, Gal 1979, Dorian 1980, Timm 1980);

Industrialization and other economic changes which can trigger off migratory movements and adversely affect the linguistic stability of an area (Tabouret-Keller 1968, 1972; Carr 1973, Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter 1977, Gal 1979, Huffines 1980, Timm 1980, Dorian 1981);

Urbanization of rural population resulting into contact with a high prestige language (Tabouret-Keller 1968, Gal 1979, Timm 1980, Dorian 1981);

Higher Prestige for the language being shifted to by small, low status groups (Denison 1977, Gumperz 1977, Lieberson and McCabe 1978, Gal 1979, Kahane and Kahane 1979, Huffines 1980, Mukherjee 1980, Dorian 1981, Greene 1981, Mohan 1983, Walker 1987);

School Language and other government pressures which run counter to the maintenance of minority languages (Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter 1977, Gal 1979, Kahane and Kahane 1979, Dorian 1980, Huffines 1980, Timm 1980, Mohan 1983, Edward 1985).

Conklin and Lourie (1983) provide a comprehensive list of factors that may encourage language maintenance or shift. They list them under three broad areas: (a) political, social and demographic factors; (b) cultural factors; and (c) linguistic factors (see Appendix O).

0.4 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study derives from the fact that this is the first ever detailed study of Panjabi Hindus in Britain. Furthermore, it attempts to fill in many

of the gaps related to methodological procedures and research questions that are evident in other studies carried out among the ethnolinguistic minorities in this country. In the rest of this section I shall focus on these issues with a particular focus on the studies carried out among the South Asians in Britain.

The main influx of South Asian immigrants into Britain since the 1950s have been Panjabis, Bengalis and Gujaratis. Apart from questions relating to Welsh and Gaelic in the population census of Wales and Scotland respectively, the U.K. census has no question relating to language. The Linguistic Minority Project (LMP) which ran from 1979 to 1983 has been the most substantial research project which filled in, to a great extent, the position of the non-indigenous languages in England.

The project based at the University of London Institute of Education carried out a range of survey work among eleven ethnolinguistic minorities in three urban settings in England: Coventry (West Midlands), Bradford (West Yorkshire), and Greater London. The findings provided information on background and history, patterns of language use, and attitudes toward the maintenance and teaching provision for eleven different bilingual communities.

Although there were other attempts to document the extent and nature of diversity (e.g. ILEA 1978, 1981, 1983; Rosen and Burgess 1980), the publication of the project findings (LMP 1985) represented the first most comprehensive account in this field. The project not only put the other languages of England on the map, but contributed to the debate on the issues of the integration of individuals of overseas origin into British society. The

authors (X. Couillaud, V.S. Khan, E. Reid, A. Morawska, M. Martin-Jones and G. Smith) of this report rejected an 'assimilationist' stand-point:

It is assumed by the dominant majority that through contact with the English culture these minorities should and will inevitably assimilate culturally and linguistically. ... There is also the assumption ... if 'they' adopt our culture, then 'they' won't need their language; and if 'they' use our language, they must have accepted our values. (LMP 1985:5)

Although the project has made a very significant contribution in the area of minority language research in the British context, as the researchers themselves (Smith 1982, Martin-Jones 1991) and others (e.g. Alladina 1985a, 1985b; Nicholas 1988) have pointed out, there were some serious methodological problems with the surveys of the project which put certain constraints on the interpretation of the findings.

The difficulty with the reliability of the sampling procedures made it difficult to assess the representativeness of the findings, particularly the difficulty in locating and sampling adults in the 'Adult Language Use Survey' (ALUS). For instance, the representativeness with respect to the subcategorisation of minority communities in terms of, for example, age, sex, place of upbringing and other socio-cultural factors. Similarly, the reliability of the minority language use was questionable in ALUS due to the 'interviewer effect'. Furthermore, the project report admits that despite the team's desire to undertake actual ethnographic observations of household language use, it could not go much beyond self report as a method because the ALUS was conceived very broadly. This could only provide answers to the question

'what' of bilingual communication, rather than 'how' or 'why'. Finally, the survey findings of language use at one point in time do not allow us to see whether there were any significant patterns of language shift.

Surveys relating to South Asian languages, such as Rosen and Burgess (1980), the ILEA Language Census 1981-87, Mobbs (1985), LMP (1985), "have sometimes been designed from a monolingual perspective which underestimates the complexity of multilingualism, the reliability of data is sometimes open to questions." (Alladina and Edwards 1991: 70).

'Multilingualism in the British Isles' edited by Alladina and Edwards (Vol. 1 & 2) (1991) attempts to fill such a gap, in that: firstly, the contributory writers in these volumes, in the vast majority of cases, are individually commissioned linguists and practitioners who are "describing their own speech communities" (ibid: 10); and secondly, the authors provide a bilingual perspective on the data they were looking at. This literature extends the discussion of minority speech communities, from the LMP's eleven, to thirty one. As the editors explain in the introduction, each author addresses five main issues which are of concern to all language communities: the sociolinguistic situation in the country of origin, the nature and distribution of the speech community in Britain, questions of language change and shift, community support for its own language(s), and the role of education in language reproduction.

Six chapters on South Asian speech communities: Gujarati, Hindi, Panjabi, Urdu, Sinhala and Tamil, are rich in statistics and details relating to the community's role

in language reproduction. However, most of the data in these chapters are of a broad survey kind (Sebba 1992) and rely heavily on LMP and London Education Authority surveys as resources. These contributions lack detailed empirical research on language use.

It follows then that future sociolinguistic studies of 'community level' bilingualism in the British context need to take into account the aforementioned shortcomings. Furthermore, there is also a need for the kinds of studies that look at language use at both macro-level and micro-level; that link individual level and group level variations with a community level variation; that take account of social and cultural meanings associated with language use; that focus not only on the spoken aspect of language use, but the uses of literacy and the values associated with different literacies. Such studies require substantial surveys combined with ethnographic observations and in-depth interviews, so that perceptions, experiences and practices of different types of individuals and groups could be explained qualitatively. Such community level studies of linguistic minorities in Britain are few and far between (e.g. see Martin-Jones 1991 and Sebba 1992). One such recent work carried out by Milroy and Wei (1991, 1992), for instance, is the study of language variation and shift in the Chinese community in Newcastle upon Tyne. However, they only focus on the spoken aspect, and not the literacy aspect, of language use. Also, they don't go far enough to take into account the wider socio-political processes and changes in interpreting their findings.

The present study attempts to take into account many of the issues raised so far, as can be seen in the research questions in the following sections.

What is equally significant from the present study's point of view is that there is no comprehensive community level study of this kind among Panjabi Hindus in Britain. The only small-scale study of Panjabi Hindus, that I am aware of, is that of Upadhyay (1988), who looked at meanings associated with teacher's codeswitching practices in a voluntary Hindi class in Bradford.

However, there are various small and large scale studies of Panjabis, which are either general in nature or specific to Panjabi Sikhs and Panjabi Muslims: for instance, Agnihotri (1979) studied the assimilation orientation of Sikh children in Leeds; Mahandru's study about the Panjabi (Sikh) speech community in Alladina and Edward (1991); Chana and Romaine (1984) focussed on linguistic aspects of Panjabi-English bilingualism and on attitudes to code-switching among Panjabi speakers in Birmingham; Hartley's (1994) study of the multilingual practices of Panjabi Muslim women in Brierfield, a small town in the North-East of England.

General studies of Panjabis, like Chana and Romaine (1984), the comprehensive survey like LMP (1985:23) and a comprehensive collection of studies of minority speech communities such as Alladina and Edward (1991) have failed to identify any Panjabi Hindu community in Britain for study. Even though there are general titles, like 'The Panjabi Speech Community' as in Mahandru (1991), their focus is either on Sikhs or Muslims. On the other hand, some discussion on Panjabi Hindus tends to be found in the

context of other speech communities, e.g. 'The Hindi Speech Community' (Verma 1991).

Following the Indian situation, the British literature on Panjabi speakers reiterates the association of Panjabi/Gurmukhi, Hindi/Devanagari, Urdu/Perso-Arabic with Panjabi Sikhs, Panjabi Hindus and Panjabi Muslims respectively. For example, in the British context, while referring to the Hindi speakers as the first group, Verma asserts:

The second group consists of Panjabi Hindus who speak and aspire for their children to speak Hindi as a second language for cultural and religious reasons. For both these groups, Hindi is the main language of literacy.

(Verma 1991: 105)

However, the representativeness of such generalisations about Panjabi Hindus have not been questioned or empirically tested in the British context. Similar criticism about representativeness could be extended to the studies of Panjabi Hindus in India by Pandit (1974) and Mukherjee (1980), particularly due to their theoretical approach. They had approached the communities with preconceived categories in mind. Therefore, the general questions that must be raised are: Is the 'Hindi-Hinduism' association about Panjabi Hindus a 'stereotype'? How far is the community 'homogeneous'?

0.5 Research Questions

Against the backdrop of the discussion in the previous section, the present 'community level' study of language maintenance and shift is guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the day-to-day language practices, both spoken and written, of Panjabi Hindus in this local community?
2. What attitudes and values² do they associate with their spoken and written languages?
3. What degree of age and gender related variation in language practices, attitudes and values can be identified?
4. What other significant dimension of sociolinguistic variation can be identified?
5. What changes have taken place in the personal language histories of different adults in this community? (e.g. Lieberman's Age-Cohort Analysis)
6. To what extent differences in language practices and values can be accounted for with reference to
 - a) changing language and cultural politics in the recent history of the Panjab (1880s-1980s)
 - b) changing conditions in the Southall community (1950s-1980s).

0.6 Phases of the Research Undertaken

This research involves survey work and interviews with a strong ethnographic observation component. The initial contact with the South Asian community in Southall was made at the end of 1985 when the ethnographic observations began. A pilot project was then conducted with 37 Panjabi Hindus in 1986. For various reasons (cf. chapter 3), I decided that a more representative sample of the PH population for the main survey could be obtained if I started off from secondary schools and moved into students' families.

² In this study, I use the terms 'value' and 'attitude' more or less in the following sense: "Regarding values as a type of social data, distinctions are often drawn between values, which are strong, semipermanent, underlying, and sometimes inexplicit dispositions; and attitudes, which are shallow, weakly held, and highly variable views and opinions. Societies can usually tolerate highly diverse attitudes, whereas they require some degree of homogeneity and consistency in the values held by people, providing a common fund of shared values which shape social and political consensus." (Marshall 1994).

The main survey carried out during 1988-89 involved 86 informants from 20 families. Questionnaire elicitation and interviews were carried out with students in their schools and at home, and with their family members at home. I met each informant several times for these tasks which helped me to develop close relationships with each family and helped me to observe their sociolinguistic behaviour closely.

During about five years of ethnographic observations, I stayed with many families in Southall: Sikhs, Muslims and Panjabi Hindus. Gradually, from being an 'outsider' I became an 'insider' which helped me interpret my data from both perspectives. My knowledge of Panjabi, Hindi and English proved a great asset in becoming a part of the South Asian community in general, and PH community in particular. The survey provided answers to the question 'what' of language attitudes and language use, and interviews and ethnographic observations to the questions 'how' and 'why'. (cf. Ch. 3 for more details on information given in this section.)

0.7 Scope of the Study

As mentioned above, the ethnographic observations in this research began at the end of 1985. The main interpretations of the data in this study, therefore, largely draw on the socio-psychological, cultural, economic, political, educational and linguistic conditions existing in the lives of the Panjabi Hindu community in Southall during the period from the mid-1980s to the late-1980s.

This study is also limited in terms of geographical scope in that it was carried out among Panjabi Hindus in Southall. The results therefore cannot be seen to be generalizable across the whole country. However, since it is a detailed empirical study carried out over a long period of time, it can be an indication of what one might expect to find elsewhere. Also, the survey findings of 86 informants are generalizable to the larger Panjabi Hindu community in Southall because of my long-term ethnographic observations there.

I see the main strength of this research as lying in its contribution to the community-level studies of the sociolinguistics of bilingualism in Britain.

0.8 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into seven chapters, plus an introduction and a conclusion. In Chapter 1, I review the literature related to the theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of the phenomena of language maintenance and shift. The conclusion from the review is that such a study of ethnolinguistic minorities requires a multi-model approach. The approach I have adopted in this study involves a synchronic and diachronic study of the inter-relationship among three major dimensions, viz: objective ethnolinguistic vitality, subjective ethnolinguistic vitality, and habitual language use.

The first part of Chapter 2 deals with the objective ethnolinguistic vitality of the South Asian community in Southall. It explores the patterns of migration, demography, patterns of employment, economy, housing and language in education; and also looks at the development of

the ethnolinguistic minority status of the South Asians in Southall.

The second part of this chapter charts the sociolinguistic events from the 1880s to 1980s in India which have shaped various ethno-religious identities among Panjabi speakers; and discusses how the ethno-religious conflict has led to the development of Panjabi speakers' association with different languages and scripts.

In this study I adopted a multidimensional methodological approach. I employed a range of data elicitation techniques, both qualitative and quantitative: ethnographic observations, questionnaires, diaries and in-depth interviews. Chapter 3 discusses: the procedure for contacting the community; the selection and nature of the sample for the study; questions raised through various tools of data elicitation; and the procedure for the analysis of the data.

Chapter 4 deals with the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of the community. It looks at the sociocultural and sociolinguistic attitudes of the informants elicited through questionnaires, interviews and observations. The sociocultural dimension explores informants' views on cultural and linguistic maintenance; their tastes in food, dress and music; their religious orientation; and their views on marriage and relationships with the other ethnolinguistic communities in Southall.

The sociolinguistic dimension looks at informants' attitudes towards Panjabi, Hindi and English, children's language and literacy learning, and language and employment. It explores the perceptions towards the roles that Panjabi, Hindi and English play in the construction of

various ethnolinguistic identities of subgroups of Panjabi Hindus.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 deal with the third major dimension of the study of language maintenance and shift: habitual language use. The first part of Chapter 5 looks at the reported range of languages in the verbal repertoire of the Panjabi Hindus. The second part deals with the synchronic aspect of the reported patterns of 'spoken' language choice. Here, the notion of domain is employed to identify broad patterns of language choice in different contexts. Individuals' language choices, on the other hand, are looked at in terms of participants' identities and role-relationships. The final part explores the variation in the patterns of language choice of various subgroups of Panjabi Hindus.

The study of the patterns of language choice across time helps to identify the progression of language maintenance or language shift in a community. Chapter 6 looks at the age variation and change over time in the reported patterns of the 'spoken' language choice. The first part of the chapter, explores the variation in the synchronic aspect of language use across different 'age groups' and 'generations'.

The second part compares the synchronic and diachronic aspects of language use across different 'age groups' and 'subgroups' of Panjabi Hindus. For this particular analysis, I employed Lieberman's Age-cohort Analysis (1980) which has not been used, to my knowledge, in any other study in the British context. The final part of the chapter presents the qualitative and quantitative analyses

of spoken language use, elicited through the language diaries produced by adolescent Panjabi Hindus.

Studies in language maintenance and shift tend to focus more on the spoken than on the written aspect of habitual language use. Given the particular importance of 'script' in the construction of ethnolinguistic identities among Panjabis, and the role of literacy in language maintenance and shift, this study also looks at the written aspect of habitual language use in the final analytical Chapter 7. This chapter explores the variation in the synchronic and diachronic aspects of the literacy practices and values (in different languages) in the community.

The concluding chapter 8 outlines selected significant findings of the study and recommendations for future research.

Chapter 1: THEORETICAL PRELIMINARIES

1.0 Introduction

Sociolinguistic studies of bilingualism pertaining to language maintenance and shift have been greatly influenced by social theories of, stating broadly at two extremes, determinism and individualism (cf. Williams 1992 for a comprehensive discussion). The deterministic view of macro-social structures focuses on how social systems could be predicted, at least in principle, from present system states. In contrast, the individualistic view recognises the autonomy of the individual human being in social actions and affairs.

Research on bilingualism among the linguistic minorities which followed the deterministic view began with the work of Weinreich (1953) on 'Languages in Contact' and was subsequently developed by Ferguson (1959) and, then later by Fishman (1967 and 1972) during the 1960s and early 1970s. The main concern of scholars working within this tradition was accounting for the functional differentiation of languages in bilingual communities. This tradition of research is generally referred to as the structural-functional perspective. Methodological approaches in this tradition mainly rely upon survey techniques involving questionnaires for data collection.

Since the late 1970s, there has been a shift towards the individualistic view, or what is referred to as the micro-interactionist perspective. The focus of scholars such as Gal (1979) and Gumperz (1982), working within this perspective, has been on individual bilinguals' emblematic use of language, and variation and change over time; rather than providing synchronic accounts of the norms governing

'stable patterns of choice'. The researchers, here, rely on anthropological/ethnographic traditions of data collection -- such as, participation observation, in order to capture natural, uncontrolled sociolinguistic behaviour of individuals.

The socio-psychological approaches to the studies of language maintenance and shift are mainly associated with Howard Giles and associates (e.g. Giles 1973, 1977; Giles et al. 1977, Bourhis et al. 1981; Landry and Allard 1994): the macro-level approach relating to the Ethnolinguistic Vitality, and micro-level approaches relating to the Accommodation Theory.

In this chapter, I shall explore the usefulness of the above-mentioned major perspectives for the study of language maintenance and shift. I shall also discuss their shortcomings and the 'conflict perspective' which addresses power issues in inter-group relations.

In the concluding section, I shall outline the approach I am going to take in this study.

1.1 Deterministic-Oriented Perspectives

1.1.1 The Structural-functional Perspective

Despite the fact that for many years scholars have discussed the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift, very few attempts have been made to provide a comprehensive model to study the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift.

As early as 1933, Bloomfield was aware of the consequences of two speech communities coming into contact with each other, and talked about language shift in the

behaviour of millions of immigrants in the United States.

To quote:

Some people entirely give up the use of their native language in favour of a foreign one... If the immigrant does not stay in a settlement of others from his own country, he may have no occasion at all to use his native language. ... this may result, after a time, in wholesale forgetting ... They have made a shift of language; their only medium communication is now English and it is for them not a native but an adopted language. (Bloomfield 1933:55)

Later, Weinreich (1953) extensively studied the problems of language contact in the United States. He defined language maintenance in terms of 'language loyalty', as a state of mind in which the language (like the nationality) is an intact entity, and in contrast to other languages assumes a high position in need of being defended; and shift as the change from the habitual use of one language to that of another. According to Weinreich, this shift can be analysed by referring to either the descriptive linguistic criteria or subjective experience of the speaker himself. He raised some fundamental questions about the relationship between language change and language shift in a contact situation (cf. Weinreich 1953: 109, for details) and suggested three dimensions along which the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift could be studied:

- (a) Functions of the languages in the contact situation: a group may switch to a new language in certain functions but not in others, i.e. a 'partial' rather than 'total' shift may obtain.
- (b) The nature of shift should be studied in a contact situation where the mother-tongue division is congruent with various other non-linguistic divisions in order to allow for a differentiated response to the new language among various subgroups.
- (c) Shift, like interference, should be studied against time across generations.

However, these suggestions are not incorporated in Weinreich's own field work. One finds that he barely touches upon the problems of language maintenance and language shift since he was concerned with all the aspects of a contact situation. For him the matter of language shift was totally extra-structural (Weinreich 1953:106-107). Haugen (1953) also made an attempt to study the role of socio-cultural settings of the language contact situation, but his primary concern was to study the different aspects of borrowing and the structural changes in the contact situation.

A more comprehensive model for a systematic enquiry into the field of language maintenance and language shift was formulated by Fishman (1964, 1971a). He proposed three major topical subdivisions, viz.

- (a) Antecedent, concurrent or consequent psychological, social and cultural factors and their relationship with stability or change in habitual language use;
- (b) Behaviour towards language in the contact setting, including directed maintenance or shift efforts; and
- (c) Habitual language use at more than one point in time or space under conditions of inter-group contact.

According to Fishman, an exhaustive study of language maintenance and language shift involves an inter-relationship between the above three dimensions. In the following sections, I shall discuss the above three topical subdivisions as envisaged by Fishman.

1.1.1.1 Social, Psychological and Cultural Factors

The first subdivision of Fishman's model is concerned with the study of social, psychological and cultural factors related to language maintenance and language shift.

The antecedent, concurrent and consequent variables acquire significance according to the specific nature of the study.

Weinreich (1953) cited the following ten variables: geographic obstacles, indigenoussness, cultural or group membership, religion, sex, age, social status, occupation and rural vs. urban residence. Haugen (1956) added: family, neighbourhood, political affiliation and education. Mackey (1962) mentions duration of contact, frequency of contact and pressures of contact derived from economic, administrative, cultural, political, military, historical, religious or demographic sources.

The six factors favourable to language maintenance, isolated by Kloss (1966), are religio-societal insulation, time of migration, existence of language islands, parochial schools and pre-immigration experience. The social factors, involved in language maintenance, emphasized by Lieberman (1972) are population composition, residential segregation and isolation, occupational pressures and age differences. Subramaniam (1976), while explaining language maintenance in some pockets of Kerala, suggested eight parameters. He demonstrates how the lack of job contacts, education through the mother-tongue, endogamous marriages, group living, non-migration, lack of competitiveness, preserving business secrets and caste identity may encourage language maintenance.

It is clear from the above list of factors, that some of them are common and others are more specific to certain bilingual situations. Their importance and the nature of impact vary from community to community. Also, the impact of any of these factors on language maintenance or shift is not unidirectional and constant. In fact, they overlap and

interact with each other in a very complex manner. For example, geographical proximity is generally said to reinforce language maintenance since the group in contact can easily maintain social, political, cultural and religious ties with its place of origin. But geographical distance may also reinforce language maintenance to the extent that it may increase group loyalty.

Since there is no consensus about the universal significance of any one factor, instead of a list of many factors, a unified framework is required which could capture the complex relationship between these factors. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) propose such a model, 'Ethnolinguistic Vitality', comprising status factors, demographic factors, and institutional support factors involved in language vitality (see sec. 1.3.1 below).

1.1.1.2 Linguistic and Social Stereotypes

The second topical subdivision of Fishman's model is concerned with more focussed and conscious behaviour on behalf of either maintenance or shift per se. This involves the investigation of linguistic and social stereotypes and collecting systematic data about language consciousness and language-related groupness perceptions. The relationship between subjective and objective language behaviour will vary from situation to situation. The differences between claimed proficiency and actual proficiency is a very meaningful indicator of attitudes towards languages. A very respectful and positive attitude towards the native language may continue along with fast assimilation to the host community's language. The driving force for language maintenance may derive from voluntary or

official sources. This includes organisational protection, statutory protection, agitation and creative production. The attitudes toward the target language depend to a large extent on the reasons for which the migrants wish to learn it. Here Gardner and Lambert's (1972) distinction between 'instrumental' and 'integrative' motivation towards the language to be learnt is relevant.

Gardner (1985) and Baker (1988, 1992, 1993) have summarized the research on language attitudes and motivation. According to Baker, "Research relates such motivation not only to desire to learn a language but also to predicting language retention and language loss in individuals over time." (1993: 90). Integrative motivation relates to the individuals' desire to affiliate with the majority culture; whereas instrumental motivation is associated with pragmatic reasons, such as employment, advancing career prospects, success in education, etc. Whether either of the two motivations or a subtle mix of both is a powerful factor in learning a language depends on the particular situation.

1.1.1.3 Habitual Language Use

The third major topical subdivision which is concerned with habitual language use at different points in time or space necessitates the location and measurement of bilingualism. According to Fishman, in the case of habitual language use,

... the consequences that are of PRIMARY concern to the student of language maintenance and language shift are NOT interference phenomena per se but, rather, degrees of maintenance or displacement in conjunction with several sources and domains of variance in language behaviour" (Fishman 1964:33).

Relative proficiency, relative ease or automaticity, and relative frequency of language use in a contact setting are also indications of whether or to what degree conservation or change are operative. The variety a speaker may choose at a given moment of time will depend on the medium (reading, writing, speaking), the interlocutor (male, female or old, young), the situation (formal, informal or intimate) and the domain (Fishman 1964).

Domain

Fishman (1964, 1965, 1968) defines 'domains' as 'institutional contexts', in which one language variety is more likely to be appropriate than another. They are taken to be constellations of factors, such as location, topic and participants (Fasold 1984). Domain as an abstract analytical construct is a technique used to categorize the major clusters of interactions or 'situations' (Downes 1984)¹ and the language varieties used therein in complex multilingual settings. According to Fishman domain is

... a sociocultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators and locales of communications in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a culture in such a way that individual behaviour and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other. (Fishman 1972a: 82).

His view of domain implies that language choice in particular situations reflects sociocultural norms and expectations (but as we shall see later in sections 1.2 and 1.6 this view of domain is too deterministic). For the purpose of the inquiry into language maintenance and

¹ See sec. I.1 in Appendix I

language shift 'domains' are further sub-divided into role-relations, such as husband-wife, parent-child, employer-employee, interviewer-interviewee, clerics-laymen, etc.

Role², as a term, can be defined as the behaviour conventionally expected of a person occupying a certain social position or category in a particular situation. It should be seen as a set of guide-lines, rather than rules, about how to act successfully in particular situations. However, in certain activity types/events, e.g. Roman Catholic Masses, or job interviews, one may encounter enactment of roles governed more by rules and norms than by fuzzy guide-lines.

The identification of the number and nature of domains varies from community to community. Researchers like Schmidt-Rohr (1933), Frey (1945), Barker (1947), Mackey (1962), Greenfield (1972), Gal (1979), Mukherjee (1980), Parasher (1980), Dorian (1981), etc., chose various domains and role-relations therein according to the community they investigated. Generally, the domains which have been recognized for the study of language maintenance and language shift are: family, playground, neighbourhood, community, school, church or religion, literature, press, army and governmental bureaucracy.

When two communities come in contact with each other the possibility of what might happen to their languages may be seen along a continuum. On the one end of this continuum we have the case of a group which succeeds in retaining its language in all domains, and on the other, a group which completely shifts to the language

² See sec. I.2 in Appendix I

of the host society. The number of intervening possibilities is very large. Often a community may retain the use of its native language in the domains of family and community and switch completely to the language of the host society in the domains of education and employment. However, if the host society's language spreads into more and more domains, it is seen as language shift.

Domain and Diglossia

Domain analysis is closely related to the notion of diglossia. A diglossic model was first developed by Ferguson (1959) which subsequently was extended to bilingual situations by Fishman (1967, 1971a, 1971b). In the diglossic model a binary distinction is proposed between High (H) and Low (L) language varieties or languages. The use of H and L varieties/languages is seen as being governed by community norms of appropriacy: the L (prestige) language being reserved for the less formal or low domains, e.g. family, street and market; whereas the H (prestige) language being more appropriate for the more formal or high domains, e.g. education and religion. For instance, Parasher's (1980) study in Southern India showed a functional allocation of language use: mother tongue was used in the low domain of family; whereas English was used in high domains, such as employment, education and government.

Fishman (1967, 1971a, 1972a, 1980, 1991) has suggested four sociolinguistic situations in which diglossia and bilingualism may exist: both 'diglossia and bilingualism'; 'bilingualism without diglossia'; 'diglossia without

bilingualism'; and 'neither diglossia nor bilingualism'. He describes the 'bilingualism without diglossia' situation as unstable and prone to language shift:

Bilingualism without diglossia tends to be transitional ... Without 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 drift of social forces tends to displace the other(s). (1971a: 298)

On the other hand, where 'both diglossia and bilingualism' exist, a successful compartmentalization between two languages leads to language maintenance. In such situations, two languages do not compete for realization in the same domains.

It is argued, therefore, by many scholars (e.g. Downes 1984, Appel and Muysken 1990, Baker 1993) that the allocation of the varieties in a repertoire to separate domains is essential for language maintenance.

1.2 The Conflict Perspective

Williams (1992) views Fishman's work as politically conservative and of a consensus nature which contains a limited discussion on deviance, power struggle and conflict. He points out that Fishman views sociolinguistic change as a part of natural structural adjustment in the evolutionary process, rather than as a result of inter-group conflict.

The area of work on bilingualism which has attempted to incorporate a conflict perspective in the study of language use and language change among linguistic minorities is referred to as 'Sociolinguistics of the

Periphery' (Lafont 1982: 92). This area in bilingual studies has mainly been concerned with regional minorities in Europe: For instance, research conducted by Catalan linguists working in Spain (Aracil 1965, Ninyoles 1969, Vallverdu 1970); research on varieties of Catalan and Occitan spoken in southern France (Bernardo and Rieu 1973, Couderc 1974, Eckert 1980, Gardy and Lafont 1981, Kremnitz 1981); work by McKinnon (1977, 1984) on Scottish Gaelic in the Western Isles; and work by Williams (1979, 1987) and Williams and Roberts (1982) on Welsh.

The main concern of these researchers has been with reformulation of the notion of diglossia. They hold the view that while it is important to describe the WHAT and HOW of the diglossic distribution of languages within a community, it is essential to raise the question as to WHY the two languages within diglossia came to be functionally differentiated and HOW diglossia changes over time. According to Eckert :

Diglossia does not arise; it is imposed from above in the form of an administrative, ritual, or standard language. By virtue of its political and economic status, this language becomes requisite for access to power and mobility within the society. (1980: 1056)

No such account of the social origins of the functional division of labour between the High and the Low varieties/languages is given in Fishman's diglossic model.

Due to the fact that the imposition of power generally takes place in conditions of struggle, diglossia is seen as being characterized by conflict rather than by complementarity. The local language functions as a vehicle for community social solidarity and an intrusive language

as the language of power epitomised in the form of economic activity, administration and communications. Such diglossic situations, Eckert (1980) contends, can actually embody the source of change. She suggests that the historical relationship between dominant and minority languages should be explored in order to explain such changes.

However, there is a need in the conflict perspective for a focus on the micro-level interactions whereby the way language mediates social relations in actual practices could be accounted for. As Kremnitz suggests:

Even within a relatively small society, 'fonctionnements diglossiques' could be very different in detail from what we consider diglossia to be. Diglossia is only the outcome of all these locutionary acts. In each communicative act, the relationship between interlocutors is governed by constraints of power, politeness, habit and by taboos and it is these that determine actual linguistic practices ... it is only when we take account ... of these micro-situations that we will arrive at more accurate descriptions of the overall situations. (1981: 72)

1.3 Language and Ethnicity

Edwards (1981) notes that language is most susceptible to shift and decay since it is the most noticeable marker of ethnic identity. Ethnicity defines individuals who consider themselves, or are considered by others, to share common characteristics which differentiate them from the other collectivities in a society, within which they develop distinct cultural behaviour. However, there is an ongoing debate on the definition of the concept of ethnicity. Often, the argument is about establishing features that are characteristics of an ethnic group.

Naroll (1964), an anthropologist, stressed the importance of shared cultural values and a group awareness of cultural distinctiveness as key elements in ethnic group membership. In criticism, Barth (1970) placed emphasis on group organisation and the maintenance of ethnic boundaries via ethnic markers, e.g. territoriality, history, language, proscriptions on intermarriage, and restrictions on religious worship. The boundaries between ethnic groups are maintained not through isolation, as Naroll argued, but through social processes of exclusion and incorporation, i.e. ethnic group members identify themselves in terms of ethnic categories and are in turn recognized as members by outsiders. As Allardt (1979) wrote, "The existence of an ethnic group always presupposes categorization, either self-categorization or categorization by others" (p. 30). The continuity of the ethnic group is dependent upon the maintenance of social boundaries or, what Schermerhorn (1970) referred to as, 'degree of enclosure'³.

Rex (1986) has criticized Barth for his failure to consider the conflict between ethnic groups. There is a difference between a group which claims ethnic distinctiveness and one which has distinctiveness imposed upon it by some politically superior group in the context of political struggle. Ethnicity may, therefore, become the basis either for national separatism or for political subordination. As Baker (1993) points out: "The achievements of the Basques and the Welsh would both seem

³ The degree of enclosure has been conceived by Schermerhorn as institutional separation or segmentation of the subordinate group or groups from the society-wide network of institutions and associations. The greater the degree of enclosure the greater will be the force for mother-tongue maintenance.

to suggest that conflict with the majority is one mechanism of achieving language rights." (p. 261).

The concept of ethnicity is particularly important when it forms the basis for social discrimination, e.g. persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany. Worsely (1984) notes that an ethnic minority status may seriously jeopardize an individual's or group's life chances, particularly in relation to health, housing and employment.

According to Peach (1981) the British academic concern with the subject of ethnicity increased as a result of black immigration in the postwar period. One result of this, he continues, has been the confusion of the term 'ethnic minority' with racial minority, in the British culture.

While socially perceived racial characteristics may be a feature of ethnic groups, they are not synonymous with racial groups. They may also share other cultural characteristics such as religion, occupation, politics, customs, norms, beliefs, traditions, or language. However, in Britain, sometimes the boundary between race and ethnicity gets blurred. For example, Indians may be perceived as constituting an ethnic group, although as individual groups in India they would be seen to be members of quite different groups in terms of, for example, language, region or caste.

Two scholars who have discussed ethnicity with particular reference to language are Fishman and Ross.

Fishman (1977) proposes three dimensions relating to ethnicity, viz. 'paternity', 'patrimony' and 'phenomenology'. Under paternity, he says, ethnicity is "in part, but as its core, experienced as an inherited

constellation acquired from one's parents as they acquired it from theirs, and so on back further and further, *ad infinitum*" (1977: 17). Patrimony, i.e. the legacy of collectivity -- defining behaviours and views (concrete cultural institutions and patterns): pedagogic patterns, music, food, clothes, sexual behaviour, special occupations, distinctive language, distinctive folk tales etc., which are somehow inherited from earlier generations. Phenomenology refers to the meaning people attach to their paternity (their descent as members of collectivity) and to their (ethnic) legacy. Phenomenology has to do with the subjective attitudes of people towards their membership of a potential ethnic group.

Ross (1979) talks about objectivist and subjectivist approaches with regards to the definition of ethnicity. The objectivists' view limits itself to Fishman's dimension of patrimony. Within the subjectivist approach, the us-feeling or the us-against-them-feeling overrides the significance of unshared objective factors. For instance, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1982) illustrated how West Indian immigrant groups were initially characterized by island labels and island identities but the attitudes of the majority of white Britons led to the development of a sense of a common enemy on which a new, general West Indian identity could be based. This subjective approach to the definition of identity cannot be seen in terms of Fishman's dimensions. The subjective view of ethnicity claims that it can develop as a reaction to actual circumstances.

The way in which the host society reacts to the expectations of the immigrants sometimes becomes a powerful factor in the processes of language maintenance. Vanek and

Darnell (1971) studied the case of the Doukhorbor community which migrated from Russia to Canada in the expectation of a promised land where their views on communal ownership and pacifism could be respected. However, the host society's reaction was disappointing. This resulted in the Doukhorbor community's withdrawal from the Canadian mainstream society and effective cultural and linguistic maintenance.

According to Fishman,

Language is the recorder of paternity, the expressor of patrimony and carrier of phenomenology. Any vehicle carrying such a precious freight must come to be viewed as equally precious, as part of the freight, indeed as precious in and of itself. (1977:25).

Various studies have shown a relationship between language and ethnicity: for instance, Mercer et al. (1979) studied Gujarati and English speaking students in Leicester; Guboglo (1979) -- Udmurt speaking people in the old Soviet Union; Hewitt (1982) -- Jamaican creole speaking British adolescents; Lowley et al. (1983) -- French, Spanish and Yiddish speakers in America.

However, as Fishman emphasises, even though language is generally highly valued in the dimension of phenomenology, it is not an obligatory part of patrimony. Therefore, a minority language or an ethnic mother tongue is not necessarily the most important component or an indispensable aspect of ethnicity. There may be instances of many ethnic groups with distinct languages, but there may also be instances of many distinct ethnic groups with a common language. Ross (1979), for instance, showed that some American Indian individuals and groups gave up their own languages in favour of a common lingua franca in order to develop a feeling of ethnicity. Similarly, Satyanath

(forthcoming) notes that despite the presence of several Indian languages within the Indian community in Fiji, Hindi emerged as the single most dominant language of ethnic identity over a long period of time.

1.3.1 Ethnolinguistic Vitality

Immigrant groups, such as Indians in Britain, with their own native languages are often referred to as ethnolinguistic groups. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor proposed the Ethnolinguistic Vitality model and noted:

... 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. (1977: 308).

This means that a high vitality will lead to a minority language maintenance and a low vitality will result in a shift towards the majority language. This model compensates for the explanatory details missing from the framework of Conklin and Lourie (1983) (cf. Appendix O).

The sociostructural variables that Giles et al. (1977) thought were most likely to influence the survival of ethnolinguistic groups were organised under three main factors: status, demography and institutional support. They argued that these three types of variables "interact to provide the context for understanding the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups" (1977: 309). The variables, which help to group linguistic minorities, are given under the three-factored view of vitality:

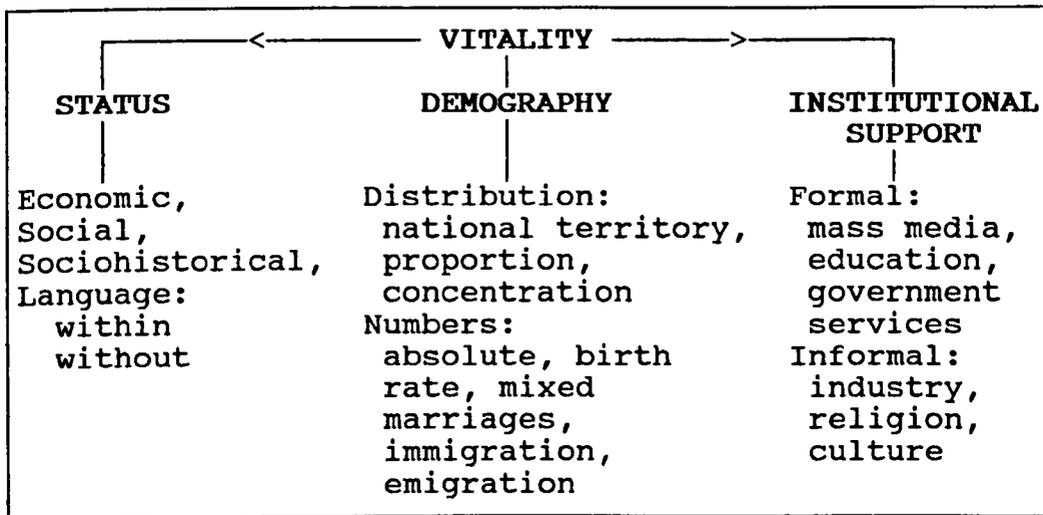


Fig. 1.1: Taxonomy of the structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality (Source: Giles, et al 1977:309)

ECONOMIC STATUS of an ethnolinguistic group is likely to be a prominent factor in language maintenance and shift. It refers to "the degree of control a language group has gained over the economic life of its nation, region or community" (Giles et al. 1977:310).

In such cases, "Where ... a minority language community experiences considerable unemployment or widespread low income, the pressure may be to shift towards the majority language" (Baker 1993:51). For example, Li's (1982) study in the USA revealed that the low-income Chinese Americans showed the highest tendency for shift away from the Chinese mother tongue vis-a-vis the higher-income Chinese Americans. Rindler Schjerve (1981) notes that economic changes relating to modernization, industrialization and urbanization led to the trend of the use of more Italian in Sardinia where Italian was associated with modern life and higher standards of living.

However, economic changes may also lead to language maintenance. For example, as Paulsen (1981) discussed, the Ferring language, which is a Germanic language spoken on the islands of Fohr and Amrun off the North Sea coast of

Germany experienced such a language maintenance phenomenon. A changeover from a predominant fishing-based occupation to teaching young boys the craft of navigation provided the new Dutch overseas companies with many well-trained sailors and officers in the sixteenth century. This provided the islanders with economic independence which helped the maintenance of Ferring.

SOCIAL STATUS is closely linked to economic status, and is also a powerful factor in language vitality. According to Appel et al. (1990), in South America, Quechua speakers in Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador generally regard themselves as having a low social status. They tend to shift towards Spanish which enjoys a higher social status.

SOCIOHISTORIC STATUS involves a symbolic value of history for the ethnolinguistic group. Many groups can draw inspiration from past struggles for independence or maintenance of their ethnic identity. Such a history may act as a symbol in mobilising individuals to defend their current interests. For example, "Tupac Amaru, the eighteenth century Peruvian rebel against the colonial regime, stressed Quechua as a symbol of the glorious Inca past, and gained a large following as a messianic leader" (Appel et al. 1990: 34).

LANGUAGE STATUS involves the manner in which "history, prestige value and the degree of standardisation may be a source of pride or shame" (Giles et al. 1977:312). The economic and social status of a group is closely related to the prestige value of its language. The nature of a socio-historical relationship between groups and their relative social and economic status may determine their attitudes towards languages in contact. As discussed earlier (sec.

1.1.1.2), the minority group's attitude towards the languages in contact may be a powerful indicator of language maintenance and shift.

DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS form the second main category in the vitality model. They refer to the geographical distribution and the absolute number of members of a linguistic minority group.

The study of the demographic patterns of migration and settlement is very significant in almost all studies of language maintenance and language shift. The chances of mother-tongue survival are usually weak if the members of a community migrate individually or in small groups separated by long intervals; and if the contact relations among migrants are not very intimate. On the other hand, a chain migration assures not only the formation of a sizeable group in the host community, but also acts as a constant reinforcement to its linguistic and cultural patterns. Purely in terms of numbers, the host community is likely to exercise overwhelming pressures and the extent to which migrants can resist them depends on how best they can organize themselves.

Immigration and emigration patterns can also affect local demography, and thus the fate of local languages. For instance, Jones (1981) pointed out that tourism and the immigration of English-speaking retired people and second-home ownership was affecting the concentration of Welsh speakers, and as a result mixed Welsh-English communities arose with a language shift towards English.

In terms of the geographical distribution of ethnic minority group members, those concentrated in a certain area have a better chance of developing strong social

networks and of maintaining their language. In contrast, it is very difficult to develop a sense of linguistic and cultural identity if the communities are dispersed geographically, e.g. Ukrainians and Sinhala in Britain (cf. Alladina and Edwards 1991: 17).

An analysis of census data in Wales reveals that the saturation of speakers within a specific area is important in language maintenance (Baker 1985). Li's (1982) study in the USA revealed that third-generation Chinese-Americans, living in Chinatown, shifted less towards English than their contemporaries residing outside Chinatown. Clyne (1982) found in Australia that states with very few Maltese-speaking immigrant populations had very high rates of shift towards English, and those with relatively large populations of Maltese speakers had the lowest rate of shift.

An immigrant group may be illiterate or without much formal education behind it. It may have migrated for purely economic reasons. In order to progress economically by obtaining more highly-paid employment, it will have to learn the language of the host community.

Mixed or inter-ethnic marriages can significantly influence the number of speakers maintaining minority languages. Baker (1993:53) notes that "In such marriages, the higher status language will normally have the best chance of survival as the home language". For example, Clyne (1982) also found that the shift towards English was nearly complete for second-generation children from Anglo-Maltese, Anglo-German and Anglo-Dutch mixed marriages.

Lieberson (1972) points out the relationship between marital factors and the maintenance of French in Montreal.

He noticed that, since fewer women than men were bilingual, a large number of families included a bilingual husband and a wife who was monolingual in French. French, the only language in common, was passed on to the children, further strengthening its maintenance. The same phenomenon was working against Hungarian in Oberwart. As Gal (1979:107) pointed out, "where there is inter-marriage between a German monolingual and a German-Hungarian bilingual, the children will grow up monolingual in German, no matter which parent speaks German." Tabouret-Keller (1968) reported that the same pattern was working in favour of the spread of Wolof over other languages in Senegal.

As a generalisation, the preservation of a minority language is easier in a rural rather than an urban area. The language of work and cultural activity in a rural area is more likely to be the historical language of the area. In contrast, as the division of labour in an urban area is greater, the language of work, for example, is more likely to be the dominant, majority language. Anderson's (1979) research in Canada showed that ethnolinguistic minorities, like Ukrainians, residing in small towns and villages resisted shift towards English more strongly than did those living in large urban centres; and those living on farms retained their languages more successfully than those in small towns and villages. However, as this will become clear in my study, studies of language maintenance and shift must also establish whether various subgroups of non-indigenous minorities living in urban areas have emigrated from rural or urban background.

With regards to demographic factors of the vitality model of Giles et al., Williams (1992) in criticism, observes that:

Nowhere is there reference to the fact that numerical minority can be a majority in power terms with the consequence that its vitality is high. That is, there is a danger of confusing the demographic concept of minority with the conceptualisation of minority in terms of power and dominance, something that has little to do with demography. (1992:210)

INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT FACTORS: This main cluster of factors refers to the extent to which the language of a minority group is represented in the mass media, national, regional, and local government, religious and cultural organisations, commerce and industry, and education.

Deep-rooted and socially-accepted rituals associated with such events as birth, death and marriage reinforce retention. Such rituals are more deep-rooted in rural areas. Those who come from an urban background are likely to shift faster. But at the same time the prime movers of language maintenance movements have always appeared in the cities. The whole paraphernalia of retaining and propagating a language can be available only in the cities. Mass-media, press, teaching materials and trained teachers are generally available in cities. Language revival movements, language loyalty movements, and organized language maintenance efforts have commonly originated and had their greatest impact in cities.

The inclusion or exclusion of minority languages from the mass media, such as newspaper, radio, television, etc. can affect its prestige and maintenance. However, Baker (1993) argues that since radio and television act only as a passive medium for language, their role in maintenance of

minority languages could get exaggerated. In referring to his research in Wales (Baker 1985, 1992) he points out 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" (1993: 53-54).

Religion can play a very important role in the maintenance or shift of a language. If the minority language is also the language of religion then it has a greater chance of survival. Kloss (1966) studied Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites of German descent living in Pennsylvania, who spoke Pennsylvania Dutch as their mother tongue. He pointed out that "They maintain their language in order to more fully exclude worldly influences and, perhaps, because change in itself is considered sinful" (Kloss 1966: 206). However, he points out that "Neither language or nationality is valued for its own sake" (1966: 206), i.e. religion is the main divisive force. Similarly, Baker (1993) attributes the survival of the Welsh language in the twentieth century to its dominant position in Welsh Chapels and in Welsh religious life in the home, e.g. the family reading of The Bible in Welsh.

Gal (1979) and Dorian (1981) also found religion to be one of the significant factors in language shift. The two cases were different in the sense that Hungarian was still the language of religion in Oberwart, but the language used in the domain of religion had, in recent times, shifted from Gaelic to English in East Sutherland. This was partly due to the fact that the large and small communities both had the same religion in East Sutherland and not in Oberwart.

Governmental or administrative service provisions (e.g. health, police, immigration, etc.) in minority languages can confer status to that language and stimulate its maintenance.

Language planning as a governmental activity might concern education: the establishment of educational facilities in minority languages. The teaching and learning of oracy and literacy in minority languages, and minority languages as media of education in schools foster minority children's proficiency in these languages and contribute to language maintenance. However, "Schools cannot be agents for language maintenance if their communities, for whatever reason, do not want them to be." (Hornberger 1988: 229). According to Fishman (1991), the minority language needs to be fostered in the family, neighbourhood and community, otherwise oracy and literacy learnt at school may wither away and die.

Fishman (1991) argues for "greater sociocultural self-sufficiency, self-help, self-regulation and initiative" (p.4) among linguistic minorities, if their languages are to be maintained or language revival and reversal is to be achieved. The most important conclusion to Fishman's discussion on 'Reversing Language Shift' is the need for an inter-generational transmission of language as the core element in its continuing success. This must be achieved, above all, through intimate, individual, 'lower order' efforts at the family-neighbourhood-community level before wider institutional-governmental level developments can become effective.

The ethnolinguistic vitality framework of Giles et al. (1977) has been criticized for failing to provide a link

between *objective* (sociological) and *subjective* (psychological) dimensions of vitality (cf. Williams 1992; Landry and Allard 1994a). The *objective* structural variables of the framework, do not explain how *subjective* "vitality is developed ... through one's experiences or contacts with ethnolinguistic groups" (Landry and Allard 1994a: 21-22). *Subjective* ethnolinguistic vitality measured by the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (Bourhis et al. 1981) "takes into account individuals' perceptions or representations of vitality and considers these to be mediators of ethnolinguistic behaviour." (Landry and Allard 1994a: 21).

Despite inherent limitations, the ethnolinguistic vitality framework has proven to be productive and viable in almost fifteen years of research since its conception (cf. Landry and Allard 1994a and 1994b for details).

1.4 Individual-Oriented Perspectives

Both the analysis in terms of domains proposed by Fishman and the notion of diglossia suggested by Ferguson require a very large perspective: overall social norms. (Appel and Muysken (1990: 27)

Within this perspective, the use of different varieties/languages is seen as being governed by *community norms of appropriacy*. This implies that languages fall into neat patterns of complementary distribution since the norms of the community demand "proper usage" by the members (Fishman 1972: 435). Fishman's frequent use of the term 'choice' in talking about the language practices of individual is criticized (e.g. Eckert 1980, Martin-Jones 1989) as "Complementary distribution of the coexisting languages virtually eliminates the possibility of random

choice" (Eckert: 1054). In contrast to this socially deterministic view of individuals' language practices, the following approaches to bilingual settings consider individuals as active agents.

1.4.1 The Socio-psychological Perspective

Giles (1973) and Giles et al. (1977) proposed a model of language choice called the 'Interpersonal Speech Accommodation Theory'. They argued that language choice cannot be explained satisfactorily by referring to situational factors alone; the explanation must take into account aspects of the interpersonal relations, i.e. relations between the participants. Thus, the choice of a language in bilingual settings is interpreted, in one way, in terms of the other speaker's language and identity.

According to this model, accommodation normally takes the form of 'convergence' whereby the speaker chooses a language or language variety that seems to suit the needs of the person being spoken to. It is suggested that the speaker converges linguistically by reducing the number of dissimilarities between her or himself and the other because s/he wishes to be evaluated more favourably. It is also suggested that under certain circumstances, the speaker may fail to converge, or may even 'diverge' deliberately by making her/his speech maximally unlike the other person's. The divergence will occur when speakers wish to emphasize their loyalty to their own group and dissociate themselves from their interlocutors' group.

Although R. B. Le Page is not a social psychologist, but a variationist sociolinguist, certain aspects of his work have striking similarities with accommodation theory

(cf. Le Page et al. 1985:2). This can be seen in the following quote relating his 'acts of identity' model:

Each individual creates the systems for his verbal behaviour so that they shall resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he may wish to be identified, to the extent that:

- 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.

(Le Page 1975b:39)

There are several complex factors which determine an individual's motivation. The cues which the social group feeds back to the individual about his likelihood of being allowed within it will affect his motivation. The motivation can be negative. It will also take into account the individual's desire to be accepted in a variety of roles (Le Page 1975b). The individual's speech act, thus, becomes an expression of his 'conformity' as well as his 'individuality'. Le Page (1975a) calls these as processes of 'projection' and 'diffusion'.

Le Page's approach, therefore, is much more concerned with the way individuals perceive groups in immediate and non-immediate contacts and assign linguistic attributes to those perceptions. Here, there is an attempt to link the individuals' behaviour to the groups' behaviour in terms of the individuals' multiple identities. The Accommodation Theory, in contrast, is concerned with interactive behavioural events, and the way in which individuals can be seen to accommodate linguistically in terms of their perceptions of *each other*.

Both models are powerful but not without their weaknesses. Tollefson (1991) is critical of the Accommodation Theory for its ahistorical analysis and failure to account for domination and coercion in language shift. While Williams (1992) criticises Le Page for ignoring constraints of socioeconomic forces and making an assumption of an openness of the social system, in which individuals occupy social places and positions by choice.

1.4.2 The Micro-interactionist Perspective

Since the late 1970s, there has been a shift away from attempts to provide synchronic accounts of the norms governing 'stable patterns of choice'. The focus in more recent work such as that of Gal (1979) and Gumperz (1982) has been on the individual bilinguals' emblematic use of language, variation and change over time. Within this tradition, the emphasis is on the social and linguistic processes operating at the micro-level of social encounters and conversational interactions. Individual bilinguals are seen as actively contributing to the definition and redefinition of the symbolic value of the languages within the community repertoire in the context of daily interaction, instead of passively observing idealized norms of language allocation. Here, the emphasis is on *social process* rather than *social structure*. The involvement of bilinguals in close-knit networks is seen as a key factor in the development and reinforcement of communicative norms, conventions and values.

Since there is no consensus about the universal significance of any macrosociological factors like 'industrialization' or 'urbanisation', Gal (1979:3)

believes that to study the process of language shift it is extremely important to find out "by what intervening process does industrialization, or any other social change, affect changes in the uses to which speakers put their languages in everyday interactions? How does the social change affect the communicative economy of the group? How does it affect the communicative strategies of speakers so that individuals are motivated to change their choice of language in different contexts of social interaction -- to reallocate their linguistic resources radically so that eventually they abandon one of their language altogether?"

To answer the question relating to "intervening processes", Gal took two sociolinguistic phenomena into consideration: 'language and identity' and 'social networks'. In her study of Hungarian-German bilinguals in the Oberwart village (Austria), she found that Oberwart Hungarian had low prestige. This language had become associated with the stigmatized group: traditional, older people. In contrast, German, the high prestige language, was seen to be the language of economic progress and modern life. Generally, the social status of individuals was expressed in their linguistic behaviour; they chose a certain language to assert their identity. The shift among the younger generation was seen in the light of change in identity from a peasant to an Austrian.

With regards to the social networks⁴, she wrote, "the networks of informal social interaction in which speakers are enmeshed and through which, by pressure and

⁴ Susan Gal and John Gumperz have used the term 'network' qualitatively, in contrast to Lesley Milroy who has used this term quantitatively (e.g. see Milroy 1980). However, in her more recent work, Milroy has used the term qualitatively (cf. Milroy and Wei 1992).

inducements, participants impose linguistic norms on each other" (Gal 1979: 14). The networks in which individuals participated had a stronger and a more direct influence on their language use, rather than broader sociostructural factors. The language choice of the individuals was not determined by whether they belonged to a peasant or a non-peasant social group. Instead, for example, an industrial worker with a largely peasant network would use more Hungarian than one with a non-peasant network. Beside the frequency of social encounters, the nature of the relationship between the individuals, the social character of the contacts and the purpose of the interaction were significant factors relating to language choice.

As Martin-Jones (1989) argues, 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 languages. Here, too much analytic weight is given to the concept of network: network is seen as an independent dimension of social organisation capable of shaping social practices. What is required here is that change in language usage patterns over time should be viewed as speakers' responses to large-scale processes most often originating far outside their own communities. There is a need here for providing a way of linking micro-interactional processes with analyses of sociohistorical processes operating at the macro-level. This integrated approach has begun to appear in Gal's more recent theoretical contributions (Gal 1987, 1988).

To sum up, with regards to a theoretical approach, in recent years, there has been a shift towards integrating

macro- and micro-level perspectives in the sociolinguistic study of bilingualism (cf. Martin-Jones 1989, Appel and Muysken 1990, Milroy and Wei 1992, Baker 1993, Landry and Allard 1994a). Martin-Jones (1989) argues for a multi-dimensional approach for the studies of minority languages:

A multi-dimensional approach is clearly needed if we are seeking to provide adequate explanations of variation and change in minority language use and to account for the fact that the voices of some dominated groups endure and others give way to the voice of the dominant majority. (p. 123).

However, she only talks about such an approach for habitual language use. As I shall argue in the concluding section 1.6, sociolinguistic studies of bilingualism among ethnolinguistic minorities, relating particularly to language maintenance and shift, must involve the discussion of ethnolinguistic vitality (sec. 1.3.1 above) as well.

1.5 Methods

Language maintenance and language shift are considered to be long-term, collective results of consistent patterns of language choice. These phenomena are most often studied with the methods developed in the fields of either anthropology or sociology. Researchers following Fishman's approach tend to use sociological procedures. In contrast, researchers such as Gumperz and Gal follow anthropological procedures.

1.5.1 Anthropological Procedures

Participant-observation, sometimes supplemented by questionnaire survey data, is the technique used by anthropologists or ethnographers of communication. Reflecting their cultural value, the choices made by the

members of a particular speech community add up to shift or maintenance in the community. A number of intensive investigation of individual communities is done to search for general or universal causes for maintenance and shift.

Saville-Troike (1989: 117-134) outlines various procedures for collecting data: introspection, participant observation, (more-or-less detached) observation, interviewing, etc. In Fasold's (1990:47) opinion, the 'participant observation' and the 'introspection' are the most important methods. Generally, the former is used by the researchers when studying others' culture and the latter when studying their own.

Ethnographers take great precautions against ethnocentricity in that they strive to understand and unravel the participants' assumptions: the meanings that categories and events have for individuals in a culture. They argue that it is very important to get the insider view (emic), rather than just the outsider view (etic). They enter a community with a fairly open mind.

1.5.2 Sociological Procedures

The approach adopted by sociologists is quite different. They often prefer to examine survey data from as many communities as possible, rather than intensively studying a particular community to find an explanation for maintenance or shift. They tend to start off with preconceived categories and are more likely to use censuses or returns from survey questionnaires.

Survey data can show shift in two ways. If data are available for more than one time period from the same population (usually census data), and it shows a

significant decline in the number of respondents reporting a language, then that might signal a language shift. In the absence of census data or if census data is inadequate, a one-shot survey is undertaken⁵. Age distribution numbers are analysed: If older speakers report more use of one language and younger speakers more use of another language, this can be an indication of language shift.

However, it has often been pointed out that conclusions based on this kind of data can be misleading (Lieberson 1980, Mackey and Cartwright 1979). Lieberson (1972, 1980) reported a case from French-English bilingualism in Montreal that shows how age-correlated data on bilingualism could be misleading. At first glance, it would seem that there was widespread bilingualism -- a prerequisite for shift from French to English was present. One might then erroneously conclude that a shift to English was in progress. But, in fact, French was being maintained. To demonstrate this Lieberson performed an analysis of 'age cohorts'.

1.5.2.1 Lieberson's Age-Cohort Analysis

The age-cohort analysis relies on the fact that people who were, for example, aged 10 at the time of the 1951 census would have been 20 when the 1961 census was done. By comparing the bilingualism data for each age-group with the data for the group ten years older in the next decennial census, the patterns of reported bilingualism emerge. Despite the fact that there is patterned variation in the numbers of speakers, who are bilinguals according to

⁵ Most sociolinguistic studies tend to be one-shot affairs, instead of a longitudinal study which repeatedly studies a population over the years. See also sec. 1.6 below.

age, these patterns are not necessarily evidence of change in time, but are a case of age-grading. French Canadians in Montreal used English only when it was demanded by particular domain, such as employment, and evidently gave up its use as soon as they no longer functioned in that domain, such as following retirement.

In the absence of census data, Lieberman (1980) suggests that a researcher should ask 'retrospective questions' which provide a means for determining longitudinal change when data can be gathered at only a single point in time. One asks not merely about present usage patterns but also about past patterns of usage of the individuals. The inter-generational change can be studied this way, e.g. one can compare the language choice of young adults presently with the retrospective answers given by those who are somewhat older.

Thus, a better way of interpreting age-correlated data, as evidence of change, is to explore the past history of the community under study. Gal (1979) produced historical evidence that showed that in Oberwart the correlation of language use with age was to be interpreted as an indication of change through time.

Fasold (1984) citing Lieberman's (1972) study in Montreal points out that the census data has two great advantages that cannot be easily duplicated in ethnographic research. Firstly, it provides a huge quantity of data, i.e. the data represent not scores of hundreds of people from a small village, but hundreds of thousands of people in a major city; and secondly, the data covers a very long period of time. However, the census data can be very misleading, for instance, the intentional distortion of

the data by the government taking the census can distort the results. The type of question asked in the data will affect the kind of results obtained. Lieberson (1967) points out in detail the possible errors associated with census data, as well as the advantages of census data. Census data can become the source of considerable insight if it is used and handled carefully, as done by Lieberson in his study among French Canadians.

1.6 Conclusion

In this section, I shall discuss why and what theoretical approach I am going to employ in this study.

The number of historical, cultural, social, economic, political, psychological and linguistic factors which are involved in the process of language maintenance and language shift is so large, and their interaction is so complex, that the formulation of a single model to investigate the phenomenon in all its complexity is not straightforward. The literature review in this chapter has clearly demonstrated this besides being voiced by others (e.g. Mukherjee 1980, Appel and Muysken 1990, Baker 1993). Fishman's model (sec. 1.1.1) is one of the earliest and widely used models in this area of study. Its strength lies in the fact that it does identify and discuss comprehensively the three most relevant dimensions for such a study. However, this model has weaknesses.

Although Fishman's model talks about the inter-relationship between the three major dimensions, viz. social, cultural and psychological processes, behaviour towards language, and habitual language use, it does not take into account the inter-relations between a large

number of factors involved in the first dimension. Here, Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) provide a unified model called 'ethnolinguistic vitality' (sec. 1.3.1).

But this model of Gile's et al. fails to provide a link between 'subjective' and 'objective' aspects of ethnolinguistic vitality. The 'objective' structural factors do not solely explain how subjective vitality is developed in a contact situation (Williams 1992, Landry and Allard 1994a). As Ross (1979) rightly points out (sec. 1.3), that the 'us-feeling' or 'us-against-them feeling' constructing an identity may override the significance of objective factors in certain circumstances (e.g. see LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1982). This is what Gal (1979) refers to as the 'intervening processes' (sec. 1.4.2). This subjective dimension of the development of ethnolinguistic 'identity' cannot be seen in Fishman's deterministic approach to society (secs. 1.0, 1.1. 3, 1.2).

Fishman's deterministic approach is nowhere more evident than in his definitions of the notions of 'diglossia' and 'domain' (sec. 1.1.1.3) linking his second and third dimensions, i.e. behaviour towards language and habitual language use. He views diglossia as representing an enduring 'societal arrangement' (Fishman 1980: 3). There is ample evidence that in many societies two languages exist in a diglossic situation. But 'behaviour towards language' in reflecting the majority's language being High and the minority's language being Low should not necessarily imply that in these societies the two communities have a 'societal arrangement' for this division. In order to establish whether this arrangement is real or imposed by the majority, researchers must explore

the 'how' and 'why' (Conflict Perspective; sec. 1.2) of the diglossic division.

Fishman's view of 'societal arrangement' in terms of functional distribution of languages in High and Low domains governed by societal 'norms of appropriacy' can be questioned on similar grounds as above. While the dominant group may view the use of the minority language in High domains as 'trespassing' (Eckert 1980), the minority group may see it as their 'right', or it may see the use of dominant language in Low domains as 'intrusion'. This is one way in which Fishman's definition of 'domain' is too rigid and deterministic. Another way in which it is too rigid and deterministic is in the way it views individuals simply following societal 'norms of appropriacy' in their language use practices in a mechanical fashion.

Although individuals' choices may be socially determined, as the studies relating to the individual-oriented perspectives (Giles et al. 1977, Le Page 1975b, Gal 1979, Gumerz 1982) in section 1.4 rightly assert that individuals are active agents who make their language choices strategically and creatively. My view of domain incorporates this argument which is less rigid and deterministic.

Thus, in the light of the above discussion, I consider that a study of the phenomena of language maintenance and shift among ethnolinguistic minorities requires a multi-model theoretical approach. Therefore the present research of the phenomena among Panjabi Hindus will involve a synchronic and diachronic study of the inter-relations among three major dimensions, viz: the objective ethnolinguistic vitality, the subjective ethnolinguistic

vitality (with a strong 'language attitude' component), and the habitual language use, at both macro and micro levels. Furthermore, I shall be guided by Williams' (1987) argument that language survival does not depend so much on whether it can adapt to modern conditions, but it depends on aspects of power involving social groups in conflict.

This multi-model theoretical approach will be supported by a multidimensional methodological approach (sec. 1.5): survey techniques, i.e. questionnaires and language diaries; and interviews and ethnographic observations (Chapter 3).

As pointed out in the introductory chapter (sec. 0.8), chapter 2 will look at the development of the objective ethnolinguistic vitality of the community since their arrival in this country. It will also explore the diachronic aspect of the sociocultural values and sociolinguistic attitudes that PHs brought with them. This will provide the context in which the PHs' subjective ethnolinguistic vitality, in chapter 4, will be interpreted.

Chapter 5 will provide the synchronic aspect of the habitual language use of PHs which will then be compared with their diachronic aspect of language use in chapter 6. Ideally, the study of habitual language use at more than one point in time (Fishman 1964, 1971a) should involve a longitudinal study. However, this was beyond the scope of this study. Therefore, I followed Lieberman's (1980) suggestion (sec. 1.5.2.1) that a researcher should ask 'retrospective questions' which provide a means for determining change over time when data can be gathered at

only a single point in time. This is how the diachronic aspect of language use is incorporated in this study.

Finally, since the most basic condition associated with studies of the phenomena of language maintenance and shift is societal bilingualism, and not individual bilingualism, the emphasis in this study is more on the macro aspect than on the micro aspect of bilingualism.

Chapter 2: PANJABI HINDUS IN SOUTHALL

2.0 Introduction

As discussed in the last chapter, the objective ethnolinguistic vitality (OEV) and sociolinguistic history of a community are significant issues for the study of the phenomena of language maintenance and shift. These issues shape attitudes and practices of individuals and communities which, in turn, influence the phenomena. Attitudes and practices of Panjabi Hindus cannot be interpreted without first considering: (i) the changing socio-political conditions in Britain since their arrival in this country; and (ii) their shared sociolinguistic history here in Britain and in their country of origin in the past with other South Asians, particularly with other Panjabis. Therefore, in this chapter the discussion of the issues relating to OEV and history will be focussed on the South Asians in Southall, generally.

The first section of the chapter deals with the OEV of the South Asian community (among whom Panjabis are a majority) in Southall. It explores the patterns of migration, demography, employment and working conditions, economy, housing and education; and also looks at the development of the ethnolinguistic minority status of the South Asians in Southall.

The second section of the chapter explores their socio-cultural tradition with regards to the individual's role in the family and the community. The final section charts sociolinguistic events from 1880s to 1980s in India which have shaped various ethno-religious identities among Panjabi speakers; and how the ethno-religious conflict has

led to the development of Panjabi speakers' association with different languages and scripts.

My discussion will draw on the literature written about the South Asians in Southall and elsewhere in Britain, and on my ethnographic observations and interviews with various members of the South Asian community (such as community leaders, businessmen, school teachers, etc.) in Southall. Unless attributed to the written literature, the information presented will be from the latter sources.

2.1 Southall: The Town

According to a report by the Economic Intelligence Unit (EIU Report 1967), the former Middlesex Borough of Southall was incorporated into the Greater London area in 1965. It became a part of the enlarged borough of Ealing, comprising the old boroughs of Acton and Ealing besides Southall. The town is situated on both sides of the Uxbridge road. It is bounded to the north by Western Avenue and to the south by the M4. The main London-Oxford railway line also passes through Southall. According to the above report, the population of the area grew steadily between 1861 and 1950 after the building of the railway in 1838-39. By 1914, most of the land south of the Uxbridge road, in the vicinity of Southall station and along the Northwood road, had been built up with terraced houses, a characteristic of the early 1900s. The northern part of the town was developed in the years between the two World Wars.

The presence of good road and rail communication and the closeness of Heathrow airport helped in attracting a wide range of industry to the area. Acton, Park Royal, Greenford, Pervale, Northolt and Southall became one of the

most heavily industrialised areas of Southern England. Southall itself had such well-known firms as A.E.C, Quaker Oats Ltd., Batchelor's (Bachelor's) Peas Ltd., the Crown Cork Co. Ltd., Scott and Bourne Ltd., George Wimpey and Taylor Woodrow. There were, therefore, ample job opportunities in a number of industries either within Southall itself or in the adjacent towns.

Good communications, the existence of low cost housing and the presence of a wide range of industry and transport companies, demanding all types of manpower, acted as a strong attraction for mobile labour: the unemployed between the wars and the immigrants who came to Britain during and after the war. Paddington, Shepherd's Bush, Nottinghill Gate, Acton, Southall and Slough are all in the north west of London lying along a central road axis of communication or alongside the Paddington-Slough-Oxford railway line, which have shown their attraction for the immigrants. Prior to the Second World War it was the Irish, and the unemployed miners of South Wales and County Durham who constituted the major source of outside labour for the growing concentration of industry in the area. Immediately after the Second World War, sizeable Polish communities grew up in these areas, followed in the mid-fifties by a growing number of West Indian, Indian and Pakistani immigrants (EIU Report 1964).

2.1.1 The Pattern of Migration

Much the same pattern of migration has been noted for the majority of South Asians from the Indian Sub-continent, except for East African Asians who came to Britain as political refugees in the early 1970s (cf. LMP 1985,

Alladina and Edwards 1991). The main motivation behind the emigration of large numbers of Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis is widely considered to be economic, that is, their desire to improve their standard of living (but see sec. 2.1.2 below). The absence of entry restrictions prior to the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act and the opportunities for work in an expanding economy encouraged a flow of immigrants to the country.

The first South Asian immigrants, mainly men, arrived in Southall in the 'boom' years of the 1950s as a response to Britain's enormous need for an unskilled labour force to replace the English workers who had found better employment and rejected the dirty and badly paid jobs. During this period certain firms around Southall, notably the Woolf Rubber Company actively sought South Asian Workers (EIU Report 1964, 1967). The first immigrant arrivals tended to settle in or near areas where suitable work was obtainable. There was a tendency for later arrivals to live with or close to their fellow countrymen. This tendency was accentuated by the general shortage of cheap accommodation. There is a local tradition that the first arrival began when one Indian ex-soldier sought and obtained work from a former British officer who was working for Woolf Rubber Company after the war. Some of the Indian's friends and relatives were attracted by the wages and standard of living. This company continued to act as a magnet for employment, along with others. In the beginning, the company was employing over 600 people, of whom the majority were Panjabis. Woolf was bought out by another rubber firm P.B. Cow Ltd. in early 1967 and was closed down soon afterwards ('Southall' 1981).

Since Southall is centrally situated in relation to the North West London industrial area, where employment could be found, it continued to attract immigrant settlers. Several firms in Greenford, Ealing, Brentford, Hayes, etc. have been employing a considerable number of immigrants who have settled in Southall.

An additional factor, as important as the employment opportunities, was the existence, in Southall, of an extensive pre-1914 estate of houses, the majority of which were owner occupied. These properties were relatively cheap. The South Asians were, therefore, able to establish a small community in this ward. It is from these roots that the present community grew.

According to Deakin (1970), in 1951 out of the total population of 55,896 only 330 (0.6%) were born in the Commonwealth. By 1961 the total population of Southall had fallen to 52,983 but the number of Commonwealth immigrants had risen to 2,540.

The Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 was expected to curb the increase in the number of immigrants entering the country. However, it had a paradoxical effect in that the immigrant men sent for their wives and children. It was often believed that the impending legislation would be that of a complete ban on immigration.

By 1960, a fairly large number of Indians, mainly Panjabi males, were well established in the area and thus able to bring their families to join them. They had also encouraged and even sponsored their kinsfolk and friends in India to join them. Finance for the trip was provided in a number of ways. The early male immigrants were sponsored by their communities in India. They sold or mortgaged their

land or their wives' jewellery, or borrowed money. Sponsorship was also offered from Britain and in some cases, it is believed that planes were chartered by agents in India who would finance the immigrants (Jung 1985).

The bulk of the immigrants from India, came from rural areas. The majority of them came from Doaba in Jullunder and the Hoshiarpur district (both in the State of Panjab) which is an area only 50 miles across (Thompson 1974). On the whole, most of them were poorly educated (John 1969), but not all of them were peasants. They included farmers, shopkeepers, entrepreneurs and employees. A small number of educated businessmen and professionals also came, although mainly after 1962 (Allen et al. 1977).

The second influx of immigrants came after the 1962 Act. This was the arrival of South Asians from Kenya and Uganda in the early seventies which significantly changed the character (both socio-economically and religiously) of the Indian community in England. South Asian immigrants from East Africa differ markedly from most of those who came straight from India. Many came with substantial sums of money and were in a position to set up in business and/or to buy their own houses. Their standard of education was fairly high and from their experience of living in East Africa and being educated through English they had a relatively good knowledge of this language ('Southall' 1981). A rapid growth in the immigrant community from the Indian Sub-continent in the Borough of Ealing was noticed in the 1981 Census (C[entral] P[olicy] U[nit] Vol.2, 1993).

According to the 1991 Census, out of the estimated 61,158 total population of Southall, 50.3% were Indians, 29.8% white, 7.2% Pakistani-Bangladeshis, 4.9% Black

Caribbeans and the rest in smaller proportions were Black African, Chinese, Irish, etc. (cf. CUP Bulletin No. 2, 1992). Since there is no separate category for East African Indians in the census, it is difficult to say if they were included with the rest of the Indian population in the total count. Even as the figures stand, Indians are the largest ethnic community in Southall.

South Asians in Southall belong to different language groups. The only survey that provides statistics on language distribution in Southall is the Ealing School Language Survey (1985). Pupils in the borough were asked if they spoke any language at home apart from English. The findings of the survey in Southall revealed South Asian languages (Panjabi, Gujarati, Urdu and Hindi) to be the other major languages. The survey suggests that the Panjabi-speaking community is the largest bilingual community (78.7%) in Southall. However, the survey does not give us any further information about the Panjabi community, such as the number of people of different religious backgrounds: Sikh, Hindu and Muslim, and the languages spoken by them. The reason for this may be that the language loyalties reported by respondents make it difficult to estimate the number of first language users of Panjabi vs. Hindi or Urdu (cf. LMP 1985, Nicholas 1988, Mahandru 1991).

My interviews with community leaders from the three religious communities and my examination of the membership registers of the Indian Workers Association and the Vishwa Hindu Temple in Southall suggest that the Panjabi Sikhs are a much larger group than the Panjabi Hindus and Panjabi Muslims. A rough estimate of the distribution is:

70% Sikh, 25% Hindus and 5 % Muslims¹. Considering the total majority of the Panjabi Sikh and Hindu groups, it is no wonder Southall is sometimes referred to as a Panjabi town (Burghart 1987).

2.1.2 Employment and Working Conditions

Black people² in Britain, and also in the Third World, have been used as a source of cheap labour to fill jobs for which whites were not available. In Britain because of prejudice and discrimination, they are usually confined, regardless of their qualifications, to the lowest paid, most physically demanding and least skilled jobs. ('Black Workers' 1986: 13).

According to this survey report 'Black Workers' (1986), carried out by the London Strategic Policy Unit, as compared to 48% of white men, 57% of Asian men and 87% of Caribbean men were in manual jobs in London (and Greater London) and Britain³ in the 1980s. 40% of the Indian and Pakistani employees were semi-skilled or unskilled workers, compared with 25% of African Asian employees.

As pointed out earlier in section 2.1.1, the main reason for South Asians migrating to Britain was that the British industry faced a major labour shortage in the late 1950s. If jobs had not been readily available, there would

¹ Brah (1978) also points out that "The Asians in Southall are predominantly Panjabi ... With reference to the religious groups, the Sikhs constitute the majority, followed by Hindus, Moslems and Christians respectively." (p.198).

² People from the Indian Sub-continent as well as from the West Indies or Guyana are referred to as 'blacks' here.

³ Experience of inequality in employment by the South Asians in Southall (cf. EIU Report 1967; Masani 1979; 'Southall SWP' 1979; 'Southall' 1981; Jung 1985; CUP Bulletin No. 4, 1994) are similar to other South Asians in Britain elsewhere (cf. Rimmer 1972; Morrison 1976; Taylor 1976; Allen et al. 1977; Ballard and Ballard 1977; Smith 1977; Harox and McRedie 1979; Khan 1979; LMP 1985; 'Black Workers' 1986; Hewitt 1986; Holmes 1991)

never have been mass immigration to Britain. Traditional sources of labour, such as Ireland, had dried up so Asians and West Indians were the most readily available source of labour because of their Commonwealth links. In some cases migration was deliberately promoted because of the economic needs of the British industry and in general employers were pleased to accept this answer to their labour shortage (EIU Report 1967; 'Southall' 1981; Rex and Tomlinson 1979; Khan 1979). Governments also quickly recognised that migrant labour was cheap because Britain did not have to bear the social cost of producing it (Runnymede Trust 1970).

Although, for South Asians, the reason for emigrating to Britain was economic (LMP 1985; Alladina and Edwards 1991), it was not so much a question of absolute poverty but rather of relative poverty (Ballard and Ballard 1977). In the areas from which the Panjabis migrated there were few avenues open to them through which they might increase their wealth. So moving out of that system was an obvious and successful way of increasing their wealth. The wealth created in Britain could then be sent back to India to increase the wealth and standing of the family in the village of origin.

The vast majority of the early migrants, whether uneducated or educated, took dirty, poorly-paid, unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in and around the Southall industrial area as these were usually the only ones available (cf. EIU Report 1967). Even those who had some sort of skills found that they were not called on to use them. In industry, working conditions were generally poor and shift work was often involved. The basic rates of pay offered for labouring or even semi-skilled jobs available to immigrants

were low. Their wages were so meagre that they had barely enough money to cover food, clothing and rent. In order to get the extra income to send home, they started to work 60 hours, even 75 hours a week and were soon seized upon by the exploitative management (Jung 1985).

At that time, according to an estimate ('Southall' 1981: 7), "The 20 per cent who spoke fluent English became the interpreters and leaders." These interpreters provided a link between the white employers and the majority of the fellow South Asian workers.

During the early 1960s as immigrant men's families arrived, the growing economic responsibilities of everyday living forced South Asian women too to seek employment. In general, poor English and domestic responsibilities made the majority of them an obvious source of labour for the homeworking industry ('Southall' 1981).

The employment situation began to change in the late 1960s and worsened throughout the 1970s and later. The long boom turned to a slump and unemployment began to rise whilst the standard of living fell. Some industries were hit very badly by the recession and began to lay off workers.

In such conditions a scapegoat was found in the form of immigrants. They were blamed for everything: one day they would be blamed for 'scrounging' off the social security system while the next they would be blamed for working too much overtime and so depriving white British workers of jobs (Foot 1974). This situation was aggravated by the resurgence of racist and fascist parties, by the actions of the government and by hysterical stories in the press (cf 'Southall' 1981).

Blaming the economic recession and the accompanying social problems on immigrants was useful for the governments because it wrongly directed public frustration on to immigrants. South Asians were subjected to increasing harassment from the immigration authorities and police (cf. 'Black Workers' 1986; Housley 1982). Governments passed laws against immigration and this helped to create the belief amongst the general public that there were too many immigrants, that they posed a threat and that they were depriving white British people of resources. Successive governments consistently demonstrated that they were more concerned about being tough on immigration.

Consequently, tensions began to rise in the workplace and in the community between workers and employers, and between white and black workers⁴. South Asians in Southall became more closely involved in organisations such as trade unions and began to take a greater interest in wider political issues. They became less tolerant of racism and less prepared to accept discrimination.

Up until the 1970s, South Asians had more or less accepted racism and discrimination. Neither problem had appeared dangerous and protests about such issues had been polite and directed through British and South Asian officials. The life-style for the first generation South Asians in Britain was an improvement compared to what it had been in Asia, so they were prepared to put up with the low level of racism that existed at that time.

⁴ Studies by Gumperz et al. (1979) and Roberts et al. (1992) have discussed the linguistic dimension of racial discrimination against Asians and Blacks at work places in Greater London area.

In the 1970s, the higher level of racism brought about an angry and militant response from the South Asian youth. Unlike many of their parents, they did not have the rural village background against which to judge their standard of living and achievements. They were much more aware of the wider social environment than their parents, and were more adept at moving within it (cf. Peggie (1979) and Singh (1986) for details). Increasingly in the 1980s, this aspect of toleration came into conflict with the aspirations of a large number of South Asians many of whom had been born in Britain (Holmes 1991).

Unemployment continued to rise and this posed increasing problems for South Asians. Youth unemployment was high too and there seemed little prospect of South Asians moving out of the type of jobs they tended to do when they first migrated to Britain. Roy Jenkins made this point,

If ... job opportunities, educational facilities, housing and environmental conditions are all poor, the next generation will grow up less well-equipped to deal with the difficulties facing them. The wheel then comes full circle, as the second generation finds themselves trapped in poor jobs and poor housing. If at each stage of this process an element of racial discrimination enters in, then an entire group of people are launched on a vicious downward spiral of deprivation. (Quoted in Sivanandan 1976: 367).

Manufacturing industries in which South Asians tended to be concentrated were severely affected by the recession. Over the years many companies closed down in Southall and unemployment became a severe problem with a large rate of 'hidden' unemployment: people who were out of work and did not register (Jung 1985).

According to Luthra (1982), Southall "has a high proportion of unskilled and semi-skilled manual workers,

and is under-represented in terms of professional, managerial and non-manual grades." (p. 27). This situation did not change between 1981 and 1991 censuses and also the number of economically active residents who were unemployed increased in Southall (CPU Bulletin No. 4, 1994).

Luthra wrote in 1982 that "Over the past six years, unemployment has increased almost three times as rapidly in Southall as elsewhere in the Borough." (1982: 27). In Southall, 80% of the local unemployed were South Asians, and about half of them were under 25 (Masani 1979, 1980). According to the 1991 census, the level of unemployment in Southall was significantly above the Borough (Ealing) average of 12.3%. Unemployment rose in the Borough between Oct. 1991 and August 1993 over twice the rates in 1990 (CPU Bulletin No. 4, 1994).

Once trapped in this circle of unemployment, it was very difficult for people to break out and there was no chance of the South Asian community as a whole doing so. Individuals might be able to escape through education, but this avenue was not seen as very promising by the South Asian youth. Parents believed that education offered their children an opportunity to advance themselves, but the youth did not (Rose 1980).

However, it must be stressed that not all South Asians have poorly paid jobs. But, even those who possess good qualifications and are in better paid jobs have usually been undervalued. They are usually at the bottom end, in junior posts or doing routine white-collar jobs. They are rarely in positions of authority. Even doctors are usually junior and very rarely specialists and consultants. Discrimination undoubtedly exists, but the main barrier for

South Asians has been the pre-existing structures they have encountered in the work situations.

Self-employment in the catering and retail sector among South Asians in Southall has increased over the years. Upward mobility or self-achievement is not considered to be the main reason for going into business, rather it is an attempt to escape discrimination and prejudice in employment (Aldrich et al. 1981). According to Holmes (1991), with increasing social deprivation among ethnic minorities in the 1980s racism in the labour market has become institutionalised.

South Asians also came into keener competition for welfare services, such as housing, because they were not able to buy houses. Many became dependent on social services after being made unemployed.

2.1.3 Housing

In the 1950s the migrant came to Britain to earn as much money as possible in the shortest amount of time. As the number increased arrangements became structured by the pioneers who were able to set themselves up as specialists in finding the newcomers jobs and accommodation quickly. As the settlement grew in size these social networks began to be confined to migrants from a specific area, caste or group of villages.

Having arrived in Britain and found a job, Indian immigrants immediately began to send money home. Later, some of them saved their money in order to take it home as an impressive lump sum. One way of investing the money while in Britain was in housing. The houses were a temporary investment which could be sold whenever necessary

and therefore were not a first step in settling down here. In other cases, money was borrowed from friends or relatives, or pooled to buy property as few whites were willing to let to the immigrants. In 1959, the Borough Council was approached by a delegation of white residents in Southall to prevent "coloured people from buying property in the area" ('Southall' 1981: 25). Houses were also bought by the immigrants in anticipation of and after the arrival of their families in the 1960s. Buying a house eliminated rent payment, brought income from lodgers, independence and prestige.

In comparison to whites in Southall, South Asians consistently had a poorer standard of housing, higher density of occupation and poor amenities in all types of tenancy. Many properties in Southall were in poor condition: most of them are nineteenth century terraced constructions and lacked basic amenities as well as being in need of repair. "A family in the area is six times more likely to have no bath or shower than the average Ealing family (3.9% of whom lack a bath or a shower)." (Luthra 1982: 26). The Council's attitude, whether Labour or Tory, has been evasive and discriminatory. It is best summed up by the Tory housing spokesman, Councillor Wood, who stated in 1980, "If Southall families don't want to live in poor conditions , they will have to move out of the Borough" ('Southall' 1981:29). The Council's policy of selling land and council housing to private buyers and their refusal to build new houses meant that in 1980 about 1,500 Southall families were on the waiting list. In many cases, this led to overcrowding with families living four or six to a room. According to the 1991 census, 16% of all Indian households

in Ealing had more than one person per room. Of these households, three out of four households were over-crowded and one out of four were seriously over-crowded (CUP, Bulletin No. 3, 1993). The general attitude had been such that the Council ignored the other environmental problems in Southall. For instance, there was a lack of car-parking, traffic problems and lack of community centres.

However, it must be stressed, that the housing situation is not so bleak for every South Asian in Southall. Those who are relatively more affluent or became affluent and fluent in English, particularly East African Asians, have gradually moved to better residential areas in other wards (Dormers Wells and Waxlow) of Southall from the major concentration which was initially in Northcote and Glebe (Luthra 1982). But, generally the mobility rate among the majority is very low. In fact, none of the informants in this study had moved houses during the five year period when this study was carried out. According to the 1991 census, only 7% of the Indians in Ealing, who live largely in Southall, had changed their address (CPU Bulletin No. 3, 1993).

2.1.4 Education

After the arrival of families from India in the early 1960s, parents looked for ways in which they could advance the chances of their children, and education seemed the most obvious means to this end. But 'black' parents were soon to discover that discrimination was a fact of life in this field ('Southall' 1981).

White pressure groups, in the early 1960s, complained bitterly that their children's schools were being 'swamped'

with South Asians. One infant/junior school had 58% immigrant children in 1964-65. The Minister of Education visited the area and decided to impose a quota of a maximum of 33% immigrant children in any one school ('Southall' 1981). The surplus children were bussed to schools in nearby Northolt, Greenford, Acton and Hayes. Parents welcomed the idea at first, as theoretically it meant smaller classes, more individual attention and above all integration into the English school system for their children, but they were soon to be disillusioned.

In 1967, 1000 children were being bussed to schools; by 1973 there were nearly 3000. The education of South Asian children had become a separate and inferior provision, a division based purely on colour regardless of academic ability. South Asian children were placed in reception classes, often in prefab huts, isolated physically as well as academically from the main school. This separation made them the target for racism and hostility, which led to verbal and physical attacks and abuse. These children were disadvantaged in every way. Parents began protesting and were soon backed by the I.W.A. (Indian Workers' Association), the C.R.C. (Community Relations Council) and the Race Relations Board.⁵ The struggle against bussing carried on into the 70s and did not end until the late 70s. According to one estimate, 1,500 South Asian children were still being bussed out of the town in 1979 (Jung 1985).

The community bitterly opposed this discrimination and mobilised its own resources to provide education for its

⁵ The information in this section, so far, is mainly drawn from the book 'Southall 1980'.

children. In 1969, the I.W.A. set up Saturday schools for South Asian children. Later these were extended to summer schools, literacy classes in English for women and counselling for parents. The Hindi language classes were held in two Hindu temples and a Church in Southall. The classes for the Panjabi language were arranged in the Sikh temples. During the period of this study, the Hindi classes were held on Saturdays from 4-6 p.m. in the Vishwa Hindu temple. In the Ram Mandir temple and the Lancaster Road Church, these classes were held on Sundays from 1-2 p.m and 2-4 p.m., respectively.

Continued efforts by the South Asian community in Southall contributed to a change in local educational provision. These changes were supported by a brief spell of pluralist educational policies: the Bullock Report (DES: 1975) and, in particular, the Swann Report (DES: 1985) in the mid eighties. One of the most significant changes was that Panjabi, Hindi and Urdu were introduced as teaching subjects in secondary schools, and were beginning to be used alongside English in primary schools as part of a transitional education policy.

Three secondary schools, the Featherstone Road School, the Villiers School and the Dormer's Well School, in Southall offered their students the choice of taking GCSE (previously known as O-levels) and A-levels in Panjabi, Hindi and Urdu. However, a lack of coherent educational policy guide-lines meant that each individual school was left to make its own decisions as to how, and to what extent the community languages should be taught. Consequently each school had its own patterns of choices where Panjabi, Hindi and Urdu were placed against, as some

South Asian teachers pointed out, often more popular subjects: either modern languages like French, German and Spanish (as in Villiers School and Featherstone School) or subjects like Accountancy, Computer Science and Secretarial Courses (as in Dormer's Wells School)⁶.

A number of studies (LMP 1985, Tansley 1986, Verma 1987, Reid 1988, Bourne 1989, Martin-Jones 1989, Turner 1989, Reid 1990, Bhatt and Martin-Jones 1992 and Martin-Jones and Saxena 1995) have looked at the development of official responses to the presence of linguistic minority children in British schools over the last few decades. I will, therefore, not provide a detailed analysis of this development, instead I will just outline the main points relevant to language maintenance and shift.

During the 1960s and early 1970s, minority languages were excluded from the school curriculum. The 'interference model' which was a dominant trend in Applied Linguistics then influenced the way in which L1/MT was perceived negatively in education. The publication of the Bullock Report and a major shift in applied language research in the mid-1970s brought about a change in the way minority languages were valued: L1 was not seen as a 'problem' anymore, instead it was represented as an educational 'resource' or 'asset'. The Swann Report in the mid-1980s endorsed the use of minority languages "to help with the transitional needs of non-English speaking children" (DES 1985: 407) in the early years of schooling but took the view that 'language maintenance' should be left as the responsibility of linguistic minority communities. This

⁶ Since the Harris Report (DES: 1990) community languages have become a part of the modern language curriculum.

stance towards language maintenance has not changed in the subsequent official reports: Kingman Report (DES 1987), Cox Report (1989) and the Harris Report (DES 1990). So this bilingual education provision has been primarily transitional in its goal and furthermore, there is no middle school support for the ethnic minority languages.

2.1.5 Southall as a Commercial and Cultural Centre

"During the years, Southall has developed from the stage of having a few South Asian grocers to being a major South Asian business centre." (Dhanjal 1976: 92). The development of such a centre was helped by the arrival of East African Asians, a number of whom had businesses in Africa and had a middle-class background. This is also helped by the fact that many of the Panjabi Hindus from the Panjab had trading backgrounds (Brass 1974). Different shopping areas cover a vast number of businesses, such as: general fabric and clothing shops, jewellers, restaurants and snack bars, dry cleaners, butchers, green grocers, tailors, travel agencies, insurance and estate agents, banks, book and record shops, printers specialising in South Asian languages, marriage bureaux, and many other enterprises. One can also find large wholesalers and import-export businesses. Two main book and record shops -- Atlas and ABC, cater for the needs of all ages and linguistic groups in Southall. The weekend newspapers in English, Hindi and Panjabi from India can be bought here on the following Monday. An extensive range of political, social and film magazines in English, Hindi, Panjabi, Urdu and Gujarati which are available to people in any cosmopolitan city in India, are also available here. South

Asians also have access to Panjabi, Hindi, Urdu and English newspapers published locally⁷ or elsewhere in Britain.

A large number of South Asians from outside Southall and even some other parts of Europe come here on the weekends to make small or large purchases: to buy groceries in bulk at cash and carry shops, or to purchase bridal clothes and wedding finery, etc. (Dhanjal 1976). This is one of the causes of traffic jams in the area, besides poor parking facilities. Families come from other parts of London and beyond. Others who come to visit Sikh and Hindu temples, to attend weddings, or to meet friends or families take the opportunity to go shopping or eat in Indian restaurants. Long opening hours, weekend business and also bargaining as a way of running shops are still characteristic of the Southall shopping centres, thus keeping in tune with the Indian tradition. It is not unusual to hear people chatting or bargaining in Panjabi, Hindi and Urdu here. Southall is truly a multicultural and multilingual shopping area. Until the late 1970s there were three cinemas in Southall, all showing Hindi and sometimes Panjabi films, thus attracting a large local crowd as well as outside audience. However, due to the recent popularity of videos and cable television, they were shut down during the early eighties. Southall can boast the first licensed Asian radio station in Europe, Sun Rise Radio, launched in the late eighties.

Southall has various religious organisations, churches, Sikh and Hindu temples and Mosques. One of the two Hindu temples in Southall, 'Vishwa Hindu Mandir', was

⁷ Such as, Amar Deep (Hindi), Des Prades (Panjabi), India Times (English), Panjab Times (Panjabi), Sandesh International (Panjabi), Southall Gazette (English).

established in the early eighties. This temple is bigger, better decorated and has more visitors than the other temple, Ram Mandir, which was built in the late seventies. The reason for its popularity is that it is situated in the centre of the town and its upper hall can be used for wedding parties and other social gatherings. Its beauty and the facilities for social gathering not only attract the Hindus from neighbouring towns but also from central London. Facilities like classes in Hindi, classical Indian music, dance, weight-lifting, etc., provided in the upper hall also attract people from all of these areas.

However, the South Asian characteristics of the town make it susceptible to the political activities of fascist groups and racial attacks ('Southall' 1981).

2.2 Individual, Family and Society: Indian Socio-cultural Tradition

In the last chapter, I discussed the theoretical debate about language choice in terms of the roles of the 'individual' and 'society'. In this section, I shall explore the individual's position in family and society in Indian socio-cultural tradition.

Western culture views the fundamental social unit as being the autonomous individual (Dumont 1965, Tufte and Myerhoff 1979). In contrast, Indian culture tends to take a more social and holistic view of the individual and regards interdependence in hierarchical relationship as both natural and normatively desirable (Dumont 1970, O'Flaherty et al. 1978). Role-related interpersonal responsibilities and their violation, such as disloyalty to friends and colleagues, infidelity to spouse and non-caring behaviour towards family members (Miller and Luthar 1989), tend to be

characterised as 'personal' issues in the western culture, whereas in Indian culture, and Hindu culture in particular, they are seen as 'moral' issues (Miller 1991). According to Parekh (the text in brackets is given by me):

They (preconditions of rule-governed relationship) were created in the West as a result of the rise of individualistic bourgeois-liberal society in which men, each self-contained individual, relate and can only relate to each other by means of 'impersonal' rules. The Indian society is not a bourgeois-liberal society, for not the individual but the family is its basic social unit... What is achieved by an appeal to authority in the West (an "impersonal" act) is achieved by means of persuasion, appeal, and force. The father's 'authority' is based on all three; the mother's only on 'appeal'. (1986: 2)

As already mentioned, the South Asians in Southall are predominantly Panjabi. In the Panjab, in both India and Pakistan, Ballard (1990) states that "...all Punjabis, be they Moslem, Sikh or Hindu, follow the same basic set of kinship conventions⁸, in which patrilineal descent and patri-virilocal residence are the guiding principles."(1990: 229). He adds that the ideal family consists of a man, his sons and grandsons along with their spouses and unmarried daughters. Together, they form a strong cooperative group, live under the same roof, and draw on their common material resources jointly. Their personal relationships are sustained intensively within the family circle. The family also constitutes the basic building block in the local social structure. So "It is above all as members of their families, rather than as lone individuals, that Punjabis participate in the wider world." (1990: 229).

⁸ However, he does point out some differences among the three religious groups, e.g. Panjabi Sikhs and Hindus do not marry their close kin; Muslim women's public mobility is restricted by the conventions of *pardah*; Sikhs and Hindus cremate, while Muslim bury their dead.

Among Hindus and Sikhs the tradition is that the father, the mother and the guru are always to be obeyed (Taylor 1976). Respect for parents is extremely important. The ties between tradition, religion, beliefs and practices are extremely close. Thus, for Hindus and Sikhs an arranged marriage is one of their most sacred duties and it is seen as a crucial test of the parents' success in raising and training the younger generation into their cultural tradition.

In the traditional village environment choice about jobs, marriage partners or religion is in the hands of parents and elders. The head of the family is usually the senior male member and he can intervene in the affairs of the other members of the family. Parallel to this, however, is the notion of mother dominance (James 1974). The extended family is the main social unit and it functions as an economic, moral and jural entity. Wives are expected to clean and cook for their husbands who are expected to discipline the children. On the one hand this closeness means that everyone's actions constantly come under scrutiny but on the other it means security and a strong sense of belonging on which to fall back. As Wilson puts it, "To break out of the family's arm-lock you also have to cast off its embrace" (1978: 106).

The notion of family honour is extremely strong and actions which threaten it may be harshly dealt with. According to Anwar (1976), family prestige is unanimously viewed as sacrosanct. Girls especially are watched very carefully because if they bring disgrace upon the family, the family can be ostracised, treated with contempt and their other children may not find marriage partners (Wilson

1978). Because of the close family ties, children remain very dependent on their parents even after they are married. Girls are brought up to find fulfilment in caring for their children. In their teens, girls' activities increasingly centre on the home whereas boys are allowed greater freedom to go out with their friends (James 1974, Dhir 1975).

In the peasant societies from which most Panjabis are understood to have come, women are never considered significant contributors to the economic needs of the family. Instead their most important economic roles are production and servicing the labour force (Wilson 1978). Even though lower caste women work in the fields, sons are regarded as more important (Dhir 1975). Women are traditionally regarded as submissive and passive, and they are seen as the guardians of religious and social values. Divorce, while permitted, is disapproved of socially. The arrival of Panjabi Hindu women in Southall in the early 1960s was a significant factor. Although the main spokesmen of Hinduism are Brahmins and ascetic men, it is the active role of women that perpetuates the religious life (Burghart 1991).

From a language point of view, one of the advantages the extended family system has in the contact situation is that the large number of interlocutors in the family, especially of the grandparents' generation, offer children exposure to the mother tongue at home. Even where grandparents do not live under the same roof with their children and grandchildren in Southall, they and other close relatives live near enough to maintain extended family tradition.

Even if a central belief and value system is maintained, it would be difficult to believe that pressures emanating from a contact situation would not alter to some extent the South Asians' attitudes, particularly in the case of the second and following generations. As I pointed out in section 2.1.2 earlier, unlike their parents, second generation South Asian youths were much more prepared to take direct action to defend their interests and rights as British 'Blacks'. An example of this is South Asian youth battles with police following the racially motivated murder of Gurdip Singh Chaggar in 1976 in Southall ('Southall S.W.P.' 1979; 'Southall' 1981; Singh 1986). Following this event, the Southall Youth Movement was formed, which broke away from the first generation's traditional brand of politics influenced by factors such as caste and religion. At the same time, involvement of the South Asian women in various strikes, such as the Chix strike of 1980, and demonstrations against domestic violence ('Policing London' 1985) brought them into conflict with their traditional roles.

However, as the racial activities increased in Southall, the older generation came around to the younger generation's idea of direct action. The most significant point of conciliation reached when, following the death of Blair Peach, South Asians of all backgrounds in Southall staged a massive demonstration (cf. 'Southall' 1981). This socio-political act played a decisive role in the minds of South Asians in transforming their identity from 'immigrant' to 'ethnic minority'.

Various studies, e.g. Ballard and Ballard (1977), Dhir (1975), Dhanjal (1977), have pointed out various other

changes that are taking place in the contact situation. A study in Southall, Brah (1978), examined the views of second generation 15-16 year-old Asians on courtship, arranged marriage, mixed marriage, dowry, divorce, extended versus nuclear family and the quality of communication with parents. The findings suggested that "change was apparent more strongly at the level of belief than professed practice." (p. 206).

Panjabis who have migrated from the Indian continent may identify with a central belief and value system markedly in contrast with the "western" system, however, as we shall see in the following section, they do differ from each other in their sociolinguistic attitudes.

2.3 Sociolinguistic Attitudes: The Historical Background

Definitions of Panjabi, Hindi and Urdu as 'languages' have been fiercely contested (cf. Gopal 1968:50; Saksena 1927:1; Rai 1984:18) and exploited as political resources in ethno-religious conflicts in the history of the Panjab. I will, first, briefly explore how these languages are defined and then look at the reasons behind such conflicts.

Panjabi belongs to one of the major languages of the North-Western subgroup of the Indo-Aryan languages. As Le Page (1980: 3-4) points out:

The name of Punjabi was applied first to the political and geographical region of 'the five rivers'; then the people living in that region; and finally to the linguistic usage of those people, that usage forming part of a continuum across the region from Lahore (now in Pakistan) to Delhi (in India).

The status of Panjabi as a distinct language or a dialect has been a focus of debate for a long time. The modern Panjabi language was considered to be a corrupted

form of Western Hindi. Grierson (1927) in the 'Linguistic Survey of India' (vol. I, Part I) distinguishes the language of East Panjab from that of West Panjab thus:

The whole Panjab is the meeting ground of two entirely distinct Indo-Aryan languages,--viz, the old Outer language strongly influenced by Dardic, if not actually Dardic, which expanded from the Indus Valley eastwards, and the old Midland language, the parent of modern Western Hindi, which expanded from the Jamna Valley westwards. In the Panjab they overlapped. In the Eastern Panjab the wave of Dardic with old Lahnda had nearly exhausted itself, and the old Western Hindi had the mastery, the resulting language being the modern Punjabi. In the Western Panjab, old Western Hindi wave had nearly exhausted itself, and the old Lahnda had the mastery, the resulting language being the modern Lahnda...Lahnda may almost be described as a Dardic language infected by Western Hindi, while Punjabi is a form of Western Hindi infected by Dardic (p.135).

Gopal points out that "The contents of the Sikh 'Granth', though written in the Gurmukhi character, are mostly in old Hindi, only a few of the hymns...being composed in Punjabi" (1968:50). This sacred book, according to him, is an illustration of the period of transition of Hindi to Panjabi.

With the invasion of Muslims from Persia and Central Asia, a new language-contact situation of Persian and KhaRi Boli (Hindi) gave birth to another sociolinguistic code, 'Urdu' (Saksena 1927 :1). However, Shirani (1929) traces the root of Urdu from Panjabi. But Rai (1984) disagrees with Shirani's claim that the words mentioned by Shirani as Panjabi are Hindi words (derived from Sanskrit) and not Panjabi words.

Whatever the reality, the confusion about identifying different words with different languages clearly shows the fluid state of the languages that existed in the North-Central region of the Indian Subcontinent (now

divided between India and Pakistan). Khubchandani (1979) calls it a 'melting pot' situation. He states that on the basis of the communication patterns prevailing among different speech groups and the identificational (symbolic) characteristics attached to their language, the North-Central region of the Indian Sub-continent is treated as a unified communication region and labelled the "Hindi-Urdu-Punjabi" (HUP) Region or simply the "Broad Hindustani" Region. This region forms a dialect continuum where forms of speech vary gradually and almost imperceptibly from one village to the next.

Although Panjabi is written in Gurmukhi script, it shares many features with Hindi. According to Burling (1970), the differences between Panjabi and Hindi are largely grammatical, and, in particular, morphophonemic differences are quite sharp. The greatest part of the lexicon is common to both the languages. It differs only by regular and readily recognizable phonological rules. One may assume that the similarities between the two languages help to make it easy for Panjabi speakers to borrow Hindi forms and, thus, perhaps, for Panjabi Hindus to opt for Hindi⁹.

Khubchandani(1979) points out that in the Panjab region, on the Indian as well as on the Pakistan side, the mother tongue census (Census 1951 and 1961) returns seem to

⁹ It must be stressed here that it is the Panjabi-Hindi-Urdu multilingualism that exists among Panjabi speakers in the Panjab and dialectal continuum across the adjoining states, Delhi, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh which gives the impression of Panjabi and Hindi-Urdu being mutually comprehensible. But for a 'monolingual' Hindi speakers who live away from these dialect continuum areas, say in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh or Rajasthan, it would be quite difficult to understand Panjabi spoken by a speaker from the rural Panjab.

be tied up with religious affiliation. He states that the Sikhs are the only ones in the region who report Panjabi as their mother tongue, and Hindus show preference for Hindi, and the Muslims for Urdu, although one does not notice any sharp distinction in the speech of these three religious groups when language is actually used in primary communication. He further observes that those who regard *Panjabi in Gurmukhi Script* as a fit vehicle for formal communication (particularly in the fields of education and administration) declare Panjabi as their mother tongue; those who regard *Hindi in Devanagri Script* for such purposes declare Hindi as their mother tongue; and those who regard *Urdu in Perso-Arabic Script* suitable for such purposes declare Urdu as their mother tongue. Le Page (1980) looks at this situation from the point of view of 'a language', 'our language', and 'focussed' and 'diffused' societies. He states:

although the identity of "Punjabi" as a language is kept in focus by the literature and education of Sikhism, that of "Hindi" (or Urdu) as a language has become more diffuse through contact with those Punjabis who now claim to speak "Hindi" (or Urdu) without in fact altering their vernacular usage (Le Page 1980: 4).

2.3.1 The Development of Panjabi Hindu, Panjabi Sikh, Panjabi Muslim Identities (1880s-1980s)

According to Brass (1974), the Hindi-Urdu controversy in the Panjab arose for the first time in 1882, a year after the decision to substitute Hindi in the Devanagari script for Urdu in Perso-Arabic script in Bihar. The demand in the Panjab by urban Hindus was the same and it was seen by both sides as an aspect of Hindu-Muslim communal conflict. Sikhs made similar demands in favour of Panjabi.

But neither Hindus nor Sikhs could succeed in replacing Urdu as a medium of instruction in primary schools in the Panjab. The spread of vernacular languages, Hindi and Panjabi, was brought about largely by private agencies through the education and publishing efforts of such organisations as the 'Arya Samaj' for Hindi and the 'Chief Khalsa Diwan' for Panjabi. What began as a movement to replace Urdu by Hindi soon developed into a three-way conflict between Urdu, Hindi and Panjabi.

Being situated in the strategic Gangetic Plain, historically, the Panjab experienced repeated waves of conquerors and migrants from its North-West. The Hindus of the plains, unlike the Sikhs and Muslims, had not ruled over the Panjab after the thirteenth century when the Moguls established their reign there. With a history of continuous dominance by foreigners, adaptability became essential for the Panjabis. Jones (1976) points out that during the Muslim reign in India, the cultural contact between the Islamic and Hindu worlds created a historical situation in which the Hindus "learned Persian and adjusted to a foreign culture, created new forms of identity, and new concepts of self" (1976 :2). With the emergence of Sikhism, a new indigenous religious group - the Sikhs, started asserting a fresh identity directed initially against Muslim dominance. However, by the mid nineteenth century, due to a lax orthodoxy under the reign of the Sikh Maharaja, Ranjit Singh, there was widespread development of traditional Hindu customs and rituals among Sikh subjects (cf Shackle 1986). It seemed to some Sikh traditionalists that Sikhs as a group, distinct from the Hindus, would soon disappear altogether, which led to the

Sikh community's increasing conscious redefinition of its own identity.

The position of the Panjabi Hindus became weaker because there was heavy conversion from Hinduism to Sikhism. By the end of the 19th century the Hindus, faced with the threat of three converting religions-- Islam, Sikhism and Christianity, were reduced to a minority (Mukherjee 1979). According to the 1891 census report, the Panjabi Hindus represented 40% of the Panjab province and continued to decline in the following census reports (Brass 1974). Left with no political power, the Hindus were unable to protect themselves from these competing religions and feared the eventual extinction of their community. As a result of this communal insecurity, by the end of the 19th century Dayanand's 'Arya Samaj' (a Hindu revivalist movement advocating the cause of Sanskrit and Hindi) was well-founded in the Panjab. As Jones (1976: 66) pointed out:

Arya ideology filled the psychological vacuum felt by marginal and alienated Hindus striving to relate both to their parental world and the new anglicized reality of British India. The class interests of an emerging Hindu elite converged with Arya ideology which stressed literacy and the need for Vedic knowledge. ... The threat of apostasy cast gloom over the rewards inherent in the new economic opportunities. Aryas would provide an answer to this dilemma, a chance to acquire English education without fear of conversion or the loss of one's soul to Christianity or godless materialism.

This new identity for the Panjabi Hindus, and their struggle to maintain its foothold, was introduced in the foundation of a large number of Dayanand Anglo-Vedic (D.A.V.) and Anglo-Sanskrit schools in the Panjab. Prior to the 'Arya Samaj' movement, the Panjabis of all religions-- Hindu, Muslim and Sikh, learned the language of the court,

i.e. Urdu. Urdu was the medium of instruction at the school level and a commonly used second language for all Panjabis. With the rise of the Hindi and Panjabi separatist movements, the dominant status of Urdu began to decline. Gradually, Urdu came to be associated with the Muslims, Panjabi with the Sikhs and Hindi with the Hindus (Brass 1974). The D.A.V. schools which placed high stress on Hindi and Sanskrit catered for the need of a large majority of Panjabi Hindus who, because of their rising insecurity, turned to their religion and cultural heritage for revitalization.

In 1882, through establishment of schools to teach Hindi, the vernacular of the country, the Lahore Hindu Sabha hoped to protect Hindu interests (Brass 1974: 65). With the spread of Arya Samaj there were many schools where Hindi replaced Urdu and Hindi came to acquire the status of a second language for the Panjabi Hindus. In D.A.V. schools Panjabi was not taught at any stage, whereas Hindi was compulsory from 1st to 6th standard. Thus a new generation of Panjabi Hindus educated in these schools came into being who had their education in Hindi, rather than in Panjabi (the new chosen language in education of the Sikhs) or in Urdu and were totally alienated from the literacy traditions of both. Panjabi for them was only a spoken language as it was for all the communities.

As religious divisions became institutionalised in the creation of the new nations of India and Pakistan in 1947, 'language' became more closely associated with national and religious identity. Urdu written in Perso-Arabic script and spoken by educated Muslims was declared as the national and official language of Pakistan.

Hindu-Sikh divisions which previously had been submerged by a common cause against the Muslim domination, and later against the British Raj, developed a greater intensity after the independence of India. The insecurity of the Hindus increased with the demand for a linguistically homogeneous Panjabi state by the radical leaders of the Sikh 'Akali Party' (Barrier 1981). This group of leaders identified Panjabi with Gurmukhi script and thus, with the religious particularism of the orthodox Sikhs. As a reaction to this exclusive association of Panjabi with Sikhism, a large number of Hindus rejected Panjabi and claimed Hindi as their mother tongue in the censuses. This led to a stronger Hindu-Sikh division. The confusion created by this division was reflected in the subsequent census language returns. As Das Gupta (1970: 153) points out:

As a result of these political agitations the census authorities were constrained to abandon the separate tabulation of Hindi and Punjabi speakers in 1951. One interesting consequence of this battle over census returns was that in the All-India Census tables, Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi and Hindustani were grouped together. At the national level the Hindi leaders claimed the combined total of these language speakers, whereas at the state level the Hindi leaders were engaged in bitter struggles against Urdu, Punjabi and Hindustani. Evidently, the propensity to conveniently expand and contract the definition of Hindi was dictated by the need to use Hindi as a political resource in specific conflicts.

In their eagerness to propagate the cause of Hindi and to retain the high numbers of Hindi speakers, the Hindi leaders also popularly advocated the idea that "Urdu and Punjabi are mere variation of Hindi" (Das Gupta 1970:158). The more radical Hindu groups associated with the Arya Samaj took the position that the Panjab was primarily a Hindi-speaking state in which Hindi should be

the sole official language and in which Panjabi should be recognized only as a minority language; whereas the extreme Sikh group, the Sikh Akali Dal, demanded just the opposite, favouring Panjabi. In 1966, such conflicts eventually led to the division of the former state of the Panjab into two states, Panjab and Haryana, with Panjabi and Hindi, respectively, as their state official languages¹⁰.

Panjabi became the official state language of the new Panjab State. Under the Three-Language National Educational Formula, Panjabi in Gurmukhi Script was taught as the first language in schools, and Hindi in Devanagari Script and English in the Roman Script were introduced in the fourth and sixth years of schooling, respectively. Thus, those Panjabi Hindus in the Panjab who had a strong Hindi-Hinduism tendency had no choice but to learn Panjabi in Gurmukhi if they were to stand a good chance of competing with Panjabi Sikhs in the job market.

Despite their numerical majority in the new Panjab state¹¹, the Sikhs were never politically united. According to Narian (1976), the dominant state Congress Party had the support of the Hindus as well as that of the educated Sikhs, while the Akali Dal's main supporters were Jat Sikh farmers. Against the mighty power of the Congress Party, the Akali Dal and the Jan Sangh Party, the right wing Hindu party, therefore, had no choice but to form an unstable

¹⁰ Hilly parts of the state were awarded to the Himachal Pradesh which had Hindi as its state language. The Haryana state lies to the south of Panjab and around the western region of Delhi which has dominant majority of the Hindi speakers.

¹¹ According to the 1981 Census of India, Sikhs were in a majority in nine out of the twelve districts of the Panjab State. Only in the three northern districts, Gurdaspur, Jullunder and Hoshiarpur (45, 43, 39 per cent respectively) they were outnumbered by the Hindus.

coalition with each other. Together they formed provincial ministries for a brief period during the late 1960s and the 1970s. For the first time in the history of the Panjab, they were able to dislodge the contentious Hindi language issue from the centre of political debate. The Jan Sangh Party for the first time recognised the Panjab state as a unilingual Panjabi state (cf. Shackle 1986).

During the eighteen years between 1966 to 1984, the real conflict was between the central government and the Akali Dal. The central government was increasingly jealous of its authority; whereas the Akali Dal was demanding increased allocation of resources to a more autonomous Panjab and guarantees of the preservation of the Sikhs' status as a minority in India (cf. for detail, Nayar and Singh 1984). It was principally a territorial issue. This continued political conflict was accentuated, in the early eighties, by an increasingly violent cycle of terrorist activities from the Sikh fundamentalists countered by police 'encounters' invoking further reprisals. In this cycle, it was the innocent Panjabis, both Sikhs and Hindus, who too often were the victims. The Sikh fundamentalists also received support from some factions of the Sikhs abroad, in particular, Britain, USA and Canada (Shackle 1986).

This conflict described above, which was deep rooted historically, culminated, in the early to mid eighties, in a carnage in India involving killing, arson and open fights between Hindus and Sikhs in the Panjab which gradually spread almost all over India. It took its worst form after the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in October 1984. The killings of Sikhs in that month took its

maximum toll in the Hindi speaking states of India. As one of the leading English magazines from India reported:

The carnage that swept so much of the national capital and parts of the country last fortnight was an unprecedented, uniform reaction to the slaying of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by two of her own guards. For the first time, it was the Delhi region (with a overwhelming majority of Hindus and Hindi speakers), protected and pampered, that bore the brunt of the anger and the orchestrated, myopic reprisals against the Sikhs. If, fortunately, it was less murderous in the states, the worst was in the Hindi-speaking northern and central states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Haryana. (India Today 30th Nov. 1984 :28)

While the studies in Britain, e.g. Ballard (1990) and Shackle (1986), have reviewed the political developments in India and Britain on the above issue, they have not identified its sociolinguistic impact on the relationship between Panjabi Hindus and Panjabi Sikhs in Britain. The present study tries to address these issues.

2.4 Summary and Discussion

The discussion in chapter 1 (sec. 1.3.1) showed that high objective ethnolinguistic vitality supports language maintenance. The discussion of several factors in this chapter tends to reflect high OEV among South Asians in Southall. Despite the stringent immigration control, the chain migration has contributed to the demographic, cultural and commercial nature of this town which is predominantly Panjabi. This geographical characteristic in itself is an objective marker of the ethnic identity of the Panjabi residents. The lower emigration rate from the town, the low social and economic mobility in main occupations for the majority, the type of housing, which are related to Panjabis in Southall, are generally the factors that have also contributed to the high OEV.

As the theoretical discussion in chapter 1 would suggest, the lower status of the minority languages in comparison to English and the lack of educational support to them does not favour their survival. But, we must not forget the community's voluntary efforts to maintain them through their teaching in religious and other cultural centres. Similarly, the higher level of unemployment as a factor does not support high OEV. However, here we have to consider a combination of factors and intervening processes that support the vitality. Besides their own wish for cultural transmission, the high OEV is the migrants' reaction to the changing socio-political and economic changes in Britain and the nature and intensity of pressures from the host society. As the subjective view of ethnicity claims (Ch. 1, sec. 1.3), ethnicity can develop as a reaction to actual circumstances (Rex 1979).

Southall was one of the first South Asian settlements and it grew into one of the largest. Many affluent South Asians moved out to the neighbouring wards, but returned due to a massive feeling of insecurity elsewhere (Jung 1985). Southall is the only part of the borough where South Asian families feel safe. The South Asians here have struggled for survival in every field: such as, employment, housing and education. Their struggle against social and institutional racism, a product of changing socio-economic conditions in Britain, has brought them closer. This struggle has not only turned Southall into an ethnically self-sufficient community, but has transformed their identity from 'immigrants' to an 'ethnic minority community'.

In section 2.2 of this chapter, I discussed how the cultural traditions of Indians with regard to an individual's role in the family and the society contrast with the prototypical western cultural tradition. Again, the ethnic make-up of Southall appears to support this tradition: while the younger generation may be changing in their attitudes on certain issues, they seem to be reproducing the central value system of the community.

The written literature about the Panjabis in Southall which I am aware of, and have made use of in sections 2.1 and 2.2, reviews social variation at the gender and age level. However, it either ignores or underplays the sociolinguistic divisions that I have observed in Southall and learned through the literature review about their sociolinguistic history in the final section (2.3) of this chapter. The literature reveals that different religious groups of Panjabi speakers have traditionally shown allegiance to different languages and scripts.

However, the literature review in section 2.3.1, and those referred to in the introductory chapter (sec. 0.2 and sec. 0.4), put forward a rather static and a neat picture of linguistic affiliations: Panjabi Hindus with Hindi/Devanagari, Panjabi Sikhs with Panjabi/Gurmukhi and Panjabi Muslims with Urdu/Perso-Arabic. Although these ethno-religious identities have been shaped by changing religio-political conditions in the Panjab since the 1880s, we must not forget that at different stages, pre-1947, post-1947 and post-1966, there were different official language policies, both in education and administration. This fact may have some bearing on the language attitudes and practices of different age groups being brought up in

different periods. Furthermore, similar arguments may apply to the Panjabis from different places of origin: the rural and urban Panjab, Delhi and East Africa.

We shall see in the following chapters that my work corroborates some of the findings from this chapter and not others; and it also unravels the unresolved issues mentioned above.

Chapter 3 METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the methodology employed in this study. In Chapter 1, it was concluded that a study of language maintenance and shift calls for a multidimensional approach which, in turn, requires a multidimensional method of data elicitation. In this study I adopted a range of data elicitation techniques, both qualitative and quantitative: ethnographic observations, questionnaires, diaries and interviews. Since it was also a long-term study, the field work produced a large body of data which was difficult to analyse in its entirety. However, it provided an opportunity to triangulate a particular issue, that is, to see it from several angles. So, in this chapter I shall discuss the questions related to selective parts of the corpus in order to illuminate the major thematic concern, i.e. language maintenance and shift.

This chapter has been divided into four main subsections : procedure, sample, tools and data processing and analysis.

3.1 Procedure

Following the ethnographic tradition discussed in Chapter 1 (sec. 1.5.1), the Panjabi Hindu community was approached from within. The aim was to avoid imposing on the community under investigation any preconceived notions about the structure of language or society. According to Le Page (1968, 1973, 1973a, 1974a, 1974b, 1979), the variationist linguists such as Labov (1966,1972), Trudgill (1974) and Sankoff (1974) started off with pre-established socio-economic categories and chose their sample to fit

these categories. This 'Classical Labovian approach' does not have any potential for finding any other categories than the ones being pre-established. The approach I adopted helped me in approaching the community with an open mind.

Before actually designing the questionnaire for my pilot survey, I made four visits to Southall to familiarize myself with the place and the people of the community under investigation as well as with the members of the other communities in Southall. The pilot survey was a part of this familiarising process which would help me to crystalise my thoughts and plan the questionnaire for my main study.

In preparing the pilot questionnaire, I relied on my own experience with the Panjabi Hindu community in India as well as in Southall during my earlier visits to the place. The questionnaire was lengthy since I tried to incorporate as many questions as possible with the aim of eliciting the socio-psychological and linguistic profiles of the community. The purpose was not to miss out any significant information specific to this particular community and significant for the topic of my study. Some of the questions in the questionnaire were specific, which revealed significant results in other sociolinguistic studies; whereas others were general but specific to the community under investigation.

3.1.1 Contact with the Community

In my previous experiences in field work, I found that a society seldom allows an outsider to enter into it unless the person is trustworthy, i.e. comes through a politically and/or socially powerful, respectable and reliable contact,

or through a friendship network. During 1985/86, it was particularly difficult to enter the Indian community in Southall due to social, political and religious conflicts between Hindus and Sikhs. Furthermore, it was alleged that some Indians had come to Britain as tourists, but overstayed; that they were interested in immigrating to this country and were protected by their friends and relatives here. In such circumstances, a person with a questionnaire and tape recorder was unlikely to be welcomed.

In such a situation, therefore, it was necessary for me to have the right contacts to enter the Panjabi Hindu community. The trust of the people, to some extent, I won when I was provided with accommodation in the Vishwa Hindu Temple premises by the temple governing committee. I won some more trust when I joined a volunteer Hindi teacher in teaching Hindi to a large gathering of around 40 to 50 children in the temple. So this act of offering my help to the community brought me into the attention of many people. Several, out of curiosity, approached me. I took this opportunity to explain the purpose of my presence in Southall. It was here that I found my initial informants for the pilot project.

Another opportunity arose when I talked to many Panjabi Hindus (which could not have been possible at any other time) during the celebration of one of the most popular Hindu festivals 'Nau Ratre' in the temple. During this total period of 9 days of 'Nau Ratre', housewives would visit the temple during the daytime and working men and working women would visit in the evenings. Additionally, lots of children were escorted by their

parents. Throughout the day and night, some Panjabi Hindu families held 'KIRTAN', 'PUJA' AND 'JAGRATA' (various acts of religious worship) at their homes where they had their friends and relatives gathered¹. I was also invited to two such occasions.

By this stage I was no longer a total stranger to many people in the Southall Panjabi Hindu community in Southall. I was becoming an 'insider' as opposed to being an 'outsider' as I was initially. Many people in the community came to know me and the purpose of my visit through a chain of introductions. Quite a lot of them, in fact, asked me to visit them at least for meals saying "why do you have to waste money and eat food outside". Similarly, I was invited to stay with some families for a few days which helped me in observing and getting to know the community very closely.

A close contact with the informants and the intimacy that the interviewer establishes help in creating an informal atmosphere for the elicitation of reliable data. The psychological approach is amply justified by the sociological and anthropological literature on networks and urban subcultures (Bott 1971, Fried 1973 and Boissevain 1975). Sociolinguists have also been developing methods to establish an intimate and informal contact with informants. Labov (1969a) demonstrated how the 'observers paradox' acts as an obstacle in the interviews and suggested means to overcome it. Milroy and Milroy (1978) and Gal (1979) spent several months with the informants and became a part of the social networks where they were doing their fieldwork.

¹ Celebration of such festivals perpetuates religious tradition as well as value system associated with family tradition as discussed in chapter 2, section 2.2.

Trudgill (1974) achieved it by selecting the place where he was brought up for his fieldwork.

I had the advantage of being an Indian as well as being someone who knew both Panjabi and Hindi. The knowledge of these languages proved to be a great asset in winning favour with most of my informants in particular and with the Asian community in Southall in general. However, on the other hand, I was aware of the trap of being 'one of them'. In such a situation, a researcher may be misguided by his past knowledge of and his own prejudices towards the community under investigation which may distort the facts. So I kept reminding myself of this fact constantly and worked with an open mind.

This close contact with the community helped me in my later visits to Southall and helped me in planning the main study.

3.2 Selection of the Sample

Both Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1974a) suggest that linguists would do well to emulate the example of social scientists who follow rigorous scientific methods in selecting their sample. Individuals are selected at random from the total population in such a way that all members of the community have an equal chance of being selected, and are truly representative of the entire population. The sample may be selected from the census report, if available, of the speech community under investigation. Otherwise the researcher can identify the names of the speech community population from the Electoral Register, the list of the members of some social and/or religious

organisation, and school registers. This can be followed by a demographic survey of the speech community's population.

No survey of the Panjabi Hindu population in Southall was available when this study was carried out. However, the 'Electoral Register' and the membership register of the Vishwa Hindu Temple in Southall were available. The extraction of Panjabi Hindu names from any source is a very complex, time consuming and tedious process². Perhaps the complexity of identifying Panjabi Hindu names led Smith (1982) to include provision for identifying only Sikhs and Muslims as Panjabis (beside Bengalis and Gujaratis) in the computer programme for the Linguistic Minority Project (1985). This programme was written to identify ethnic names from the electoral register in London, Coventry and Bradford.

The sample for a pilot project was selected from initial contacts with PHs in the Hindu temple and the names and addresses selected from the Hindu temple's membership register and the Electoral Register of Southall. The pilot project was conducted with 37 informants during the summer of 1986 with the help of a questionnaire. The initial analysis of the data proved in two senses that the sample was not representative of the PH community in Southall. Firstly, the sample was not representative demographically. For example, in some families there were more people from an older age group and less female members than others, and vice-versa. I also found that generally it was difficult to elicit attitudinal data from children under 10 years of age due to lack of response from them.

² See Appendix III (f)

Second, there were more people who believed in Hindi-Hinduism identity. This, although reinforced other researchers' findings of their studies among PHs in India (e.g. Pandit (1978) and Mukherjee(1980)), did not fully match my ethnographic observations in the community. During the early part of 1987, I had begun to come into contact with PHs from a wider background some of whom did not believe so strongly in Hindi-Hinduism identity. I also found that the sample was not representative of PHs in terms of the places from where they emigrated: Delhi and various cities and villages in the Panjab in India, and East Africa.

So, I decided to start off from schools and move onto meeting school children's families. This, I hoped, would give me a better chance to obtain a more representative sample of the PH community in Southall. I wrote to the Ealing Education Authority in 1987 to seek their permission to carry out the study in Southall schools. The authority replied to me in spring 1988 declining my request. The reason given was that schools in Southall were already under great pressure from other researchers. After the initial disappointment, I decided to contact the schools directly.

Somewhere around the end of the school year in 1988, I approached the three high schools: Featherstone High School, Villiers High School and Dormers Wells High School in Southall. The catchment area served by the middle and high school branches of these schools covered a very large part of Southall, although they did not fully cover the northern part. I, therefore, approached the Greenford High School, which was situated at the northern edge of

Southall, in Greenford town. This school had a large number of students from northern Southall. Through persuasion and with the help of recommendations by various community leaders in Southall, I secured permission from the Head teachers of these schools to conduct the study.

The Head teachers themselves wanted to consult and select the informants for the study. I requested that they chose PH children/adolescents of mixed sexes. They complied with my request, but thought that it was appropriate that they should first seek permission from the parents of these children/adolescents. They experienced no problems in persuading the parents. This task was carried out during the beginning of the school year in the autumn of 1988.

In total, there were 20 children/adolescents selected, five from each school, of the age between 12 and 18 years of age. Therefore, the study was carried out among the members of 20 families. The initial administration of the questionnaire (Appendix IIIa) with the children/adolescents took place in the schools. The schools provided me with separate rooms to carry out the task.

During these sessions, I asked the children for their home telephone numbers and contacted their parents. Since the Head teachers of the above mentioned schools had already sounded out the parents about my study while seeking permission for me to carry out the study with their children, I did not experience too much resistance on the phone before the parents allowed me to visit them.

While carrying out my study I wanted to establish a good working relationship with the families. It was necessary to make individuals feel comfortable during questionnaire administration and interviews, and for me to

carry out ethnographic observations. Numerous visits to the families helped me to familiarise myself with the family members. The more time I spent with them, the more they understood the purpose of my study.

By 1988, I had already visited and stayed in Southall many times. Many people of, particularly, South Asian background (Hindu, Sikhs and Muslims) had come to know me. In the families of the children I visited, it was often the case that one member or the other had seen me somewhere in Southall: for example, in the temple, in the shopping area, or with a common friend. This kind of familiarity helped me to secure their trust. On several occasions I even stayed with some of the families, in some cases along with my wife and our son. I had gradually become a part of the social scene of the Southall community. I began data collection through questionnaires at the end of 1988 and continued doing so almost till the end of 1989.

3.2.1 The Sample

This study is based on questionnaire elicitation and interviews with 86 informants, 43 of each gender. Appendix III (d) provides some information on their social background (compare it with Appendix III (e) for the Index Scores).

Table 3.1 below provides the distribution of informants in five age groups.

Total	10-19 yrs	20-29 yrs	30-39 yrs	40-49 yrs	50+ yrs
100 % (86)	34.1 % (29)	12.9 % (12)	20.0 % (17)	16.5 % (14)	16.5 % (14)

Table 3.1: Distribution of PH informants by age groups

There were various reasons for dividing the sample into these 'decennial' age-groups. First, the 'retrospective language use' of informants was elicited in terms of different decennial periods (see sec. 3.3.3.1 below). So, if the current patterns of language use are to be compared with these retrospective patterns of language use for charting the change, then they (the current ones) should be analysed in terms of the 'decennial' age-groups. Second, as we shall see in Chapters 6 and 7, the patterns of language choice of the informants can be explained better on the basis of their sociolinguistic histories if they are grouped together decennially.

Thirdly, as my ethnographic observations revealed, different behaviour is expected from an individual at different periods in their lives. These expectations do shape individuals' behaviour. A different behaviour is expected, for example, from a married than from an unmarried individual, from a student than from an employed person in terms of the different responsibilities they take in the family and in the community. As an individual gets older, s/he assumes different responsibilities. A large number of the informants under 19 years of age were students, a large number of them under 29 were employed and unmarried, and those above 30 were married. As the married informants' age group gets higher and as their children get older, they are seen to be assuming different responsibilities and behaviour. It was, therefore, a combination of different reasons, both quantitative and qualitative, for which it was felt that the informants could be divided into different age groups decennially.

In the following chapters, I shall refer to age groups of '30-39 years', '40-49 years' and '50+ years' as the 'first generation' migrant group; '20-29 years' as the 'second generation' migrant group; and '10-19 years' as the 'third generation' migrant group. However, there was some overlapping between the selected age-groups and the three generations in terms of their patterns of migration. For example, there were a few informants in the age group 30-39 years who came to Britain at an early age with their parents. So they were the 'real' second generation migrants. But the rest of this age group were the first generation migrants. Similarly, there was some overlapping between 10-19 year and 20-29 year age-groups with regards to some of them being the second or the third generation migrants. I would, therefore, like to consider the three generational age-groups as 'notional', and the decennial age-groups in the Table 3.1 as 'real'.

The following Table 3.2 presents the distribution of informants by geographical place of origin from where they or their families have emigrated.

Total	Panjab Cities	Panjab Villages	Delhi	East Africa
100 % (86)	38.4 % (33)	31.4 % (27)	11.6 % (10)	18.6 % (16)

Table 3.2: Distribution of PH informants by family's place of origin

The information shown in the table above confirms my ethnographic observations about the backgrounds of the PH community in Southall. Since the sample appears to be representative of the community, it, in some ways, reinforces and, in others, contradicts the findings from

the literature review in Chapter 2 (sec. 2.1.1) regarding the general migration patterns of the Panjabis into this country. It reinforces the findings in the sense that a majority of the immigrants came from the Panjab and some from East Africa. However, the notion that the bulk of the immigrants from India came from rural areas (Thomson 1974) is contradicted by the sample. This could perhaps be true of the Sikh immigrants from India who are considered to be "predominantly rural and farming religious community" in the Panjab (Mahandru 1991:115), but does not appear to be the same for the Panjabi Hindu immigrants.

If we look at the following Table 3.3, the figures relating to the educational levels of PH informants appears to contradict the stereotypical perception that most of the immigrants from the Panjab were poorly educated.

Primary	Middle	Secondary	College	Univer- sity	Uneducated
2.4 % (2)	15.1 % (13)	54.6 % (47)	18.6 % (16)	8.1 % (7)	1.2 % (1)

Table 3.3: Distribution of PH informants by level of education

The following Table 3.4 provides PH informants' occupations categorised on the basis of Registrar General's Classification (cf. CPU Bulletin No. 4, 1994).

Senior Professional (Class I)	5.5% (03)
Intermediate Professional (Class II)	9.0% (05)
White Collar Workers (Class IIIN)	20.0% (11)
Skilled Manual Workers (Class IIIM)	10.9% (06)
Semi-skilled Workers (Class IV)	12.8% (07)
Unskilled Workers (Class V)	20.0% (11)
Businessmen	7.3% (04)
Housewives	14.5% (08)
Total	100% (55)

Table 3.4: Distribution of PH informants by occupation

Out of the total 86 informants, 31 were students and the rest 55 were in different occupations as shown in Table 3.4. The above employment categories covered a very wide variety of jobs such as: computer engineer, accountant (Class I); school teachers, nurses (ClassII); clerks, civil servants (Class IIIN); electricians, technicians (Class IIIM); construction workers, factory workers (Class IV); and labourer (Class V). Like rest of the Indian population in Southall (Ch. 2, sec. 2.1.2), a larger proportion of PH informants were in semi-skilled and unskilled employment and under-represented in senior professional grades.

3.3 Tools

In this section, I shall discuss the type of data I aimed to collect through questionnaires, diaries, ethnographic observations, and interviews. Questionnaires included both closed- and open-ended questions; questions which required yes/no answers, and those which required responses on three to five point scales.

The discussion of the literature review in Chapter 1 (sec. 1.6) showed the significance of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality, language attitudes and patterns of language choice for a study of the phenomena of language maintenance and shift. Various tools in this study were employed with the aim of collecting the data related to these factors.

There were two different questionnaires used in this study to suit informants' backgrounds: whether they were married or not, still studying or in jobs, etc. The questionnaire in Appendix III (a) elicited information from

school children/adolescents and unmarried young adults at college/university. The questionnaire in Appendix III (b) elicited information from married adults and those in employment. Most of the questions and their referent numbers in these two questionnaires are the same. I shall, therefore, not refer to the Appendix numbers when referring to most of the questions, unless a specific question belongs to a particular questionnaire.

As mentioned earlier, the ethnographic observations and the process of administration and the initial findings of the pilot project helped me in designing the questionnaires. Other questionnaires used for similar studies, such as LMP (1985), were also consulted and the questions in them adapted wherever they were deemed useful to this specific study.

3.3.1 Questions related to Sociolinguistic Background of the Sample

The data providing the sociolinguistic background of the informants was elicited largely through questions 1 to 10. Questions 1 to 8 were aimed at eliciting information regarding the informants' name, address, school/college/university (Appendix IIIa), occupation (Appendix IIIb), sex, age, place of birth, patterns of migration, place of origin. Information about 'name', 'address' was kept optional to make the subject feel comfortable that the information they were providing was used for research purposes and would be kept in strict confidence. The educational background of different schooling, college and university studies, place of study, languages learnt, number of years languages learnt and medium of instruction were elicited through Question 11. The above set of

information was necessary in order to determine the pre-contact and current experience as far as language, culture and education are concerned.

The information regarding the language background of informants was elicited in Question 12. They were asked for the names of the languages they knew and the order in which they acquired them. Their claimed competence relating to different linguistic skills in Panjabi, Hindi and English was further explored through Question 13. In this case they were asked to self-evaluate their competence in these languages on a three point scale.

3.3.2 Questions related to Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality

The information related to ethnolinguistic acculturation was elicited in terms of: informants' views on cultural and linguistic maintenance; their tastes in food, dress and music; their religious orientation; and their views on marriage and relationship with other ethnolinguistic groups in Southall.

In order to elicit the assimilation orientation of the Panjabi Hindu informants, Question 15 gave them three choices as to whether: (i) PHs give up their traditional way of life and fully assimilate into English culture (complete assimilation); (ii) retain the traditional way of life as well as assimilate into the English culture (retention with assimilation); or (iii) do not assimilate at all into the English culture (no assimilation at all).

Question 25 (open-ended questions) elicited informants' perceptions with regards to their preferences for music, dress, and food. Question 26 (open-ended) sought their perceptions regarding institutional support in the

maintenance of minority cultures and languages; they were asked whether schools should provide South Asian meals, teach about their cultures and languages, teach their languages, and allow children to speak their languages in schools.

Question 17 elicited information concerning informants' religious orientations. They were asked if they visited a Hindu temple and/or a Gurdwara (Sikh temple), and how often. In India, there has been a tradition among many Panjabi Hindus to visit both the places of worship. I wanted to explore if that tradition existed among Panjabi Hindus in Britain; and if it did, whether they were still visiting the Sikh temples, after the socio-religious conflict between Hindus and Sikhs in India during the mid-to late-eighties. I also asked them (Question 33; open-ended), following this conflict, whether Panjabi Hindus sent their children to learn Panjabi in Sikh temples in Southall, and whether they marry Sikhs.

Question 18 elicited information regarding informants' exposure to printed media in Panjabi, Hindi and English. The informants were asked whether they read Panjabi, Hindi, Urdu, English newspapers, magazines, etc. 'daily', 'weekly', 'fortnightly, or 'monthly'. They were also asked (Question 25; open-ended) if they watched Panjabi/Hindi/Urdu films on video, national television or cable television.

In order to elicit views on 'ethnic enclosure' (Shermerhorn 1970), I used Bogardus (1925) model of the social-distance scale to measure the social acceptability of different ethnolinguistic groups in a community (Question 23). The idea of looking at the acceptability of

different ethnolinguistic groups by the Panjabi Hindu community was taken from Lambert's (1967) work where he has shown that linguistic prejudices are related to prejudices against people. Question 23 is designed in a fashion where horizontally (on the top) are listed various ethnolinguistic groups in Southall. On the left, vertically, are listed various 'statements' which are socially significant. Statements on the left are vertically arranged in an implicational manner, i.e. the first four belonging to the 'outside' locale and the other three belonging to the 'home' locale. The arrangement is such that the social distance is minimum at the extreme top and maximum at the extreme bottom. This hierarchy implies that accepting a particular group at a particular point on the hierarchy would indicate the acceptance at all other points above (on the list) in the hierarchy. This implicational hierarchy is compatible with Singer's (1972) work on the Indian urban situation where he observed that men strictly compartmentalized their home and work contexts; following traditional customs including the rules of purity and pollution at home and ignoring them at work. It may be hypothesized that in moving from outside to the home locale the social distance will increase, i.e. the social acceptance at home in the family domain will be very little for other communities.

The statement with reference to matrimonial alliance falls in the family domain where social acceptance of the other community may be the minimal. Matrimony, in the context of Indian community, is characteristically an intra-group alliance, rendering it, therefore, an authentic yardstick to measure the social distance between various

ethnolinguistic groups. If the tradition of endogamous marriage is maintained, it helps in sustaining the native language and the culture. The question of marriage within PHs was further explored through Question 29 (open-ended). The informants were asked what they thought of inviting marriage partners from India into this country.

The question of linguistic vitality in the employment domain is significant for minority language maintenance. The information and perceptions relating to employment were explored through various open-ended questions. In Questions 27 and 28 (Appendix IIIa), I asked younger informants: whether they knew the jobs where Asian languages would be useful; if they would like to do such jobs; what types of jobs they would be interested in and where; and the relative importance of Panjabi, Hindi and English in employment.

I asked parents (Question 27, Appendix IIIb) similar questions regarding their children's employment. The parents and other employed informants were also asked about the sociolinguistic environment at their work place. I also explored with those in employment (Question 28, Appendix IIIb) about the patterns of language use in union meetings at their work place. To explore further the ethnolinguistic vitality in Southall, in Questions 30 and 31, informants were asked whether they liked living in Southall and why, and what language(s) was useful for shopping in Southall.

3.3.2.1 Questions related to Language Attitudes

According to Fasold, " Language shift will occur only if, and to the extent that, a community desires to give up its identity as an identifiable sociocultural group in

favour of an identity as a part of some other community" (Fasold 1984:240). Language attitude is one way of understanding how language is used as a symbol of group membership, i.e. a marker of group identity and ethnicity. In the present study attitudes of the informants were elicited towards their "mother tongue" (Panjabi), their language of religion (Hindi) and the language of the host society (English).

Language-oriented socio-psychological data was elicited with the help of Questions 6, 14, 16, 22, and 24. Question 6 was related to what informants thought their "mother tongue" was. As we saw in Chapter 2 (sec. 2.3), this has been a significant issue in the way the ethnolinguistic identity of Panjabis has been defined in the literature.

Question 16 (a & b) explored informants' perception of the significance of 'language' as a symbol of ethnolinguistic identity. They were asked whether they agreed with the statements: "we (i.e. Asian) can maintain the culture and identity of our communities even if we cease to use our languages"; and "our communities should completely abandon the use of our languages and should adopt the use of English everywhere".

Written traditions in a language are expected to act as significant factors in the maintenance of that language. As the literature review in chapter 2 (sec. 2.3) showed, 'script' is the important issue of identity which demarcates the three religious groups of Panjabis: Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. Devanagri (Hindi), Gurmukhi (Panjabi) and Perso-Arabic (Urdu), traditionally, are associated with Panjabi Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims, respectively. The other

literacy skills children are exposed to in Britain are associated with English, French, and German. Therefore, the adult informants were asked (Question 14, Appendix IIIb) in what order they would like their children or grandchildren to learn or improve spoken and literacy skills in Panjabi, Hindi, English, French and German; while children were asked the same question for themselves (Question 14, Appendix IIIa). To probe the attitudes of the parents and grandparents deeper they were asked (Question 24, Appendix IIIb) if their children or grandchildren need to have the oral and literacy skills in Panjabi, Hindi and English.

Languages which serve unifying and separatist functions for sociocultural groups are often evaluated by their speakers. Question 22 elicited informants' attitudes towards Panjabi, Hindi and English on the basis of certain attributes of 'language'. They were asked to rate Panjabi, Hindi and English on a five-point scale for the following attributes: 'sweet/pleasant sounding', 'easy to learn', 'literary', 'prestigious', 'useful for moving in your society (Southall)', and 'useful for employment (Britain)'. The range on the five-point scale represented:

- 1 = 'the most unfavourable attitude',
- 2 = 'a fairly unfavourable attitude',
- 3 = 'neither a favourable nor an unfavourable attitude',
- 4 = 'a fairly favourable attitude' and
- 5 = 'the most favourable attitude'.

In Question 22, the attributes were arranged vertically on the left, while the languages to be assessed were listed horizontally on the top.

3.3.3 Questions related to Habitual Language Use

As discussed in the introductory chapter, the phenomena of language maintenance and shift are considered

to be long-term, collective results of consistent patterns of language choice. Questions 19 to 21 were set to elicit informants' language use data, both current and past.

3.3.3.1 Language Use, Interlocutors and Domains

Language choice at a particular moment is seen as evidence of a person's desire to be associated with the values of one speech community or another. The detailed grid in Question 19 was designed to explore the spoken patterns of language choice of the informants with various interlocutors. I relied on my long-term ethnographic observation in identifying these 'interlocutors' with whom PHs in Southall came into frequent and regular contact in various situations in their everyday life. The informants were asked to report their interaction with only South Asian interlocutors, e.g. South Asian shop assistants or colleagues at work, which would allow them a greater language choice. Even though some non-Asians, like teachers in schools, showed some command of South Asian languages, the ethnographic observations revealed that these language resources were either not exploited or used by them to the extent that they warranted a systematic elicitation.

In Question 19, the interlocutors are listed vertically on the left and the frequency of language use, i.e. 'sometimes' and 'very often', are listed horizontally on the top. The difference between the question in Appendix IIIa & IIIb was that the former elicited language use patterns with the interlocutors 'teacher' and 'student'; while the latter elicited language use with 'spouse', and 'senior', 'equal' and 'junior' colleagues at the work place. The total of 17 interlocutors fall into 5

domains: 'family', 'community', 'religion', 'employment' and 'education'.

As discussed in Chapter 1, analysis of patterns of language choice by domain is useful as it gives an indication of the pattern of language maintenance and shift in a society. Since the family and the community are the major socialising factors in an individual's life, it is here one may look for an indication of a language shift or maintenance. On the other hand, institutional support (or lack of it) for language maintenance is seen within the domains of religion, education and employment (see Chapter 5 for further discussion).

Question 20 elicited information regarding informants' written language use. They were asked what scripts they used for writing a letter/note to South Asian 'friends', 'relatives' and 'officials' in U.K. and in India. During my field work in Southall, looking at the complex multiliteracy practices among the Panjabis, in general, and the Panjabi Hindus, in particular, it gradually became clearer to me that I would not be able to capture the practices fully with the help of a questionnaire alone. The quantitative study needed to be compensated by an ethnographic study of the literacy practices in the community. I shall discuss further details of this particular ethnographic study in Chapter 7.

3.3.3.2 Lieberson's Age-Cohort Analysis (Retrospective Language Use)

As discussed in Chapter 1 (sec. 1.5.2.1), for the age-cohorts analysis, Lieberson (1980) suggests that a researcher should ask 'retrospective questions' which provide a means for determining change over time when data

can be gathered at only a single point in time. The researcher not only elicits the present patterns of language use, but the past patterns as well. Since the decennial Census data relating to language use by the informants was not present, both in this country and in India and E. Africa, I decided to ask informants about their retrospective language use. It is not a longitudinal study, but this is how diachronic aspect of language use is incorporated.

For the age-cohort analysis, I chose a limited number of interlocutors, viz. grandfather, grandmother, mother, father, relatives, siblings, friends and people at school and the work place. The rationale behind selecting these interlocutors was that no matter what place or condition the individuals are living, especially considering the past history of the Panjabi Hindus, they are likely to come into contact with these interlocutors, and also, have a greater chance of remembering their language use with them.

In order to elicit the retrospective language use, informants who were above 19 years of age were asked (Question 21, Appendix IIIb) what language(s) they used with the above seven interlocutors during the time when they were in the age groups of 10-19, 20-29, 30-39 and 40-49 years. The division of these age groups corresponds to the decennial census. (cf. Chapter 6 for further details).

I also wanted to explore whether the language use patterns between British-born informants and their parents changed as the children entered the British school system. That is, I wished to compare the 'post-school' (i.e. current) and 'pre-school' (i.e. retrospective) language use of parents and children with each other.

For the 'pre-school' language use patterns, British-born informants were asked in Question 21 a & b (Appendix IIIa), before they went to play-group/nursery/school for the first time, what languages they used with the interlocutors 'father', and 'mother' (You to parents) ; and in turn what languages these interlocutors used with them (Parents to you).

For the 'post-school' (or current) language use patterns, in Question 21c (Appendix IIIa) I asked what languages their 'father' and 'mother' used with the informants (Parents to you). The current patterns of language use of the informants with the interlocutors 'father' and 'mother' (You to parents) was worked out from the answers to Question 19 (Appendix IIIa).

3.3.3.3 Language Diaries

The survey technique of 'language diaries', as proposed by Ure (1979), reduces the influence of the observer, as well as the limitation of recalling habitual language use by the informants at the time of questionnaire administration. Therefore, to triangulate the findings from the questionnaire data, fifteen third generation informants were asked to write their language diaries for a week. Only eight (4 boys and 4 girls) of the total returned the diaries. The format of the diary is provided in Appendix III (c). Since I was living in the community during this period, I was able to observe some of the events mentioned in some of the 'language diaries', and also, I was able to explore further with the diarists what they had noted down in their diaries.

3.3.4 Semi-structured, in-depth Interviews

In this study, completing the questionnaire was not an end in itself. The aim was to engage the interviewees in conversation where they took the lead in talking about their and others' language practices and values, and other past and present experiences³, such as, social, cultural, employment, education, economic, etc. However, particularly during the recording of the interviews, some focus on the relevant topics was necessary. As Bell points out:

Freedom to allow the respondents to talk about what is of central significance to him or her rather than to the interviewer is clearly important, but some loose structure to ensure all topics which are considered crucial to the study are covered does eliminate some of the problems of entirely unstructured interviews. (Bell 1993: 94)

Although the open-ended questions (Questions 25 to 33) have been discussed in the previous sections, the rationale for their incorporation needs some further explanation. Apart from the information obtained through questions 1 to 24 of the questionnaire in Appendix III a & b, there were certain areas in which, it was felt, a deeper probing was necessary to arrive at some understanding of the socio-psychological and linguistic background of the community under study. Such information, as Le Page (1972) has pointed out, cannot always be quantified objectively through a set of questions in a questionnaire and besides, "statistical methods can so easily give a false impression of objectivity" (1972:7). For deeper exposition, therefore, I asked a few open-ended questions in detail during the interview. This information was recorded on a SONY

³ On such occasions, for example, many informants volunteered information about racial experiences relating to themselves or other South Asians in Southall.

(Professional Walkman WM-DC6) tape recorder. The one big advantage of asking open-ended questions in a relaxed atmosphere was that they triggered off more questions and revealed, as the interview progressed, more about the subjective and objective ethnolinguistic vitality of the community.

In such interviews, along with other cultural information, I elicited informants' assimilation orientation into the host society. Similar interviews were conducted with various leaders and senior citizens from the Panjabi Hindu as well as other communities in Southall. This has helped me in eliciting social, cultural, political, educational and psychological background information about South Asians, in general, and the Panjabis, in particular, wherever they lived, here or the places from where they immigrated.

I also interviewed some teachers from three high schools in Southall. Panjabi and Hindi languages were taught in these schools as part of the school curriculum.

3.3.4.1 Language of Interviews

The language used in the interview plays an important role in the satisfactory elicitation of data. Blom and Gumperz point out:

The linguistic forms employed are critical features of the event in the sense that any violation of the event changes a member's participation of the event. A person who uses a standard where dialect is appropriate violates commonly accepted norms. His action may terminate the conversation or bring other social sanctions. (1972:424)

The language selection for an interview in a multilingual situation, therefore, should also agree with

the social and linguistic norms of the community under study.

I, therefore, used Panjabi, Hindi and English with my informants according to whichever of these languages they used in interacting with me. It turned out so that the languages I used with the older generation (50 yrs. and above) was mostly Panjabi and Hindi, and sometimes English; with the age groups between 20 to 50 yrs. I used Panjabi, Hindi and English; and with the younger age group I initially used mostly English, however I used Panjabi and Hindi as well as they came to know me more.

The questionnaire was written in English and I filled it in myself in each case, for two reasons: firstly, not everyone in the community knew English, so I asked them questions in Panjabi and/or Hindi according to whichever language the informant was using with me. Secondly, many questions in the questionnaire, for instance on habitual language use, could be coupled with questions like 'why' and 'how' to have more detailed answers. The answers, in most cases, would be tape recorded instead of taking notes. I would ask my informant's permission to record their answers in the tape recorder on the pretext that it took me more time to take down the notes and the space in the questionnaire was also limited.

In a few cases, informants were a bit reluctant or shy to have their voice recorded. Some of them said that their voice was not suited to recordings. But the assurance from me that this recording was just for my research, and nobody else would listen to it satisfied them. Furthermore, I never took out my tape recorder at the beginning of the interview, but produced it very casually whilst asking

extra questions. In general, I spent a considerable time with each of my informants and could record long stretches of their talk.

3.3.4.2 Place of Interviews

All the interviews, except in the case of the initial interviews with school children as I mentioned earlier (sec. 3.2), were carried out at the informants' homes. Most of the homes were visited many times to cover all the members of the family. In rare cases, I started the interview just after entering the house. It would usually be after we have had settled down. Usually, people at first would be interested to know about me. During this time, I tried to explain that I wanted to interview them individually and why it was so. In a few instances, I found that the people (other than the one being interviewed) sitting in the room would start expressing their views on a particular topic. However, I welcomed any such intervention. This helped me in observing what languages they were using among themselves. I always showed keen interest in their discussions and views and encouraged them to do so. I was not short of time so I could afford such situations. If my tape recorder happened to be out at that time, I would record that conversation. Otherwise I would make mental notes of the relevant points and would write them down later. Only after the discussion had stopped did I turn back to the person being interviewed at that time and start it again. On many occasions, when I reflected later on various situations I had observed, I would note them down.

3.4 Data processing and analysis

The data from the questionnaires was coded and then was analysed using the 'Statistical Package for the Social Sciences' (SPSSx). Each question, and part of some of the open-ended questions, in the questionnaires were analysed separately. Subsequently, all the data files were merged into a main file which made it possible for me to see *associations* between various variables through cross-tabulations. The variables were not looked at from a *correlational* view point, that is, *cause and effect* between dependent and independent variables. This was because variables were not controlled, but seen as categories emerging from the ethnographic observations showing significant patterns.

The data in the tables in the following chapters are presented in as much detail as possible for the convenience of the reader as well as future researchers. The computational scores presented in the tables are in the form of 'average' percentages, except in the case of Question 22 where mean scores from a five-point scale were calculated (see Chapter 4, sec. 4.2.2). Appendix III (e) presents the data coding scheme: against each variable is given the index scores according to which it is quantified. Only those variables which are relevant to this study of language maintenance and shift are presented.

**CHAPTER 4: ATTITUDES AND VALUES TOWARD CULTURE AND
LANGUAGE: The Survey Findings**

4.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (SEV) in the Panjabi Hindu community. It looks at the sociocultural and sociolinguistic attitudes and values of the informants elicited through questionnaires, interviews and ethnographic observations. Before the main survey, ethnographic work among the Panjabi Hindus revealed that they considered 'language', 'food', 'dress', 'music', 'marriage' and 'religion' as the key ethnic features of their identity. Beside their skin colour, these categories contrast sharply with the mainstream British culture, hence, become defining characteristics of the South Asians, in general, by others.

In chapter 1 (sec. 1.3), I discussed the significance of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality, along with that of objective ethnolinguistic vitality, for the study of language maintenance and shift. SEV looks into individuals' and groups' perceptions of vitality and regards these to be mediators of ethnolinguistic behaviour. Furthermore, SEV is developed through individual's and group's experiences or contacts with other ethnolinguistic groups.

In the first part of this chapter, the sociocultural dimension, I shall explore informants' views on cultural and linguistic maintenance; their tastes in food, dress and music; their religious orientation; and their views on marriage and relationships with the other ethnolinguistic communities in Southall.

In the second part of the chapter, the sociolinguistic dimension, I shall look at informants' attitudes and values

towards "mother tongue", Panjabi, Hindi and English languages, children's language and literacy learning, and language and employment. I shall explore the perceptions towards the roles that Panjabi, Hindi and English play in the construction of various ethnolinguistic identities of the Panjabi Hindus.

Generally, just a questionnaire (Bourhis et al. 1981) is employed by social psychologists to elicit subjective vitality. In the present study, in addition to the questionnaires, interview and ethnographic techniques were employed to gain deeper insights into informants attitudes and values. As discussed in chapter 3 (sec. 3.3), in this study two separate questionnaires were used to elicit data from children\adolescents (cf. Appendix IIIa) and adults (cf. Appendix IIIb). In this, and in the following chapters, unless the respective appendices are specified in brackets, the questions and question numbers referred to will be exactly the same in both the questionnaires. Large tables will be placed in appendices to maintain the flow of the text.

4.1 Maintenance of the Traditional Way of Life

In this section I shall look at informants' views on cultural and linguistic maintenance; their tastes in food, dress and music; their religious orientation; and their views on marriage and relationship with other ethnolinguistic communities in Southall.

In order to elicit attitudes toward acculturation, the questionnaire (Q[uestion] 15) gave the Panjabi Hindu informants three choices as to whether: (i) PHs give up their traditional way of life and fully assimilate into

English culture (complete assimilation); (ii) retain their traditional way of life as well as assimilate into the English culture (retention with assimilation); or (iii) do not assimilate at all into the English culture (no assimilation at all). Whilst 80 per cent, the majority, of the informants believed in accommodation, 3.6 per cent opted for total assimilation and 16.4 per cent for total retention. It appears, thus, that a majority of the informants wish to maintain a dual Asian and British/Western identity.

The informants were further asked (Q 16a) whether "we (i.e. Asian) can maintain the culture and identity of our communities even if we cease to use our languages": 62.9 per cent agreed with the statement, whereas 37.1 per cent did not. These results do not match with the findings of Romaine's (1989: 271) study among Panjabi speakers in Birmingham where all her respondents expressed a close link between 'language' and 'culture and identity'. This suggests, on the one hand, that not all Asians or Panjabis in Britain are disposed to a single socio-psychological view on this issue, and on the other hand, 'language' is not the only or a necessary symbol of cultural identity for every individual or group (cf. Appel and Muysken 1990).

However, even though a reasonable percentage of informants in this study did not see 'language' as a symbol of 'cultural identity', an overwhelming majority of the total sample, 96.3 per cent, did not agree with the statement that: "our communities should completely abandon the use of our languages and should adopt the use of English everywhere" (Q 16b).

Informants were also asked (Q 26) if the Asian languages and cultures should be taught and children should be allowed to speak their languages in the school. A large majority were in favour of this: 82.7 per cent for 'languages taught'; 79.6 for 'cultures taught'; and 75.9 per cent for 'languages spoken'.

The informants thought it was important that the schools should represent the multilingual and multicultural environment of the society. They wanted the schools to take up as much responsibility for the maintenance and development of minority languages and cultures as the minority community did itself. These people had the bitter experience of having the second generation Panjabis go through a school system emphasizing a monolingual and monocultural ethos which alienated the children from their parents culturally and linguistically. While referring to the South Asians, as one second generation informant (No. 38) said, "they realize now through their own negative experiences in the schools how significant their languages and cultures are for the self esteem of their own children".

However, there was a smaller percentage of informants who were against the teaching of Asian languages and cultures, and the speaking of these languages in the school: 17.3 per cent for 'languages taught'; 20.4 for 'cultures taught'; and 24.1 per cent for 'languages spoken'.

Some of these informants rationalised the situation by saying that London had so many linguistic minorities that it would make it impractical to have these languages and cultures represented in the school curriculum. Some of them

did not want their children to speak their languages at school either because of the fear of racist prejudices or because they believed that it would hamper their children's progress in learning English. The latter group comprised the parents who found themselves incapable of providing coaching to their children in English. They were mainly from the rural Panjab.

4.1.1 Food, Dress and Music

The informants were asked what types of food, dress and music they liked (Q 25). Their preferences suggest that while the traditional food and dress habits have perpetuated through the generations, there has been some acculturation into western habits too, particularly in the case of second and third generations.

On the one hand, the family and Southall as a commercial centre together constitute a source for reproducing traditional habits; on the other, school has been a source of primary socialisation into western habits. One of the marked changes, as reported by some younger generation Panjabi Hindus, is the eating of beef¹. To respect the feelings of older generation members, this is done inconspicuously outside Southall.

Panjabi Hindu men wear western clothes (trousers, shirts, jackets, etc.), except on very few occasions, such as religious ceremony at home, when some of them wear the traditional Indian *kurta pyjama*. However, Panjabi Hindu women generally wear the Indian *sari* and *kurta salwar* which come in stark contrast with the western 'skirt' and

¹ Eating beef is sacrilegious to Hindus and Sikhs. The English menu in Southall schools does not offer beef dishes.

'trousers'. These clothes are a marker of their ethnic identity in Britain. Most younger women continue to wear designer *kurta salwar*, while many of them have adopted the custom of wearing skirts, in particular before marriage, and trousers at school or work. At home and on festivals, in the temple and on social occasions in the community, they tend, or are expected, to adhere to the traditional forms of dress.

While the *sari* is a pan-Indian dress, the *kurta salwar* is considered to be a typical Panjabi dress. Some women informants of the first and second generation pointed out to me during interviews that Panjabi Hindu women sometimes wear the *sari* (especially at a Hindu religious activity at home or in a Hindu temple) to project subtly a Hindu identity or a pan-Indian identity. According to them, this is done so in contrast to Sikh women wearing the *kurta salwar*, especially at a Sikh religious activity at home or in a Sikh temple. In terms of a traditional dress code, therefore, there is more change in men than women. The difference between the younger and older generation women is that the former also wear western dresses. It must be pointed out that the Panjabi Hindu men in India do wear western clothes, particularly in the cities, but not so many of them proportionally.

Taste in western music, particularly in the case of the first and second generation² informants, also illustrates their acculturation, as can be seen in Table 4.1 below.

² As pointed out in chapter 3 (sec. 3.2.1), the distribution of different age groups into three generations is notional and not real.

Generation		Third	Second	F i r s t		
Age Group/ Music	Total	10-19 yr.	20-29 yr.	30-39 yr.	40-49 yr.	50+ yr.
Indian	54.1	16.7	40.0	92.9	80.0	75.0
Western	18.0	41.7	20.0			
Both	27.9	41.7	40.0	7.1	20.0	25.0

Table 4.1: Music preferences of Panjabi Hindus (scores in percentages)

The music habits one develops at a young age form the basic pattern for everyday enjoyment of music. This is evident in the preferences shown by different age groups. As the percentage scores in the above table show, a large proportion of the third generation informants (10-19 yrs) like Western music. However, an equally significant percentage of them like both types of music, and a relatively smaller proportion like only Indian music. In fact, the second and the third generation are the only ones who like only Western music. Some of the first generation members also show interest in Western music (particularly the 40-49 yrs. and 50+ yrs. age groups) along with the Indian music (see the row 'both'), but an overwhelming majority prefers the latter.

As I pointed out in chapter 2 (sec. 2.1.5), the Sunshine Radio Station in Southall broadcasts music, interviews, news and other features in Asian languages. The Hindi film music is very popular among South Asians in general. This also becomes a part of passive listening for the third generation as they are growing up. I heard it playing throughout the day in many homes I visited. The Panjabi music listened to by the people in Southall is generally folk music, as well as some film music. During the 1980s, a fusion of traditional 'bhangRa' beat with

modern lyrics in Panjabi and a mixture of Western pop and rock music gave rise to British 'bhangRa' music. Panjabis, old and young alike, dance to traditional and modern disco style 'bhangRa' music at weddings and private parties, and younger generation Panjabis at large community held concerts. This music has developed a distinct cultural identity in Britain (cf. Oliver 1990 for details). Even though 'bhangRa' has failed to become a part of the British mainstream music industry, as Oliver points out, Rampton (1995) has found in his study its interethnic spread among white boys and girls.

It is within this context of a variety of music in different languages available to the community in Britain that informants reported their choices (see Table 4.2 below).

Age Group/ Language	Total	10-19 yrs.	20-29	30-39	40-49	50+
Panjabi	42.7	41.7	40.0	35.7	40.0	50.0
Hindi	67.3	33.4	80.0	92.8	90.0	100.0
English	45.9	83.9	60.0	7.1	20.0	33.3

Table 4.2: Music preferences of PHs: the Language of Music Lyrics

As the total scores in the above table show, Hindi is the most favoured language for the music lyrics; Panjabi and English fare equally³. But different age groups report slightly different tastes in music. Except for the third generation (10-19), the rest of the age groups prefer Hindi music to the Panjabi and English music. On the other hand,

³ Scores do not add up to 100 because informants had shown choices in more than one language. Here, I am only presenting general tendencies to highlight the contrast between languages.

the second and third generation informants who were born and/or brought up in this country show more acculturation to the music in English.

It is only the third generation informants who are more keen to listen to Panjabi music than Hindi music. But this is not the traditional Panjabi music, instead it is '*bhangRa*' music which is more of a dance music than music for listening. In addition, these informants pointed out that their parents are more willing to allow them to go to '*bhangRa*' concerts than to English concerts or night clubs. Such concerts, they said, provide them with the opportunity for courting surreptitiously⁴. Generally, many of the Panjabi Hindu informants see modern '*bhangRa*' music as both cultural revival and accommodation into the Western way of life.

A related factor to music is Indian films which play a significant role culturally and linguistically. Television has played an important role in shaping Panjabi Hindus', particularly second and third generations', interest in English films. However, advances in technology, first videos and then more importantly satellite and cable television, have revived PHs interest in Indian films very significantly. During my work in Southall, it was rare to find a home without cable television.

Among the young and old PHs alike, Hindi films are more popular than Panjabi films. In many homes, they could be seen on at any time during the day. Young children and youth are quite proficient in reproducing catchy dialogues from the films. On the one hand Indian films expose younger

⁴ According to Indian custom, courting is taboo.

PHs to Panjabi and Hindi languages, on the other hand they reproduce the Indian value system with regards to individual's role in the family and community as their recurring theme.

4.1.2 Religion

The religious factors do not stand out as the only ones bringing about a shift in the use of the mother tongue; nevertheless they may be strong secondary factors associated with other aspects of culture change (Ferguson 1982:104). Traditionally, Panjabi Sikhs, and particularly, Panjabi Hindus have revered each other's spiritual gurus and visited each other's places of religious worship. Informants were asked (Q 27) whether and how often they visited places of worship in Southall. The responses are as follows:

Place	Total visiting	Frequency of Visits		
		V. Often	Sometime	Rarely
Hindu Temple	67.1	40.5	52.7	6.8
Sikh Temple	3.7	9.5	71.4	19.0
Both	23.2			
None	6.1			

Table 4.3: Frequency of visits to places of worship by PHs

As the scores in the 'Total Visiting' column above show, a much larger percentage of the informants visit Hindu temples in comparison to Sikh temples. 23.2 per cent who go to Sikh temples visit Hindu temples too. Those who visit only Hindu temples do so more often than the ones who go to both Hindu and Sikh temples. As many informants told me, after the death of Mrs Indira Gandhi in 1984 (see Chapter 2, sec. 2.3.1), they began to visit the Hindu

temples more often; and those who did not visit them at all previously began to do so.

As pointed out in Chapter 2 (sec. 2.3.1), following the death of Mrs Indira Gandhi, the fights between the Sikhs and the Hindus in India also created tension between the two religious groups in Southall. Southall witnessed celebrations of Indira Gandhi's assassination by a faction of Sikhs. Some Sikh extremists even attacked Hindu temples and in one instance threw shoes on the idols of Hindu Gods. In fact, Southall was considered to be the centre of trouble from where Sikh extremists in India received a great deal of support and financial help from those immigrant Sikhs who supported the cause of Khalistan. Here, they had the main office of Khalistan-- a name given to the Panjab as a separate nation. This office was run by the self proclaimed president of Khalistan, Mr Jagjeet Singh Chohan.

Informant no. 39 (who was the leader of the Youth Wing for cultural activities in the Vishwa Hindu temple in Southall) expressed his views on the situation as: "the Sikh extremists are taking out their wrath against India as well as Hindus through their Panjabi newspapers in Southall. They are traitors, untrustworthy, unreliable and religious fanatics." This tense atmosphere in the Hindu block was echoed in many other informants' views on the situation.

The Vishwa Hindu temple provided a meeting point for Panjabi Hindus to discuss a range of topics from political, to family and marriage affairs and to project their identity. As one of the informants (No.57) said, "Temple is a kind of place for social gathering. Parents can look

for matches for their daughters and sons. It is good for showing unity if you assemble together. It is also good to show unity of Hindus as a community".

I had a chance to observe a general meeting in the above temple which was attended by over more than 100 members. The meeting discussed matters concerning the allocation of funds from local council for various cultural activities of the temple. One such matter discussed was the teaching of Hindi in the temple. The dilemma was whether to see the language teaching as a cultural or a religious activity. The concern was that if it was carried out as a cultural activity, it would be too inclusive because Sikhs (as members of the Southall community) could demand the teaching of Panjabi. The decision of the meeting was that the learning of Hindi was a religious right of the Hindus and this was the point which should be argued if they faced any counter arguments from the council regarding the Sikh community's demand for Panjabi. As many informants pointed out during interviews, such a situation would not have arisen in Southall before Indira Gandhi's death.

4.1.3 Bogardus's Social Distance Scale and Marriage

Bogardus (1925) used a Social Distance Scale to study the social distances between large numbers of ethnic groups (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.2 for detail). I adopted the Bogardus scale (Q 23) to determine how informants viewed other PHs and the other ethnolinguistic communities they come into contact with. The ethnolinguistic communities I chose were Panjabi Hindus (PH) themselves, Hindi-speaking Hindus (HH), Panjabi Sikhs (PS), Gujarati-speaking Hindus (GJ), English-speaking White British (WB),

Panjabi Muslims (PM) and English-speaking Afro-Carribeans (AC). These groups differ in terms of language, religion and ethnicity. They are listed horizontally in Table 4.4, with the contexts of acceptability listed vertically.

Groups/ Contexts	PH	HH	PS	GJ	WB	PM	AC	Ave- rage
(1)*	100.0	86.5	39.2	36.5	16.2	16.2	13.5	44.0
(2)	98.0	89.9	78.5	74.7	59.5	55.7	47.3	72.0
(3)	96.2	95.0	76.2	82.5	88.7	68.8	58.9	80.9
(4)	100.0	100.0	88.7	86.2	75.0	75.0	60.7	83.6
(5)	98.7	93.8	87.5	86.2	90.0	81.3	78.6	88.0
(6)	98.7	98.7	93.8	93.8	90.0	86.2	80.4	91.6
Column Av.	98.7	93.9	77.3	76.7	69.9	63.8	56.5	

Table 4.4: Social distance scale for PHs

* Contexts of Acceptability: (1) -- Would have matrimonial Alliance with them; (2) -- Prefer to have them as close family friends; (3) -- Prefer to have them as neighbours; (4) -- Invite them to religious & other functions; (5) -- Prefer to talk to them frequently; (6) -- Allow children to play with their children.

After the data analyses I arranged the ethnolinguistic communities and the contexts of acceptability on an implicational scale. As the average percentages of the 'yes' scores on the bottom row show, the Acceptability of different ethnolinguistic communities generally decreases as one moves from left to right. For example, PH is listed in the leftmost corner and AC in the rightmost corner. Similarly, as the average scores in the rightmost column show, there is a hierarchy of contexts of Acceptability, such that the social distance between different ethnolinguistic communities is maximal at the top and minimal at the bottom, for example, 'would have matrimonial alliance with them' listed at the top and 'allow my children to play with their children' listed at

the bottom. If a ethnolinguistic community is accepted in a particular row in this hierarchy, it is likely to be accepted for the social acts in the following row in terms of degree of acceptance. In other words, the degree of acceptance generally increases as one moves from the top column (1) to the column (6) at the bottom, for example, see the degree of acceptability for the WB. The farthest social distance that PH respondents want to maintain is with the Afro-Caribbean ethnolinguistic community.

The informants have shown accommodation with regard to various social activities in everyday life. It is only in the case of matrimonial alliance that group boundaries, or what Schermerhorn (1970) calls "ethnic enclosure", are strictly marked.

The degree to which a community accepts or rejects marriage between two exogamous groups is found to vary directly within the level of antagonism historically as well as currently associated with them. Thus, as the above table shows, marriages between Panjabi Hindus are readily acceptable to the community. Similarly, marriage to a "Non-Panjabi Hindu, Hindi speaker" is also acceptable to the majority of the informants. However, this acceptability is not due to the fact that both the communities belong to the Hindu religion since the Gujarati speech community belonging to the same religious group is largely rejected by the informants on the grounds of a different language and different life-style. The acceptability of matrimonial alliance with the Hindi speech group, instead, helps them to become part of a Hindi-Hinduism (religious) identity; or part of a larger Hindi-speaking population for a pan-Indian (secular) identity.

Therefore, marriages with Panjabi Sikhs, which were acceptable traditionally, are regarded much less favourably. Traditionally, it was Panjabi ethnicity (Panjabi speakers sharing broadly the same culture), rather than differences in religious and language affiliations between the two groups, which proved favourable in the choice of marriage partners by families.

Until recently in Southall, there had been marriages between Panjabi Hindus and Panjabi Sikhs. One such example in the sample in this study is informant no. 41 who is married to a Sikh woman (informant No. 40), and whose own sister is married to a Sikh. However, as this informant remarked "The days are gone when this used to happen". The post-1984 conflict between the two religious groups have severed his familial links with his Sikh brother-in-law's family. Many informants expressed strong sentiments against the Sikhs, saying things like: they are "violent in nature, traitors, unreliable and religious fanatics" with whom they would no longer like to keep any close ties.

Panjabi Muslims are the second farthest ethnolinguistic community in terms of the social distance that PHs wish to maintain. The reason for the religious rivalry between PMs and PHs has to be sought in their historical past (see Chapter 2, sec. 2.3 for details). In the Panjab until the time of independence of India and creation of Pakistan, Hindus and Sikhs had mobilised the respective religious masses against the Muslim domination and the Urdu language (which was the language of education and administration in the Panjab then) associated with them. That religious and linguistic division is still deeply rooted in the minds of many PHs in Southall.

Marriages between Panjabi Hindus and Panjabi Muslims, which for historical reasons stood in greater opposition to one another, are totally rejected by the informants. The reason is as one informant (No. 63) summarizes:

"Mainly because our religion does not approve of marriages to Muslims. I am a Hindu my culture and tradition and ways of life are different. I drink, I don't eat meat, I don't force them (to do so). But they (Muslims) will insist (us) to eat meat saying: "Oh, it's no problem". On the other hand, since drink is against their (Muslim) religion, they won't allow you to drink."

One of my second generation male respondents was married to a PM woman. Both of them were very well educated and liberal-minded. Eventually their parents came around to accept their alliance. But the Southall PH community who are a part of this family's friendship and kinship network did not accept them. The pressure this couple, and the man's parents, faced from the community had forced the couple to consider moving out of Britain and settling in Portugal. There, as they said, they could raise their daughter without being rejected constantly by the community around them. This case exemplifies how much pressure the South Asian community in Southall can exert on individuals to conform to their traditional norms.

Inter-racial marriages have tended to elicit a greater disapproval, than matrimonial alliance with Panjabi Sikh and Gujarati and Hindi speech communities, from the informants. Here, the fear of bringing disrepute to the family seemed to be coupled with other equally important considerations. First, a general anxiety is expressed that the chances of an inter-racial marriage ending in divorce would be high, due mainly to two factors: cultural differences and racial prejudices. Problems resulting from

cultural differences between Panjabi Hindus and white British are noted in statements such as:

"Marriages with an English person will end in divorce, well, simply because you live differently from them. The food you eat is different, customs are different. Any argument can end up in divorce". (Informant No. 52)

The influence of racial prejudices in British society on decisions concerning inter-racial marriages and identity crisis are expressed in the following way by an informant (No. 78):

"There are lot of people who are racially prejudiced and there would be trouble between you. I don't think marriage would work out unless both families accept it. Children from such families would face the problem of identity. They would not know, where they belong. They would face the same problems as faced by Anglo-Indians after British rule was over in India."

One interesting point must be emphasised here. As the social distance scale shows, WB as a group are accepted slightly more than PM. This goes to show that the same 'ethnicity' (if defined on the basis of 'race' and 'common ancestry') of a 'speech group' does not automatically give it priority over another 'ethnic group' for 'community' membership.

There is a small proportion of PHs who do not wish to associate themselves with their own PH ethnolinguistic community. The majority of such people are those who are socially persecuted by their own people. The main reason has been the cross religious or ethnic marriages.

It can be seen from the above discussion that individual choice concerning marriage is severely constrained by social structural factors. Such constraints have their origin in the social division in India which continues to be a part of the Indian community in Britain. The interesting finding is that the acceptance of

matrimonial alliance is far more favourable towards the community sharing the same language of identity, i.e. Hindi, than towards the community sharing the same "mother tongue", i.e. Panjabi.

Although the above situation may be largely true, it is not entirely homogeneous (see Appendix IV, Tables 4.5, 4.6 & 4.7). PHs of different age groups, gender and from different geographical areas seem to hold different views. As Table 4.5 shows, PHs from Panjab Cities, Panjab Villages, Delhi and East Africa differ in their response. Delhi PHs are the most liberal, generally, in accepting other speech groups for 'matrimonial alliance'. It appears that the highest number of East African PHs accept the Gujaratis because of their shared historical past. However, even though they lived alongside Africans in East Africa, none of them accepted AC for matrimony. In East Africa they maintained social enclosure (in terms of class) and ethnic enclosure. This, perhaps, is one of the reasons they could maintain their languages in Africa.

The difference in opinion between acceptance of PSS (which is very sharp in the context of marriage) by the PHs from the rural and urban Panjab seems to suggest that the religeo-political movement for the assertion of PH and PS identities in the Panjab (see Ch. 2, sec. 2.3.1) was more of an urban phenomenon. Although the Panjab Village PHs are as accepting of PSS for matrimony as Delhi PHs, they are the least (while Delhi PHs are the most) tolerant of HHS which theoretically supports the maintenance of their Panjabi language.

As the overall scores show, PH women and men also show slightly different attitudes with regard to the social

distance scale. In the case of matrimony women seem slightly more liberal in accepting WB, PM and AC; while men seem more conservative as they accepted the Indian speech groups: PH, HH, PS and GJ, more than women (see Appendix IV, Table 4.6). These women were mainly from the second and third generations who were against the 'arranged marriage system' and the traditional Indian women's role (see Ch. 2, sec. 2.2). Many women of younger generations were standing up for women rights as they demonstrated in Southall through their public protests after the death of Krishna Sharma. Krishna, a Panjabi Hindu woman, who lived in Southall was found hanged after eight years of violence by her husband (cf. 'Policing London' 1985). Traditionally, such violence and disputes would have been settled within and by the community. Even though such conflicts are exceptional, the transformation of private into public behaviour in protesting against social injustice is indicative of accommodation into western values.

If we look at Table 4.7 (see Appendix IV), the second and third generation informants appeared to be slightly more conservative than the first generation ones in the case of intergroup marriage. The third generation, in particular, are the most conservative in their views as can be seen in the case of matrimony with PS, WB, PM and AC. The most liberal attitude of the second generation in accepting AC for matrimony reflects their solidarity with them in their struggle against racism in Southall during the late 1970s ('Southall' 1981). But that solidarity has not continued as many third generation informants reported incidents of racism from AC and WB alike. They tend to draw

stricter ethnic enclosure against AC and WB and group enclosure against PS than do the previous generations.

The question of marriage within PHs was further explored through the open-ended question (Q 29). The informants were asked what they thought of inviting marriage partners from India into this country. The opinion of a large number of them is that this is one social act which provides the greatest chance of maintaining and developing the community languages in the light of lack of support for the South Asian minority languages in the British education system. However, they pointed out some of the problems faced by the community in inviting men and women from India for marriage purposes. The problems include 'immigration', 'employment' 'language' and 'social adjustments' 'failure of marriages' which are expressed in some of the following quotes from the informants:

"sometime you might like a boy (from India), but the boy is just bluffing. He does not really like you (the wife). Just wants to come to this country and then divorce you. So you are stuck there. That has happened to a girl. She married to a bloke from India, (who) came here and just divorced her. Not all people are the same, so you have to judge." (Inf. No. 28)

"what they do is (that) they go over there (India). They say (to the immigration authorities that) they had arranged marriage, love marriage. And then they say they want the boy or they want the girl over here (Britain). Then the (British) government say 'no'. They cannot allow. It is then a problem for them (the couple). It is wrong for them (British authorities) to do that." (Inf. No. 23)

"If the lady cannot speak English, like my sister-in-law, her husband cannot speak Panjabi well, it is really hard for her to understand everything he says. It is difficult to adjust." (Inf. No. 36)

"The main problem is that the learning of the language here. Find a decent job. My dad's sister's daughter, she, her husband comes from India. He was educated there and had a good job. But he has ended up working in the factory as well now. That is one thing I don't like. I think he has wasted his education." (Inf. No. 32)

The above views support, on the one hand, what has been discussed by other authors about the discrimination in British immigration law and the employment system (see Ch. 2, sec. 2.1.2). But, as the quote from informant no. 28 shows, some people do use marriage as an excuse to come to Britain. However, many informants pointed out that such cases are very rare because marriages are arranged through long consultations and with the help of a reliable network of friends and relatives on both sides.

On the other hand, some of the second and third generation informants' (No. 23, 36, 32) views on the language issue identify a potential area for conflict with the traditional 'arranged marriage system' and many first generation parents' wishes to call marital partners for their children from India. But in practice marriage partners continue to come from India. Alongside this there is a development of intra-(PH)group marriages in this country too. This chain migration and intra-group marriages support language maintenance and ethnic revitalisation.

4.2 Sociolinguistic Attitudes

Language attitude is one way of understanding how language is used as a symbol of group membership, i.e. a marker of group identity. In section 4.1, we saw that an overwhelming majority of the informants is in favour of maintaining ethnic minority languages. In this section, I shall explore in detail their attitudes towards "mother tongue", Panjabi, Hindi and English languages, children's language and literacy learning, and language and employment.

4.2.1 Attitudes to "Mother Tongue"

Historically, as discussed in Chapter 2 (sec. 2.3), Panjabi and Hindi have been part and parcel of Panjabis' everyday lives. But, in terms of identity, the literature review in chapter 2 suggested that Panjabi Hindus associated themselves with Hindi as their mother tongue and Panjabi Sikhs with Panjabi. However, the reported mother tongue (Q 6) by the Panjabi Hindu informants in this study does not fully confirm the Hindi-Hinduism stereotype; see the percentage scores in the top row of Table 4.8 below:

Language(s) /origin	Pan- jabi	Hindi	English	Panja- bi Hindi	Panjabi Hindi English
TOTAL (%)	51.2	35.4	4.9	7.3	1.2
Panjab City	40.0	43.3	10.0	6.7	
Panjabi Village	80.8	15.4	3.8		
Delhi	10.0	70.0		20.0	
East Africa	46.7	33.3		13.3	6.7

Table 4.8: Reported mother tongue(s) of PH informants

Contrary to the past stereotype concerning Panjabi Hindus, as the scores along the TOTAL row show, a larger percentage of informants have declared Panjabi to be their MT (mother tongue) compared with Hindi. On the other hand, a much larger percentage of informants reported either Panjabi or Hindi as their MT as compared with English or any combination of Panjabi, Hindi and English.

According to Pattanayak (1990: ix), "Mother tongue is the expression of primary identity and of group solidarity." This is a well attested phenomenon in the sociolinguistic literature. However, what must be stressed is that although the terms 'MT' and the 'first language'

are often equated in this context, they may not be the same in some sociolinguistic situations.

The issue of MT, therefore, was cross-checked with the question (Q 12) asking in what order the informants acquired the languages they knew. The purpose was to determine whether their perception of the term MT was that of 'identity', i.e. a question of attitude; or that of the actual order of acquisition of a language. The response to the later question (Q 13) appears to suggest that the question of MT was more of an 'identity' for the informants. The reason for this assumption is that 62.8% of the informants reported Panjabi, 27.8% Hindi and 23.3%⁵ English as their 'first' languages. These scores do not map onto the scores for these languages in Table 4.8 as, in comparison, the reported MT scores are lower for Panjabi and English, and are higher for Hindi. Even though some informants have reported English to be their 'first' or one of the 'first' languages, a very small percentage of English MT scores as compared to the MT scores for Panjabi and/or Hindi seem to suggest that English does not play a large role in the projection of PHs' 'cultural' identity in Britain. They wish to maintain this identity through Panjabi and/or Hindi as they have also shown through their views about the teaching of these languages in mainstream schools (cf. sec. 4.1).

The heterogeneity in the MT attitudes was further analysed in terms of informants' 'place of origin', 'gender' and 'age'. If the response to the claimed MT is

⁵ The percentage scores for the three languages do not add up to 100 because some informants reported more than one language as their 'first' language of acquisition. The topic of order of languages acquisition is fully explored in Chapter 5.

broken down according to the place of origin of PHs (see Table 4.8 above) considerable attitudinal differences begin to emerge. The PHs from Delhi (PHD) with a very high percentage of them associating with Hindi fall at one extreme, and those from the Panjab villages (PHPV) with a very high percentage of them associating with Panjabi fall at the other. PHs from the Panjabi cities (PHPC) and from East Africa (PHEA) are similar in terms of claiming Panjabi and Hindi as their MTs, except that the PHEA are slightly more positive towards Panjabi. The PHPV are, thus, the most maintenance-oriented group in terms of identifying themselves with Panjabi, followed by PHEA and PHPC, respectively; whereas PHD are the least maintenance oriented group showing strongest Hindi tendencies.

Both the groups from the Panjab are the only groups containing informants who identify with English. Some of the PHD and PHEA are the only ones who identify with both Panjabi and Hindi, PHD being the larger group of the two in this respect.

There is a further variation in MT attitudes pertaining to gender and age.

Language(s) /sex	Pan- jabi	Hindi	English	Panja- bi Hindi	Panjabi Hindi English
Male	22.6	19.04	2.0	4.76	---
Female	29.76	15.47	2.38	2.38	1.19

Table 4.9: Reported Mother Tongue(s) by Sex

As Table 4.9 shows, slightly more women appear to be favourable towards Panjabi as their MT, with men favouring Hindi and Panjabi-Hindi. Informants also show attitudinal

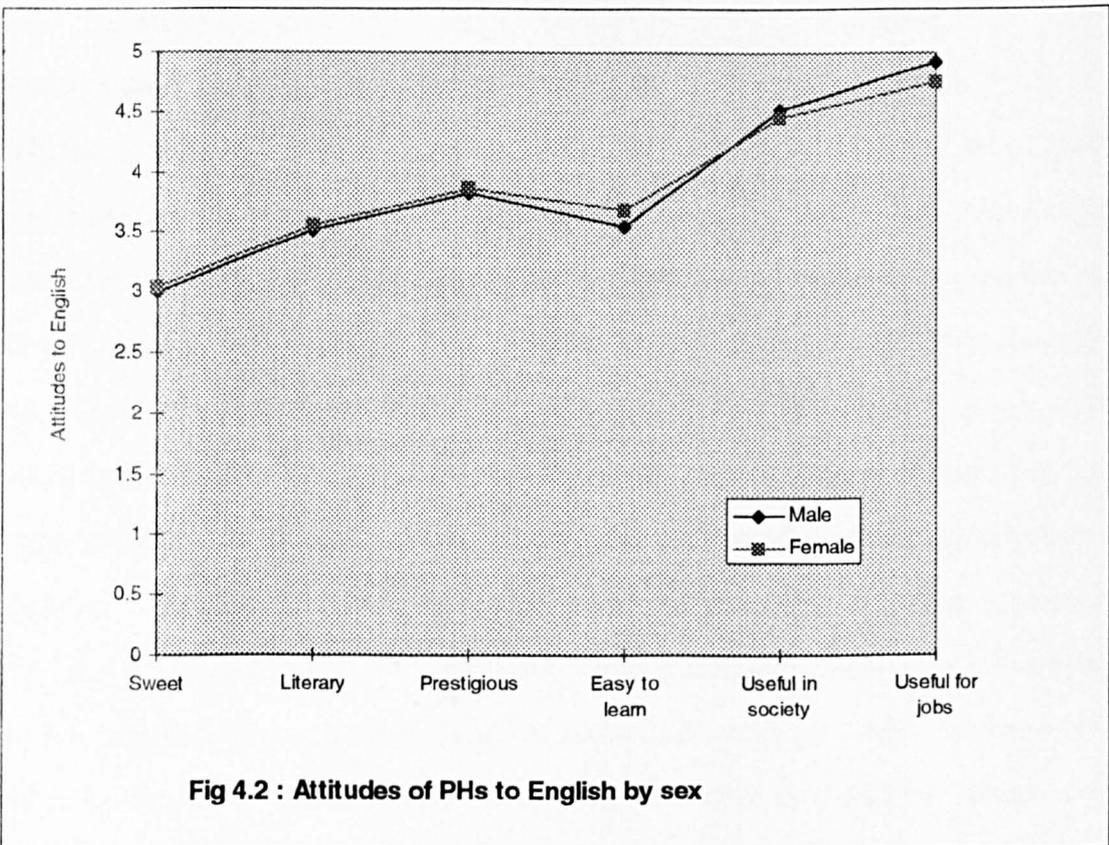
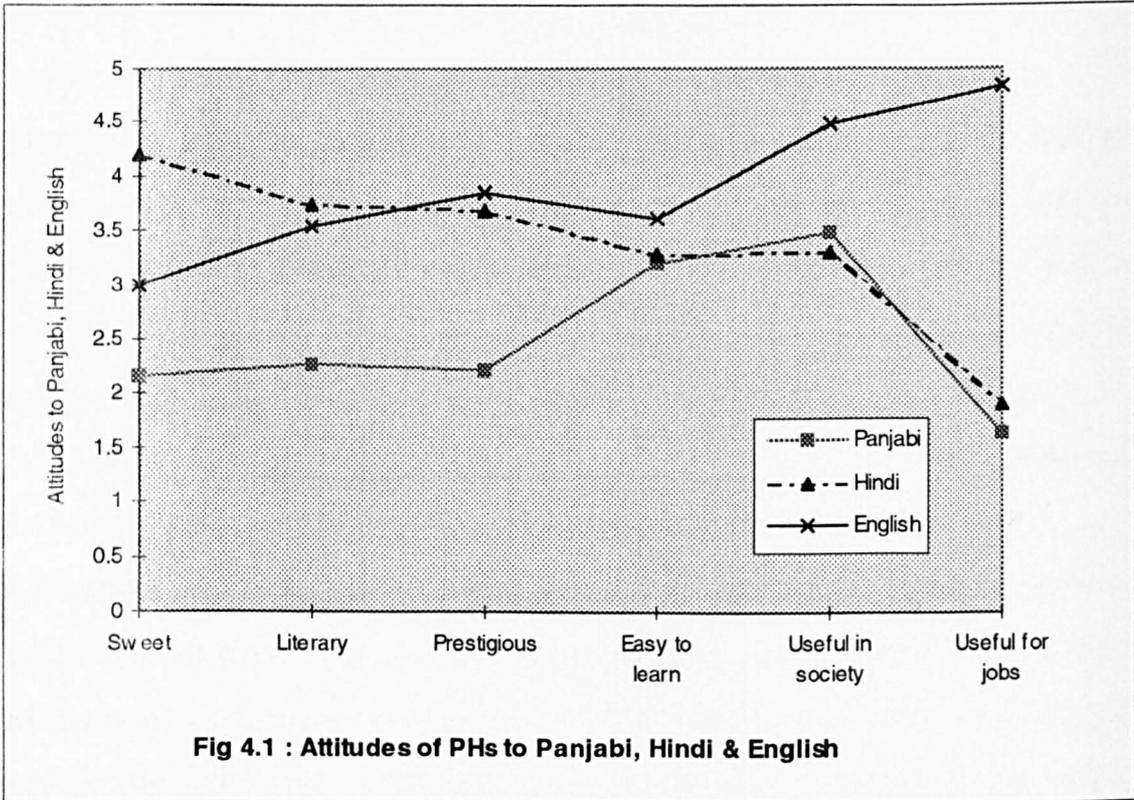
variation with respect to age (see Appendix IV, Table 4.10).

The first generation 30-39 yrs age group stands out in terms of declaring its association with Panjabi. Similarly, among the second and third generation groups, more informants reported Panjabi to be their MT than those who reported Hindi. On the other hand, the older age groups, 40-49yrs and 50+ yrs, have claimed Hindi, more than Panjabi, as their MT.

The above findings clearly demonstrate that PHs in Southall are not a homogeneous speech group with regard to their MT attitudes. This heterogeneity, which could be explained by the individuals' sociolinguistic histories, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6 along with age-related language choice patterns.

4.2.2 Attitudes toward Panjabi, Hindi and English Languages

Languages which serve unifying and separatist functions for sociocultural groups are often highly evaluated by their speakers (Fasold 1985). This section discusses informants' attitudes towards Panjabi, Hindi and English on the basis of certain attributes of 'language'. Informants were asked (Q 22) to rate Panjabi, Hindi and English on a five-point scale for the following attributes: 'sweet/pleasant sounding', 'easy to learn', 'literary', 'prestigious', 'useful for moving in your society (Southall)', and 'useful for employment (Britain)'. On the five point scale, the maximum score for an attribute is 5, i.e. most positive attitude, and the minimum is zero, the most negative attitude.

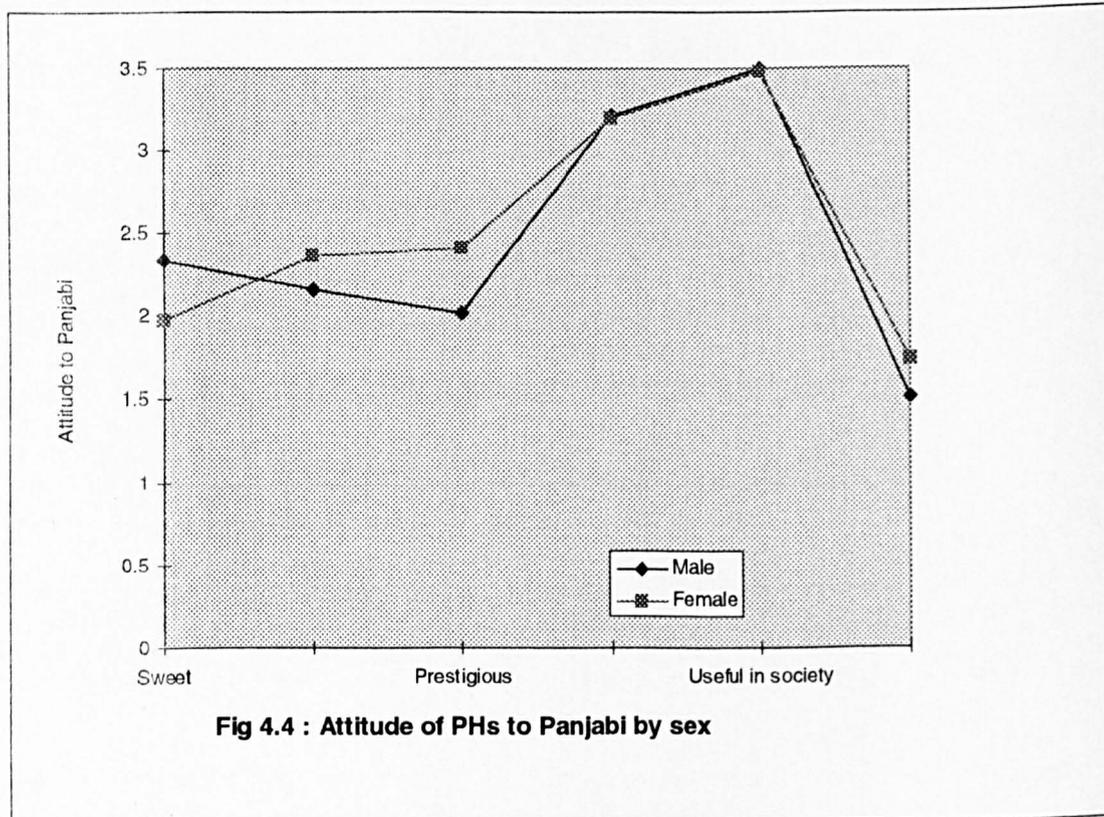
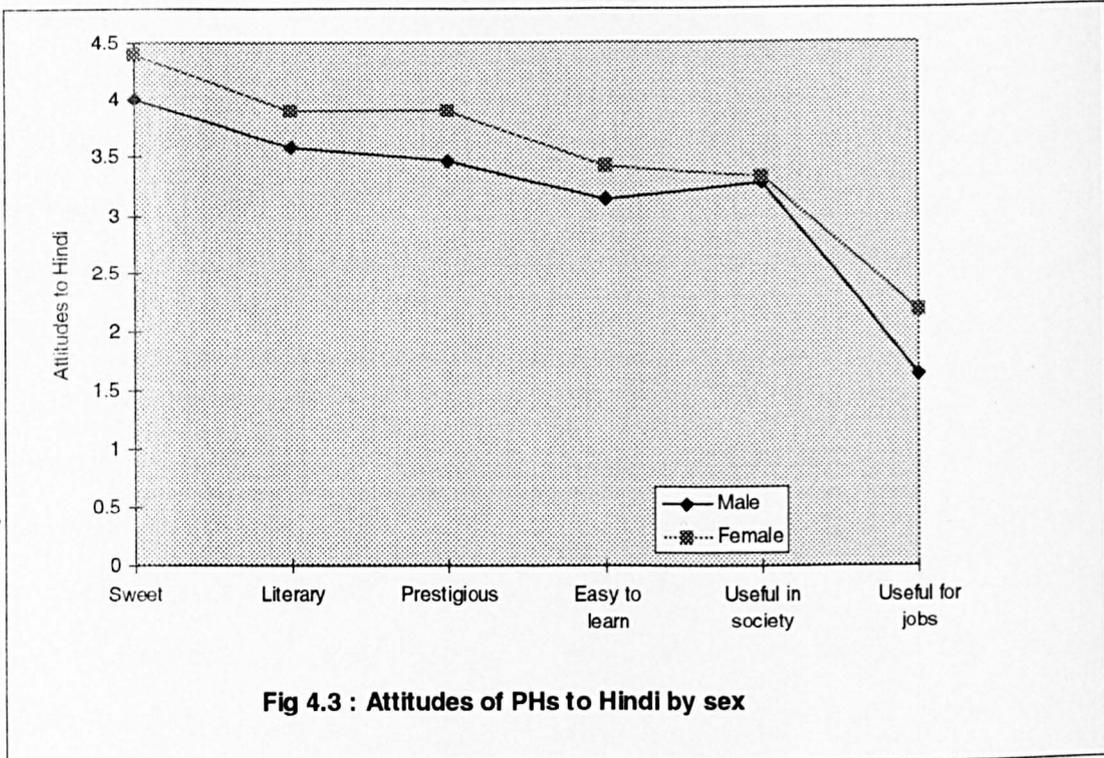


As the overall mean scores in Fig. 4.1 (also Appendix IV, Table 4.11) on page no. 155 show, PH informants seem to have the most positive attitudes towards English followed by Hindi and have the least positive attitudes towards Panjabi. However, the situation is not that simple when we take into account ratings of these languages for different attributes.

English and Hindi are judged more or less equally for the attribute 'prestige'. The polarisation of the graph at this point shows the low prestige of Panjabi vis-a-vis English and Hindi. For informants, English appears to derive its prestige from its 'usefulness in society' and particularly from 'usefulness for jobs' in Britain. English, thus, has more of what Baker (1993: 90) calls a 'utilitarian' value for the informants. This utilitarian nature of language is termed, as discussed in chapter 1 (sec. 1.1.1.2), 'instrumental motivation' by Gardner and Lambert (1972) and Gardner (1985).

On the other hand, Hindi appears to draw its prestige particularly from being judged as the most 'sweet/pleasant sounding' by the majority of informants. It is, thus, valued for 'affective' reason (Cooper and Fishman 1974; Appel and Muysken 1987). As is the case with English, it also earns its prestige from being considered more 'literary' than Panjabi. However, it must be taken into account that some informants do see Panjabi as prestigious and for the same reasons as Hindi.

The graph is least polarised for the attribute 'Easy to learn'. Although English is judged slightly more difficult to learn than Hindi, followed very closely by Panjabi, access to English in the British context is not as



difficult as it is in India. This is supported by Mukherjee's (1979) findings in Delhi where her PH informants considered English to be much more difficult to learn than Hindi and, particularly, Panjabi.

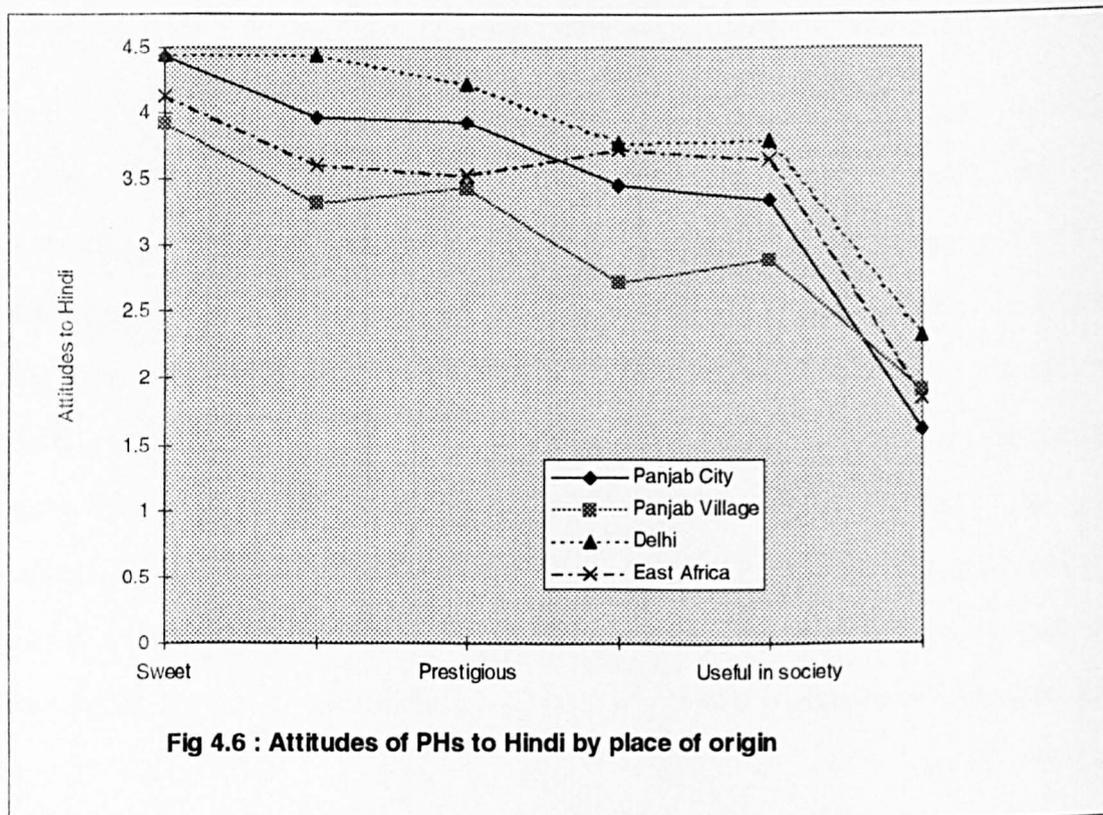
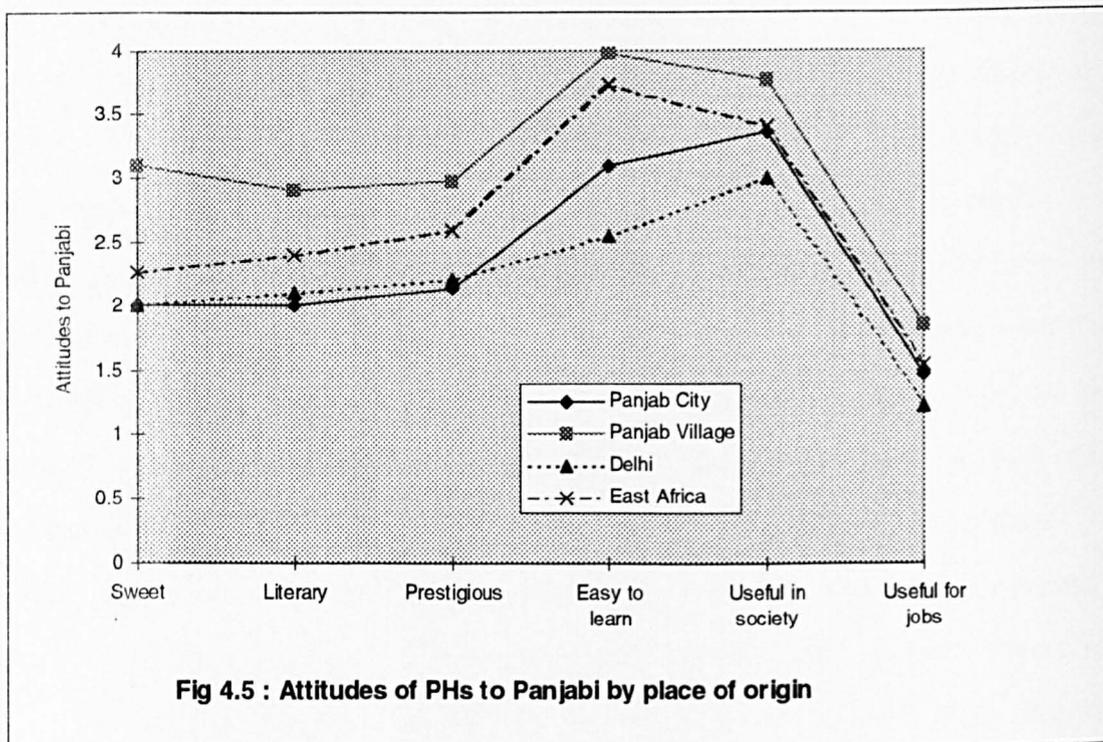
Even though Hindi fares better than Panjabi for all the attributes, Panjabi is considered slightly more 'useful in the Southall society'. As many informants pointed out and as we saw in chapter 2, PHs in Southall live among a very large Sikh Panjabi population, therefore Panjabi plays an important role in their everyday social and commercial interaction with them. However, English plays the most dominant role in this context. Its polarisation from Panjabi and Hindi on the graph shows its importance.

As we will see in the following sections, various subgroups of PH informants differ in their attitudes towards Panjabi, Hindi and English.

4.2.2.1 Language Attitudes by Sex

As Figs. 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 (also Appendix IV, Table 4.12) on pages 155 and 157 show, PH women and men show slightly different linguistic attitudes towards Hindi and Panjabi, whereas their attitudes towards English do not differ much. For English (Fig. 4.2, p. 155) and Hindi (Fig. 4.3, p. 157), the graphs run parallel for most of the attributes which suggests a consistency in the differences between men's and women's attitudes towards these languages. However, this is not quite so in the case of Panjabi (Fig. 4.4, p. 157).

As is the case with Hindi, women consider Panjabi to be more 'literary', 'prestigious' and 'useful for jobs' than men do, but in the case of 'sweetness/pleasant



sounding' the situation is reversed. It appears, therefore, men and women accord prestige to Panjabi for slightly different reasons.

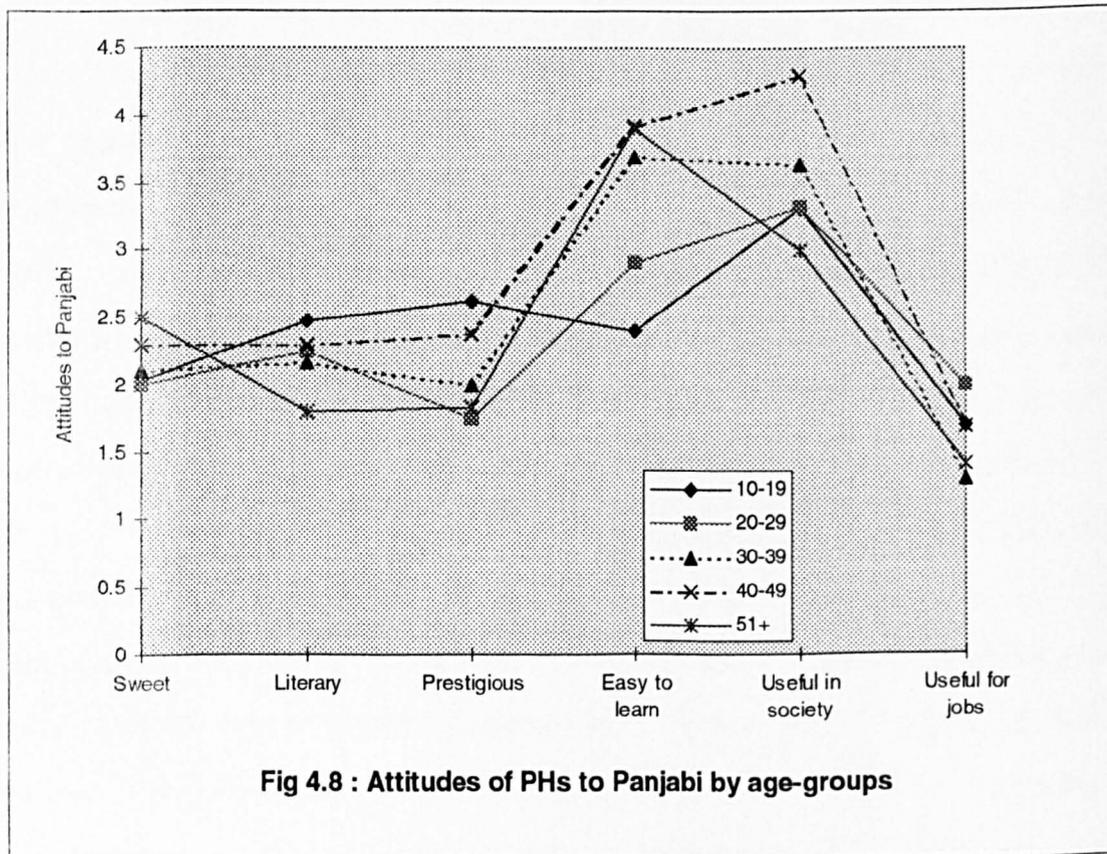
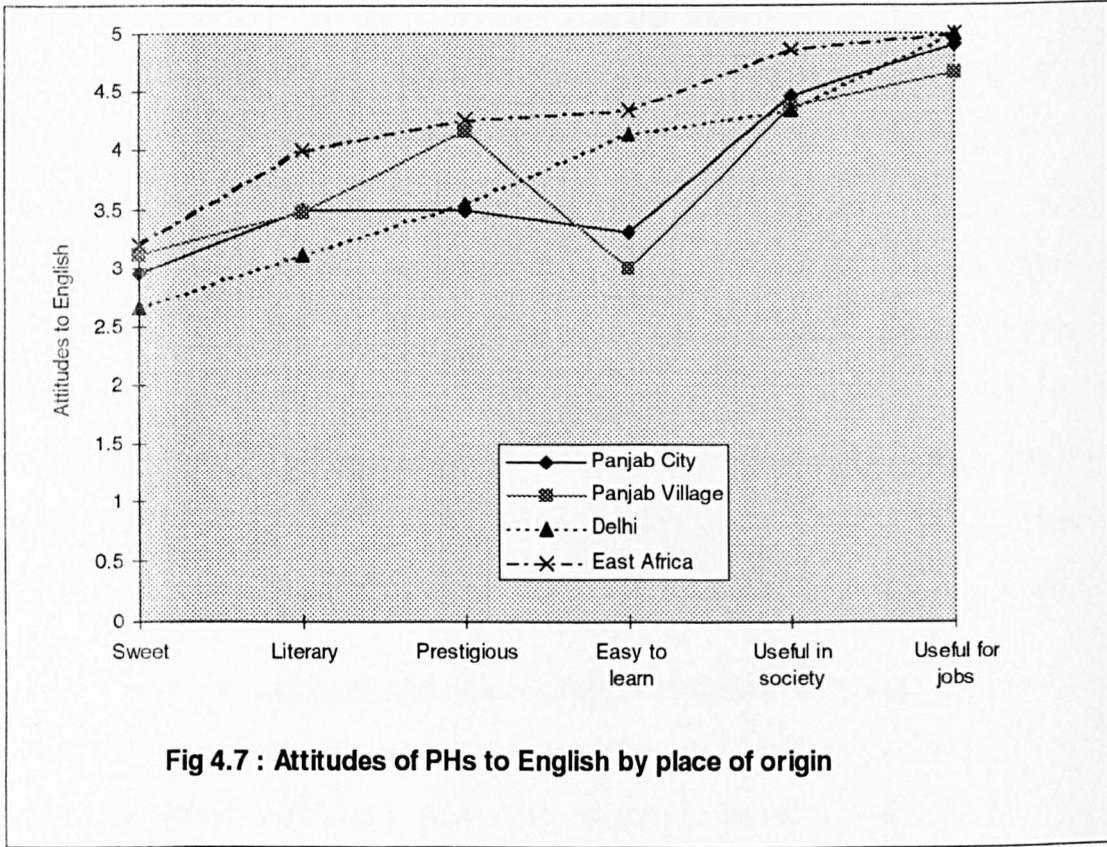
There are no gender differences on the 'usefulness of these languages in the Southall society', but when it comes to the 'usefulness for jobs', men consider English to be slightly more useful, while women find Panjabi and Hindi to be a little more useful. Gender differences in attitudes toward Panjabi, Hindi and English show the division in terms of the linguistic demands of the types of jobs which these men and women do (cf. sec. 4.2.4).

4.2.2.2 Language Attitudes by Place of Origin

As Figs. 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7 (also Appendix IV, Table 4.13) on pages 159 and 161 show, the PHs who have migrated from different geographical areas show slightly different attitudes towards Panjabi, Hindi and English. Their attitudes toward Panjabi and Hindi are particularly interesting as they match those they have toward MT.

Like the MT attitudes, as Fig. 4.5 (p. 159) shows, PHs from Panjab villages (PHPV) have the most positive attitudes towards Panjabi; whereas PHs from Delhi (PHD) have the least positive attitudes towards it. The PHs from Panjab cities (PHPC) and PHs from East Africa (PHEA) fall in between, with PHEA showing more positive attitude towards Panjabi than do the PHPC.

In the case of Hindi (Fig. 4.6, p. 159), the situation is reversed. PHD have shown the most positive attitudes towards Hindi and PHPV the least. PHPC find Hindi more 'sweet', 'literary' and 'prestigious' ('affective' value) than do the PHEA; whereas the position is reversed for



'easy to learn', 'useful in society' and 'useful for jobs' ('utilitarian' value).

PHEA have shown a more positive attitude towards English than the other groups generally (Fig. 4.7, p. 161). The situation with the other groups' attitudes is not that straightforward. The graph lines for PHPV and PHPC begin to rise from the left, dip at 'easy to learn', and rise again. The attribute 'prestigious' is markedly higher for PHPV than for PHD and PHPC. But, PHPV find English slightly less 'useful for jobs' as compared to other groups. These attitudes of PHPV have to do with types of employment they are in where they work among other Panjabis.

4.2.2.3 Language Attitudes by Age

Figs. 4.8, 4.9 and 4.10 (also Appendix IV, Table 4.14) on pages 161 and 163 show that different age groups and different generations of informants differ in their attitudes towards Panjabi, Hindi and English.

The second generation (20-29 yrs) finds Panjabi the least 'prestigious' (Fig. 4.8, p. 161). In contrast, the third generation (10-19 yrs) have shown the most positive attitude towards Panjabi with respect to the attributes 'prestigious' and 'literary'. Further, the second generation, by comparison with the first, considers English to be slightly more 'sweet', 'literary' and 'prestigious' (Fig. 4.10, p. 163). Their attitude towards English may be reminiscent of its importance at the time when they had just arrived in the 1960s. Both the educational system and their parents (i.e. the first generation) had a positive attitude towards English (vis-a-vis Panjabi/Hindi) because of its importance for assimilation into the host community

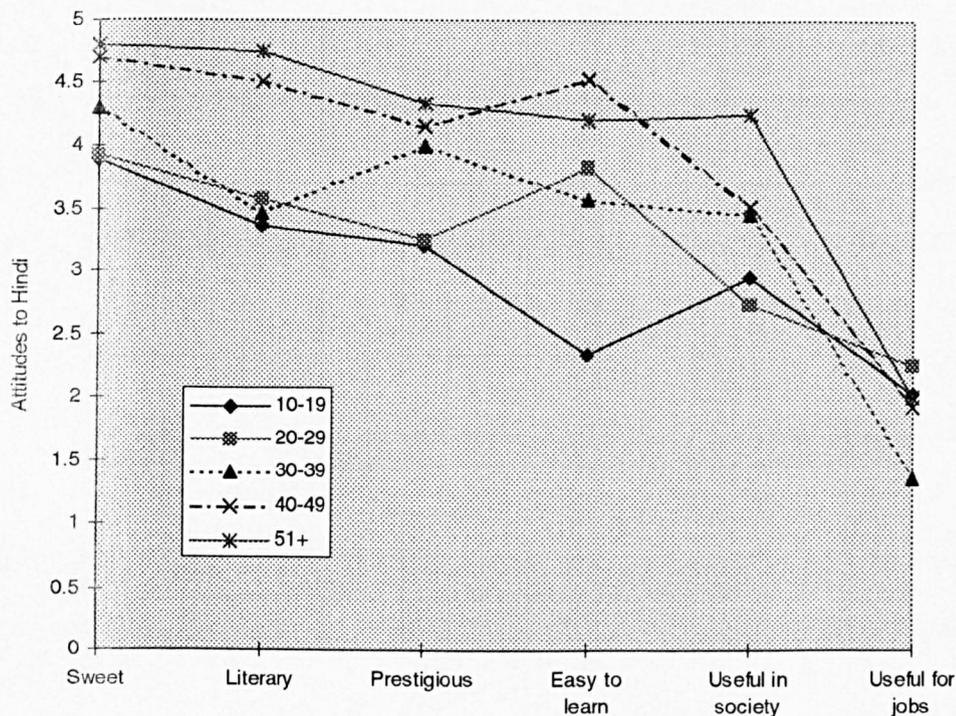


Fig 4.9 : Attitudes of PHs to Hindi by age-groups

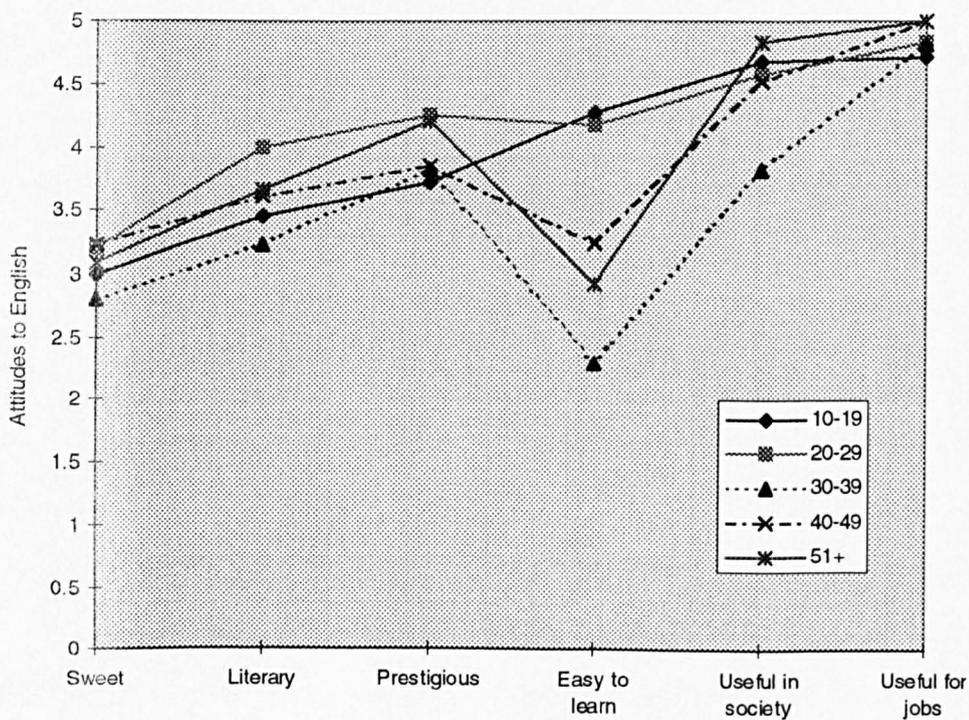


Fig 4.10 : Attitudes of PHs to English by age-groups

and success at school. The inter-generational differences in attitudes towards English and Panjabi reflect, perhaps, the way Southall's South Asian community changed and began to see its languages and cultures more positively.

Both second and, particularly, third generations think that Panjabi is less 'easy to learn' than do the first generation (30-39, 40-49 and 50+ yrs). Another marked feature of the graph is that 'usefulness in Southall society' is the only attribute for which Panjabi is judged more positively than any other attribute.

As Fig. 4.9 (p. 163) shows, the first generation, in general, has more positive attitudes toward Hindi than the second and third generations. It appears that the first generation, more so than the second and third, is influenced in their perceptions by the way Panjabi and Hindi are valued in the pan-Indian and the Panjab contexts (see sec. 4.3 for further discussion).

Interestingly, the second and third generations consider Hindi and Panjabi, in that order, to be more 'useful for jobs' than do the first generation (see Appendix IV, Table 4.14). As I found out during the interviews, they were aware of some of the job opportunities that were available in Britain for people with command over Panjabi and Hindi (see sec. 4.2.4 below for more). This also shows their desire for the languages with which they are identified as Indians or Asians to be recognised as such in the wider British context.

There are some attitudinal differences among the first generation groups as well (see Appendix IV, Table 4.14). Though all the three first-generation groups have more positive attitudes towards Hindi than Panjabi, the 30-39

yrs group has slightly less positive attitudes to Hindi than the 40-49 yrs and 50+ yrs groups. On the other hand, this group has a slightly more positive attitude towards Panjabi than the other two groups. Furthermore, the 40-49 yrs group has a slightly more positive attitude to Panjabi and slightly less positive attitude to Hindi than the 50+ yrs group. The differences in attitudes of the three first-generation groups towards Hindi and Panjabi could be explained by considering their sociolinguistic upbringing in different religio-political and educational climates (as discussed in Ch. 2, sec. 2.3.1) before migration (see for further discussion of this explanation in Chs. 6 & 7).

4.2.2.4 Mixed-Code: Language Attitudes and Group Identities

Discussion during the interviews around the question (Q 22) discussed in the previous subsections and question 32 elicited some interesting views about Panjabi not being as 'sweet' as Hindi. As one third generation informant (No. 21) said:

<Hindi> Hindi jaraa pyaarii lagtii hai. mujhe ye lagtaa hai ke (Hindi is sweet. It seems to me that) <Panjabi> Panjabi zaraa, <English> I don't know, <Panjabi> kaRvii jaii e." (Panjabi, I don't know, is harsh.)

This quote also shows the communicative competence many of the third generation PHS have in the way they code-switch strategically⁶. Here, the opening is in Hindi but the "message qualification" is in Panjabi: "A topic will be introduced in one language and commented on or further qualified in the other" (Romaine 1989:149). Another

⁶ Appendix IV (a) in section IVa.1 contains discussion of a range of pragmatic functions of Panjab-Hindi-English codeswitching by the second and third generation PHS.

function of code-switching here is "to mark an interjection or sentence filler" (Gumperz 1982:77) which is carried out in English. A first generation informant (No. 84) voiced a similar view in Hindi:

<Hindi> Panjabi sakht aur kaRvii jabaan hai jisme tuu-taRaak se baat kii jaatii hai. Hindi mai~ aap karke baat kii jaati hai. (Panjabi is a harsh and bitter vitriolic speech which has boorishness (use of non-polite tuu-). aap (polite 'you') is used when somebody talks in Hindi.)

This informant here is not only talking about the harshness of Panjabi in contrast to Hindi, but providing a grammatical reason for this distinction, that is, use of the polite personal pronoun 'aap' ('you') in Hindi and the non-polite personal pronoun 'tuu-' ('you') in Panjabi⁷. Another informant (No. 63), who associates himself strongly with Hindi-Hinduism identity, extends this grammatical distinction to the differences between PHs and PSs in their use of language.

<Hindi> PH aur PS kaa bolii aur rang-Dhang se pataa cal jaataa hai. bolne se zaroor pataa caltaa hai. bolne me-pataa cal jaataa hai. PS kahenge: <Panjabi> 'tuu- iddar aa oe'. <Hindi> jabkii PH kahenge:<Panjabi-Hindi> aap iddar aao. (One can identify PHs and PSs by their speech and behaviour. One can tell this particularly by their speech. PS will say you (non-polite) come here. Whereas PHs will say: you (polite) come here.)

Here, in quoting PSs, he uses the Panjabi non-polite personal pronoun tuu- (you) in an imperative construction in Panjabi. In contrast, in quoting PHs in a similar construction in Panjabi-Hindi mixed-code, he uses the Hindi polite pronoun 'aap' (you). His views further draw distinction between the two religious groups in terms of language socialisation of their children:

⁷ However, here she is ignoring the fact that Panjabi does have a polite personal pronoun ('tussii') and Hindi has two non-polite personal pronouns ('tum' & 'tuu') in order to assign Hindi a superior status.

<Hindi> PS bacce apne maa--baap, baRe bhaaii-bahno~ se tuu-karke baat karenge, jabkii PH bacce esaa nahii~ karenge. yaa to kahenge aap yaa tussii. yadii bacce Hindi bole~ to sunne me~ bahut acchaa lagtaa hai. lagtaa hai maa--baap ne~bacco~ ko acchii shikshaa dii hai. bacce kitnii acchii tarah se bolte hai~. (PS children use tuu (non-polite 'you') in addressing their parents and elder siblings, whereas PH children wouldn't do that. Either they'll use 'aap' or 'tussii' (polite forms of 'you' in Hindi and Panjabi respectively). It sounds pleasant if children speak Hindi. It shows that parents have passed on to their children a good moral education. Children speak in such a good manner.)

First, the informant (No. 63) is commenting here on the appropriacy of the use of polite forms of personal pronouns in Panjabi and Hindi with the people who are older, i.e. with a higher status in the family hierarchy. Secondly, he is saying that PSs are not bringing up their children properly in this context, hence showing his negative attitudes towards them. Thirdly, he is showing Hindi to be more polite than Panjabi, and associating PHs with Hindi and PSs with Panjabi. Finally, while associating Hindi with good moral education, he is identifying Hindi and PHs with the Hindu religion.

I found many informants, across generations, very conversant with regards to the topic of politeness associated with the second person pronoun and how it differentiated PHs and PSs in Southall. Although this grammatical feature is a key marker of assigning or assuming different identities, this distinction in identification with PHs and PSs was also expressed in terms of lexical features.

Different lexical items from different languages expressing the same meaning are used by PHs to assert their group identities⁸. For example, a second generation PH

⁸ See Appendix IV (a), sec. IVa.2, [Group Identities and Lexical Choices] for associations of certain Panjabi, Hindi and Swahili lexical features with PHs, PSs and East African PHs.

woman (Informant No. 46) cooking with a PS friend related an incident to me:

(A: Researcher; B: Informant)

A: <English> Do you mean to say Panjabi of PHs is different from that of PSSs?

B: Yes, definitely yes. Well things like, my friend and I were doing recipe one day and I was saying <Panjabi> ke pyaaz kat ke naa paa dene te o kendii ke haa~ gandDe (that slice pyaaz (onions) and put them in, and she said that yes, gandDe (onions). <English> And she insisted all through the conversation gandDe ('onion') and I insisted it was pyaaz ('onion'). And I sometime would accommodate her and say gandDe and I felt it very bitter on my tongue to say gandDe because I have been criticized by my aunt <Panjabi> ke saare din gandDe gandDe kyuu~ kahi jaannii e. pyaaz nuu gandDe kende ne? haa~ vaii pyaaz e gandDe kii honde e. (that why have you been saying gandDe ('onion') the whole day? Do we say gandDe or pyaaz? Come on, it's pyaaz, not gandDe). <English> So she, my aunt, pointed out to me that you are living among these jaTs (referred to PSSs), you see. Don't pick up their language. gandDe is lower status.

This is one of many Panjabi-Hindi mixed-code example of how PHs and PSSs in Southall come into conflict in their overt language use of identification in everyday situations. Many PHs display their distinct identity by using Hindi lexical items in their Panjabi discourse.

As already pointed out, this informant is a second generation woman who is brought up in this country. The intervention of the type her aunt made points at one of the processes through which younger generations of PHs are taught what a sociolinguistically accepted behaviour is for a PH and what kind of linguistic symbols mark PHs identity vis-a-vis that of PSSs. Such moments are important in the lives of younger generation which make them conscious of their own as well as other's sociolinguistic behaviour. For instance, she further added:

B: <English> And I can remember another occasion that I... only needed two occasions to be pointed out to me. Talking to one of my aunts <Panjabi> "o tivii aayii sii" ("that woman came") <English> and she just had a snigger on her face. I said what is the matter. She said oh you said <Panjabi> "tiivii" te ("woman" and) <English> and I said.. you know, these are the days when I was newly married and I was picking up Panjabi. She said well <Panjabi> "assii te <Hindi> aurat <Panjabi> kende aa" ("we say aurat ('woman')"). <English> Right, so I remembered from that day onward and very carefully I listened to people around me. So it was pointed out to me quite subtly that we people don't speak like these other people.

A: And who are these other people?

B: Other people meaning Sikhs. As far we are concerned, they are only <Panjabi> jaT, sardaar (Sikh), <English> and even if they are not jaT, they are still lower in some sense to us. So as I said it took only two occasions to point out my status in life that I am lowering myself by including <Panjabi> tivii, ganDDaa (woman, onion) <English> in my speech.

The above discussion not only shows the relative status of Panjabi and Hindi for many PHs in Southall and their use in their everyday discourse for identification purposes, but also shows how these languages and the associated attitudes are passed on to the younger generations by the older generations. The metalanguage used to talk about these distinctions is a great resource which the younger generations are learning from the first generation PHs. When the contrast between the two languages is talked about, it provides an opportunity for the younger generations of PHs for the maintenance and development of both the languages.

4.2.3 Attitudes toward Children Learning Languages and Literacies

As the literature review in chapter 2 (sec. 2.3.1) showed, 'script' is the important issue of identity which demarcates the three religious groups of Panjabis: Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. Devanagri (Hindi), Gurmukhi (Panjabi) and Perso-Arabic (Urdu) are respectively associated with

PHs, PSs and PMs. The other literacy skills children are exposed to in Britain are associated with English, French, and German. Therefore, the adult informants were asked (Appendix IIIb, Q. 14) in what order they would like their children or grandchildren to learn or improve literacy skills in these languages; while children were asked the same question for themselves (Appendix IIIa, Q. 14). In some cases they choose more than one language as their first choice. Generally it was in combination with English. However, in the following table, cumulative scores for each language are presented separately for the ease of comparison.

Choice/ Language	Read				Write			
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Panjabi	29.8	20.8	25.0	25.0	26.9	26.9	23.1	23.1
Hindi	60.0	25.0	10.0	5.0	63.4	22.0	12.2	2.4
English	64.5	16.1	9.7	3.2	71.9	12.5	6.3	3.1
French	34.4	28.1	28.1	9.4	25.8	35.5	29.0	9.7
German	17.6	17.6	17.6	11.8	14.3	7.1	21.4	21.4

Table 4.15: Attitude of PHs Towards Children Learning Literacies

The highest percentage of informants reported literacy skills in English as the first choice. Some did not report English literacy skills as the first choice saying that they were going to be taught at school any way.

French and German are considered to be important as first choice to a certain extent. French is more popular than German. French or German were considered to be necessary for entering higher education, and for career prospects in the European Union market. One parent

summarizes the important role that English and the European languages play in this country:

"It is within Asian parents. As much as I want my children to learn and maintain mother tongue, but we still have that material point of view that you want them to do well, go to university⁹. And you know that they need English, they need Latin, they need French, they need German, because these are the things that are acceptable to the university and to this country and employers." (Informant No. 61)

Such views and attitudes represent, on the one hand, the instrumental value associated with English, along with French and German; and on the other hand, the subordinate role that the Modern Language Curriculum in the British education system places on the minority languages, Panjabi and Hindi, as opposed to French and German (see Ch. 2, sec. 2.1.4).

However, PHs' integrative motivation towards their own languages is strong. This is particularly evident in the reported choice for Hindi (see Table 4.15). Its choice as the first language of literacy is only slightly lower than that of English. Even though a much smaller number of informants reported Panjabi to be their first choice, it is important in pointing out that PHs in Southall are not a homogeneous group in terms of demonstrating their loyalties towards Hindi or Panjabi.

To probe the attitudes of the parents and grandparents deeper they were asked (Appendix IIIb; Q 24) if their children or grandchildren need to have the oral and literacy skills in Panjabi, Hindi and English. While no one agreed that their children or grandchildren did not need to know English, their opinions about knowing Panjabi and Hindi varied, as can be seen in the following table.

⁹ 95.5 per cent of the children reported that they wanted to enter into higher education, instead of taking up a job, after finishing their school education (A. IIIa, Q. 28a).

Attitude	Panjabi				Hindi			
	U	S	R	W	U	S	R	W
Disagree	8.1	10.8	32.4	32.4	00.0	00.0	2.7	2.7
Don't Care	13.5	10.8	29.7	29.7	8.1	10.8	16.2	18.9
Agree	78.4	78.4	37.8	37.8	91.9	89.2	81.1	78.4

Table 4.16: Adult PHs' Attitude to Children Learning Oral and written skills in Panjabi and Hindi
(U :understand, S :speak; R :read; W :write)

It is evident from the figures in Table 4.16, that the overall tendency of PH parents and grandparents seems to be in the favour of Hindi, after English. It is greater in the case of literacy skills. However, differences in opinion are also evident.

Informants were asked 'why' they made the above choices. The difference in opinions aired by them can be best interpreted through the different ideologies that inform their opinions. Different groups among them take a different ideological stance in expressing the values they assign to the spoken and written skills of Panjabi and Hindi.

The largest group would like their children to possess spoken and written skills in Hindi. Some of them disagree that their children need to know Panjabi; whereas others don't care much whether or not they maintain spoken Panjabi, and there are still others who say that the children should be able to speak and understand Panjabi.

This first group is the one which believes in the 'religious identity' and feels that the Hindi language, both spoken and written, is the symbol of their Hinduism identity. This ideology has developed since the turn of the century in the Panjab in response to the association of

Panjabi language with Sikhism by the Sikhs. Informants from the Panjab cities tend to adhere more to this ideology, along with the PHs who are from Delhi. This supports my claim made earlier in this chapter that the Hindi-Hinduism movement was more of an urban phenomenon for the Panjabi Hindus in the Panjab.

Their belief in this ideology was reinforced and surfaced particularly after the disturbance in India between Hindus and Sikhs since 1984 which had its repercussions in Southall. The nationalistic movement by a group of Sikhs in Southall for an independent Panjab for the Sikhs, alienated many PHs who looked into their history to find a way of identifying themselves as a separate group. The Hindu religion and the Hindi language provided them with the answer. One respondent summarizes the feelings of many of the other respondents from this group:

"PHs, you know, they never used to mind whether the child was learning Panjabi or Hindi before Indira Gandhi's murder by two Sikhs. Some sent them to learn Panjabi in Gurdwara. But now they feel it that, you know, that there is some sort of heart changing in the people. You know, why don't we prefer Hindi, you know, when we are Hindus. We should prefer Hindi in the schools. Sikh people, they emphasize on Panjabi. So it's a sort of prestige issue now." (Inf. No. 78).

The second group of PHs involves people from the whole spectrum of different subgroups from different geographical origins. Although they have also responded actively to the religious tension between Hindus and Sikhs in India and in Southall, they are guided by a pan-Indian nationalistic ideology, a secular ideology. They say, since Hindi is the national language of India and the language of wider communication, their children should at least be able to

read and write in this language. Firstly, it gives them a pan-Indian identity. Secondly, it will give them a chance to be able to get jobs in India if they ever have to or decide to go to India, and it is a good medium for maintaining communication with the relatives both in Delhi and in the Panjab. But they would like their children to maintain their spoken skills in Panjabi. Many of them see its social and commercial importance because they live among a large Panjabi-speaking Sikh population in Southall. As one informant puts it:

"Living in such a highly populated area where Panjabi is quite a common language. Beginning to become a common language with such a large amount of Sikh here with Panjabi language. If one learns Hindi only, one will face problems. So, it is best to have understanding of it (i.e. Panjabi)." (Inf. No. 73).

However, this group of PHS do not want their children to acquire written Panjabi in Gurmukhi script because they believe it is associated with Sikhism. The knowledge of Panjabi and Hindi together provides them a PH identity, a Panjabi who is an Indian, and at the same time the lack of written Panjabi dissociates them from Sikhs. Thus, Hindi represents a 'nationalistic identity' rather than a 'religious identity' for this group.

The third group in Southall, as it gradually became clearer to me during my stay and work there, has responded to the above two groups of PHS as well as that group of PSS who believe in Panjabi nationalistic and Sikhism ideology. Some of them are intellectuals and the others are from rural Panjab. The political orientation of this group of PHS and PSS is shaped by socialist-marxist ideology. They believe in a 'pan-Panjabi identity' for all Panjabis, both Hindus and Sikhs. They do not want separation of the Panjab

from India. In that context they accept Hindi as a national language, but do not accept it as the mother tongue or first language of Panjabis. The symbol of pan-Panjabi identity is considered to be both spoken and written Panjabi (in Gurmukhi). That is what they want their children to learn. If their children learn Hindi as a second language, it is alright for them, but not at the cost of Panjabi.

These ideological differences of PHS have been shaped by the social, cultural, political, psychological, economic, religious processes through which PHS had gone and were going through; and in turn, these ideologies are shaping the socio-cultural make up of Southall PH community.

4.2.4 Language and Employment

The question of linguistic vitality in the employment domain is significant for minority language maintenance. Question 27e (Appendix IIIb) explored adult informants' perceptions about the importance of language in employment.

Informants were asked if spoken and written Panjabi, Hindi and English were necessary for their jobs. The responses were as follows:

	Spoken			Written		
	Panjabi	Hindi	English	Panjabi	Hindi	English
Yes	16.0	12.0	96.0	4.3	8.6	72.0
No	84.0	88.0	4.0	95.7	91.4	28.0

Table 4.17: Adult PHS' Views on the Significance of Different Languages in Employment

It is evident from the percentage scores in Table 4.17 that the knowledge of English is of paramount importance for employment in this country. A very high instrumental

attitude that PHs have shown towards English in section 4.2.2 earlier is therefore understandable.

Only a small number find that Panjabi and Hindi are necessary for their jobs. However, a reasonably high number acknowledge their importance along with English in businesses in Southall. When informants were asked (Q 31) about what languages are important for shopping and business in Southall, 69.7% said Panjabi was most important, 22.6% said Hindi was the most important language; whereas 49.0% said English was the most important. This reinforces the findings in chapter 2 regarding high ethnolinguistic vitality in the community.

Spoken and written Panjabi are necessary for those who have employment with social service agencies as interpreters and translators. Those who are in such jobs are mainly women. (For further discussion see Chapter 7)

In response to Q 27a (Appendix IIIb), a large percentage of parents, 64.3%, knew of jobs where the knowledge of Panjabi and Hindi could be useful, such as translators and interpreters in social service agencies, Panjabi and Hindi teachers in schools and in local business. However, a majority of the parents, 88.5%, did not desire their children to take up such jobs saying they were poorly paid.

72.7% of the third generation children knew of jobs where the knowledge of Panjabi and Hindi could be useful (Appendix IIIa, Q 27). And a slightly lower percentage (72.7) of them, as compared to their parents (88.5%), were against taking up such jobs. Even those who aspired to become professionals like lawyers, accountants and doctors, felt that the knowledge of Panjabi and Hindi, along with

English, would be an advantage for them. They thought a large number of their clients would most likely be speakers of these languages. As I discussed in chapter 2 (sec. 2.1.2), even professional South Asians are usually positioned at the bottom end of their jobs due to discrimination.

The third generation informants were also asked where they would have preferred to take up employment (Appendix IIIa, Q 28b). 47.8%, the majority, would have liked to go to other countries in 'Europe or USA', 26.1% 'elsewhere in Britain', 27.1% 'stay in Southall', and only 4.3% would have liked to go to 'India'. The last result points out that the third generation's positive attitudes towards Panjabi and Hindi are a reflection of their desire to assert their 'ethnic' identity in Britain, rather than their wish to return to India. However, they did think that these languages were important in maintaining links with relatives in India.

In fact, in response to another question (Q 30), 72.7% of the third generation informants said that they liked living in Southall. When asked whether 'language' was the reason, 95.5% said 'no'. The reason they gave was that Southall was a safer place to live, confirming the findings in chapter 2.

4.3 Summary and Discussion

In Britain, PHs live within more than one culture, broadly speaking, the dominant English/western culture and the South Asian/Indian culture. Findings of the survey reveal that the informants felt they needed to accommodate in the Western culture, but not at the cost of their own

culture. Many found Southall a safer place where they had more chances of maintaining their ethnic identity and their languages. Some of the more prosperous informants who had moved out of Southall returned because of racial harassment they experienced in some of the white dominated areas around Southall.

As discussed in chapter 2, in response to everyday discrimination, South Asians in Southall made a concerted effort towards maintaining their cultures and languages. The historical differences that existed between Panjabi Hindus and Sikhs did not affect the relationship between the two groups until the death of Indira Gandhi. However, as the findings of this chapter show, the post-1984 socio-political processes in India disrupted the harmony between the two groups in Southall. The sociolinguistic literature about South Asians living in Britain does not identify this phenomenon, and hence does not take into account the effect it has had on the psyche of PHs in Britain.

The trouble in Southall that ensued from these incidents in India, made many PHs reassert their own identity distinct from that of Sikhs. This is reflected in their views on marriage and the learning of Hindi, particularly literacy skills, as a marker of this identity. Prior to the incidents, many said they would not have minded marriages with Sikhs, going to Sikh temples, and learning Panjabi in Gurmukhi script. But not any more.

However, even though the act of learning Hindi by many was to assert their PH identity, it was done for different reasons. Some did it for more of a religious reason, so that religious scriptures could be appreciated. The others did it because Hindi is the "national" language of India

and has wider communicability. Furthermore, particularly in the latter case, some would have liked to maintain oral skills in Panjabi. But, in both of the above cases, the similarity was in their wish to dissociate themselves from Sikhs and to project their PH identity.

In response to the split between PHs and religious- and nationalistic-minded Sikhs in Southall, a third group of PHs began to assert its 'Panjabi' identity. They, along with some similar-minded Sikhs, wanted Panjabi Hindus and Sikhs to maintain a united pan-Panjabi identity. Here, the emphasis was on learning Panjabi in the Gurmukhi script. They were against the wishes of those Sikhs who wanted to make an exclusive claim over Gurmukhi as their religious script.

The above subgroups of PHs cannot be subdivided neatly in terms of their migratory origins, age and sex. The way Panjabi and Hindi, and also English, were valued as languages by these informants seemed to have been influenced by individuals' backgrounds to some extent. The origin of those who showed more of a 'Hindi' tendency could mainly be traced to Delhi and the Panjab cities. In contrast, the origin of those who show more of a 'Panjabi' tendency, with or without learning of the Gurmukhi script, could largely be traced to East Africa and, in particular, to the Panjab villages.

However, one must ask the question why a larger number of informants value English and Hindi more than Panjabi. In the case of Hindi, if there was only one reason for a more positive feeling, then we would also have expected similar results for MT attitudes, i.e. more informants declaring Hindi as their MT. But, instead, we saw that slightly more

informants reported Panjabi as their MT. In order to understand the relationship between Panjabi, Hindi and English, we need to look at their positions in the pan-Indian context, rather than just in the Panjab. The Hindi-Hinduism stereotype, i.e. Hindi as a symbol of PHS' religious identity in response to Sikhs' Panjabi-Sikhism identity, predominates because many researchers in India and Britain have mainly looked at the sociolinguistic situation in the urban Panjab of the pre-1966 period as their primary source. They have based their generalisations about PHS on that particular source.

However, one also needs to look at the role of Hindi in the independence movement of India, its role as the official language of India in the post-independence period of India, and consequently, its position in the Three Language Formula in the school education in India after 1968. According to the Three Language Formula:

Mother tongue (MT) is the first language, which children must study from very beginning in their school ... For several school children there may be differences between their MT and the language of the region in which they are staying, and which they ought to study to fulfil both integrative and instrumental needs. ... Every school-going child ought to study Hindi since it is the official language of the country. ... English also has to be studied since apart from being the official associate language it is also an international language through which several instrumental needs can be satisfied. (Srivastava 1990: 43)

The official statuses of Hindi and English and their compulsory teaching accord them higher political power than various MTs and/or regional languages. So, in terms of national prestige, Panjabi as a regional language occupies its place only after English and Hindi. Prior to India's independence, English had the highest status because of

being the language of the rulers. Its most dominant position has been maintained, since then, by its role in higher education, science and technology, elite categories of employment and as an international language. "English is spoken and understood by only 2% of the population" (Srivastava 1990: 50) in India. Thus, this elite minority has the greatest control and access to the economic resources of India.

On the other hand, Hindi as the national 'official' language, is often perceived, however wrongly, as the 'national' language¹⁰. This status of Hindi, perhaps, is reminiscent of its role as the language of the freedom movement from the British rule. Since the independence of India, Hindi-speaking regions have controlled political power. Hence, Hindi speakers have the greatest access to political power in India. Its knowledge is very important for gaining government jobs at national level.

Broadly speaking, barring various styles and dialects, English, Hindi and Panjabi (in that order of relative status) exist in a triglossic situation in India. Within this context, then, Hindi could be seen as a symbol of 'national identity', besides representing the 'religious identity' for many PHs in the context of the urban Panjab of the pre-1966 period. The influence of the above sociolinguistic situation in India cannot be ruled out as at least a partial explanation of the way Southall's PHs perceive the values of these languages.

However, in Britain these three languages do not exist in quite the same relationship because Hindi, like Panjabi,

¹⁰ Hindi is just one of the 15 national languages of which one is Panjabi.

has minority status at the national level. But at the community level, at least for many PHs, Panjabi exists with Hindi and English in separate diglossic situations for different reasons. Hindi forms a diglossic situation with Panjabi because of its integrative value, and English constitutes a diglossic situation with Panjabi because of its instrumental value. These two diglossic situations appear to explain the PH's more positive attitude towards Hindi and English vis-a-vis Panjabi. Within this context, however, we need to remind ourselves that PHs from the rural Panjab, of the 30-39 yrs first-generation group, and of the 10-19 yrs third-generation group showed a more positive attitude towards Panjabi than the other groups based on their geographical origin and age.

I am talking here only of broad tendencies. However, it is not difficult to identify individual examples which may not match with these tendencies. The complexity of the situation itself has made it difficult to present it simply. In this context, I would like the readers to note the following significant findings of the survey once again.

First, as the survey findings convincingly show, PHs in Britain are not a homogeneous "speech community". Variation in attitudes towards various aspects of culture and language are not only at the levels of age and gender, but there are differences at the ideological level and in terms of where these PHs originate from.

Second, Hindi-Hinduism for the most part seemed to have been an urban movement in the Panjab. Therefore, even though a large number of PH informants want to learn Hindi in the Devanagari script, not all of them want to do so for

religious reasons. There are others who wish to do so for cultural reasons. They equate Hindi with PHs' cultural identity, rather than with religious identity.

Third, the assertion of Panjabi in the Gurmukhi script as a symbol of Panjabis', both Hindus' and Sikhs', cultural identity was a response to factors emerging from within the minority. Many PHs responded to the post-1984 incidents in Southall by such overt sociolinguistic acts as: sending children to learn Hindi at Hindu temples rather than Panjabi at the Sikh temples; choosing Hindi, instead of Panjabi, in the mainstream schools; visiting the Hindu temples more often, instead of the Sikh temples; and in their preference for marriage partners from the Hindi-speaking speech group, instead of Panjabi Sikhs.

Fourth, the third generation PHs have generally shown a slightly more positive attitude towards Panjabi and more conservative views about matrimonial alliance than many of the older generation PHs. These attitudes may prove to be a favourable factor for the maintenance of the Panjabi and Hindi languages in Britain in the future. At the same time, as generally agreed by the informants across different age groups, because of the presence of a larger Panjabi Sikh community in Southall, Panjabi plays an important role in PHs lives, both socially and commercially. It is the desire for their children to learn Hindi in the Devanagiri script where many PH parents may have influenced their children with their own views. As a result, as their parents have done in the past, many of the third generation PHs are growing up trilingual in Panjabi, Hindi and English.

Fifth, the discussion on the relative status of Panjabi and Hindi and the use of mixed-code in PHs'

everyday discourse for identification purposes shows how these languages and the associated attitudes are passed on to the younger generations by the older generations.

Finally, in conclusion, the PH community has shown a high subjective ethnolinguistic vitality which favours language maintenance.

Chapter 5: SPOKEN LANGUAGES IN EVERYDAY LIFE5.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at the reported pattern of language choice by the Panjabi Hindu community. As discussed in chapter 1 (sec. 1.6), the concept of domain is employed to identify broader patterns of language choice. Individuals' language choices are explained in terms of participants' identities and role-relationships.

However, before exploring the pattern of language choice of the Panjabi Hindu community, it is essential to have an overview of its verbal repertoire: the various languages available to the community from which individuals make their choices in everyday interactions.

5.1 Verbal Repertoire of the Panjabi Hindus in Southall

The informants were asked (Q 12, Appendix III) which languages they knew. As Table 5.1 below shows, informants have reported knowledge of a wide range of languages.

Language/ Age Gr.	N= 86	P	H	E	U	Sw	Gj	Fr	Gm
10-19	29	86.2	58.6	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	69.0	27.6
20-29	12	83.4	83.4	100.0	0.0	0.0	8.4	41.7	16.6
30-39	17	100.0	100.0	100.0	11.8	5.9	5.9	0.0	0.0
40-49	14	78.6	100.0	92.9	7.1	28.6	14.3	0.0	0.0
50+	14	100.0	100.0	85.7	35.7	21.4	14.3	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	86	89.5	83.7	96.5	9.3	9.3	7.0	29.1	11.6

Table 5.1: Degree of Multilingualism in the PH community
(P-Panjabi; H-Hindi; E-English; U-Urdu;
Sw-Swahili; Gj-Gujarati; Fr-French; Gm-German)

In the TOTAL row, the considerably higher percentage scores of Panjabi, Hindi and English, as compared to other languages, reflect the fact that these languages form the main verbal repertoire of the Panjabi Hindu's in Southall. The first (30-39 yrs, 40-49 yrs, 50+ yrs), second (20-29

yrs) and the third (10-19 yrs) generation informants have shown variation in reporting these and other languages.

French and German are reported only by the second and third generation informants who have been brought up and educated in Britain. The first generation, particularly the 51+ yrs group, was the only one to have a significant proportion who claimed a knowledge of Urdu (35%). These informants are from the Panjab and Delhi and were educated before 1947 when Urdu was the language of education in the Panjab in pre-independent India (see Ch. 2, sec. 2.3.1).

Knowledge of Gujarati and Swahili is claimed by only those informants who migrated from East Africa. Although the Panjab and Gujarat states in India are far apart geographically, which does not support the development of Panjabi-Gujarati bilingualism, this was not the case in East Africa. Panjabis and Gujaratis lived and worked there at close quarters. Panjabi, Hindi and Gujarati were taught in schools as well. In certain cases, as some of the informants reported, they had no choice but to learn Gujarati because Panjabi and Hindi were not offered in the schools in their catchment area. 10.5 per cent of the total sample, mainly from the first generation, reported Panjabi-Hindi-English-Gujarati-Swahili multilingualism. However, none of the third generation informants reported a knowledge of Gujarati.

Similarly, Swahili has not been passed on to the third generation, 10-19 yrs, either (see Table 5.1). In this case, even the second generation, 20-29 yrs, did not claim knowledge of it. Some of these informants said that they did not envisage themselves and their children going back to Africa, and therefore, passing on Swahili to the younger

generation was not a priority. However, their distinct identity from other Panjabis from India is marked by the incorporation of Swahili lexical items (see Ch. 4, sec. 4.2.2.4 and Appendix IVa, sec. IVa.2) in their use of Panjabi, Hindi and English.

The main languages that are being passed on to the younger generations are Panjabi and Hindi. Even there, despite a more positive attitude towards Hindi by the majority of the informants (cf. Ch. 4, sec. 4.2.2), Panjabi, more than Hindi, is carried on by the third generation (Table 5.1). The importance of Hindi for the majority of the informants lies in written, rather than oral, skills in this language (cf. Ch. 4, sec. 4.2.3 and Ch. 7). It is the Delhi and urban Panjab PHs who place more emphasis on the oral skills as well as written skills in Hindi than do the ones from the rural Panjab and E. Africa.

The informants' claimed competence relating to different linguistic skills in Panjabi, Hindi and English was further explored through question 13. In this case they were asked to self-evaluate their competence in these languages on a three point scale: Not at all: 1; Only a little: 2; Quite well: 3. The results (in percentages) are as follows:

Language	Understanding			Speaking		
	P	H	E	P	H	E
Not at all	1.2	4.7	2.3	3.5	14.0	2.3
Only a little	9.3	15.1	10.5	17.4	26.7	11.7
Quite Well	89.5	80.2	87.2	79.1	59.3	86.0

Table 5.2: The Claimed Language Control by PHs

If we compare the 'languages known' displayed in Table 5.1 earlier with the claimed control of the languages known

in Table 5.2 above, we find that there is a discrepancy. Figures for 'languages known' (Table 5.1) are much nearer to the figures for 'understanding' the languages than to the 'speaking' of languages (Table 5.2). Apparently, these respondents think that 'understanding' a language is sufficient for 'knowing' a language. That is, understanding a language is enough to participate in spoken verbal interaction. Although many reported 'quite well' for all the three languages, there are some who indicated otherwise.

If we look at Table 5.3 (cf. Appendix V), it is clear that different age groups display slightly different patterns. The fact that the third generation (10-19 yrs) report much less command over speaking than understanding Hindi vis-a-vis Panjabi shows that they distinguish between the two languages. This is crucial from the point of view that they are aware of the difference when reporting their language choice patterns.

A majority of the respondents (Appendix V, Table 5.3) in all the age groups think that they understand Panjabi 'quite well'. But the same does not hold in the second (20-29) and third (10-19) generation groups for speaking skills in Panjabi. The difference in this area is greater when it comes to Hindi. Even the 30-39 yrs and 40-49 yrs age groups of the first generation feel less confident in declaring their competence in speaking Hindi than in understanding it.

The third generation informants appear to be more confident in claiming command of Hindi than do the second generation. In contrast to the earlier findings about knowledge of Hindi (Table 5.1), slightly more third

generation than second generation informants reported competence in speaking and understanding skills of Hindi as 'quite well' (Appendix V, Table 5.3).

There is also some gender-related variation in command of these languages.

Language/Sex --->		Panjabi		Hindi		English	
	Scale	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Understand	Not at all	2.3	---	4.7	4.7	---	4.7
	little	11.6	7.0	18.6	11.6	2.3	18.6
	Quite Well	86.1	93.0	76.7	83.7	97.7	76.7
Speak	Not at all	4.7	2.3	16.3	11.6	---	4.7
	little	18.6	16.3	20.9	32.6	2.3	23.3
	Quite Well	76.7	81.4	62.8	55.8	97.7	72.0

Table 5.4: Claimed Language Control of PHs by Sex

As the percentage scores in Table 5.4 show, the gender-related differences appear to be more significant for English than for Panjabi and Hindi: men claiming command of understanding and spoken skills in English more than women. However, if we combine gender and age-related differences (see Table 5.5(a,b) in Appendix V), it is only the first generation women who show less command of English than men.

The gender and age-related differences for Panjabi and Hindi do not show a very clear pattern. However, slightly more women claimed command of Panjabi than men, the exceptions are the 40-49 and 50+ age groups. With regard to Hindi, many more men than women from the second generation (20-29 yrs) report command of spoken skills.

In general, more first generation informants, than the second and third generation, claim command of Panjabi and Hindi, notably with respect to spoken skills.

The differences between the generations regarding command of Panjabi, Hindi and English could be partially attributed to the languages learnt formally (in mainstream school or voluntary classes) and the period of time for which these languages are learnt (Q 11). This can be seen in Table 5.6, below.

Age Group	Languages Learnt			For 2-3 years			For 4/more years		
	P	H	E	P	H	E	P	H	E
10-19	34.5	10.3	100.0	27.6	24.1	---	6.9	6.9	100.0
20-29	16.7	8.3	100.0	---	---	---	16.7	16.7	100.0
30-39	70.6	100.0	94.1	---	5.9	17.6	70.6	88.2	70.6
40-49	61.5	100.0	92.3	---	---	---	61.5	84.6	84.6
50+	14.3	92.9	71.4	---	7.1	21.4	14.3	64.3	50.0

Table 5.6: Languages Learnt and Length of Time Languages Learnt at School by PHs

The first generation learnt Panjabi and Hindi for a much longer period than the second and third generations. Although more informants in the third generation than second generation have learnt Panjabi and Hindi, those of the second generation have learnt it for a longer period of time. However, many of the third generation informants were still in the process of learning these languages when the survey was carried out.

Various age groups within the first generation also show variations with respect to the learning of languages. This can be explained by the different sociolinguistic and educational environments in which they were brought up, whether in the Panjab, Delhi or E. Africa. This obviously means that there are other intervening factors apart from language in education which may have an influence on group variation in control over these languages: for example, informal exposure to these languages, the status of these

languages in Britain and the places of emigration of these groups, etc. These points are explored further in Chapter 6 where patterns of language choice by different age groups are compared in detail. What needs to be noted here is that, as reported, different groups of informants exercise different degrees of control over Panjabi, Hindi and English, which may shape their own and their interlocutors' linguistic choices in everyday interaction.

5.2 Overall Patterns of Language Choice

Question 23 was designed to explore the spoken language choice patterns of the informants with various interlocutors with whom they come into contact recurrently. As discussed in chapter 3 (sec. 3.3.3.1), these interlocutors were identified on the basis of a systematic observation of the daily life cycles of PHs in Southall. The informants were asked which languages they used with different interlocutors on the following scale: 1= never, 2= sometimes and 3= very often. They were also asked to report their interaction with only South Asian interlocutors, e.g. South Asian shop assistant or colleague at work, which would allow them a greater language choice. The overall percentage scores of language choices are shown in Table 5.7 below.

Panjabi		Panjabi-Hindi		Hindi		Panjabi-English	
V.often	S.time	V.oft	S.time	V.oft	S.time	V.oft	S.time
35.4	5.9	8.8	---	9.8	3.7	3.9	---

Panjabi-Hindi-English		Hindi-English		English	
Very often	Sometime	V.often	S.time	V.often	S.time
3.4	---	1.6	---	37.1	---

Table 5.7: Language Choice Patterns of PHs

As we saw in section 5.1, the first generation informants of the E. African background did not claim knowledge of Gujarati and Swahili. Here, as we see in the above table, even those older generation informants who had claimed knowledge of these languages have not reported their use. The scope of this study did not allow further exploration of this phenomenon which appears to indicate the loss of these languages among E. African Panjabi Hindus in Southall. However, this would be an interesting area of research for other studies among PHs in the future.

The 'knowledge' of the other three languages: Panjabi, Hindi and English reported by a majority of the informants in section 5.1 are also reported as part of the language choice patterns in the above table. As the highlighted scores in the table above reflect, the use of Panjabi and English on their own is more dominant than Hindi alone or any combination of Panjabi, Hindi and English. This shows that the use of Hindi could only be associated *more* with certain groups of PHs than others. In section 5.3 below, I will explore this aspect of the responses in detail.

For the ease of comparison, throughout the rest of this chapter, I shall refer to the cumulative scores of the claimed use of Panjabi, Hindi and English with various interlocutors. The SPSSX statistical package was used to carry out this calculation. The total percentage scores for informants, who reported, for example, their use of 'Panjabi-Hindi-English' as 'very often', with a particular interlocutor was added to the total percentage scores for each group of informants, who reported their use of only Panjabi, only Hindi and only English as 'very often', with the same interlocutor. Therefore, the total percentage use

of Panjabi, Hindi and English with each interlocutor does not necessarily add up to a hundred percent, as in the case of the 'very often' scores in Table 5.7 above. The scores could be either higher or lower than a hundred percent. For example, the total percentage use of Panjabi, Hindi and English with the interlocutor 'grandfather' in Table 5.9, section 5.2.1.1, below adds up to more than a hundred.

5.2.1 Patterns of Language Choice by Domain

As discussed in chapter 1 (sec. 1.1.1.3), domain is a technique used to categorize major clusters of language use. It is taken to be a constellation of factors such as location/place, topic and participants (Fishman 1964, 1965, 1968). However, the identity of domains varies from community to community in terms of sociolinguistic norms. "There is no universal set applicable to all speech communities." (Downes 1984: 49).

In the pilot survey, language choice patterns were elicited in terms of the informants' interaction with the same set of interlocutors in different locales: 'home', 'outside home' and 'place of worship'. But the analysis did not show a very significant difference between locales in relation to the informants' language choices. The role relationship with a particular interlocutor turned out to be more important in determining language choices made by the informants. Therefore, in the main project locales were not included in the questionnaires. While eliciting the language use data, informants were asked 'why' they made a particular language choice. As I observed, and as the majority of the informants themselves said, the participants' identities and role-relationships and their

degree of control of shared languages played a more important role than the topic or locale, in determining their language choices in a given situation.

To capture broad trends of language choice, the domains of language behaviour that are identified in this study are: 'religion', 'family', 'community' 'employment' and 'education'. While identifying these domains, as I discussed in chapter 3 (sec. 3.3.3.1) I relied on ethnographic observations of Panjabi Hindus' sociolinguistic behaviour in their day-to-day life.

Domain is a useful concept, but it cannot be applied to a real life situation mechanically. As discussed in chapter 1 (sec. 1.6), individuals should be treated as active agents and the boundaries of different domains should be treated as overlapping, rather than rigid. For example, the interlocutors 'father' and 'priest' can and do come into contact with an informant both at home and at the temple. But these interlocutors' and the informant's sociolinguistic behaviour are likely to be shaped by the norms of the locales which construct their identities and relationships.

However, role-relationships could only be seen as a continuum, more rigid in some cases than in others. For example, a 'father-son' relationship may be more rigid than a 'friend-friend' relationship. 'Same person as a friend' can be a colleague at work, a shopkeeper or a customer, a priest, and a Sikh, Hindu or a Muslim. In this context, such a friend can come into contact in a variety of locales, assume different identities, and, thus, may adopt a particular sociolinguistic behaviour appropriate to a

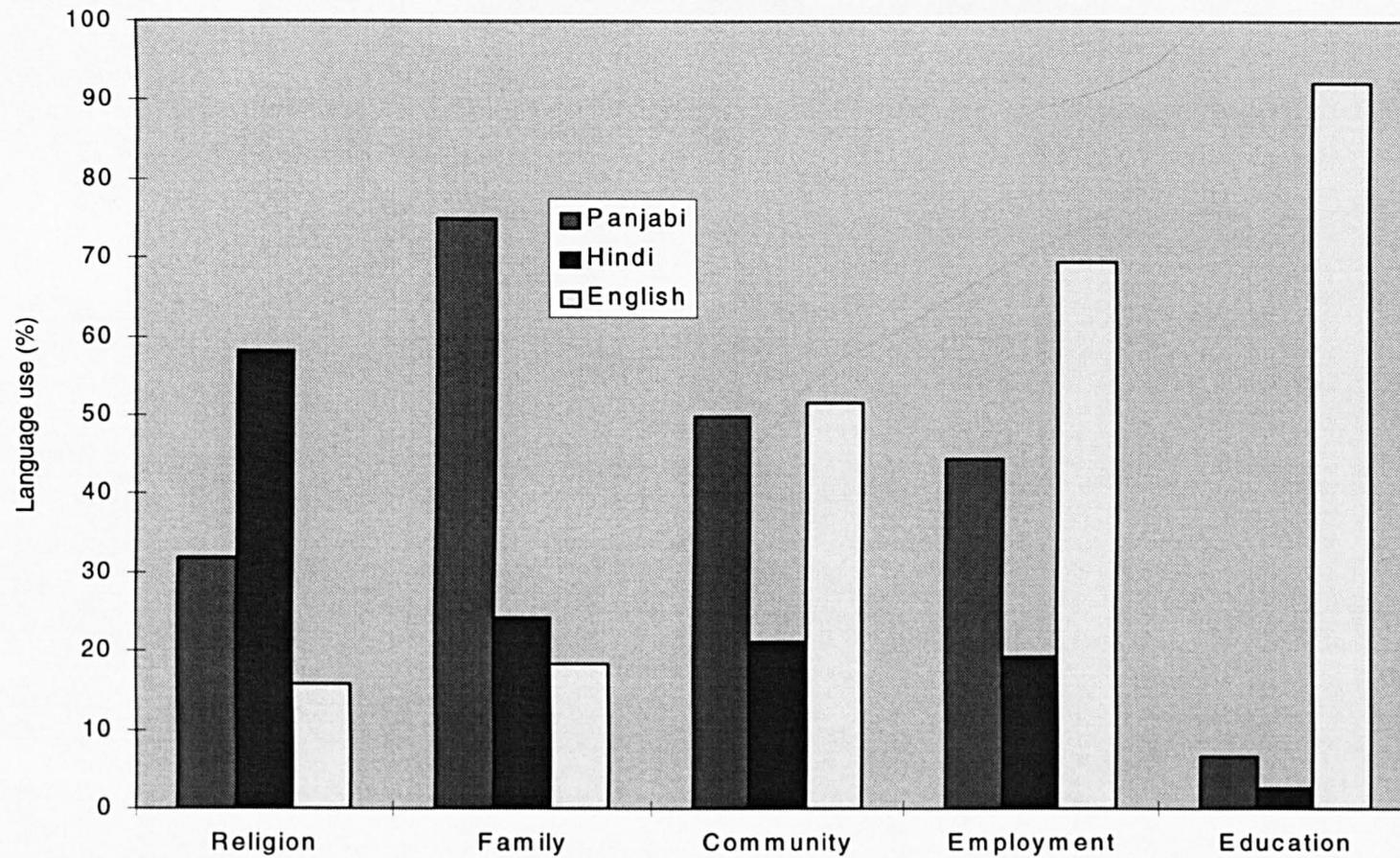


Fig. 5.1 : Reported language use of PHs by domain

particular locale. On the other hand, s\he may flout the norms of that locale and behave differently.

However, a given set of interlocutors come into contact with each other more frequently in one locale than others. This was so in the case of PH informants in Southall. In this study, therefore, the domain of 'religion' may be mainly associated with the Hindu temple locale and the interlocutors 'priest' and 'god'; 'Family' domain with 'home' and with immediate and extended family members; 'community' domain with community locale (outside-home) and with 'friends', 'neighbours' and 'shopkeepers'; 'employment' domain with work and with colleagues of 'senior', 'equal' and 'junior' statuses; and 'education' domain with school, college or university and with 'teachers' and 'students'. My ethnographic observations in Southall helped me to understand different norms associated with different domains and how they shaped individuals' role-relationships and, thus, their language choices.

I shall begin, here, by looking at the overall pattern of language choices in the domains outlined above. As Fig. 5.1 (also Table 5.8 in Appendix V) on page 195 shows, the informants' reported choices of Panjabi, Hindi and English seem to be associated more with one particular domain than with others. The use of Panjabi is dominant in the family domain, that of Hindi in the religious domain, and English in the education domain. These three domains appear to polarise the norms of behaviour of PHs in Southall. The choice of Panjabi in the family domain and Hindi in the religious domain seems to be shaped more by the PH community's norms, but their use of English in the

education domain is overwhelmingly shaped by the 'host' society's norms.

Although English is dominant in the employment domain, where the 'host' society's norms are expected to be predominant, the use of Panjabi is considerably high. In contrast, the use of English in the family domain is relatively low.

The almost equal use of Panjabi and English in the community domain appears to suggest that the wider South Asian community's norms are operative there. Except in the religious domain, where the use of Hindi projects PHs' 'religious' identity, its use in the rest of the domains is not very high.

The domain analysis, at best, can only provide a very generalised picture to capture broad trends. This generalised picture tends to hide the variation in the linguistic choices of individuals. As we will see in the following sections of this chapter, and in chapter 6, such variation does exist among different groups of PH informants.

5.2.1.1 Language Choice in the Family Domain

In chapter 2 (sec. 2.2), I discussed the role-relationships of individuals in an Indian family. Here, I will elaborate on these to help interpret informants' linguistic choices.

In the family domain, an individual has a chance to be her/himself because s/he is among other individuals with whom s/he has established relationships. These relationships make a part of his/her 'primary communication circle'. The individual is brought up in a culture where,

under normal conditions, one is expected to be constantly obedient and responsible to the older relations at home. The power and status that an older person holds in a relationship is seen in terms of respect, affection and reward. The respect of and obedience to elders is reciprocated in terms of affection, reward, and responsibility towards younger ones for their well being. Misuse of power can be questioned by the immediate family relations.

Elders are expected to perform their duties and take responsibility for younger generations' individual and social needs: firstly to prepare them for maintaining the family and/or immediate minority culture, and also to prepare them for surviving in the cultures outside the home (which in this case are both the minority cultures and that of the 'host' society's). The individuals make efforts to accommodate to the expected behaviour to uphold family pride in front of outsiders, e.g. relatives and community members. As I pointed out in chapter 2 (sec. 2.2), according to Parekh (1986) and Ballard (1990), the Indian family also constitute the basic building block in the local social structure. Therefore, depending on the outsiders' sociocultural attitudes towards Panjabi, Hindi and English (see Appendix Va, sec. Va.1, for details), members of family adjust their sociolinguistic behaviour towards each other.

Family obligations are sometimes observed more strictly with the adjacent generations, i.e. more between parents and children, than between alternate generations, i.e. between grandparents and grandchildren. Individuals within the same generation in the family, i.e. siblings,

tend to hold the relationship of equality, which provides them with more opportunity for being themselves.

My ethnographic work in the community informed me that these hierarchical role-relationships still exist in the majority of Panjabi Hindu families. The Indian community beyond the PHS in Southall and, in particular, the close proximity of families related by kinship helps to sustain this social structure.

The status and position an individual holds in the hierarchical structure of the family puts certain obligations on him/her to choose a particular language with his/her addressee. Therefore, a person's status in this hierarchy is helpful in understanding and explaining his/her language behaviour. In such a situation, the language attitudes of elders in the community and the family play a significant role in shaping the language practices.

However, individuals' language use is not always shaped by the social structure. There are occasions when such role-relationships and social hierarchy are challenged by individuals through language practices. This happens mostly in the case of the use of English by the younger generation of Panjabi Hindus at home, against some parents' wishes.

Table 5.9 below shows percentage scores of informants' reported choices of Panjabi, Hindi and English with different interlocutors in the family domain. As the percentage scores in the table show, the informants' use of Panjabi is very high with people of the parents and grandparents generations. The use of Panjabi is relatively lower, and that of English is the highest, with

respondents' own generation, i.e. siblings. The use of Hindi is highest with spouse, followed by grandparents, and the least with parents. I will now look at the respondents' language use with each interlocutor in turn.

Lg.Choice--> Interlocutor	Panjabi		Hindi		English	
	Voften	S.time	V.often	S.time	V.often	S.time
Grandfather	85.9	1.2	25.9	4.7	5.9	4.7
Grandmother	87.1	1.2	24.7	3.5	5.9	1.2
Father	70.6	15.3	16.5	5.9	27.1	8.2
Mother	80.2	10.5	19.8	4.7	12.8	14.0
Spouse	80.9	4.5	36.2	3.5	10.6	12.8
Siblings	50.0		18.6		45.3	
Relatives	70.9	9.3	27.9	3.5	22.1	11.6

Table 5.9 : Reported Language Choice of PHs in the Family Domain

Grandparents:

The highest use of Panjabi with grandparents and with people of their generation can be explained in terms of obedience, language control and "accommodation" (Giles and Coupland 1991: 60-93). Not everybody of this generation, mostly 50 and over (cf. Table 5.3, Appendix V), has a very good command over English, therefore, out of respect, the younger generation informants converge¹ towards them. Even those younger generation informants who have a limited command of Panjabi try to address their grandparents in Panjabi.

Hindi is used with those grandparents who believe in the cause of Hindi and who encourage their younger generations to use it. This group of people are generally the ones who declare Hindi to be their MT, and who have migrated from Delhi.

¹ "Convergence has been defined as a strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviours..." (Giles and Coupland 1991: 63).

There is a tiny minority of grandfather-grandchildren dyads where English is used. In some cases grandfathers know English and they try to accommodate to their grandchildren. In some other cases, attitudes, prestige and the practical value of English also play a role.

Spouse:

In this context the interlocutors hold the relationship of equality. The percentage use of Panjabi (80.9%) here is very high and that of English (10.6%) is very low, with Hindi (36.2%) in the middle position. They use the language with which they feel most comfortable. Most of the first generation informants, as discussed in section 5.1 earlier, feel more confident in communicating in Panjabi and Hindi. Their attitudes and place of origin also play an important role in this context. For example, generally those who have more positive attitudes towards Hindi and/or better command over Hindi tend to use it more with their spouse.

Mother:

Language use with the mother can also be explained in terms of obedience, language control and accommodation. In addition, she also has the main responsibility (because of her expected domestic role, even if she works outside the home) to pass on the culture to the next generation.

The use of Panjabi (80.2%) by children with their mothers is the highest. The reason for this is that only a relatively small number of women speak English quite well (section 5.1), though a larger number can understand it. However, the decision for choice does not always reside

with the children. Mothers can demand of their children that they speak in Panjabi, even if they may not want to do so at a particular moment.

A smaller percentage (though higher than English) of informants speak to their mothers in Hindi (19.8%). They are the ones who would like or whose parents would like to improve their Hindi competence. These informants are generally from Delhi and have stronger Hindi affiliation.

Father:

Father is the main authority figure in the home. He is traditionally seen as the one who has the main responsibility to maintain the link with the world outside the home. Therefore, he is expected to be largely responsible for passing on knowledge of the outside world to the next generation. He is also more likely to possess better knowledge of English than the mother (see sec. 5.1 for gender related language control). It is in this context that we can interpret the higher reported use of English (27.1%) with fathers than with mothers, and the lower use of Panjabi (70.6%) with them than with mothers. Generally, fathers were observed to encourage children to speak English. English is seen to give access to the material needs in Britain; whereas the use of Panjabi and to a lesser degree Hindi here serve the ideological need (see Ch. 4, secs. 4.2.2 and 4.2.3).

Relatives:

The reported language use with relatives is the highest in Panjabi (70.9%), less in Hindi (27.9) and the least in English (22.1%).

Older relatives are the ones who bring outside pressure into the home. Some relatives demand that parents exercise their responsibility for maintaining the cultures and languages (be it Panjabi-Panjabi or Hindi-Hindu culture) of the home and the community. Others expect them to prepare their children for the host society's world. They are the ones who see English as a sign of progress and modernisation (cf Appendix Va). However, the choice of Panjabi, Hindi and English is sometimes made to accommodate to relatives' attitudes as well as their command of these languages. Relatives also try to accommodate to children's ease of use of English.

The informants whose family origin is the rural Panjab show the highest use of Panjabi with relatives, whereas those of a Delhi background use Hindi with them. In contrast, the former group shows less use of Hindi than the latter.

Siblings:

The relationship among siblings, like that between spouses, marks equality. Generally, siblings are not under great pressure to choose a particular language. Among themselves they may use whichever language they feel comfortable with.

The use of English (50.0%) is nearly as high as that of Panjabi (45.3%) among siblings. There is some use of Hindi (18.6%) as well. Most respondents in this category fall into the middle and younger age groups ranges. The middle age groups feel comfortable in both Panjabi and English, and have a good command of these languages. The

younger age groups feel most comfortable in English and they use this language most frequently.

The Delhi group tends to use less Panjabi than the other groups, while the use of Hindi is negligible among the rural Panjab background group.

5.2.1.2 Language Choice in the Community Domain

Within this domain an individual moves from private to public behaviour. Even where their role relationship is equal, the individuals' behaviour is under more scrutiny and constrained by wider community norms than in family interaction. As opposed to the family domain, the feature 'formality' assumes greater importance. The more an individual takes on a behaviour which is suitable to him/herself but which is deviant from the wider community norms, the more likely s/he will be in conflict with others. Language use is one of the significant components of this behaviour.

The three role relationships, viz. personal friends, neighbours and shopkeepers, in this domain exert different degrees of control on the individual and assume varying degrees of formality.

Lg.Choice--> Interlocutor	Panjabi		Hindi		English	
	V.oft.	S.time	V.oft.	S.time	V.oft.	S.time
Friends	47.7	9.3	26.7	8.1	54.7	5.8
Neighbours	59.3	5.8	19.8	4.7	41.9	7.0
Shopkeepers	43.0	9.3	17.4	5.8	58.1	2.3

Table 5.10: Reported Language Choice of PHs in the Community Domain

As the scores in Table 5.10 show, the use of Panjabi and English with the neighbours is slightly different from their use with friends and shopkeepers.

One makes personal friends, generally, on the basis of individual choice, therefore, personal behaviour need not come into conflict with them. The almost equal use of Panjabi and English with friends reflects in one way this equal relationship. The use of Hindi is not that high, but it is higher than with any of the other two interlocutors.

On the other hand, one cannot always choose one's neighbour. This interactional situation is, therefore, more restricted (unless neighbours are personal friends too). The use of Panjabi with neighbours is slightly higher than that of English, whereas the use of Hindi is the lowest. This is not surprising as most informants have Panjabi neighbours, both Hindus and Sikhs. Sometimes the choice of Hindi with Sikh neighbours marks it as a linguistically divergent behaviour (Giles and Coupland 1991)² and reflects the ethno-religious conflict of the 1980s (see Ch. 4, secs. 4.2.2. and 4.2.3). As one of the informants (Informant No. 66), who has a Sikh neighbour, told me:

"Khalistanis (*those who believe in the cause of a separate Sikh nation*) have no right of turning the Panjab into Khalistan. Hindus live there too. It is their land too. I don't have anything against other Sikhs and I don't mind using Panjabi with them. But I don't like Khalistanis and I use Hindi with them deliberately to show I am a Panjabi Hindu. My neighbour is one of them (*Khalistanis*). I speak to him in Hindi and he speaks to me in Panjabi."

However, the tendency and need, as discussed in chapter 4 (sec. 4.2.3), of most of the Panjabi Hindus is to

² "Divergence ... refers to the way in which speakers accentuate speech and non-verbal differences between themselves and others." (Giles and Coupland 1991: 65).

live in harmony as they live and work with a Panjabi Sikh majority in Southall. Therefore, there is a greater degree of mutual linguistic accommodation shown through Panjabi.

With the shopkeepers (assistants/owners) the use of English (58%) is higher than Panjabi (43%) and Hindi (17.4%). However, the use of Panjabi and Hindi in this situation reflects the ethnic market economy in Southall. Most shopkeepers in Southall know Panjabi and/or Hindi.

In this domain, communication is mainly governed by practical needs, and the status of the customer and the shopkeeper is equal. A smooth transaction depends on effective communication, therefore a great degree of linguistic accommodation is demanded by this situation. As I observed myself, this was reflected in the shopkeepers' and the customers' linguistic choices in most situations. Where accommodation did not take place, at times, a non-reciprocal code-switching took place marking speakers' linguistically divergent behaviour.

For example, once in Southall I observed a teenage boy, who was running part of a utensil shop, using Panjabi and English with different customers of different age groups: generally, he used Panjabi with the older generation and English with the younger generation. I approached him and inquired in Panjabi about some of the utensils displayed. During this conversation, which lasted about 2 to 3 minutes, this boy continuously responded in English to my inquiries in Panjabi. He would not have had difficulty in guessing my age and, thus, that I should have been able to speak and respond to him in English. Perhaps that is why he reciprocated my divergent behaviour. It is also possible that he did not take me as a serious

customer. Whatever the reason, the divergent linguistic choice by the teenager showed that individuals do not always passively follow social conventions and make their language choices appropriate to those social conventions.

During my many stays in Southall, I quite frequently ate in Indian restaurants. Thus, I came to know some of the waiters or owners (who themselves served the food) quite well. Some of these older generation waiters and owners did not know English and Hindi very well. During our conversation about the language situation in Southall, they often complained that some Panjabi customers deliberately used English or Hindi to show that they were educated. I myself observed this happening on some occasions. Such choices reflect the prestige that English and Hindi hold in the Southall community.

My observations indicated that in the community context, Hindi is seen as a prestige language not only by Panjabi Hindus, but also by Panjabi Sikhs and Gujarati Hindus. Here, Hindi draws its prestige from the relatively higher position it holds in comparison with other regional languages, e.g. Panjabi and Gujarati, in India (see Ch. 4, sec. 4.3).

5.2.1.3 Language Choice in the Religious Domain

This domain demands a high degree of formality and control. It is also related to an individual's cultural identity. It is generally considered to be a domain where cultural and linguistic maintenance is the strongest. However, in the case of Panjabi Hindus, this domain is a potential site for linguistic shift. Instead of their first language or MT, i.e. Panjabi, it is the language perceived

by many to be associated with the Hindu religion, i.e. Hindi, that dominates and symbolizes this domain.

The two main interlocutors in this domain are priests, the religious figureheads of the community, and Hindu Gods. For the latter, informants were asked what language they used while praying to the Gods silently and aloud. As the table below show, the percentage of Hindi users is larger than those who use Panjabi or English.

Lg.Choice---> Interlocutor	Panjabi		Hindi		English	
	V.oft.	S.time	V.oft.	S.time	V.oft.	S.time
Priest	37.8	1.2	54.9		3.7	2.4
Praying						
Silently	37.3		53.7		23.8	
Praying Aloud	20.3		66.1		20.3	

Table 5.11: Reported language choice of PHs in the Religious Domain

As the above table shows, Hindi is the main language for communication with the Priest. The second language in the order is Panjabi, whereas the use of English is negligible. In a formal situation the language used with the priest is almost always Hindi, depending on the speaker's command of Hindi. Even children try to speak to priests in Hindi because, as many of them think, Hindi is the language that the priests know (which is not always the case in reality). On the other hand, one of the priests who did not know English well told me that sometimes he also tried to speak English to younger generation people who could not speak Hindi or Panjabi very well.

The use of Panjabi with a priest tends to take place more in informal situations when people talk to him on a one-to-one basis. This happens more during the day on week days when scheduled religious worshipping does not take

place. Those people who only had Panjabi-medium primary school education and/or who are mostly from the rural Panjab use more Panjabi with priests than any other group. The informants who have stronger tendencies towards Hindi as their MT, and/or who have a Delhi background or, to a comparatively lesser degree, an urban Panjab background, use more Hindi with priests.

Praying to gods involves a situation where the religious prayers are chanted, sometimes alone but mostly with others. These prayers are always in Hindi, thus ruling out the choice of other languages in this situation. These rituals can be performed either in the temple or at home. At home people generally have pictures and/or idols of Hindu gods. Such occasions provide extensive passive exposure and oral training in Hindi to children.

This situation of ritualistic worship also demonstrates an overt display of one's identity. The individuals, through consensus, are bound by a unitary norm of ritualistic worship in a particular language. The main language reported in this situation is Hindi.

The other situation in which an individual worships gods is the one where individuals communicate with god/gods for personal reasons. Here they are one-to-one with god/s and address him/her silently. It is an informal and intimate situation for them. The informality of the situation is sometimes signalled by the use of second person pronoun [tuu] in addressing the god. (This pronoun, depending on the context, may mark a role relationship as informal or an unequal relationship based on status or power.) Here, the informants have again reported the highest use of Hindi. The dominance of Hindi here can be

summarised, in one sense, in what is said by a teenager (Informant No. 12):

"I suppose I choose Hindi in praying to the Hindu God because I think he only understands Hindi."

In the temple, as I observed, Panjabi Hindus exchange pleasantries in Hindi and Panjabi and use them for discussing religious topics.

The temple's executive committee meetings are conducted mainly in Hindi, though sometimes in Panjabi, too. Panjabi is also used for informal discussions after the meetings. The announcements made to the devotees inside the main place of worship by the executive committee members regarding the information about festivals, lectures, etc. are mostly made in Hindi and sometimes in Panjabi.

Priests carry out religious rites, like marriage and birth ceremonies, in Sanskrit, but give religious sermons in Hindi. On rare occasions when speakers are invited to give a lecture on a religious theme, some of them even use English. In response to Question 24 (Appendix IIIa), sixty percent of the children, who were born and brought up in this country, say they understand the priest's sermons in Hindi; whereas forty percent say they do not. 54.2 per cent of these respondents think that Hindi should be used for the sermons because that is the language of their religion; whereas 45.8 per cent of them think Hindi should not be used because they do not fully follow it.

5.2.1.4 Language Choice in the Employment Domain

In the work place setting, the level of formality and the degree of social control are very high. Here the dominant society exercises control over the provision and allocation of the resources. The access to such a system depends on how capable an individual is of exploiting these resources. In Britain, the English language is one of the most important and basic tools for assisting the linguistic minorities to gain access to employment. However, it must be pointed out that the English language is not a passport to success as the minority individuals can be discriminated against on grounds of ethnicity and colour despite a good command of English.

Lg.Choice---> Interlocutor	Panjabi		Hindi		English	
	V.oft.	S.time	V.oft.	S.time	V.oft.	S.time
Work (Senior)	37.0	7.4	18.5	8.7	74.1	3.7
Work (Equal)	53.8	5.1	17.9	10.2	66.7	10.3
Work (Junior)	42.9	7.1	21.4	7.1	67.9	3.6

Table 5.12: Reported Language Choice of PHs in the Employment Domain

The reported choice of language for interaction in the work place was elicited with three interlocutors, viz. the informants' seniors, equals and juniors in status. As the above table shows, the dominant language in this setting, not surprisingly, is that of the dominant culture, i.e. English. The unequal power and control inherent in the three relationships are manifested in the patterns of choices of the three languages. With seniors and juniors, the use of English is much higher than that of Panjabi or Hindi; whereas with equals the difference between the use of English and Panjabi is not very great.

In question 27c (Appendix IIIb) I asked informants what language group was dominant at their work place. 63.2% of the informants worked at a place where Panjabi speakers were in the majority; 10.5% worked with an English speaking majority, and 26.3% with colleagues from a mixed language background.

As several informants pointed out, Panjabi and Hindi were not used when a white person, the "overhearer"³ (Bell 1984: 159) is around. The white person in this situation is perceived as representing the dominant cultural ideology which is generally not sympathetic to the use of minority languages. Quite a few informants related incidents of racial abuse. In other situations where the "overhearer" is not involved, the use of Panjabi and Hindi marks speech accommodation to the interlocutor and a sense of identity with the South Asian co-worker.

The use of language at work was explored further by asking (Appendix IIIb; Q 28) the informants which languages they use with the President of workers' union and the fellow members in meetings held by the union which involve only the South Asians. Informants were asked to report the language choice during formal proceedings of the 'meetings' as well as informal discussions/talks before and after the formal proceedings.

Table 5.13 below demonstrates that English is the main language of formal discussion at these 'meetings'. However, some use of Hindi, and to a lesser degree Panjabi, is also reported in this context. What it suggests is that there seems to be a leakage in the English-Minority Language

³ "Third parties whom the speaker knows to be there, but who are not ratified participants, are overhearers."

diglossic situation: the minority languages (Panjabi and Hindi) are beginning to be used in formal situations where only English was appropriate in the past. At the same time, a slightly higher use of Hindi than Panjabi in a formal situation seems to confirm the Hindi-Panjabi diglossic situation (see sec. 5.2.1.2 above).

Situation--> Choice by--> Language	Formal		Informal	
	President	Members	President	Members
Panjabi	7.1	7.1	35.7	57.1
Hindi	14.2	14.3	14.3	21.3
English	78.6	78.6	64.3	42.8

Table 5.13: Reported Language Choice of PHs in Union 'meetings' at Workplace

One informant (No. 54), who is the President of the workers' union at his factory, informed me that he used some Panjabi and Hindi partially for solidarity reasons and partially for reiterating a point to accommodate members who did not have a good understanding of English, especially women. Those members who do not speak English well and/or are not able to express their views in English, use Hindi or Panjabi in formal meetings.

In informal discussions at such meetings, the formal stance of both the President and the members becomes more relaxed. In this situation, the President uses less English and more Panjabi. Compared with the President, members use much more Panjabi and Hindi, and much less English. This is the occasion when one makes sure that his or her point is understood properly and so people try to accommodate linguistically to each other.

5.2.1.5 Language Choice in the Educational Domain

Lg.Choice---> Interlocutor	Panjabi		Hindi		English	
	V.oft.	S.time	V.oft.	S.time	V.oft.	S.time
Teacher	5.3	2.6	2.6	2.6	89.5	2.6
Student	7.9		2.6		94.7	

Table 5.14: Reported language Choice of PHs in the Educational Domain

In the school setting, two role-relationships are dominant: These are the teacher-student and the student-student relationships. The former relationship signifies inequality where power and control are exercised by the teacher. In the latter case, though the relationship is that of equality of status, the formality and expectation of the locale demands the linguistic and cultural behaviour of the dominant ideology. This is reflected, as the scores in Table 5.14 demonstrate, in the overwhelmingly high use of English in this domain. The limited use of Panjabi and Hindi is generally marked with conflict and challenge to the teacher's authority and the system s/he represents. In this context, the use of Panjabi and/or Hindi become symbols of identities.

5.3 Socio-psychological Factors and Language Choice

In the previous section, I discussed various reasons for the informants' language choices with various interlocutors. In this section, I will look at broader trends of such explanations by exploring the association of language choice with the informant's reported mother tongue, language control, the language of instruction in schools, sex, place of origin, and attitudes towards cultural and linguistic maintenance. These associations

will provide us with some general explanations about the variation in patterns of language choice.

5.3.1 Language Choice by Attitude towards "Mother Tongue"

In chapter 4 (sec. 4.2.2.1), we saw that 51.2% of the informants declared Panjabi as their MT, 35.4% Hindi, 4.9% English and 7.3% Panjabi-Hindi. Let us see if their attitudes to MT have any bearing on their language practices.

Lg.Choice-> MT	Panjabi		Hindi		English	
	V.often	S.time	V.often	S.time	V.often	S.time
Panjabi	64.2	6.1	12.4	2.7	35.5	5.8
Hindi	48.6	5.1	44.7	6.8	35.0	2.9
English	23.8	11.5	16.9	2.4	57.8	11.5
Panj.-Hindi	51.5	4.6	31.2	5.6	43.6	5.6

Table 5.15: Reported Language Choice of PHs by Mother Tongue

As Table 5.15 demonstrates, there is some link between language choice and the declared mother tongue. That is, under each column of Panjabi, Hindi and English, Panjabi MT, Hindi MT and English MT groups have the highest scores for the declared MT. However, it must be noted that there are people who do not use the language that they declared to be their MT, for example, 48.6% of the total Hindi MT group uses Panjabi.

Those MT Hindi and MT English groups who do not use Panjabi 'very often' are showing some tendencies towards language shift, but the MT English group is more progressive in this regard.

5.3.2 Language Choice by Attitudes towards Cultural and Linguistic Maintenance

We saw in chapter 4 (sec. 4.1) that 62.3%, a majority, of the informants 'disagreed' and 37.7% agreed with the statement that "we can maintain the cultural identity of our communities even if we cease to use our languages." One would expect the people who 'disagree' with this statement to retain the use of Panjabi or Hindi, depending on which of these they consider to be the vehicle of their cultural identity, whereas those who 'agree' would use more English.

Lg. Choice-> Attitude	Panjabi		Hindi		English	
	V.often	S.time	V.often	S.time	V.often	S.time
Agree	30.8	8.2	17.7	1.2	60.6	6.5
Disagree	60.5	4.9	21.9	3.1	39.3	4.2

Table 5.16: Reported Language Choice of PHs by Attitudes towards Cultural and Linguistic Maintenance

Table 5.16 demonstrates that the 'disagree' group appears to be more retentive of the use of Panjabi and Hindi languages than the 'agree group'. This situation seems to suggest that for some informants non-retention has to do with assimilation into the host society's culture, i.e. British, through English. And for some others, either Panjabi, Hindi or both represent the minority community's culture as opposed to the host society's culture. For some of the informants, as discussed in Chapter 4 (sec. 4.3) and Chapter 7 (sec. 7.3.4) Panjabi symbolises the pan-Panjabi culture and Hindi represents pan-Indian culture or their religious identity.

5.3.3 Language Choice by Place of Origin

As Table 5.17 below shows, the Panjabi Hindu informants, who originate from different places, display a

more contrasting variation in their language choice patterns of Panjabi and Hindi than of English.

Lg.Choice-> Origin	Panjabi		Hindi		English	
	V.often	S.time	V.often	S.time	V.often	S.time
Panjab City	50.0	7.7	28.5	3.3	44.3	5.6
Panjab Vill	60.0	7.0	11.5	2.9	42.9	5.6
Delhi	32.9	1.6	31.7	2.6	47.7	5.5
East Africa	50.4	2.4	23.7	6.5	48.0	5.3

Table 5.17: Reported Language Choice of PHs by Place of Origin (*Vill--Village*)

The groups which originate from the Panjab Village and Delhi exhibit the greatest contrast in their language choice patterns. The former show the highest use of Panjabi and the least use of Hindi; whereas in contrast, the latter uses Panjabi least and Hindi most. The other two groups, Panjab City and East Africa, lie between these two extremes. The Panjab City group and the East African group do, however, differ in their use of Hindi in that the former uses it slightly more.

These language choice patterns seem to suggest that as far as Panjabi is concerned, the Panjab Village group is the most retentive group, followed by the East African group which is slightly more retentive than the Panjab City group, and the Delhi group is the least retentive. As I discussed in chapter 4 (sec. 4.2.1), this pattern was reflected in these groups' attitudes toward MT as well. The highest percentage of the Panjab Village group had declared Panjabi as their MT and the Delhi group had done the same for Hindi; while the other two groups were in the middle in terms of their claims for Panjabi and Hindi as MTs.

The inter-relationship between the Panjabi Hindus' place of family origin, their language attitudes and patterns of language choice, once again emphasize some

relationship between language attitudes and language choice.

5.3.4 Language Choice by Sex

Lg. Choice-> Sex	Panjabi		Hindi		English	
	V.often	S.time	V.often	S.time	V.often	S.time
Female	54.4	6.4	21.2	4.9	45.2	4.0
Male	48.2	7.1	22.8	4.2	46.2	6.5

Table 5.18: Reported Language Choice of PHs by Sex

As Table 5.18 shows, women use slightly more Panjabi than men. In the case of Hindi and English, the gender-related differences of language choices are not significant. As I discussed in chapter 4 (sec. 4.2.1), similar observations could be made from gender-related attitudes toward the MT. The women showed slightly more positive attitudes toward Panjabi, and the men to Hindi.

5.3.5 Language Choice by Language of Instruction at School

Lg. Choice --->		Panjabi	Hindi	English
Lg. in Education				
Primary	Panjabi	77.2	20.3	41.5
	Hindi	49.9	37.5	19.0
	English	3.8	23.6	55.0
Middle	Panjabi	81.4	15.6	19.0
	Hindi	57.9	42.2	25.5
	English	42.3	19.0	55.3
Secondary	Panjabi	91.2	18.6	14.6
	Hindi	52.1	42.0	21.5
	English	46.0	18.2	53.1

Table 5.19: Reported Language Choice of PHs by Language of Instruction at School

As Table 5.19 shows, those who had Panjabi as the medium of instruction at the 'primary', 'middle' and 'secondary' stages of their school education use Panjabi significantly more than those who had Hindi or English as

the media of instruction. Similarly, the 'Hindi medium' group uses more Hindi than the other two groups, and the 'English medium' uses more English than the other two groups.

However, like the 'Panjabi medium' group, at all the three stages of schooling the 'Hindi medium' group uses more Panjabi than the 'English medium' group. This appears to suggest that the 'Hindi medium' group and, particularly, the 'Panjabi medium' group are more maintenance-oriented towards the minority languages than the 'English medium' group.

Findings from the above table demonstrate that the informants' choices of Panjabi, Hindi and English are shaped by their competence in these languages. However, as the informants themselves reported and as I observed myself, in most of the situations speakers tried to accommodate to hearers' competence of the language of interaction.

The findings also suggest that language in education plays an important role in the development of competence in the language. The PH informants wish that their languages are taught in the mainstream schools for their cultural maintenance (see Ch. 4, sec. 4.1) are, therefore, just.

5.4 Summary and Discussion

In this chapter I have looked at the patterns of language choice of the Panjabi Hindu community. The individuals in the community reported to have knowledge of a wide range of languages: Panjabi, Hindi, English, Urdu, Gujarati, Swahili, French and German. But this study has

revealed that only Panjabi, Hindi and English constitute the main verbal repertoire of the community.

My use of the concept of domain (Ch. 1, sec. 1.6; and sec. 5.2.1 above), helped to capture the broader trends of patterns of language choice. Panjabi was found to be mainly associated with the family domain, Hindi with religion, and English with education and, to a lesser degree, employment. If we also take into account PHs' attitudes (Ch. 4, secs. 4.2.1, 4.2.2 and 4.3), and that of other South Asians in Southall (see secs. 5.2.1.2 and 5.2.1.4 above), towards Panjabi, Hindi and English, there appears to be a "double overlapping diglossia" (Fasold 1985: 44-46) situation: Hindi is the High language and Panjabi the Low at the community level; and English is the High language and both Panjabi and Hindi are the Low languages at the wider societal level.

However, unlike Hindi-Panjabi diglossia, English-Hindi/Panjabi diglossia could be seen as being imposed from the top. There is a consensus, as far as maintenance of minority cultures and languages are concerned, to observe the community's norms of sociolinguistic behaviour. However, these norms come into conflict with the norms of sociolinguistic behaviour that are expected from the minority by the wider society, i.e. the majority.

The PH's attitudes towards English appear to be shaped by the colonial and current relationship between the ethnic minority and the white British majority. The wider society's norms of 'appropriacy' of language use are most evident in informants' language practices in the education and employment domains: as demonstrated by the overwhelming reported use of English between South Asian student-student

and student-teacher interactions in Southall schools, and by South Asians' reluctance in using Panjabi and Hindi when a white Britisher was around at the work place.

The wider society's norms of appropriacy of language use in the education and employment domains then, as Eckert (1980: 1054) says, rules out the prospect of random language "choice", the term Fishman (1972) has so generously used (Martin-Jones 1989: 108) for such contexts. However, we did see in section 5.2.1.4 that the informants, and the president and the members at union meetings at work do exercise their language choices by using Hindi and Panjabi to accommodate to each other and to show solidarity. Here the Low status languages may be seen as 'trespassing' (Eckert 1980) into the domain of the High status language if one takes the socially deterministic view of Fishman with regards to 'appropriacy' of language use (cf Ch. 1, secs. 1.1.2.1, 1.3 and 1.5). His consensus view does not see dominant languages 'intruding' the Low domains. My findings show that his definition of the concepts 'domain' and 'diglossia' are too rigid in compartmentalizing the use of two languages in terms of the rules of appropriacy. Also, his model would not take into account the 'strategic' language choices that PH individuals made even when they were following family's and community's norms of behaviour in perpetuating the Indian cultural tradition.

I found the Individual-oriented Perspective (Ch. 1, sec. 1.4) more useful in explaining the PH individuals' language choices through the interlocutors' identities and role-relationships. The individuals adjusted their language choices depending on: whether they were interacting with

someone of higher, lower or equal status or age (e.g. family members, colleagues at work, friends); the preferences or attitudes of the interlocutors (e.g. relatives, neighbours, customers in a shop or restaurants); formal or informal relationship with the interlocutors (priests, colleagues or committee members in a general meeting at work); and interlocutors' competence in a language (e.g. grandparents, grandchildren, mother). They converged or diverged their linguistic behaviour depending on the identity of the interlocutors. I found Giles's 'speech accommodation theory', particularly, useful in explaining the individuals' language choice patterns.

Accommodation to each others' linguistic choices that interlocutors make can be interpreted even more finely by adapting Brown and Levinson's (1978)⁴ notion of 'face work': protecting or threatening one's own or other's face; in a bilingual language choice situation.

One type of 'convergence' can be seen from the point of view of Indian social conventions. Here, for example, despite their lesser control of Panjabi or Hindi, younger generation informants use these languages to accommodate to the older generations' languages choices. This is done out of politeness and respect for the elders who do not feel comfortable speaking English. In the process of protecting elders' face, they do not threaten their own face because their efforts, despite their lack of knowledge of these languages, are seen positively, and are appreciated and rewarded. Therefore, not all face protecting acts result in face threatening acts. However, there are situations where it is so.

⁴ see Appendix V (a), sec. Va.2, for details

In a classroom situation, because of an unequal power relationship, as I observed myself and the Hindi teachers verified, students in Hindi classes sometimes converged and sometimes diverged from the teachers' preferences and demands of the use of Hindi. When they converged, while protecting the teacher's face, they were in danger of threatening their own face as this implied risking making a 'mistake' in speaking Hindi publicly. They also got teased occasionally by other students for their 'mistakes'.

On the other hand, when they diverged from the teachers' preferences, while they protected their own face, they threatened the teachers' face because their authority was challenged. We saw another example of divergent behaviour in section 5.2.1.2 where a Panjabi Hindu informant and a Panjabi Sikh neighbour used Hindi and Panjabi, respectively, with each other. These face threatening acts were carried out because of the religio-political tension in Southall.

The analysis of the informants' language choice patterns in terms of role-relationships helped me to demonstrate that individuals do make language choices strategically, rather than simply following social conventions at all times.

The broad trends of patterns of language use and their association with language attitudes showed, in section 5.3, that the Panjabi Hindus from the Panjab villages appeared to be more retentive in the use of Panjabi language than any other group; whereas the Delhi group used more Hindi than any other group. The latter seems to support Pandit's (1979) and Mukherjee's (1980) findings in Delhi, India, where they found that Panjabi Hindus were showing language

shift towards Hindi. But as we will see in chapter 6 (sec. 6.2.1.1), it is not entirely true.

Though the concept of 'community' (cf. Introductory Chapter, sec. 0.2) helps to identify Panjabi Hindus as a distinct religious group from Panjabi Muslims and Panjabi Sikhs in Southall, it is the concept of 'group' that unravelled the subgroup variation in language choice patterns of the community.

It must be kept in mind that language choices are as reported by the informants. However, this limitation was overcome as I had established a good relationship with the informants before eliciting the questionnaires and spent considerable time on various meetings with each informant. My ethnographic observations also supported their claims. Furthermore, the reason that not all informants who declared a particular language as their 'MT', e.g. Hindi, reported the 'use' of that language seems to suggest that informants tended to report their actual language use, rather than what they thought they ought to do. This assumption is further supported by my observations and by the fact that, despite a very positive attitude of the community towards Hindi (Ch. 4, sec. 4.2.2), the total reported use of Hindi is not very high (sec. 5.2). The decrease in the gulf between language attitude and language practice depended on the fulfilment of Le Page's rider 3 and 4 (1975a; 1985: 182):

- (iii) the motivation to join the group is sufficiently high...
- (iv) we have the ability to modify our behaviour.

Even if many PHS had sufficient motivation, they did not quite have the ability to modify their behaviour. This

was particularly the case with informants from the second and third generations of Panjab origin whose parents were not highly educated and therefore, did not provide a very good model of Hindi.

The findings reported here suggest that the reported use of Panjabi is much higher than English in the family domain. The use of Hindi is also slightly higher than English in this domain. This appears to suggest that, even after 30 to 40 years of the minority community's establishment in Britain and while the third generation is growing up at present, English has not encroached enough on the family domain to threaten the minority languages. Conversely, Fishman's model may argue, on the basis of the use of English in the family domain and, particularly, in the community domain, that the functional distribution of English-minority languages has disappeared. This 'bilingualism without diglossia' situation would be regarded as unstable by Fishman (1972a, 1980, 1989): the PH community seems to be in a state of flux where both social categories and linguistic behaviour are in the process of being made (Le Page 1975a), and there is a tendency towards language shift.

However, an analysis of patterns of language choice by domain cannot provide convincing conclusion. This is the topic of my next chapter in which I shall explore the phenomenon of language maintenance and shift in detail in the Panjabi Hindu community.

Chapter 6: SPOKEN LANGUAGES, AGE-RELATED VARIATION AND PERSONAL HISTORIES

6.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at the variation across different age groups of Panjabi Hindu informants in terms of patterns of reported language use (age-grading analysis). Boyd (1986) cautions against age-grading analysis alone as a sociolinguistic evidence for language shift:

Age-grading in sociolinguistic variation has never been taken to be a sufficient condition for hypothesizing change-in-progress ... This is probably also the case for language shift-in-progress. (p. 104)

She points out, like Fasold (1984), that when other kinds of evidence are taken together with age-grading, then only a stronger case for language shift in progress can be made. Therefore, following Lieberman's (1980) suggestion, the language use of each individual age group (age-grading analysis) is compared with their past patterns of language use (age-cohort analysis). Findings of the analyses are, then, interpreted in the context of personal histories of each age group.

The final section of this chapter presents the quantitative and qualitative analyses of patterns of language choice of the third generation PH informants through 'language diaries' produced by them.

6.1 Age-grading Analysis: Reported Current Language Use

In chapter 5 (sec. 5.2), the claimed patterns of choice of the informants with a range of interlocutors was explored. However, for the 'age-grading analysis' in this section the following interlocutors were selected: 'grandfathers', 'grandmothers', 'mother', 'father', 'relatives', 'siblings', 'friends' and 'people at school

and the workplace'. The decision for choosing only this set of interlocutors was necessary to draw valid comparisons with informants' reported language use with the same set of interlocutors for the 'age-cohort analysis'. The rationale for selecting these interlocutors is discussed in section 6.2 below.

Some of these interlocutors, e.g. 'grandparents', 'parent', 'relatives' and 'siblings', may be identified with the family domain; while others, e.g. 'friends', 'teachers', 'students', and 'colleagues of senior, junior and equal statuses at work' may be associated with 'outside-family' domains. The language use scores with interlocutors at 'school' and 'workplace' are combined for ease of comparison with the age-cohort analysis. The 'outside-family' domains, therefore, includes the interlocutors 'friends' and 'people at school/work'.

In the last chapter (secs. 5.2.1 to 5.3), I grouped together the scores of the combination of Panjabi-Hindi, Panjabi-English, Hindi-English and Panjabi-Hindi-English with the individual scores of Panjabi, Hindi and English. That helped me to show the broader patterns of language choice among Panjabi Hindus. However, in order to get a better picture of the phenomena of language maintenance and shift, it is important to look at the individual scores of Panjabi, Hindi and English in isolation from the scores of the combinations of languages. A limited number of interlocutors also makes it easier to present the language choice patterns in this way.

Fig. 6.1 (also Appendix VI, Table 6.1) on page 228 shows the overall comparative use of Panjabi, Hindi, English, Panjabi-Hindi, Panjabi-English, Hindi-English and

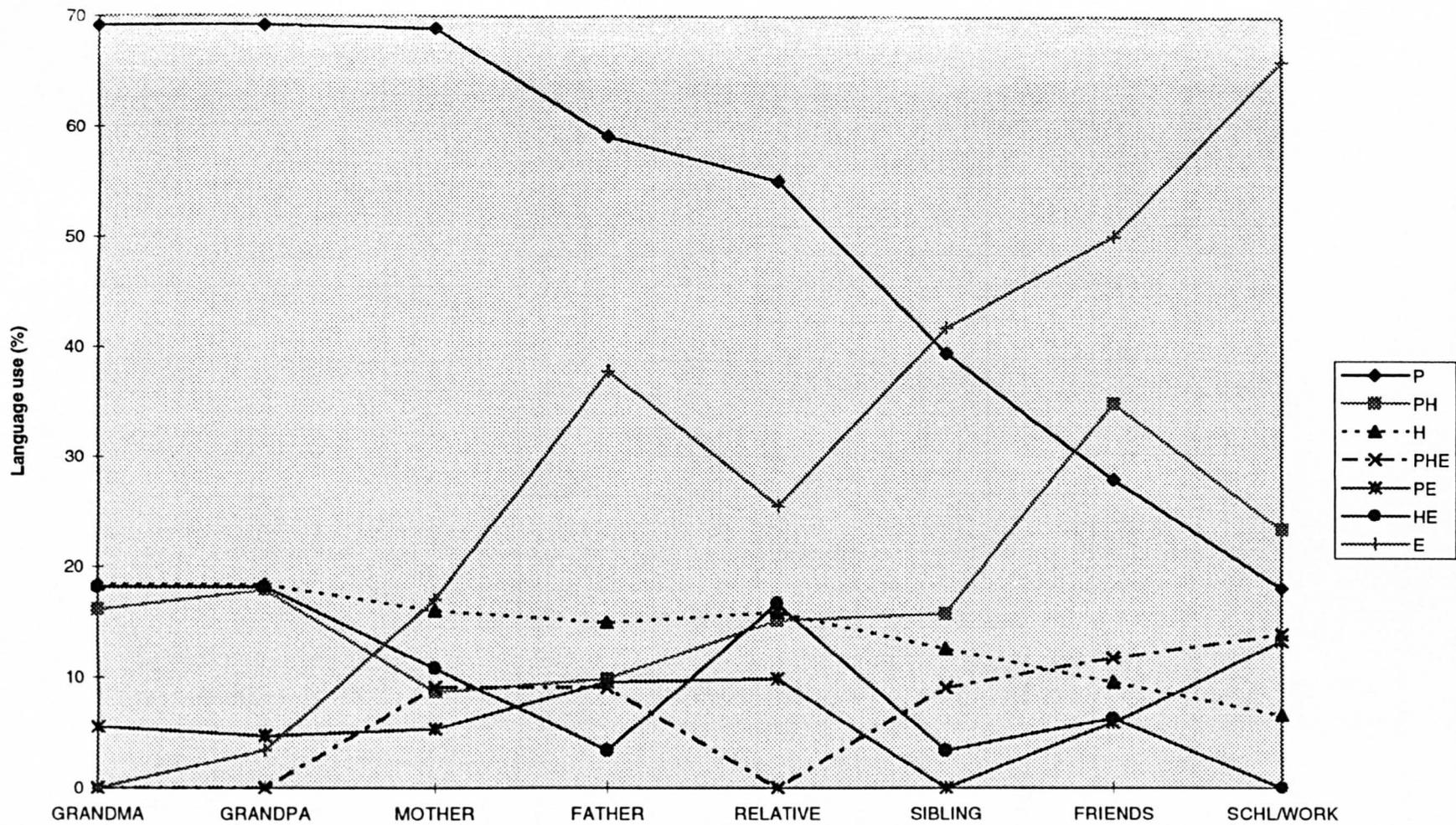


Fig 6.1 : Use of Punjabi, Hindi & English with different interlocutors

Panjabi-Hindi and English with various interlocutors. In general, it seems to be a situation where the choice of Panjabi and English is constrained by the generation gap and the domains in which the languages are used. The informants use more Panjabi with their grandparents, followed by use with parents, relatives and then with the people of their own generations (i.e. siblings and friends). Panjabi is used more with the people who can be identified with the family domain than with the ones who are identified with the 'outside-family' domains (i.e. 'friends' and 'people at school/workplace').

On the other hand, the pattern of use of English is exactly the reverse. English is used more with people of the same generation than with grandparents and parents, and it is used more in the 'outside-family' domains than in the family domain. The pattern of use of Hindi bears closer resemblance to the pattern of use of Panjabi than to that of English.

In general, it appears to be a situation where a particular language is identified with a particular set of interlocutors. This is more so in the case of Panjabi and English than Hindi. However, there are certain groups of individuals who use these languages in combination. The Panjabi-Hindi combination is more frequently used than any other combination of Panjabi, Hindi and English. It is used almost as frequently as Hindi, and in certain cases even more so.

The general pattern of language choice also shows some use of Panjabi and Hindi in 'outside-family' domains, and of English in the family domain. We may ask what implications it has for language maintenance and shift. The

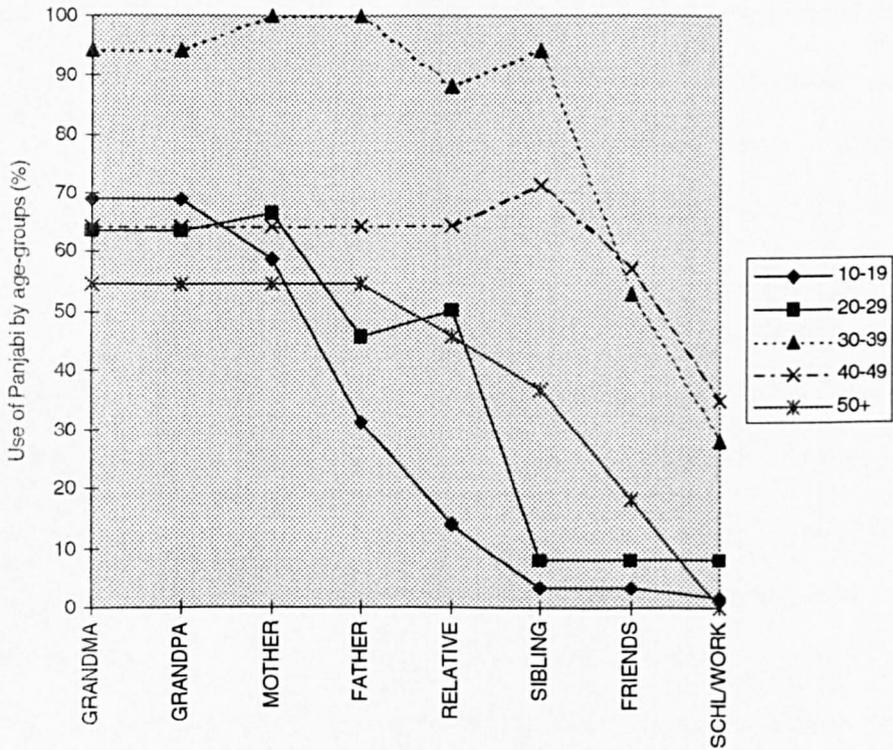


Fig. 6.2 : Use of Panjabi with different interlocutors by age-groups

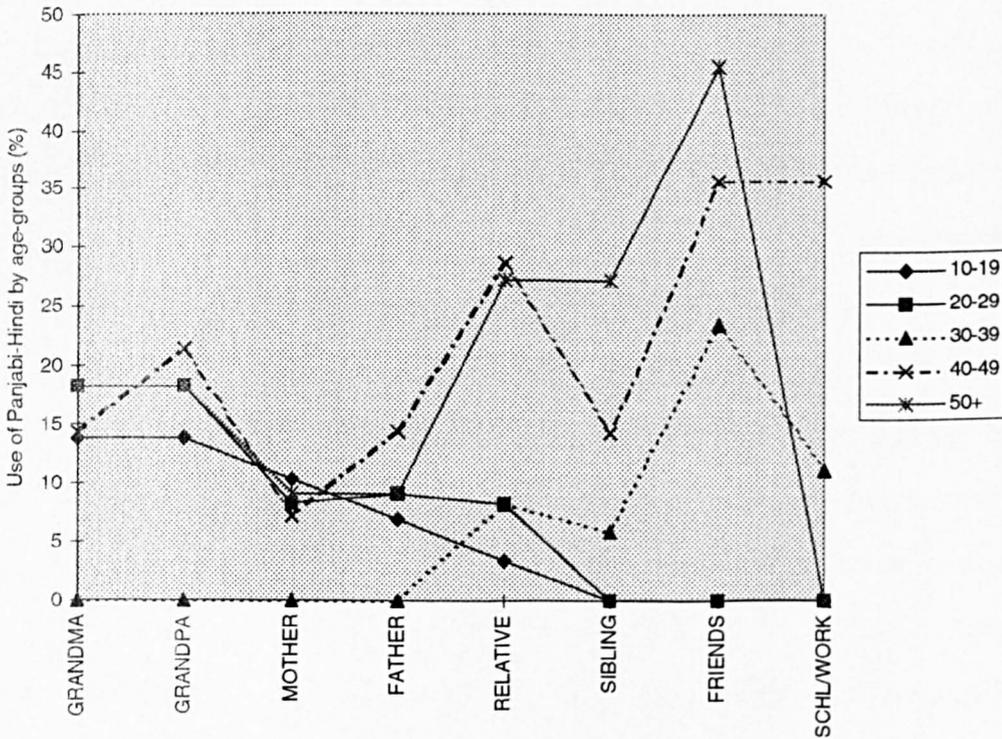


Fig. 6.3 : Use of Panjabi-Hindi with different interlocutors by age-groups

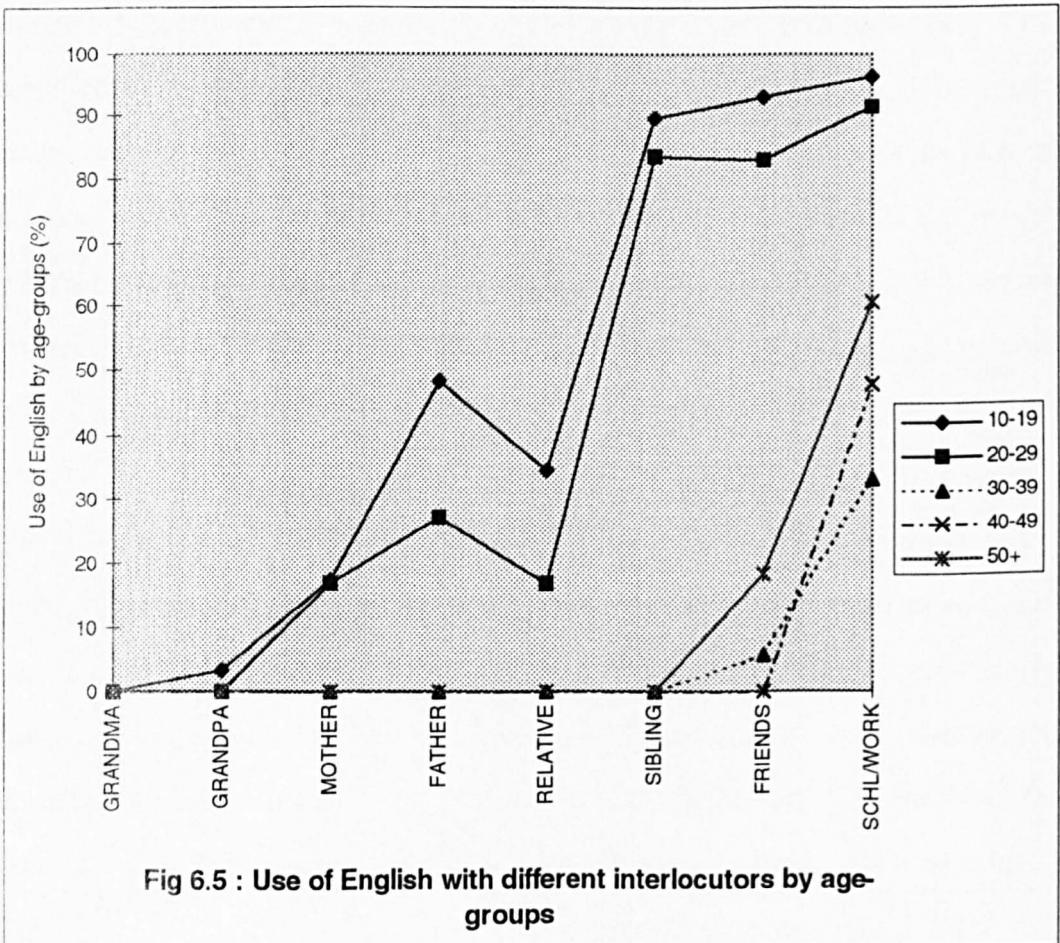
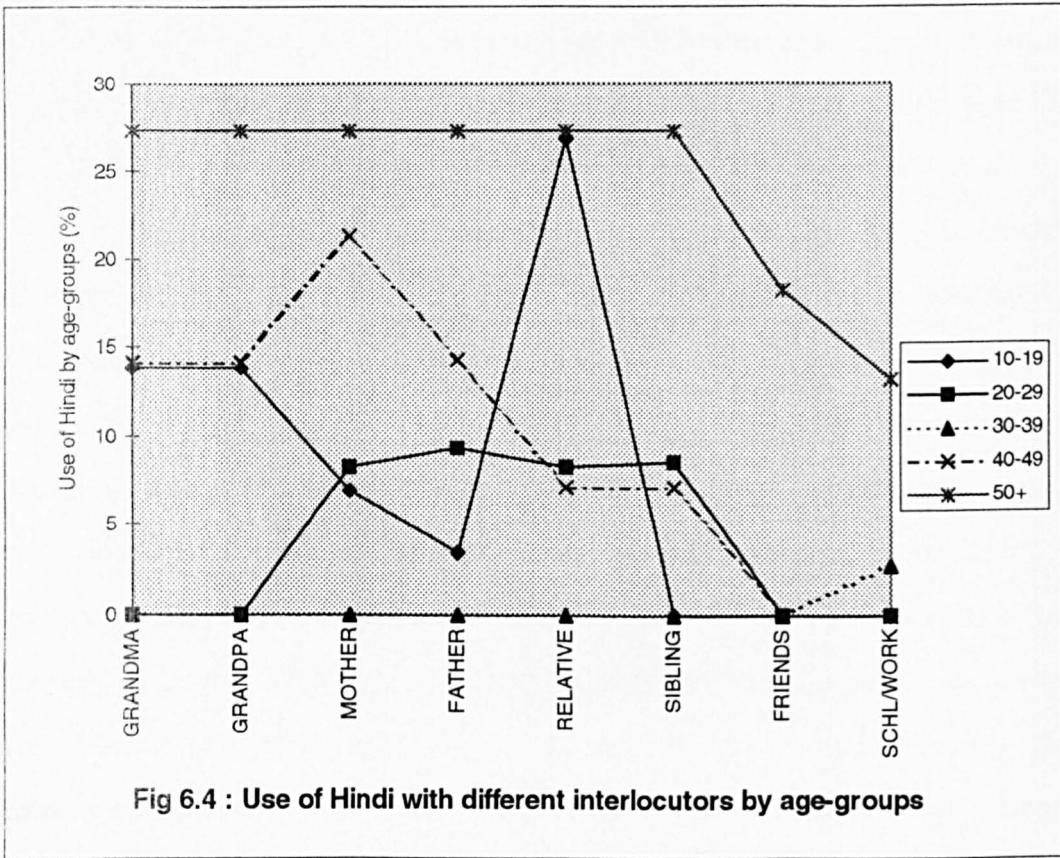
age-grading analysis is one way of predicting whether these phenomena will occur. If the younger generations begin to show the use of other languages, besides or instead of their own 'mother tongue', in the family domain, then one may have a reason to speculate about language shift.

Table 6.2 (Appendix VI) shows the reported use of different languages, on their own and in combination, by different age groups. Figs. 6.2, 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5 on pages 230 and 232 show the use of Panjabi, Panjabi-Hindi, Hindi and English, respectively, by different age groups: the third (10-19 yrs) and the second generation (20-29 yrs) age groups, who were born and/or brought up in Britain, and the first generation (30-39 yrs, 40-49 yrs and 50+ yrs) age groups¹, who emigrated from the Panjab, Delhi and East Africa.

If we compare the general patterns of language choice in Fig. 6.1 (Table 6.1, Appendix VI), page 228, with the age-grading ones in the other graphs, each age group shows slightly different patterns of language choice which reflects the heterogeneous nature of the Panjabi Hindu community in Southall. Some groups are showing more use of Panjabi (Fig. 6.2, p. 230) than the overall use in Fig. 6.1, and the others are showing less.

In general, the use of Panjabi by the 50+ yrs group is the lowest amongst the first generation age groups. When it comes to Hindi (see Fig. 6.4, p. 232), this oldest age group shows the highest use both in the 'family' and 'outside-family' domains. The majority of the informants in this group in the sample were from the Panjab cities

¹ For the reasons discussed in chapter 3 (sec. 3.2.1), the 'age groups' are real and 'generational groups' are notional.



see Table 6.3, Appendix VI), which explains these patterns of Panjabi and Hindi use by the group.

We saw in chapter 4 that this group of people showed more positive attitudes towards Hindi than Panjabi. Their attitudes, and current and past (see also sec. 6.2.1.2 below) language practices appear to be shaped by the sociolinguistic environment in the Panjab when they were growing up there.

Informants from the urban Panjab had their schooling in the Hindi medium and learnt this language instead of Panjabi in the schools. They tend to regard Hindi too as their mother tongue. In their childhood and early youth, before the independence of India in 1947, the political and religious situation in the Panjab was such that among many Panjabi Hindus there was a strong positive feeling towards Hindi and Hinduism, and a strong negative feeling towards Panjabi and Sikhism (see Ch. 2, sec. 2.3.1). Hindi was widely supported and learnt by the Panjabi Hindus (I will take this discussion further in chapter 7). In such a sociolinguistic environment, it is not surprising, therefore, that the habitual language use of this age group of Panjabi Hindus shows more Hindi and less Panjabi than any other age group from the first generation.

The 30-39 yrs age group, i.e. the first generation, shows an exceptionally high use of Panjabi, particularly, with the interlocutors in the family domain. This group uses Hindi (Fig. 6.4, p. 232) and English (Fig. 6.5, p. 232) only at work. The majority of the informants in this group in the sample were from the Panjab, more from the rural Panjab (Table 6.3, Appendix VI).

The rural Panjabi Hindus in particular, and this 30-39 yrs age group in general, have shown slightly more positive attitudes to Panjabi than the other age and geographical groups. People in the latter group were brought up at a time in history of the Panjab, post-1966, when the Hindi issue had disappeared from the political scene and Panjabi had become the state language and the compulsory first language in schools (Ch. 2, sec. 2.3.1). Even those who might have had a strong Hindi-Hinduism feeling, did not have much choice but to learn Panjabi for pragmatic reasons (see Ch. 7, sec. 7.2.1 for further discussion).

Some of these informants who came to Britain at an early age (the real second generation, but notionally the first, see Ch. 3, sec. 3.2.1, for the explanation), said that they initially gave up the use of Panjabi in order to assimilate into the wider British culture and adopted English everywhere. However, as social conditions changed, and as they themselves became parents, they realised the importance of maintaining their own languages for their ethnic identity. They made a concerted effort to revive Panjabi in order to be able to pass it on to their children. The issue of Hindi for many of them is mainly that of the written language.

The 40-49 age group informants have a mixed background: the Panjab, Delhi and East Africa. This makes their patterns of Panjabi, Hindi and English use different from the other first generation age groups.

The second (20-29 yrs) and the third (10-19 yrs) generations are showing notably less use of Panjabi with the interlocutors of their own generation, siblings, and the interlocutors of 'outside-family' domains.

The 30-39 yrs and the 10-19 yrs age groups who use Hindi the least (Figs. 6.4 and 6.5, p. 232) use it noticeably more with relatives and friends. The use of Hindi with relatives seems to reflect, what I have said in chapter 5 (sec. 5.2.1.1), that relatives bring in outside pressures, in this case, regarding the general attitudes of Panjabi Hindus towards Hindi. On the other hand, the use of Hindi with friends establishes it as a community language of Southall, alongside Panjabi.

In the case of English (Fig. 6.5, p. 232), the second and the third generations, 20-29 yrs and 10-19 yrs, are the only ones who use this language in the family domain. The first generation age groups use this language only in the 'outside-family' domains, but to a much lower extent than the younger generations. Whenever the first generation uses English in the family domain, it is used in combination with another language and by a smaller percentage of these age groups (Table 6.2, Appendix VI) .

The general picture that emerges from the age-grading analysis is that among the second generation and slightly more so in the third generation, English is replacing Panjabi in interaction with the people of their own generations, i.e. siblings and friends (Figs. 6.2 and 6.5, pp. 230 and 232). This is also the generation which uses English most with the interlocutors identified with the family domain. If Hindi is taken as one of the community languages, as opposed to English which is the host society's language, a similar pattern is observed among these two younger generations. Does it mean a language shift is in progress?

Before coming to any conclusions about language shift, let us compare the results of the age-grading analysis with that of the 'age-cohort analysis'. The changes seen above in the patterns of language choice among the younger generations may not necessarily be something that is not experienced by the older generation informants in their life times. Dil (1981: 266) point out that:

...difference between the age groups in their language use patterns may reflect radically different causes depending whether these are new developments not experienced by earlier age cohorts when they were at that age (in which case a genuine sociolinguistic change exists) or merely a pattern of age-related changes which are experienced by the previous cohorts as they went through the life cycle as different linguistic behaviour is expected of the people at different ages.

6.2 Age-Cohort Analysis: Reported Retrospective Language Use

As discussed in chapters 1 and 3 (sec. 1.5.2.1; sec. 3.3.3.2), the analysis of age-cohorts involves the use of retrospective questions which thereby place a time dimension on their results. The researcher not only elicits the present usage patterns, but also the past patterns of usage.

The retrospective questions are not without their problems. The languages may be recalled incorrectly due to lack of certainty about the placement of time or about the names of the languages. Therefore, informants were given a lot of time to think about their past language usage to minimize these problems. This was achieved by meeting the informants more than once, and asking them various questions beforehand regarding their patterns of migration, education, and their ways of life in the places where they

lived. This encouraged them to think about their past in a wider context, rather than just about the languages.

In order to elicit the retrospective language use, informants who were above 19 years of age were asked (Q 21, Appendix IIIb) what language(s) they used with the seven interlocutors (mentioned in section 6.1 earlier) during the time when they were in the age groups of 10-19, 20-29, 30-39 and 40-49 years. The rationale behind selecting these interlocutors was that no matter in what place or condition the individuals are living, especially considering the past history of the Panjabi Hindus, they are likely to come into contact with these interlocutors, and also, have a greater chance of remembering their language use with them (cf Ch. 3, sec. 3.3.3.2). As also found in Chapter 5 (sec. 5.2), the informants reported the retrospective use of only Panjabi, Hindi and English.

With the help of this retrospective question on language use, we can trace informants' patterns of language use at least as far back as the 1940s. The informants in the highest age group of 50+ years would have been between 10-19 years of age during 1940-49. Table 6.4 below shows the distribution of five age-grading groups, i.e. 10+, 20+, 30+, 40+ and 50+, in the five decennial periods from 1940 to 1989. Figures in brackets represent different age-cohorts.

1940-49	1950-59	1960-69	1970-79	1980-89
50+(10-19)	40+(10-19) 50+(20-29)	30+(10-19) 40+(20-29) 50+(30-39)	20+(10-19) 30+(20-29) 40+(30-39) 50+(40-49)	10+(10-19) 20+(20-29) 30+(30-39) 40+(40-49) 50+(50+)

Table 6.4: A Sample Table for Age-cohort Analysis

The column on the far right (under 1980-89) in the above table is for representing the current age-grading data; whereas the rest of the columns for representing the retrospective language use.

The way I have distributed and presented different periods of time in the above table means that both diachronic and synchronic dimensions of language use can be studied. Each row provides the diachronic data and each column represents synchronic data. This way of presenting data provides a comparison of different age-grading groups when they were, for example, between 10-19 yrs of age with the age group who are 10-19 yrs currently (see the top line). As well as this, it allows one to see if there have been any changes in the language usage patterns within a particular age-grading group during their own life-time (see diagonally from left to right). In this way, the language choice patterns of each age-grading group including and above 20 years of age can be seen during the past decennial periods in association with the sociolinguistic histories of the individuals and their patterns of migration.

Tables 6.5 (a), (b) and (c) below present language use data in the above format. The column on the far right in each table shows the current age-grading reported language use discussed in section 6.1 above (on the top is the 10-19 yrs group, followed downwards by the other age groups in ascending order), while the other columns show the reported retrospective language use. The tables show the cumulative language use scores of seven interlocutors (in percentages) in terms of home and 'outside-family' domains.

Family domain					Outside-family domains				
1940 -49	1950 -59	1960 -69	1970 -79	1980 -89	1940 -49	1950 -59	1960 -69	1970 -79	1980 -89
81.8	88.8	100	77.2	68.3	77.2	88.7	82.3	25.0	13.4
	80.2	88.1	100	72.8		64.1	84.9	81.4	26.3
		81.8	88.1	100			59.6	84.9	77.7
			81.8	88.1				59.6	79.5
				84.8					54.1

Table 6.5a: Retrospective and Current Language Use: Panjabi

Family domain					Outside-family domains				
1940 -49	1950 -59	1960 -69	1970 -79	1980 -89	1940 -49	1950 -59	1960 -69	1970 -79	1980 -89
45.5	39.3	12.7	18.5	26.4	54.5	33.5	26.4	4.1	5.1
	47.0	39.3	13.7	27.6		75.5	48.3	30.1	8.3
		45.5	39.3	13.7			59.6	48.3	34.7
			47.0	39.3				59.6	37.4
				50.0					60.7

Table 6.5b: Retrospective and Current Language Use: Hindi

Family domain					Outside-family domains				
1940 -49	1950 -59	1960 -69	1970 -79	1980 -89	1940 -49	1950 -59	1960 -69	1970 -79	1980 -89
--	--	--	46.3	54.5	--	34.3	17.6	91.7	99.1
	1.2	2.4	3.9	41.5		26.7	60.4	60.8	95.8
		10.6	3.6	3.9			72.7	64.3	43.8
			10.6	9.4				72.7	54.1
				4.5					54.4

Table 6.5c: Retrospective and Current Language Use: English

If we look at the use of Panjabi, Hindi and English in the above tables (top row), where the pattern of language choice of the current 10-19 yrs age-grading group is compared with the older age groups when they were 10-19 years of age (from the 1940s until the 1980s), we find that each cohort shows a different pattern.

The use of Panjabi increased and that of Hindi decreased until the 1960-69 period and this is represented by the 30-39 yrs age-grading group when they were in the

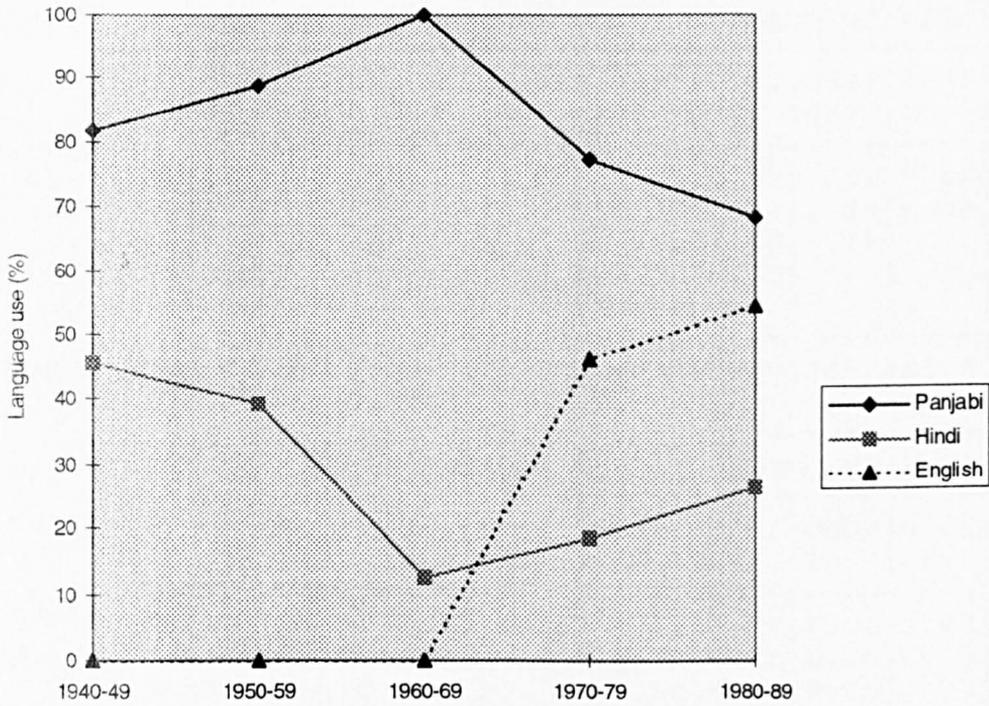


Fig 6.6 : Retrospective language use of 10-20 yrs cohorts in family domain from 1940 until 1990

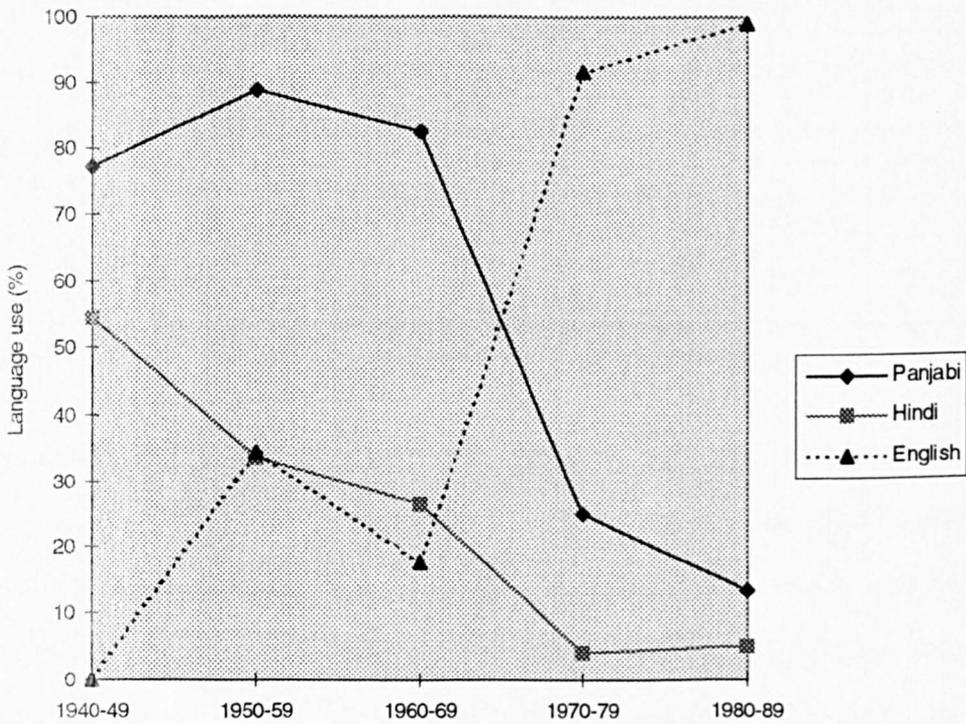


Fig 6.7 : Retrospective language use of 10-20 yrs cohorts in outside-family domain from 1940 until 1990

10-19 cohort (see also Figs. 6.6 and 6.7, p. 240). This appears to confirm the age-grading analysis of this group.

Looking at table again to see if there has been any change in the age group language use patterns (except 10-19 yrs) during their life time (see the scores diagonally), it can be seen that the percentage use of Panjabi reported by age groups 30-39 and 40-49 has not changed at all; whereas its use by 50+ had gone up very slightly in 1980-89 in the family domain.

The use of Panjabi by the second generation 20-29 age group has gone down slightly in the family domain. However, there was a slight increase in the use of Hindi by this age group in the 1980s, as compared to its use in the 1970s, which seems to reflect Hindu-Sikh conflict in Southall during the 1980s. On the other hand, the use of English by this group went down a little in the family domain in the 1980s. These age-cohort analysis findings seem to contradict the findings of the age-grading data which suggested that the use of Hindi is decreasing and that of English is increasing among the second generation.

The use of English by the first generation age groups in the 'outside-family' domains declined significantly during 1980-89. This once again contradicts the general findings of the age-grading analysis.

If we look once again at Figs. 6.6. and 6.7, we find that the decrease in the use of Panjabi and corresponding increase in the use of English are much greater in the 'outside-family' domains than in the family domain. This may imply that in the family domain where the Panjabi Hindu community has greater control, a larger number of people are maintaining the spoken Panjabi and, to some extent,

Hindi, in order to preserve their ethnic identity in this country. But, is it true of the whole of the Panjabi Hindu community?

6.2.1 Comparison of Retrospective and Current Language use by Place of Origin

In Chapter 5, section 5.3.3, the current reported language use showed that the informants from the Panjab village tended to be the most retentive of the Panjabi language, whereas the informants from Delhi the least. The informants from the Panjab cities and East Africa fell between the two extremes.

In this section, I will compare the retrospective and current language use of the informants who have emigrated from these geographical areas. The retrospective language use of the informants from the Panjab Village and of those from East Africa will be particularly significant because there is no sociolinguistic study available, to my knowledge, which has looked at language choice patterns of Panjabi Hindus from these geographical areas when they were there.

6.2.1.1 The Delhi Group

	P	PH	H	PE	HE	PHE	E
<u>Family domain:</u>							
Retrospective	63.3	3.4	33.3	---	---	---	---
Current	45.0	11.7	30.0	---	---	---	13.3
<u>Outside-family</u>							
Retrospective	14.3	7.1	35.7	---	---	7.1	35.8
Current	7.5	15.0	---	---	5.0	---	72.5

Table 6.6: Retrospective and Current Language Use of the Delhi Group

As Table 6.6. demonstrates, the retrospective use of informants who have migrated from Delhi shows that though Panjabi is the dominant language of the family domain,

Hindi figures quite high. In contrast, in the 'outside-family' domains Panjabi goes down quite low, whereas the use of Hindi is marginally higher. These retrospective patterns of Panjabi and Hindi use seem to match the findings of Pandit's (1978) and Mukherjee's (1980) studies of their samples in Delhi.

However, in this study we can only talk about some PHS from Delhi (about 33.3%) who showed language shift tendencies. In fact, since Pandit's and Mukherjee's studies were conducted only among educated, middle class Panjabi Hindus in Delhi, their findings should not be generalised for all the Panjabi Hindus there.

The retrospective use of English is non-existent in the family domain, whereas it is as high as Hindi in the 'outside-family' domains. In contrast, the current language use shows that English has made inroads in the family domain, and also that its use has doubled in the 'outside-family' domains.

The current language use also shows that while there is a marked decrease in the number of Panjabi users in the family domain, none of the informants with a Delhi background have reported the use of Hindi in the 'outside-family' domains. However, bilingual Panjabi-Hindi use has increased slightly in both family and 'outside-family' domains.

6.2.1.2 The Panjab City Group

The retrospective language use in Table 6.7 below shows that the use of Panjabi by the urban Panjab group was dominant with the interlocutors associated with both family and 'outside-family' domains. The English language use was

	P	PH	H	PE	HE	PHE	E
<u>Family domain:</u>							
Retrospective	62.3	25.4	10.5	---	0.9	0.9	---
Current	52.2	10.8	12.1	4.3	3.2	1.1	11.3
<u>Outside-family</u>							
Retrospective	45.7	17.4	13.1	4.3	---	2.1	17.4
Current	16.2	15.0	6.4	2.8	2.6	6.5	50.5

Table 6.7: Retrospective and Current Language Use of the Panjab City Group

only associated with the 'outside-family' domains. There is a significant number of informants who used Hindi or Panjabi-Hindi in both family and 'outside-family' domains. This retrospective pattern of language use, especially that of Panjabi, Hindi and Panjabi-Hindi agrees with the observations made by other researchers in the Panjab (e.g. Brass 1974) who pointed out the use of Hindi, at the cost of Panjabi, as an identity marker among Panjabi Hindus. However, the largest proportion, as the above table shows, used Panjabi only, which means not all urban Panjabis were shifting to the use of Hindi.

If we compare the retrospective language use with the current patterns, we can see that the decrease in the use of Panjabi and the increase in the use of English are more pronounced in the 'outside-family' domains. The use of Panjabi in the family domain has not declined greatly; in fact it is proportionate to the increase in the use of English in this domain. This means that about 11% of the urban Panjabi group are showing a tendency towards language shift.

6.2.1.3 The Panjab Village Group

A socio-economic and sociolinguistic survey (Interim Report 1980) of rural migrants in the city of Jullunder in

the Panjab has this to say about their patterns of language use:

Usually the mother tongue is that which is spoken with family members. ... 49.5 percent of the Hindi-speakers and 75.3 percent of the Panjabi-speakers use only their mother tongue with all their acquaintances. ... About 70 percent of both the Hindi and Panjabi speakers managed to communicate only in their languages. (Interim Report 1980: 248-249).

Here, the Panjabi speakers were from the Panjab villages and Hindi speakers were from outside the Panjab. The Panjabi speakers included both Hindus and Sikhs; but the survey does not provide their patterns of language use separately. It appears there were no significant differences in this regard, because the above quote is referring to the 'mother tongue' uses, and according to this survey:

... all the migrants from the Panjab itself ... correctly answered that their mother tongue was Panjabi, *not* Hindi. Among those whose mother tongue was Panjabi 121 were Hindus, 75 were Sikhs and one was Christian. (Interim Report 1980: 238).

There have been studies (e.g. Brass 1974, Pandit 1978 and Mukherjee 1980) which either seem to have over-generalised, or whose findings were taken as such repetitively (e.g. LMP 1985, ESLS 1985), of all the Panjabi Hindus on the basis of the attitudes and patterns of language use of urban Panjabis in the Panjab and Delhi². The survey referred to in the above quotation seems to be similarly weak in over-generalising its findings in that it was carried out among only rural Panjabis in the Jullunder city, Panjab. However, as far as the survey's language use

² "... the Panjabi Hindus in India are shifting away from Panjabi ... The Panjabi Hindu of Delhi is prepared to give up Panjabi in order not to be identified with the Sikh" (Pandit 1978: 107).

figures for the rural Panjabis are concerned, they are interestingly similar to the retrospective Panjabi use figures presented, from the present study, in the following table³.

	P	PH	H	PE	HE	PHE	E
<u>Family domain</u>							
Retrospective	80.7	19.3	---	---	---	---	---
Current	73.1	5.1	---	3.2	---	---	18.6
<u>Outside-family</u>							
Retrospective	69.1	12.6	---	9.6	---	3.1	5.6
Current	23.7	6.1	2.1	5.4	---	1.9	60.8

Table 6.8: Retrospective and Current Language Use of the Panjab Village Group

The retrospective language use in both family and 'outside-family' domains shows that the use of Panjabi was significantly dominant among the Panjabi Hindus in the Panjab villages. Hindi was used in combination with Panjabi and not on its own. These patterns of Panjabi and Hindi use, in contrast to that of the urban Panjab group, seem to confirm what I said in chapters 4 (sec. 4.3) and 5 (sec. 5.4), that the pro-Hindi-Hinduism movement among Panjabi Hindus in the Panjab appeared largely to be an urban phenomenon. So, it seems Panjabi Sikhs were not the only group within the Panjab who owed "their primary language loyalty to Panjabi" as Mahandru (1991:117) claims.

The retrospective language use also suggests a marginal use of English, but only in the 'outside-family' domains. However, the current patterns of language use show that some informants now use English in the family domain. The use of English has shown a sharp increase in the 'outside-family' domains, while that of Panjabi has

³ It is important to point out here that the two studies refer to two different samples of populations, and the language use patterns of two different periods.

declined significantly. In contrast, the decline in the use of Panjabi in the family domain is not quite so sharp.

6.2.1.4 The East African Group

People from the Panjab were taken to East Africa as indentured labourers during the British colonial rule in the late 19th century (Tandon and Raphael 1984). There, they were in contact with the host society's languages, such as Swahili, with another South Asian language, Gujarati, and with the language of the British rulers, English. There is no empirical study available, to my knowledge, of the Panjabi Hindus in East Africa. Lieberson and McCabe's (1978) study of Gujaratis in Nairobi in 1964 gave some indication of language use among the Panjabis.

According to this study, 75.5% of parents used only Panjabi with their children and 17.7% of them used it with another language. But, since the study does not provide a breakdown of its sample in terms of their religious backgrounds, it is difficult to say how many of these language users were Panjabi Hindus or Sikhs. Therefore, a comparison with the scores from my study (see Table 6.9 below) could only go as far as saying that a majority of the Panjabis in East Africa maintained the Panjabi language.

	P	PH	H	PE	HE	PHE	E
<u>Family domain</u>							
Retrospective	66.7	31.4	---	---	---	1.9	---
Current	64.3	17.3	2.3	4.6	2.4	---	9.1
<u>Outside-family</u>							
Retrospective	11.1	19.4	---	29.8	---	31.6	8.1
Current	24.4	6.7	3.4	---	3.4	7.4	54.7

Table 6.9: Retrospective and Current Language Use of the East African Group

As Table 6.9 above shows, the pattern of retrospective language use of East African Panjabi Hindus reveals that Panjabi was the dominant language of the family domain. A combination of Panjabi-Hindi (PH) was also used by a significant percentage of informants. In comparison, in the 'outside-family' domains the use of Panjabi and Panjabi-Hindi was significantly lower; while the use of English, mostly in combination with Panjabi and/or Hindi, was markedly higher. Therefore, the pattern suggests that English, though mainly in combination with Panjabi and Hindi, played an important role in the outside-family domain. Although 31.4% used Hindi with Panjabi in the family domain, none of them were shifting to Hindi only. These findings provide some insights into Panjabi Hindus' patterns of language use when they were in East Africa.

In contrast, the current language use pattern in the family domain shows that, though the decrease in the use of Panjabi among this group of informants is insignificant, there is a marked decline in Panjabi-Hindi use. Also, English has made inroads, to a small degree, into the family domain.

With respect to the current language use in 'outside-family' domains, it is interesting to note that the use of Panjabi has increased slightly. The increase in the use of English on its own is particularly marked here. This increase in English in the British context is inevitable, but the increase in the use of Panjabi may be seen as an assertion of their identity by the ethnolinguistic minority.

Now, let us compare differences in the current and past language practices among informants of different

places of origin (Table 6.10, Appendix VI). We find that although all the groups show some shift in the use of Panjabi, this is most evident within the Delhi group. In fact, even though the rural Panjab group are the highest users of Panjabi, both current and retrospective, the East African group demonstrates the least shift in its use. They are also the only group who have shown an increase in the use of Panjabi in the 'outside-family' domains.

Contrary to the current language use findings (Ch. 5, sec. 5.3.3), therefore, the retrospective language use has demonstrated that it is not the rural Panjab group, but the East African group which is most retentive of Panjabi.

As in the case of the current use of Hindi, the Delhi group shows the highest retrospective use of Hindi in the family domain of all groups. It is the only group which shows an increase in bilingual Panjabi-Hindi use in both family and 'outside-family' domains. This seems to be due to the migration into Britain, where they are living among dominantly Panjabi-speaking communities, both Hindus and Sikhs, in contrast to the sociolinguistic environment in Delhi where they lived among a predominantly Hindi-speaking population.

As the retrospective language use shows, for all the groups, Panjabi-English bilingualism or Panjabi-Hindi-English multilingualism, and the use of English were mainly associated with the 'outside-family' domains. This demonstrates that not all Panjabis came without knowledge of English, except the rural Panjabis, for whom this was largely the case. It is possible, though, that, depending on their educational level, they spoke various Indian

varieties of English which were different from the British varieties of English.

The difference the migration situation made was that English on its own or with Panjabi and/or Hindi came to be used in the family domain. Here, the fact that the rural Panjabis show a higher use of English, than any other group, in the family domain is not surprising because they were the least equipped with English when they came to this country. However, their Panjabi is in less danger for the reasons I outlined in Appendix Va.

6.2.1.5 The British-Born Group

In this section I shall see if the language use patterns between British-born informants and their parents changed as the children entered the British school system. That is, I will compare the 'post-school' (i.e. current language use) and 'pre-school' (/past) language use of parents and children with each other.

For the 'post-school' (or current) language use patterns, I not only asked (Q 19, Appendix IIIa) what languages the informants used with the interlocutors 'mother' and 'father' (You to parents), but also asked (Q 21c, Appendix IIIa) what languages these interlocutors used with the informants (Parents to you). Similarly, for the 'pre-school' (/past) language use patterns, these informants were asked (Q 21a & 21b, Appendix IIIa), before they went to play-group/nursery/school for the first time, what languages they used with the interlocutors 'father', and 'mother' (Parents to you); and in turn what languages these interlocutors used with them (You to parents).

Tables 6.11 and 6.12 below show the 'pre-school' and the 'post-school' language use patterns between British-born informants and their parents.

Lg. Use/	'Post-school'			'Pre-school'		
	P	H	E	P	H	E
Mother	78.1	18.8	18.1	79.2	12.5	16.7
Father	50.0	12.5	53.1	70.8	12.5	29.2

Table 6.11: British-born Informants' Language Use with Their Parents (You to parents) in the pre- and post-School Periods

Lg. Use/	'Post-school'			'Pre-school'		
	P	H	E	P	H	E
Mother	80.8	19.2	34.6	92.0	16.0	28.0
Father	76.0	8.8	68.0	83.3	8.3	45.5

Table 6.12: Parents' Language Use with British-born Informants (Parents to you) in the pre- and post-School Periods

As Table 6.11 demonstrates, the informants' use of Panjabi and English with 'mothers' has hardly changed since the pre-school period, except in the case of Hindi which has shown some increase. On the other hand, with the 'fathers' while the use of Hindi has remained the same, the use of Panjabi has decreased, and that of English has increased.

As Table 6.12 shows, while the use of Panjabi by some fathers and mothers with their children has declined; an increase in the use of English by the 'fathers' is particularly noticeable.

The increase in the use of English between 'fathers' and the British born children since they entered the British school system shows the important role played by English in the lives of young PHs. It also shows that, in

the majority of cases, it is the 'fathers' who are the role model for English and not the 'mothers'.

The general situation that emerges from Tables 6.11 and 6.12 is that the use of Panjabi has not decreased drastically. In the following section, I shall present language use, elicited by language diaries, of teenage Panjabi Hindu informants.

6.3 Patterns of Language Choice and Language Diaries

The survey technique of 'language diaries', as proposed by Ure (1979), reduces the influence of the observer, as well as the limitation of recalling of language practices by the respondents at the time of questionnaire administration. As Stubbs (1985:139) points out:

A number of limitations are of course inherent in the survey approach to societal bilingualism. In the first place, the data is based on respondents' answers to questions about habitual practice, but which are given at a specific point of time and are therefore affected by the limitations of memory. Longer term reflection on language use, for example, by means of 'language diaries', might produce a different picture.

In the British context, Romaine (1983) studied language diaries produced by school pupils of South Asian backgrounds. She pointed out variation in the children's perceptions of what counted as separate language on the basis of the language labels these children used in their diaries. She also found variation in patterns of language use in relation to factors like interlocutor, setting and topic.

In the present study, fifteen third generation informants were asked to write their language diaries for a week (see Appendix IIIc for the format of diaries). Only

eight (4 boys and 4 girls) of the total returned the diaries. The length of these diaries varied from 3/4 of an A4 size page to three and a half sides of A4 size pages. After the respondents brought their 'language diaries' to me, I asked them in some detail about what they had written in their diaries. Since I was living in the community during this time, I was able to observe some of the events mentioned in some of the 'language diaries'.

Ure (1979:265) warns against the over-generalisation of the data accrued from diaries:

Each diary covers about a page, single or double sided. We must take it that events recorded are those that are perceived as significant by the children. And this applies not only to the selection of individual events for notation, but to the proportion in which different types of events are recollected, for perception and memory are aided by the set of stereotypes and role expectations of the culture to which the diarist belongs.

The data elicited from the diaries may be somewhat restricted in the sense that only eight children returned the diaries. But my discussion with the diarists after they had completed the diaries, and ethnographic observation of some of the recorded events themselves, or similar events elsewhere, lend support to the general observation I am going to make. They will also help me to look at the language choice patterns at a micro level.

6.3.1 Quantitative Analysis of Language Diaries

The following Table 6.13 contains the interlocutors and the number of encounters reported by the informants (diarists) had with these interlocutors they mentioned in their own words. What is of interest here is not just the number of encounters, but the percentage of the total number of encounters for which Panjabi, Hindi and English

were chosen. Also, unlike in Romaine's (1983) study where some of the children gave general terms like 'Indian', instead of, e.g. Panjabi, Gujarati, etc., the diarists in my study provided specific labels for Panjabi, Hindi and English. It is hard to say if this difference between the two studies is due to interviewers' identity, i.e. South Asian vs. white.

Inter-locutors	Diarists' no. of encounters with the interlocutors	Language Choice		
		Panjabi	Hindi	English
Grandma	2	100.0	0.0	0.0
Mother	29	75.9	6.9	17.2
Father	24	62.5	4.2	33.3
Parents	4	100.0	0.0	0.0
Auntie	6	33.3	0.0	66.7
Uncle	7	28.5	0.0	71.5
Relative	1	100.0	0.0	0.0
Brother	28	0.0	10.8	89.2
Sister	25	8.0	0.0	92.0
Cousin	20	30.0	0.0	70.0
Family	3	33.3	0.0	66.7
Neighbour	5	20.0	0.0	80.0
Friend	67	0.0	3.0	97.0
Teacher	42	7.1	2.4	90.5
Shopkeeper	1	0.0	100.0	0.0
Dinner lady	2	0.0	50.0	50.0
Total	266	22.9	4.1	72.9
Older Generations	73	65.7	4.2	30.1
Own Generation	73	10.9	4.2	84.9

Table 6.13: Patterns of Language Choice in Language Diaries.

In the above table, with the exception of 'older generations' and 'own generation', the interlocutors are listed exactly as they were mentioned in children's diaries. The scores for 'older generations' are the cumulative scores of the interlocutors 'grandma', 'father', 'mother', 'parent', 'relative', 'auntie', and 'uncle'; and

the informants' 'own generation' are 'brother', 'sister', and 'cousin'.

The following general observations can be made from the above table:

- 1) The total scores from the table suggest that the overall dominant language of interaction is English, followed by Panjabi, and then Hindi (but see 3 below).
- 2) The majority of the interlocutors listed in the language diaries map onto the interlocutors considered for the main questionnaire elicitation (see Ch. 5, sec. 5.2.1). This supports the validity of the way in which the questionnaire is constructed in this study.
- 3) To state that English is the dominant language simply on the basis of the overall scores of language choice is misleading. Though the encounters with the informants' 'own generations' show a significantly higher use of English than Panjabi, the encounters with the 'older generations' present a reversed picture.

Although the use of Hindi is comparatively very little, it is significant in that it is used in the encounters with the informants' 'own generation', and not just with the 'older generations'.

6.3.2 Qualitative Analysis of Language Diaries

Appendix VIa contains a list of the interlocutors and the utterances, topics, activities and events as they were written in the teenagers' diaries. In this section I shall look at the language choices for selected utterances, topics, activities and events in order to discuss the communicative functions for which Panjabi, Hindi and English were chosen by the interlocutors in various encounters.

Entertainment: "Pop world/films/TV/Indian songs/Cinema"

For different topics and activities relating to entertainment, both Panjabi and English are used. There is a tendency for Panjabi to be chosen for talking about Panjabi songs and films, and English to be chosen to talk

about English songs and films. (But this distinction is not always maintained, as I observed.) It appears that the language of discourse is generated by the topic or activity itself.

Leisure Activity: "Tennis/cricket/play cards / computer games /toy sword/camping in sisters room/swimming in sea"

Both Hindi and English are used for leisure activities. The use of English is comparatively high. This is not surprising if one considers that, in contrast to the entertainment activities seen above, the leisure topics and events in themselves do not generate a particular language of discourse. The informants could not think of any particular reason why they used English for these purposes and not Panjabi.

Advice/Warning: "don't sing on the train/Sonia don't sing in the station"

As described by the diarist to me, the above two speech acts took place during a school outing with a Panjabi-speaking Asian teacher and an English Teacher. On one occasion, at a railway station, when her Panjabi-speaking teacher heard the diarist singing, the teacher said in English: "Sonia (diarist's name is changed for the reason of confidentiality) don't sing in the station." She added that it was not a nice thing to do. In this situation the teacher could have easily chosen Panjabi to warn the informant about her inappropriate behaviour. But she chose English, perhaps, to emphasize her role as a teacher and to lend authority to her command ("objectivization"/"talk as action" Gumperz 1980: 80).

On another occasion, the informant chose Panjabi for advice ("don't sing in the train") to one of her classmates and a friend. The grammatical structure, imperative, of the

utterance shows it is a 'prohibition' speech act. However, as the informant described to me the whole situation, the hissing way the utterance was spoken and the way it was understood by the hearer, the speech act was that of giving an advice. The setting, this time, is a train journey during which a group of girls is sitting not very far from an English, non-Asian, teacher this time. On the basis of her own experience (described in the previous paragraph), the informant advises her friend not to sing because the teacher would not like it. At the same time she did not want the English teacher to know what she is advising her friend about, therefore, she chose Panjabi. In this situation, the choice of Panjabi served an excluding function.

Ordering: "do your homework/get up and out of bed/go it's time for school/make tea for visitors/wash up dishes/get up to turn off water"

For this speech act, all three languages are used. In commanding his younger brother by saying "do your homework", the older brother is exercising his authority as of higher status in the family hierarchy. He is simultaneously assuming his responsibility as an elder brother. The home work was for the Hindi voluntary classes and the language used for ordering was also Hindi ("personalization"/ "talk about action", Gumperz 1980: 80).

"get up and out of bed/make tea for visitors/wash dishes/wake up to turn off water" are the chores given by mothers to their daughters. Here, daughters are socialized into women's' role (see Ch. 2, sec. 2.2) much to their dislike. One of these daughters, a diarist, told me that she was always asked to carry out such errands while her brother was never asked to do so, even when both of them

were studying it was not fair that only she was asked to do such jobs. On such occasions, she added, if she protested, her mother would say that "you need to learn to do these chores. Otherwise, you will bring dishonour to the family from your in-laws after your marriage." The main conversation between mother and daughter took place in Panjabi. Many mothers and older women use Panjabi deliberately to socialize their daughters into Panjabi women's role.

Consultation: "improvement of subjects/my project work in 5th year/project at school/clothes to wear on Wednesday/clothes to wear on Biology trip/about filling out a form"

As the diaries revealed, the language choice differs in different consultation situations with different interlocutors. A girl talks to her parents at home about "improvement on her school subjects" in Panjabi. She consults with them about some optional subjects.

A boy consults with a Panjabi-speaking Asian teacher in English about his "project work in 5th year". Here, the choice of English is, perhaps, governed by the formal situation of a teacher-student relationship and the school locale. This assumption may not be wrong because, as we saw in chapter 5 (sec. 5.2.1.5), English was used mostly with the interlocutor 'teacher'.

Another boy consults with his Hindi-speaking Asian teacher in a voluntary Hindi class at a Hindu temple about "filling out a form". Here, the choice of Hindi seems to be governed by both situation and the interlocutor, the teacher.

Reprimand: "my behaviour"

Here a boy is reprimanded for his bad behaviour by a Panjabi-Hindi speaking Asian teacher in English in her Hindi class at mainstream school. This is another example of teacher-talk in a different context where the choice of English by the teacher is likely to be to assert her authority.

As I observed myself and as this boy told me, Panjabi is also used for the same purpose by parents at home. The boy told me that whenever he had an argument with his mother in Panjabi she would win, because he could not express himself in Panjabi as well as his mother could. On such occasions, he would resort to English which then put the mother at a disadvantageous position because she did not have very good command of English. In this case, this boy uses English to challenge the traditional authority of the mother. This incident shows that people do not always follow the norms of appropriacy of language use, as the structural-functional approach (Fishman 1967, 1972; see Ch. 1, sec. 1.1.1.3) might imply, but they do make strategic language choices to negotiate certain situations.

The above discussion on reprimand shows that, generally, the use of Panjabi or English for authority depends on the role-relationships. As I observed, in exercising their authority fathers generally use English. In many Panjabi Hindu families, mothers and fathers are role models for their children for Panjabi and English, respectively (see also sec. 6.2.1.5 above).

Request: "go to my friends house/wake me up at 6.30 am/tea for visitors/make me sandwiches"

For these speech acts, all three languages were used. The speech act "tea for visitors" is a request by a girl to

her aunt in Panjabi. As the girl told me, she thought the use of English in this situation would had been wrong because it would have sounded like and perceived as a command to her aunt. The choice of Panjabi mitigated the effect of a demand made to a person who has a higher status in the social hierarchy. The use of Panjabi in this situation carries a different function from the "ordering" speech act by a mother, as discussed earlier. Here, the choice of Panjabi serves the metaphorical function (Gumperz 1982): it is not the form of utterance which carries the pragmatic meaning but the language choice, which is turning a command into a request. Panjabi is used here as a politeness strategy.

The choice of Panjabi to request "make me sandwiches", from a boy to his mother has the same function as in the previous case.

"go to my friends house" is a request from a boy to his brother in English. In this situation both of them have equal status; the choice of English doesn't, therefore, have the same effect as it could have in a niece to aunt/son to mother situation.

Pleasng/Pleading: "asking money for seaside/if I can perm my hair/if I could go to my cousin's house"

As the diary entry showed, a request for money by a teenager diarist to his father was made in English first. Later on the same evening as well as two days later, the event was repeated in Panjabi.

When I asked the informant why he had changed the language to Panjabi for the same request, it opened up an interesting discussion with him about the different functions of Panjabi and English. He replied, "We have a

better chance in getting money out of our parents if we speak in Panjabi because that's what they encourage and expect us to speak. We can please them by speaking in Panjabi and increase our chances of getting what we want." A similar explanation was given by a girl for choosing Panjabi for her requests to her mother: "if I can perm my hair/if I could go to my cousin's house".

These events shows how strategically some children make language choices to manipulate a situation.

Cooperation: "changing windows/cooking"

In one event, a son, the diarist, and a father are "changing windows" and talking to each other in Panjabi. In another event, a daughter (the diarist) and her mother are cooking together and talking in Panjabi. On the one hand, these situations reflect the socialization of the younger Panjabi generation in gender-related roles, and on the other hand, these situations provide language exposure which helps children to develop different registers of the language⁴.

To summarize, the above qualitative analysis shows various communicative functions for which Panjabi, Hindi and English are used. The range of speech acts, topics, activities and events for which Panjabi is used gives some indication of the control Panjabi Hindu children have over this language.

Different languages were found to be used for the same functions. In numerous cases, it was found that different languages were used for the same topic. In many instances, the role-relationships of interlocutors and their motives

⁴ I noticed similar situations in other families.

played a crucial role in language choice patterns, rather than the topics themselves. This supports informants' claims generally, in their responses to me during questionnaire elicitation on language use (Ch. 5), that they chose their language according to the person they were talking to.

There were other communicative functions of Panjabi, Hindi and English: such as Announcing/Informing (e.g. "going to school/going to library for books/going to cousin's house"); Permission (e.g. "can we go straight"); Invitation ("lets see my friend in Abbey National"); Enquiry (e.g. "where are mum and dad//when to turn on hot water") for which the diarists could not tell why they chose a particular language. This shows that bilinguals may not have a specific motive for every language choice they make.

6.4 Summary and Discussion

Despite the two great advantages of census data, i.e. it covers hundreds of thousands of people and a long period of time, one of its serious shortcomings is the lack of information on the migration of certain members of population in between the censuses. In the case of the Panjab and Delhi, the added problems are those of: frequent redrawing of the political and geographical boundaries; discrepancies and confusion over naming different languages due to issues such as politics, and linguistic and social attitudes since the first census of 1881. These situations make it difficult to compare language returns across censuses. In this regard, a researcher can obtain the language data associated with the same group of people at

different points of time through the question on retrospective language use, and carry out an age-cohort analysis.

The fact that non-indigenous minority groups, like PHs in Southall, have emigrated from different geographical areas complicates the situation even further. In a divorced demographic situation and in the absence of data on retrospective language use, the age-grading analysis alone would not reflect successfully the change in the patterns of language use of such minorities. This, indeed, is the case as demonstrated by the present study.

The age-grading analysis showed that the use of Panjabi and Hindi was decreasing and that of English was increasing among the second generation. The age-cohort analysis proved otherwise: among this generation the use of Hindi has increased slightly and that of English has decreased slightly since they were between 10-19 years of age; also, in the outside-home situation, the use of English by the first generation declined significantly during the 1980-89 period.

Some groups of PH informants are more orientated towards language maintenance than others. Contrary to the finding of chapter 5 (sec. 5.3.3) based on current language use alone, the comparison of retrospective and current language use revealed that it is the East African PHs who were the most retentive of the use of Panjabi and not the rural Panjab PHs. On the other hand, the comparison also confirmed that the Delhi PHs are the least retentive of all groups (however, we can only say so about some PHs from Delhi in this study; cf. sec. 6.2.1.1). The urban Panjab PHs are more maintenance-orientated than the Delhi PHs and

less so than the rural Panjab and the East African PHs. Firstly, these findings contradict the findings and assumptions of other researchers (sec. 6.2.1). Secondly, if we take Fishman's socially deterministic view of 'domain' which focuses on the society as a whole, then the PH community in Southall is showing a language shift to English as it has entered the family domain. But my findings do not support this view of 'domain'.

Another finding of this chapter was that various age groups showed different patterns of Panjabi, Hindi and English use. I have explained these differences in terms of the individuals' personal sociolinguistic histories, which seemed to have shaped their language use patterns. The use of Panjabi has declined, with a concomitant increase in English, among the third generation. Their use of Panjabi is very low and that of English is very high with the people of their own generations. But if they follow the example of the 30-39 yrs age group, the maintenance of Panjabi has a chance in the future. Also, as we saw in chapters 2 and 4, the high ethnolinguistic vitality of the PH community itself and that of the majority Panjabi Sikh community in Southall favours the survival of Panjabi. My general impression in Southall was that the Sikhs seemed to be maintaining Panjabi, particularly because of its firm association with their ethno-religious identity.

What seems to be happening at present is not a language shift but a language change in terms of the development of a Panjabi-Hindi and Panjabi-Hindi-English mixed codes (cf. Ch. 4, sec. 4.2.2.4). Many of the third generation PHs command various codes: Panjabi-Hindi mixed code, P-H-E mixed code, English. In addition, some of them

also have command of Panjabi and Hindi codes on their own. However, unless Panjabi and Hindi are taught in the middle years of school education in Britain (cf. Ch. 2, sec. 2.1.4), the future generations will have less chance of developing their command of the Panjabi and Hindi languages, even though at the moment the PH community's efforts are supporting this trend (cf. Ch. 4, sec. 4.2.2.4).

The qualitative analysis of the language diaries has contributed to the understanding of the communicative functions which Panjabi, Hindi and English serve for the third generation. This analysis highlights various factors which determine patterns of language choice. Individuals' role-relationships and their motives, more than the topic of interaction, were found to be governing their language choices. Although Romaine (1983) also found in her study that many of the diaries showed variation in patterns of language use in relation to factors like interlocutors, setting and topic, she does not explore the relative importance of these factors. My findings confirm the findings of other researchers like (Bell 1984) and Douglas-Cowie (1978). In an experiment conducted by Douglas-Cowie in Northern Ireland she demonstrated that variation found in her informants' speech was due to their motives and their interlocutors' identity rather than the topic of conversation.

The qualitative analysis of the diaries in this study showed the good communicative competence that the PH teenagers have in the way they employ their linguistic resources strategically in achieving certain goals. The range of speech acts, topics, activities and events for

which Panjabi is used also shows the command Panjabi Hindu teenagers have of this language. I believe that this communicative competence is a prerequisite through which the younger generations can develop their command of Panjabi and Hindi.

Chapter 7: LITERACY PRACTICES AND VALUES

7.0 Introduction

As I discussed in chapter 1, literacy plays a crucial role in the maintenance of language and culture of a community. Its role is particularly significant in shaping the views of various groups of Panjabi speakers towards their languages and cultures. In this chapter I shall, therefore, explore in detail the socio-literacy situation among Panjabi Hindus in Southall.

During my fieldwork in Southall, looking at the complex multiliteracy practices among the Panjabis in general, and the Panjabi Hindus in particular, it gradually became clearer to me that I would not be able to capture the practices fully with the help of a questionnaire alone. The quantitative study needed to be complemented by an ethnographic study of the literacy practices in the community. The following approaches to literacy studies helped me to explore the literacy practices of PHs in Southall.

The ethnographic approaches to literacy studies (Heath 1983, Street 1984, Barton 1991, 1994) are based on the descriptively beneficial and tangible foundation of the uses of written language(s) by specific groups and subgroups in a specific locality. According to Graff, such conceptualisation of contexts "offers both new and better cases for study, opportunity for explanations, and approaches to literacy's variable historical meaning and contribution" (1986: 127).

Literacy is not a single unified competence (Levine 1985), but changes from place to place and varies in different social contexts. Despite the fact that different

writing systems and their use in different contexts and cultures can be observed, differences between them are not primarily technical. Differences that exist between literacies are because of different 'cultural practices', 'values' (Graff 1979, Heath 1983) and 'ideologies' (Street 1984).

The "ideological" model related to literacy proposed by Street (1984) sees literacy practices as context bound and dependent on ideology. He contrasts his approach to what he calls the "autonomous" model which defines literacy separately from the social context. He talks about literacy practices rather than literacy skills. As he puts it:

I prefer to work from what I term the 'ideological' model of literacy, that recognises a multiplicity of literacies; that the meaning and uses of literacy practices are related to specific cultural contexts; and that these practices are always associated with relations of power and ideology, they are not simply neutral technologies. (Street 1993: 139).

Barton (1991, 1994) draws on the theoretical approaches and ethnographic research of researchers like Heath and Street and suggests a social view of literacy. The basis of this approach is that literacy is a social activity and can be described in terms of people's literacy practices which they draw upon in literacy events. People have different literacies which they make use of, associated with different contexts of life, such as home, work and school. People's literacy practices are situated in broader social relations, so that, for example, they have networks of support and take on roles within these networks. People have awareness and attitudes towards literacy and these attitudes guide their actions.

Underlying this approach is the belief that the day-to-day communicative routines and activities of members of families and local communities are crucial means of constituting and sustaining social life. These routines and activities are also seen as being shaped in significant ways by cultural values and social conditions.

Following this sociolinguistic perspective, the present chapter explores the multiple literacy situation in which Panjabi Hindus in Southall live. It attempts to look at what cultural ways of using literacies and ways of assigning values to these literacies they have brought with them from their country of origin; and how and why literacy practices and values have changed since then.

In this chapter, I shall first present the literacy repertoire of the PH informants which forms the basis of their literacy practices, which in turn have helped to sustain their socio-cultural practices. I shall also discuss how and why different subgroups of PHs have acquired these literacies in different sociolinguistic environments in which they were brought up.

I shall also look at the political, economic, social and religious processes that have shaped the multiliteracy situation in Southall since the Panjabis migrated to Britain. Finally, I shall present a case study of a Panjabi Hindu family to show how individual members of this family are exposed to and make use of different literacies in Southall. I shall also draw attention to the values they assign to these literacies.

7.1 Literacy Verbal Repertoire of Panjabi Hindus

Informants were asked (Appendix III a/b, Q 13) to rate their literacy competence in various languages they knew on a three point scale: Not at all - 1; Only a little - 2; Quite well - 3. The results are in the following tables 8.1 and 8.2.

Language	Panjabi	Hindi	English	Urdu	Swahili	Gujarati
Not at all	54.7	31.4	5.8	93.0	94.1	96.5
Only a little	15.1	23.3	10.5	1.2	5.8	3.5
Quite Well	30.2	45.3	83.7	5.8	0.0	0.0

Table 7.1: Reported Reading Skills of PHs in Various Languages

Language	Panjabi	Hindi	English	Urdu	Swahili	Gujarati
Not at all	59.3	33.7	5.8	93.0	94.2	97.7
Only a little	12.8	23.3	11.6	1.2	5.8	2.3
Quite Well	27.9	43.0	82.6	5.8	0.0	0.0

Table 7.2: Reported Writing Skills of PHs in Various Languages

A much higher percentage of informants have claimed reading and writing skills in Panjabi, Hindi and English than any other language listed in the above tables. The literacy rate is the highest in English followed by Hindi and Panjabi, respectively. Slightly more informants have claimed command of reading skills than writing skills in Panjabi, Hindi and English.

The Swahili and Gujarati literacies were reported by only those who emigrated from East Africa. Literacy skills in Urdu was claimed by the informants who were in the 50+ yrs age group.

Gender/ Language	Reading		Writing	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Panjabi	58.1	32.6	51.2	30.2
Hindi	74.4	62.8	72.1	60.5
English	88.4	100.0	88.4	100.0

Table 7.3: Reading and Writing Skills by Sex

As Table 7.3 shows, more female, than male, informants have reported literacy skills in Panjabi and Hindi; whereas in the case of English, the situation is reversed. Both women and men show much higher rate of literacy in Hindi than in Panjabi.

Skills Language/ Age Gr.	Reading			Writing		
	Pan- jabi	Hindi	Eng- lish	Pan- jabi	Hindi	Eng- lish
10-19yrs	31.0	44.8	100.0	31.0	41.3	100.0
20-29	25.0	25.0	100.0	25.0	25.0	100.0
30-39	82.2	100.0	100.0	64.7	100.0	100.0
40-49	50.0	92.9	85.7	50.0	85.7	85.7
50+	42.8	92.9	78.5	28.5	92.9	78.5

Table 7.4: Reading and Writing Skills in Panjabi, Hindi and English

As Table 7.4 shows, more third generation (10-19 yrs) informants than the second generation (20-29 yrs) reported reading and writing skills in Hindi and Panjabi; and more informants from the second and the third generations claim literacy skills in English than do the first generation age groups (30-39 yrs; 40-49 yrs; 50+ yrs).

In the following sections I shall look at how and why different groups of informants acquired different literacies.

7.2 Literacies in Places of Origin of Panjabi Hindus: An Historical Account of Cultural Practices in Different Social Conditions

7.2.1 Literacies in the Panjab

As pointed out in chapter 2 (sec. 2.3.1), there were three main phases in which people were mobilized around language and literacy in the Panjab: from the turn of the century to the Independence of India in 1947; from the Independence to the reorganisation of the Panjab state boundaries in 1966; and from 1966 to the present time. During the first phase, there was a movement to replace Urdu/Perso-Arabic in schools, courts and official institutions with the vernacular mother tongues, Panjabi and Hindi. At the same time, there was competition between those who wished to promote Panjabi/Gurmukhi or Hindi/Devanagari. In the post-independence period, during the second and the third phases, the language/literacy cleavage was exclusively between Hindi and Panjabi.

There are informants in my sample (50+ yrs age group) who were brought up and had their education around and before the independence period. As discussed in chapter 2 (sec. 2.3.1), at that time the political and religious situation was such that among Panjabi Hindus a positive feeling towards Hindi-Devanagari-Hinduism and negative feeling towards Panjabi-Gurmukhi-Sikhism were running very high. Panjabi/Gurmukhi did not have any support in education, administration and mass media. At that time, the languages used as media of education in schools were Urdu/Perso-Arabic and English/Roman. Hindi and Urdu, written in either the Perso-Arabic or Devanagari scripts, were the language of literate exchange. Panjabi/Gurmukhi was only promoted by schools and voluntary classes run by

the Sikh religious and political institutions. Hindi was widely supported and learnt by Hindus and by many Panjab-speaking Hindus through religious and political institutions. Access to Panjabi/Gurmukhi and Hindi/Devanagari depended on religious affiliation, and the knowledge of Urdu/Perso-Arabic and English/Roman depended on whether somebody had formal education.

Those informants (40-49 yrs) who were brought up in the post-independence period (post-1947) were socialized into a different socio-literacy environment. At that time, the Muslim population had become established on the Pakistan side of the Panjab and Urdu was no longer the language of administration and education. In the Indian Panjab, the main political and religious rivalry was between Panjabi and Hindi. As the education curriculum options provided Panjabi and Hindi, educational choices by Panjabi Hindus and Sikhs reflected the wider religio-political environment prevalent at that time. Panjabi Hindus with strong Hindu tendencies learnt Hindi in Devanagari script.

Another group of informants (30-39 yrs) was brought up in the post-reorganisation (post-1966) period in the Panjab. At that time, Panjabi had become the Panjab state official language and Panjabi in Gurmukhi script was the first and main language of education in schools. Hindi and English as subjects of study were introduced in the fourth and sixth years of schooling, respectively. Even those Panjabi Hindus who had very strong Hindu tendencies had to face this practical problem: if they did not encourage their children to be proficient in Panjabi in the Gurmukhi script, then their children would not stand good chances of

competing with the Panjabi Sikh children. Therefore, the motivation for the children brought up during this third phase to learn Panjabi/Gurmukhi was of a different kind from the ones who were brought up before the reorganisation period. Hindi in Devanagari script in this situation acquired only a second place in terms of the comparative importance of the language in the lives of these children.

To sum up, in response to the domination of Muslim religion and their Urdu language and Perso-Arabic script in the Panjab, there was a growth of Hindu and Sikh religious revival movements and the literature associated with them at the turn of this century. In consequence, Sikhs came to attach increasing significance to the writing of Panjabi in the Gurmukhi script as the language of the Sikhs and of the Sikh religion just as Hindus developed an attachment to Hindi in the Devanagari script. Close symbolic linkages, therefore, were made between Panjabi, Hindi and Urdu with Gurmukhi, Devanagari and Perso-Arabic scripts for religious reasons.

However, all the three scripts can be and have been used to write the three languages:

we must carefully distinguish between the written scripts and the spoken language. It is characteristic of Indian society, in these Provinces that there should be a good deal of cross-division in this respect. Thus Gurmukhi is not necessarily the character in which Panjabi is written, nor would a person (for example an Arora woman in Bhagalpur) who writes Gurmukhi and nothing else necessarily speaks Punjabi. The holy Granth of the Sikhs are written almost entirely in the Gurmukhi character, but their language is the old Hindi or Hindvi as Dr Trumpp designated it. (Census of India 1901: 226)

Panjabi being the main language for informal discourse, there was incompatibility between the competence in Devanagari/Perso-Arabic scripts and Hindi/Urdu languages

if these languages were not learnt formally. As there was more emphasis on learning the scripts to appreciate the religious scriptures written in these languages, many people had passive knowledge of formal Hindi/Urdu. Many of them spoke in Panjabi in their day-to-day lives, but wrote it in Gurmukhi, Devanagari and/or Perso-Arabic scripts. This does not mean to say that people were not bi/multiliterate or bi/multilingual, but to highlight the issue of peoples' level of command of these languages and the scripts, as well as their attitudes towards these languages and scripts.

Although people in the Panjab have learnt and used different languages and scripts in different political, religious and educational environments over the period of three different phases, the symbolic linkage between language and literacy has been maintained for religious identity since the turn of the century.

7.2.2 Literacies in Delhi and East Africa

Patterns of literacy of the informants who came from Delhi and East Africa are not as complex as those who migrated from the Panjab. Delhi saw the influx of Panjabi refugees after the partition of India who came from communal war stricken Panjab. After independence Hindi/Devanagari became the official language and the language of education in Delhi. Sikhs and even those Panjabi Hindus who might had a strong loyalty towards Panjabi had little choice but to learn Hindi/Devanagari, and to operate in that literacy environment.

The majority of Panjabi Hindus, on the other hand, identified themselves with Hindi-Hinduism tradition and,

thus, found the language and literacy situation of Delhi in their favour as compared with the Panjabi Hindus in the Panjab who had to fight for it. Pandit's (1978) and Mukherjee's (1980) studies show that the sociolinguistic situation among the Panjabi Hindus in Delhi was generally such that they chose to relegate Panjabi to the status of spoken language of the home, and use Hindi for social and written interaction symbolizing their religious identity. In contrast, Sikhs maintained the Panjabi language in Gurmukhi script as a symbol of their religious identity.

According to many informants, Panjabi Hindus in East Africa learnt literacy skills in Panjabi or Hindi depending on their attitudes towards these languages. In addition, many of them also learnt Gujarati, Swahili and English.

7.3 Minority Literacies in the British context, 1950s-80s: Differing Cultural Responses to Changing Social Conditions

The functions of literacies in the literacy repertoire of Panjabi Hindus have been changed, elaborated and redistributed, since they arrived in Britain. This section looks at the changing social conditions in Britain since the arrival of Panjabis and their differing cultural responses to these conditions in the context of proliferating functions of minority literacies (viz. Panjabi, Hindi, Urdu). The information presented in this section is gathered through my interviews with informants and various other people in the Panjabi community (such as, businessmen, community leaders, teachers, intellectuals, factory workers, housewives, and students); through ethnographic observations in Southall; and the discussions in chapters 2 and 4.

7.3.1 Literacies in the 1950s

As discussed in chapter 2 (sec. 2.1.1), until 1960, the Southall Asian population consisted mainly of Panjabi Sikh and Hindu men from India. The main literacy activity at that time was writing letters in Panjabi and Hindi to their families and friends in India. If one was illiterate, one could seek help through a friendship network. Men working on different shifts even shared beds to save the money (cf. Jung 1985). Sometimes, in such situations, the only way of communication between these men sharing beds or houses was to leave notes in Panjabi or Hindi. There were very few who knew English, those who knew English acted as interpreters and translators between the managements and the workers. Indian Worker's Association in Southall provided literacy help in areas such as form filling for employment and immigration.

7.3.2 Literacies in the 1960s

Following the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act, once wives and children of the Panjabi men arrived in Southall, the parents looked for ways in which they could advance the educational prospects of their children. As children started going to schools, spoken and written English assumed importance.

In order to communicate with the schools' staff or authorities, parents needed literacy in English too. In most cases they got help from someone who knew English in the community/friendship network. It was then for the first time that the language of the host society, English, began to make inroads into the homes in the form of school correspondence and children's books.

Other ways in which English literature made inroads into the homes were various types of house bills, mortgage and insurance papers, etc. For reasons such as better living standards, independence, prestige in the community, elimination of rent payments, or even income from lodgers, Panjabis were becoming owner-occupiers of the properties in Southall. This, inevitably, brought financial pressures on the families and many women had to find some kind of work. However, poor English, cultural barriers and responsibility for rearing children made these women an obvious source of cheap labour for the homeworking industry (Wilson 1978).

For those men and women who were well motivated to climb the socio-economic ladder by securing better jobs and avoiding poor working conditions and shift work in factories, it became imperative for them to learn English. This brought about the need for adult literacy classes in the area. English was no longer just a language of the host society that one could get by using the friendship network, it was becoming a reality of their daily lives for the full participation in the wider community. They began to take interest in the socio-economic and political aspects of the host country. This need was mainly fulfilled by English newspapers, radio and television as social prejudices of some sections of the host society prevented the "immigrant" minority to participate in their social lives.

As the settlement grew in size, the social networks of these people began to be confined to immigrants from specific areas, castes or groups of villagers. With the development of social networks, social obligations in Britain became more important than the links with families

in India. As a result, written communication in Panjabi and Hindi became less frequent between India and Britain.

7.3.3 Literacies in the 1970s

The period around the 1970s brought further changes in the demographic situation and literacy environment in Southall. There were three reasons for these changes: (1) the decline in the British economy; (2) the increasing cultural and linguistic gap between migrant parents and their children; and (3) the arrival of South Asians from East Africa as political refugees.

South Asians, like other groups of workers, were involved in the industrial conflicts during the recession in the late 1960s and in 1970s. Their greater participation in industrial disputes along with their white counterparts brought about a working class consciousness among them (Rimmer 1972). They became more involved in the Trade Union's activities at work and took greater interest in politics at community level. This brought in greater reliance on literacy activity among these people to achieve their political goals. English literacy became necessary to maintain and to develop contacts with the national Trade Unions, and to understand and to participate in their activities. Posters in Panjabi and Hindi were also used to inform the local minorities about the Trade Union movement and to encourage greater local participation. The local newspapers in Panjabi and Hindi also played a role in achieving this political goal. The younger generation Panjabis, having gone through the British school system, found a new role in contributing towards written communication in English.

As the recession deepened, the level of unemployment increased with which the discrimination and racism too (cf. Rimmer 1972, Taylor 1976, Smith 1977, 'Southall' 1981). Some politicians used the "immigrants" as scapegoat to create the myth that they were in the way of the native labour in finding jobs. As the racism against these minorities increased in the wider society, the potential employers also discriminated against them. Demonstrations against racial violence in 1970s by British educated South Asian youth in Southall proved that, unlike their parents, they were much more prepared to take direct action in defence of their interests and identity. As the British political and economic environment became instrumental in transforming the Panjabis' 'immigrant' identity into a new British 'working class' identity, it also created a social environment in Britain which made Panjabi youth think about their own cultural identity. The Panjabi and Hindi languages and associated literacies became significant resources for the construction of their distinct ethnic identity.

The same period also saw the development of voluntary language classes in Panjabi and Hindi, with an emphasis on literacy. Also, a greater demand for these languages to be taught in the schools was made by the parents, as the linguistic and cultural gap between first and second generations began to surface.

In the beginning, when the Panjabi families came to this country, the assimilatory forces into the 'host' society were compelling. The political trend of the host country was to assimilate the newly arrived immigrants into the host society through the education system as quickly as

possible. A great emphasis was put on learning English. The Panjabi parents themselves saw English as a passport to success in British society and education system, but at the cost of home languages. The educational linguistic ethos in the 1960s led parents to believe that if children spoke and learnt their home languages, it would hinder their progress in learning English and thus, access to the school curriculum (cf. Ch. 2, sec. 2.1.4).

Gradually English became the main language of communication for children at school and home alike. This led to a communication gap between many parents and their children. The communication gap was felt more by mothers who were not fluent in English. Furthermore, this led to a conflict with their cultural beliefs, such as marriage and religion. Having been brought up in western cultural system, the second generation children saw the arranged marriage system and their parents' religious beliefs as backward (Dhir 1975). The parents found this situation very threatening to their cultural identity and to repair the situation, the South Asian community made a concerted effort to open temples where children could learn and appreciate their religions, cultures and languages.

The arrival of South Asian political refugees in Britain from East Africa around this time was of great assistance and morale boosting in building up this infrastructure. Unlike many Panjabis from India who came mainly from villages with little education, the new immigrants from East Africa were well educated and had the experience of maintaining their languages and culture through voluntary efforts there.

7.3.4 Literacies in the 1980s

The 1980s brought in further changes in the literacy situation in Southall, mainly in the context of home literacies. For the first time since the arrival of these Panjabis, the religious division between the Sikhs and Hindus began to surface. Their sociolinguistic history provided them with the symbols, i.e. either Gurmukhi or Devanagari script, to emphasize this religious division. This process began to take shape with the politically motivated communal violence between Sikhs and Hindus in the Panjab state in India, which led to the assassination of the India's Prime Minister in 1985. The assassination resulted in communal violence in the Hindi speaking states of India, the worst violence was felt in Delhi. Southall in Britain had by then become the main Sikh militant centre outside India which supported the cause of an independent Panjab as a separate Sikh nation. The self-proclaimed president of the perceived Sikh nation, the Khalistan, had his office in Southall. This office is reported to have issued passports (to those Sikhs who believed in the cause) written in Gurmukhi, symbolizing the Sikh nation. A Sikh temple there became the main centre for promoting the Sikh political cause and engaged in a renewed effort of teaching Panjabi in Gurmukhi script. Those Panjabi Hindus who used to visit the Sikh temple stopped doing so after the temple took this political stance. Many of them started sending their children to learn Hindi in the Hindu temple instead.

The Hindu temple had thus become a main centre for promoting Hindu culture and the Hindi language for those Panjabi Hindus who dissociated themselves from Sikhs and the Gurmukhi script. These PHs did not mind their children

speaking Panjabi, but considered Devanagari, and not Gurmukhi, to be the fit written medium for a Hindu child to be able to appreciate the Hindu scriptures. However, there was a small proportion of these PHS who preferred their children to speak Hindi rather than Panjabi, and to learn Devanagari and not the Gurmukhi script. Their preference for Hindi-Devanagari over Panjabi-Gurmukhi was not due to the fact that they were Hindus, but because of their positive attitude towards Hindi for different ideological and practical purposes. These PHS thought that since Hindi was the "national language" and a language of wider communication in India, it was the right language for an Indian to learn in order to maintain a pan-Indian identity. In addition, the mastery of it also provided a better chance in keeping business contacts and links with their relatives in India.

In addition, these three groups of Panjabis in Southall who are motivated by either the religious or nationalistic ideology, there is a fourth group of Panjabis. This group is comprised of both Hindus and Sikhs, and is motivated by a socialist political ideology. Unlike those who support the Khalistan cause, this group believes in an Indian national cause. They see the Panjab as a Sikh-Hindu state within the Indian political system. They also believe in the maintenance of the Panjabi language in the Gurmukhi script as an emblem of Panjabi culture rather than the Sikh religion. Similarly, they are very clear about treating Hindi-Devanagari as a national language of India, in contrast to those Panjabi Hindus who see it as an emblem of their religious identity. They disagree with the adoption of Hindi-Devanagari at the cost of Panjabi-

Gurmukhi by the Panjabis. This group, therefore, has added a new symbolic value to Panjabi-Gurmukhi for one cultural identity to all Panjabis, Hindus and Sikhs. It is important to note here that the development of this secular identity among this grouping of Panjabis has come directly in response to the social conditions within the Panjabi community which divided the community on religious ground.

7.3.4.1 Educational Role of Minority Literacies

In the context of education, during the 1980s, the Sikh-Hindu religious polarization became prominent. In schools, most Panjabi Hindu children chose to learn Hindi and the Panjabi Sikh children chose Panjabi. By this time, Hindi and Panjabi were offered as part of school curriculum in the secondary schools in Southall. The print environment in the schools at all levels had begun to reflect the multicultural and multilingual nature of the local communities.

During the period when I carried out my fieldwork, multiliteracy posters in Panjabi, Hindi and English were seen on classrooms' and school corridors' walls. They depicted curriculum contents (e.g. science and arts projects) and cultural aspects (e.g. food, religion, dresses, etc.) of the school and the community. Doors of head teachers' rooms, staff rooms, classrooms, school offices, toilets, etc. bore labels in multiliteracies. This multiliteracy environment in the schools that the third generation Panjabis are being exposed to was not experienced by the second generation. However, this environment is politically tokenistic as these literacies are not taught in the early and middle years of schooling.

Nonetheless it is symbolic in that the schools have responded to the pressures of debate on the use of these languages in the schools. Verma (1984), in arguing for the teaching of minority literacies in schools and through broadcasting, says that "the multicultural heritage ... can be transmitted only through the rich linguistic heritage of literature ... that the minorities have." (p. 4).

7.3.4.2 Commercial Role of Minority Literacies

Another development that became instrumental in boosting the minority literacies is the short boom in the British economy during the 1980s. During this period, the government's enterprise initiative schemes gave encouragement and support to new businesses. Many Panjabis in Southall, who were in low paid jobs or faced discrimination at work, took the advantage of these initiatives and set up their own businesses. Most of their businesses were in the area of trading consumer goods such as food and clothing, suitable to the ways of life of the Panjabis in Southall and neighbouring areas. Since not many of these items are produced in Britain, the obvious market is India and other South Asian countries. The import of these goods renewed the link of the Panjabis with their country of origin.

Those businesses that dealt with large international exporters from India could communicate in written English, but those importing from small, local industry through friendship and familial network in India had to rely on Hindi and Panjabi literacies. This provided a new role for home literacies as facilitators of international business.

In Southall shops, catering daily consumer items -- food, clothes, utensils, toiletries, jewellery, decoration, books, newspapers, magazines, stationary, etc., one can see bilingual labels in Panjabi, Hindi and/or English on the items and the shelves. This literacy environment in the shops especially facilitates the shopping by housewives, and older men and women as they tend to have little or no command of written English. Many small family businesses make their everyday inventories of their stocks in home literacies. Children from such families learn home literacies informally while working alongside their parents in the shops.

7.3.4.3 The Institutional Role of Minority Literacies

It is only in the past decade that the social service provisions (DHSS, Police, Immigration, etc.) are made available in minority languages (through interpreters) and literacies (through translations) by the Local Authorities in Britain. This has come about in response to the continuing demand by the linguistic minority communities as citizens of their right to resources provided by the state. One can find in social service agencies (such as hospitals, community relation offices, citizen advice bureaus) leaflets about health, safety, law, immigration, etc. written in Panjabi, Hindi, Urdu, etc. beside English. Dheer (1986) sees the availability of such information through translation and interpretation vital in combating institutional racism.

Such information in minority languages has also helped many women, particularly housewives who, either due to poor command of English or due to other social and domestic

reasons, cannot get independent professional help in areas of health, hygiene, child care, women's rights in marriage, etc. Similarly, minority literacies have made information regarding law, immigration, housing, etc. more accessible to the linguistic minority communities. This material, for those who do not want to rely on networks of friends and family, has meant that their personal problems need not become public knowledge. They are now, therefore, in a position to achieve personal freedom and independence.

As the minority languages like Panjabi and Hindi have gained official status, it has opened up the job opportunities for the bilinguals who have a good command of English and one (or more) of these languages, especially in the literacy skills. Although many of them have had school or college education in these languages in India, they need to pass professional examinations conducted by British language institutions, such as, the Institute of Linguists and the Royal Society of Arts to qualify as interpreters and translators. To obtain jobs as translators and interpreters, it is no longer enough to be able to speak, write or to have had an education in these languages.

However, these recognized standards and the job prospects linked to them have given qualified Panjabis and the minority literacies a professional status. It is the first time that the younger generation of the Panjabis born and/or brought up in Britain has seen the role of these literacies extended beyond their own community to an institutional level. This has motivated many of them to learn and to improve their knowledge of these languages and literacies to obtain the recognized qualifications. Jobs in 'community' interpreting and translation, especially part-

time ones have proved to be very popular among the women who cannot get into full-time employment because of their domestic responsibilities. Also, these jobs have provided them with a respectable professional status as well as personal independence.

As pointed out in chapter 4 (sec. 4.2.4), even the third generation Panjabi Hindus, who aspired to be highly professional, like doctors and lawyers, considered the knowledge of minority languages necessary in carrying out such jobs.

7.4 Literacy Choices: The Survey Data

In question 20 (Appendix III a/b) I asked informants what scripts they used for writing a letter/note to South Asian 'friends', 'relatives' and 'officials' in U.K. and in India.

As the Table 7.5 below shows, script choices in UK with all the three interlocutors is dominant in English and the least dominant in Panjabi. What is significant here, however, is that literacy practices in Panjabi and Hindi languages are being maintained to a certain degree at the community level (friends and relatives). It is a sign of Panjabi Hindus community's effort to maintain the minority literacies under the overwhelming pressure of English literacy.

Language/ Write to	Panjabi	Hindi	English	Don't Write
Friends in UK	7.4	12.3	63.0	22.2
Relatives in UK	8.6	26.0	58.0	17.3
Officials in UK	1.2	2.5	76.5	19.8

Table 7.5: Script Choices for Writing Letters/Notes to South Asian Friends, Relatives and Officials in U.K.

Language/ Write to	Panjabi	Hindi	English	Don't Write
Friends in India	12.3	23.5	17.3	54.3
Relatives in India	21.0	35.8	24.6	29.6
Officials in India	4.9	13.5	22.2	61.7

Table 7.6: Script Choices for Writing Letters/Notes to South Asian Friends, Relatives and Officials in India

When it comes to keeping contact with people in India (Table 7.6 above), although the informants don't report writing as much as they do in the British context, the rate of literacy practices in Panjabi and Hindi languages increases; whereas that of English decreases. In the context of writing to relatives and friends in India, Hindi is dominant, whereas there is not much difference in the use of English and Panjabi literacies with these people.

Language/ Inter- locutors/ Age Gr.	Panjabi			Hindi			English		
	Rel.	Fr.	Off.	Rel.	Fr.	Off.	Rel.	Fr.	Off.
10-19	3.4	0.0	0.0	3.4	0.0	0.0	89.7	96.6	93.1
20-29	9.1	18.2	0.0	9.1	9.1	0.0	81.9	72.8	72.8
30-39	11.8	11.8	5.9	17.7	11.8	5.9	29.5	35.4	70.8
40-49	7.7	15.4	0.0	15.4	22.1	7.7	37.5	53.9	84.7
50+	0.0	0.0	0.0	36.4	27.3	0.0	18.2	27.3	36.4

Table 7.7: Script Choices for Writing Letters/Notes to South Asian Rel(atives), Fr(iends) and Off(icials) in U.K. by Different Age Groups

Language/ Inter- locutors/ Age Gr.	Panjabi			Hindi			English		
	Rel.	Fr.	Off.	Rel.	Fr.	Off.	Rel.	Fr.	Off.
10-19 yrs	10.2	6.8	6.8	20.2	10.2	10.2	47.6	30.6	34.0
20-29	18.2	9.1	0.0	9.1	9.1	0.0	18.2	18.2	18.2
30-39	47.2	23.6	11.8	47.8	23.6	17.7	11.8	5.9	11.8
40-49	15.4	7.7	0.0	53.9	44.2	30.8	7.7	7.7	22.1
50+	18.2	18.2	0.0	63.7	45.5	9.1	9.1	9.1	9.1

Table 7.8: Script Choices for Writing Letters/Notes to South Asian Friends, Relatives and Officials in India by Different Age Groups

If we look at Tables 7.7 and 7.8 above, we find that it is not only the first generation age groups (30-39; 40-49; 50+), but the second (20-29) and the third (10-19) age groups write letters and notes in Panjabi and Hindi to relatives and friends in UK and India. This reflects the literacy vitality in the PH community in Southall.

This literacy vitality is evident in informants' reading habits as well. The informants were asked (Appendix III a/b, Q 18) how often they read newspapers and magazines in Panjabi, Hindi and English.

Frequency/ Language	Daily	Weekly	Fort- nightly	Monthly	Rarely	Never
Panjabi	3.7	4.9	2.6	7.4	8.6	72.8
Hindi	7.4	6.2	12.3	11.1	4.9	60.0
English	55.6	18.5	6.2	4.9	4.9	9.9

Table 7.9: Script Choice of PHs for Reading Newspapers and Magazines

As Table 7.9 demonstrates, the informants read English newspapers and magazines more frequently than they read the Panjabi and Hindi newspapers and magazines. However, considering the smaller number and infrequency of the Panjabi and Hindi newspapers available in this country, the percentage of informants (Panjabi: 31.2 and Hindi: 40) who read them is significant.

Language/ Age Groups	Panjabi	Hindi	English
10-20 yrs	7.7	30.8	100.0
20-30	16.6	16.6	91.7
30-40	41.2	59.8	88.2
40-50	42.9	50.0	78.6
50+	41.7	83.4	83.4

Table 7.10: Script Choice of PHs for Reading Newspapers and Magazines by Different Age Groups

Not as many second and third generation informants read Hindi and Panjabi media material as do the first generation age groups (Table 7.10). The important reason for this difference is the literacy competence in these languages between the older and the younger generations, but it is also important to note that the choice of reading materials which cater fully to the needs of the younger generation is also limited. It is interesting to note that a much higher percentage of the third generation informants, as compared to the second generation, read in Hindi, which reflect to some extent the 1980s period of Hindu-Sikh conflict when many parents sent their children to learn Hindi.

Sex/Language	Female	Male
Panjabi	26.8	22.5
Hindi	46.3	27.5
English	90.2	95.0

Table 7.11: Script Choice of PHs for Reading Newspapers and Magazines by Sex

As Table 7.11 shows, women tend to read in Panjabi and Hindi more than the men. Generally, the male informants said that the pressure of work does not leave much time to read more in these languages.

So far in this section, through the quantitative data, I have looked at the literacy practices of the PH informants. However, I could not show in finer detail how these informants make use of different literacies in their repertoire. This is mainly due to the limitation that the questionnaire technique has in eliciting literacy practices of people. In everyday practices people are exposed to such a wide variety of literacy material that it becomes

difficult at times to recall them. Also, people may consider and report, say, reading a newspaper to be a literacy activity but would not report the reading of an advertisement on a road-side hoarding which they might do more frequently. An ethnographic study of literacy, the subject of discussion of the following section, is more useful in throwing light on the finer details of individuals' everyday literacy practices.

7.5 A Case Study of a Panjabi Hindu Family: The Qualitative Data

This section provides an account of some of the literacy practices of individual members of a Panjabi Hindu family in Southall. It will provide examples of how they make use of different literacies in their daily lives and, hopefully, throw some light on the literacy repertoire and literacy practices of the Panjabi Hindu community and the larger Panjabi community in Southall. We shall see how individuals in this community are exposed to different print media; how they make literacy choices for different purposes; and how they value different literacies in their repertoire.

This family consists of a 4-year-old boy, his parents and grandparents. I chose this family because its members are fairly representative of the Panjabi Hindu community in Southall. They are brought up and have lived in different cultural and linguistic environments in India, East Africa and Britain. They are of different age groups and sex; they have had their education in different political, religious and cultural climates; and they have different attitudes towards different languages and orthographies.

This is one of the families in Southall with whom I spent a great deal of time. During my numerous visits to Southall, I stayed with them on many occasions and observed their literacy practices. Initially, my visits to and stays with this family were a matter of hospitality extended to a student from their country of origin having the same linguistic background. However, over the period, the acquaintance gradually grew into a close relationship. As I was accepted and treated as a member of the family, I could participate in their day-to-day activities. This relationship also provided me with the freedom of questioning and discussing their actions and views, even though they were fully aware of my study and its purpose.

The literacy events presented below do not necessarily happen in one single day, but in order to give the account more cohesion they are presented as if they occurred in a single day.

Grandfather (educated in the Panjab in pre-liberated India; migrated to East Africa before coming to England):

He takes bus no. 74 signposted in English 'Greenford' to go to the Community Club for the old people. There he reads a local newspaper in Urdu about the South Asians in Britain, Southall's local news, and political news from India and Pakistan. He picks up a national newspaper in English, skims through it to get general news about British and international affairs.

He then walks down a few blocks to a publishing house which publishes a fortnightly newspaper to promote Panjabi nationalism in terms of its secular political ideology and Panjabi culture. He exchanges greetings with the editor in Panjabi and shows him a poem he has written in

Panjabi/Gurmukhi in praise of Panjab rivers. The editor considers it for publication.

On the way home, he goes to a book store which specializes in print media (newspaper, magazines, children's and literary books, novels, etc.) from India, Pakistan and Britain in various South Asian scripts. He buys a Hindi film magazine from India for his daughter-in-law. He also notices different advertising posters in English in the street.

At home, when his grandson comes back from school, he reads him a nursery book written in English.

Grandmother (brought up in East Africa with little formal education; learnt Hindi at home):

She waits for a bus, at the bus stop, to go to the Hindu temple. She does not read English. One of the buses that go to the temple is No. 36. When buses other than No. 36 come, she checks with the drivers (bus drivers in Southall are mostly Panjabi) if the buses go in the direction of the temple. None does. No. 36 arrives with Hayes sign written in English. Though she does not read English, she recognizes the shape of the word, because she sees it so often. She also recognizes the driver and adverts on the bus. She boards the bus without feeling a need to check it with the driver. She compensates her lack of knowledge of written English by relying on her memory of certain objects, events, people, etc. and assistance from other people.

On entering the temple, she reads a notice in Hindi about the weekend's events at the temple. Inside the main hall, after offering prayers to each of the Hindu gods, she asks the priest about the date of a particular festival.

The priest then checks a yearly magazine from the Panjab, written in Perso-Arabic script, about the Hindu religious calender¹. Later, with other women and some elderly men, she listens to a Hindu religious book read out in Hindi by the priest. Then she goes upstairs where there is a Hindu cultural centre and a library. She reads a Hindi newspaper from India there, and borrows a religious book in Hindi.

On the way home, she notices shop names displayed in bilingual signs in Panjabi-English, Hindi-English or Urdu-English. She goes into a *sari* (an Indian women's dress) shop. The shop has an English-Hindi bilingual sign outside. The shop owner is the president of the Hindi temple².

Father (born in East Africa, but brought up and educated in England from an early age):

In the morning, he reads an English newspaper for national and international news before leaving for work. At work, he supervises about two hundred and fifty workers of South Asian origin in a factory. As and when required, he also mediates, as an interpreter, between the workers and the factory bosses. He also has the responsibility of making available bilingual materials published by social service agencies on safety, workers' legal rights, medical benefits, etc., in the factory.

After work, in the evening, he goes to a Hindu temple where he is a member of the temple executive committee. With other committee members, he prepares a draft letter in

¹ One would expect a Hindu calender to be written in Devanagari script, rather than in Perso-Arabic script. But the people of priest's generation, as himself, who were educated in the pre-partition period in India, still refer to magazines and other journals written in Perso-Arabic.

² As I found out in interviews with shop owners, different linguistic signs represented their interest more in terms of their ideological stance and less of their commercial need.

English about the annual general meeting to be sent out to the registered members of the temple. It is agreed that when the temple has enough funds, the committee will send English-Hindi bilingual letters and notices to its members, as one of the roles of the temple is to promote Hindi. At the moment, the temple only has an English typewriter. The committee members also prepare some hand written notices in Hindi for the temple notice-board regarding the agenda of the annual general meeting.

On the way home, he notices some new Sikh nationalistic and communal slogans on street walls written in Panjabi. He discusses these slogans with his family when he comes home. At home, his mother reads to him from a weekly Hindi newspaper published locally about some local news and some news from the Panjab. This newspaper also has a few articles on Indian Hindi films written in English which he reads himself.

Mother (born, brought up and educated in the Panjab during and after the reorganisation period (post-1966) of the Panjab in India before coming to England for marriage):

In the morning, she takes her son to a nearby nursery. She brings back a note in English from the teacher about some activity towards which the child and the parents have to make some contribution. She shows it to her husband in the evening. He reads it and explains it to her in Panjabi.

After finishing the household chores, she gets a little time to read a few pages from a Hindi novel. Later, with her mother-in-law, she writes a letter to a relative in Delhi. They discuss and write the content of the letter in Panjabi-Hindi mixed code using Devanagari script. She

also writes a letter in Panjabi/Gurmukhi to a friend in the Panjab.

In the evening, before putting her son to bed, she tells him a story in Panjabi.

Son (born in Southall)

In the morning as he enters the school, he sees bilingual signs. He can distinguish between the Gurmukhi, Devanagari and Roman scripts. In the classroom, he is exposed only to the Roman script for teaching/learning purposes.

At home in the afternoon, his grandmother sends him with a small shopping list in Hindi-Devanagari to a corner shop next door. The shopkeeper records the goods sold to the boy in Hindi-Devanagari in his ledger³.

During the day, the boy observes his parents and grandparents using different literacies for different purposes.

Dinner Time:

One of the topics discussed during and after dinner is why the child should learn Hindi or Panjabi. Different views are expressed by the family members, showing how they are shaped in different social conditions (as described in secs. 7.2 and 7.3) in which they are living or have lived.

The grandfather wants his grandson to learn Panjabi in the Gurmukhi script when he goes to school, but not in the Sikh temple. He thinks this way his grandson can learn Panjabi and retain Panjabi culture. He favours Panjabi

³ Following the business tradition practised in India, some corner shopkeepers have separate accounts of the family living in the vicinity. These customers do not pay the shopkeepers for what they buy on day-to-day basis, but settle their accounts weekly or monthly.

because it is also the official language of the Panjab state. However, grandmother, mother and father think that the child should learn Hindi-Devanagari. Grandmother and father take more of a religious stance whereas mother takes the nationalistic/secular stance. Grandmother and father think that it is important to learn Hindi to retain Hindu culture and religion; whereas mother thinks that the child should learn Hindi because it is the national language of India. A further argument put forward in favour of Hindi related to the interpersonal communicative functions of literacy: grandmother, mother and father argue in favour of Hindi by saying that with the knowledge of the Hindi script the child will be able to correspond with the relatives both in Delhi and the Panjab, whereas the knowledge of the written Panjabi would restrict him only to the Panjab. Grandfather is outvoted, and it is decided that the child would go to the Hindi voluntary classes held in the Hindu temple initially and later would also opt for Hindi in school.

The literacy practices of individual members of this family shows that minority literacies are evident not only in the family and religious domains, but also in the community, employment and educational domains. A decade or so ago, one would not have encountered this kind of multiplicity of literacies in Southall. The multiple literacy choices these individuals make in their everyday literacy practices reflect their differing ideological way of thinking. However, this choice, rather than restraining their actions, provides them with multiple identities and freedom to operate in different worlds of literacies to achieve different goals.

7.6 Summary and Discussion

Literacy practices in the Panjabi community in Southall have changed enormously since the first group of Panjabi men came to Britain in 1950s. The third generation PHs are now living and growing up in a much more varied and complex situation of multilingual literacies than the first and second generation. It is through the maintenance of their minority literacy practices that the PHs project and sustain their ethnolinguistic identity and socio-cultural life.

Historically and ideologically, Britain has largely remained a monolingual, monocultural and monoliterate state; in this context, however, as this chapter has shown, linguistic minorities exist as multilingual, multicultural and multiliterate subsystems both in terms of their ideologies and practices. The Panjabi Hindus in Southall are one such community who, in turn, exist as constellations of differing language and literacy practices and ideologies.

The different kind of responses amongst different Panjabi subgroups to the changing social conditions in Britain are manifested in a variety of changing literacy practices and ideologies in the Panjabi community in Southall. External factors (such as inequality and racism in the wider society) and internal factors (e.g., different religious ideologies, and need for transmission of Panjabi cultures and maintaining cultural ties with the country of origin) have contributed to this manifestation. Until very recently, the English literacy had a place in the material market, whereas the minority literacies served the ideological purposes for these linguistic minorities.

However, there has been a struggle for getting Panjabi minority literacies a place alongside English literacy in institutional domains. Panjabis are now trying to create a multiliteracy market to serve their own needs and purposes. These multiple literacy resources are associated with multiple identities of Panjabi individuals, and are reflected in the choices that they make in their everyday literacy practices.

The Hindi literacy, with or without its spoken form, has been associated with the Hindu religion and is maintained by many Panjabi Hindus. Similarly, the Panjabi language and Gurmukhi scripts are linked with Sikhs and the Sikh religion. On the other hand, Hindi literacy and Panjabi literacy are in competition in terms of the issue of representation of a Panjabi secular culture. Urdu literacy has only an informative function (e.g. newspapers) along with Hindi and Panjabi literacies, for those who had their education in Urdu before the partition of India. The constitution of these multiple religious and secular identities as exemplified by different literacy practices of the Panjabis have come not only in response to the changing economic, political and social conditions in the wider British context, but also in response to the changing political, religious, economic and social conditions in India as well as within the Panjabi community in Southall itself.

The three distinct literacies and religious communities associated with the Panjabi language provide a particularly useful and important case for the discussion of different worlds of literacies. For instance, it exemplifies that being literate means one thing and being

literate in a particular language/orthography is another. By being literate, a person can be identified with a literate world, whereas being literate in a particular language may imply identification with a particular cultural tradition or a particular ideology⁴.

In bi/multiliteracy situation two or more languages/literacies are often made to be fixed in power asymmetry blocks due to institutional and/or majority support to one or the other language/literacy. If one comes from a lower status language background and is literate in that language, but is illiterate in the higher status language, s/he may be subjected to similar negative experiences as would be an illiterate person from the higher status language background. Further, if the lower status language/literacy is associated with a particular ethnic background, a person from that group may be subjected to discrimination in the wider society.

For example, in Britain, a Panjabi literate in Panjabi/Hindi/Urdu, but illiterate in English, may find him/herself in this situation, and may be discriminated against in finding a job. But, the same person may have a very different kind of social experience in his/her own community in Britain. Being literate in Panjabi, Hindi or Urdu, s/he may be identified with the Sikh, Hindu or Muslim religion and/or culture. But being illiterate in English, s/he may be considered to be not westernized enough as English is often associated with westernization, modernity and success in the wider Panjabi community. Therefore, in the British context, being literate in both English and

⁴ For example, a person may become or aspire to become literate in Gurumukhi to be associated with the Sikh religious tradition or with the Panjab cultural tradition.

minority languages (Panjabi/Hindi/Urdu) may mean taking on two complementary, rather than competing identities, viz. western and Indian (either Sikh, Hindu or Muslim). Whereas, in the ethnic minority community context, being literate in Panjabi, Hindi, or Urdu may imply taking on different religio-political identities, which may become competing and not complementary.

In contrast to a monoliteracy situation, a bi/multiliteracy situation readily identifies the categories such as 'diversity', 'choice', 'identity' and 'ideology' which are essential to the theoretical goal that sets out to look at a literacy situation in terms of variety of 'literacies' within an 'ideological model' (Street 1984).

Table 7.12 on the following page summarises the political (or institutional), religious and social support to and use of multiliteracies in the lives of Panjabi Hindus in different periods of time and places.

Ibbeston (1881), in the following quote, is commenting on the census returns on literacy in the Panjab:

The Gurmukhi would appear to be little used save by the Sikhs, while they are of all Panjab communities the most illiterate, few but the priestly classes being able to read and write. Where Persian is not known Devanagari seems to be the favourite character, except in the hills where Thakiri takes its place; and there can be little doubt that, owing perhaps to it being the character of our courts and offices, Persian is rapidly driving all others out of the field. (p. 167).

In contrast to Ibbeston's observation in 1881, Table 7.12 below clearly demonstrates that the fortunes of Panjabi, Hindi and Urdu literacies have been changing in different sociolinguistic situations in the lives of the Panjabis; the Panjabi and Hindi literacies have not lost

out to the Urdu literacies. This goes to show how difficult it is to predict the future maintenance or loss of a language or a literacy.

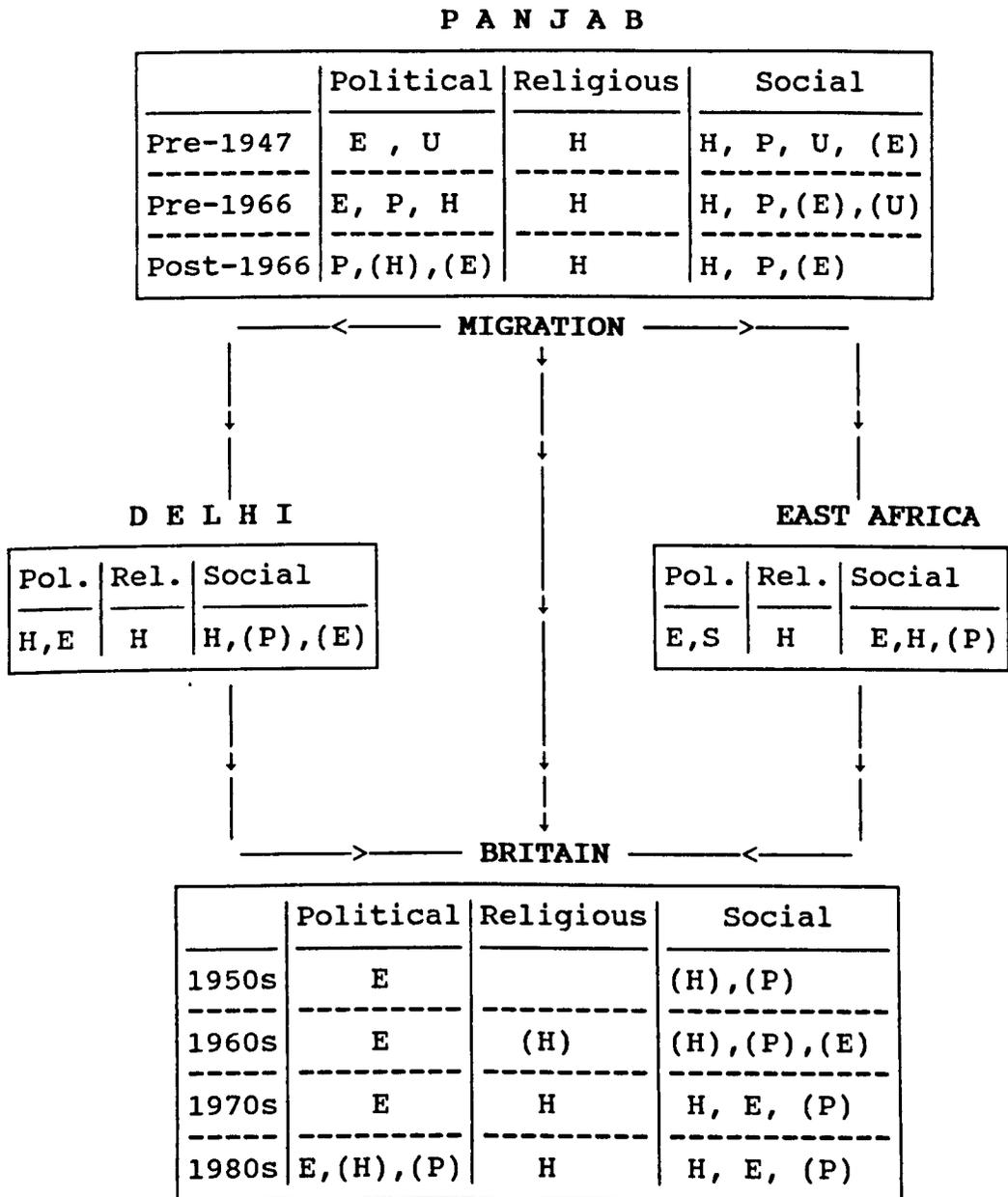


Table 7.12: Political, Religious, Social Support to and Use of Main Literacies in the Lives of PHs: Change and Migration (*Literacies represented inside the brackets have or had relatively less support and/or use. Literacy symbols: P (Panjabi), H (Hindi), U (Urdu), E (English), S (Swahili)*)

Chapter 8: CONCLUSION

8.0 Summary of findings

This study of the phenomena of language maintenance and shift among Panjabi Hindus in Southall has demonstrated that such a study among ethnolinguistic minorities requires a multi-model approach. This research involved a synchronic and diachronic study of the inter-relationship among the three major dimensions of the phenomena, viz: the objective ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles et al. 1977), the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality with a strong 'language attitude' component (Fishman 1964, 1971a; Landry and Allardy 1994a), and the habitual language use. This discussion also took into account the notion of power and conflict (Williams 1992).

The broader trends of language use, the macro aspect, were looked at in terms of domains. The findings suggested that the notion of 'domain' proposed by Fishman (1964, 1965, 1968) is too deterministic in that it demarcates domain boundaries too rigidly and views the functional distribution of languages only in terms of 'norms of appropriacy'. This view sees individuals as merely following societal norms passively. To the contrary, the micro analysis (Giles et al. 1973, LePage 1975b, Gal 1979, Gumperz 1982 and Bell 1984), showed that PHs made their language choices strategically. They were doing so even when they were following the community's norms with regard to hierarchical roles of individuals in the family and community, which is helping the cultural and linguistic transmission to the younger generations. More than the topic of interaction and the locale, individuals' motives

and their role-relationships with their interlocutor (i.e. interlocutor's identity) were found to be governing their language choices.

In this research the multi-model approach was supported by a multi-model methodology. The quantitative data elicited through survey techniques, i.e. questionnaires and language diaries, was backed by the qualitative data gathered through interviews and ethnographic observations. The former provided answers to the question 'what' of language attitudes and language use and the latter to the 'how' and 'why'. This methodological approach also provided this study with a representative sample from the PH community in Southall which has been one of the main weaknesses of many community level studies of South Asians in Britain. In the rest of this section, I shall present selected significant findings of this study.

Since their arrival in the 1950s, the experiences of PHs has been similar with other South Asians in Southall. Over the years chain migration has turned this town into a sizeable "Panjabi town". The geographical and demographic characteristics of Southall itself marks its ethnic boundary. Along with the chain migration and size of the population, the ethnic commercial set up, low social and economic mobility, cultural and religious activities, temples, intra-(PH)group marriages, ethnic music and films, voluntary language classes, and the increasing commercial and institutional roles of minority languages and literacies are the main factors identified which create a high objective ethnolinguistic vitality in the PH community.

Similarly, the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality is also very high among the PHs. Although a need to accommodate to Western culture and the English language is expressed by PHs, they showed a strong desire to maintain and transmit their own culture and languages. They demonstrated positive attitudes towards their languages, religion, food, music, film, marriages within PHs, and the teaching of minority languages and culture in the mainstream schools.

This study has revealed that only Panjabi, Hindi and English constituted the main verbal repertoire of the community. My use of the concept of domain helped to capture the broader trends of patterns of language choice. The use of Panjabi was found to be mainly associated with the family domain, Hindi with religion, Panjabi and English with community, and English with education and employment. While English is trespassing the family domain, Panjabi and Hindi are also encroaching the employment domain. My findings suggest that the use of Panjabi is much higher than English in the family domain. Here, the use of Hindi is also slightly higher than English. This appears to suggest that, even after 30 to 40 years of the minority community's establishment in Britain and while the third generation is growing, English has not encroached enough on the family domain to threaten the survival of the minority languages.

With regards to the literacy practices of PHs, the use of minority literacies is not only evident in the family and the religious domains, but also in the community, educational and employment domains. The proliferation of

such literacy practices since their arrival in Britain helps to sustain their cultural heritage and the Panjabi and Hindi languages.

Answers to the questions 'how' and 'why' of the high ethnolinguistic vitality and minority language use are the underlying processes that brought about such a situation. The main 'intervening factors' (Gal 1979) underlying these processes were discrimination, racism, and identity. The processes of changes in economic, political and social systems in Britain created an atmosphere which brought about social and institutional discrimination and racism against the South Asians in Southall. They came into direct conflict with the authorities and fascist groups. This struggle has not only turned Southall into an ethnically self-sufficient community in the last 30 to 40 years, but transformed their identity from 'immigrants' to an 'ethnic minority community'.

While the understanding of these external factors and processes are important, this study has also shown that internal factors and processes are crucial in underpinning the divisions within the ethnic minority community in general and the PH community in particular. The literature review of the sociolinguistic history of the Panjabis from the 1880s to 1980s showed that during different periods the social, religious and political situations changed in the Panjab; Panjabi in Gurmukhi script, Hindi in Devanagari script and Urdu in Perso-Arabic script came to be associated with Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims respectively.

Although the literature about Panjabis in Britain recognises these linguistic identities associated with the

three religious groups, it somewhat lacks in providing convincing empirical evidence regarding PHs. It has also failed to tap how the post-1984 socio-political conflicts in India disrupted the harmony between Panjabi Sikhs and Panjabi Hindus in Southall. The trouble in Southall that ensued from these incidents in India, made many PHs reassert their own identity distinct from that of PSSs. This is reflected in their practices and views on marriage and the learning of Hindi, particularly literacy skills, as a marker of this identity. Prior to the incidents, many PHs did not mind marriages with Sikhs, going to Sikh temples, and learning Panjabi in Gurmukhi script.

However, even though the act of learning Hindi by many was to assert their PH identity, it was done for different reasons. Some did it for more of a religious reason, so that religious scriptures could be appreciated. The others did it because they thought Hindi was the "national" language of India and had wider communicability. Furthermore, particularly in the latter case, some would have liked to maintain oral skills in Panjabi. But, in both of the above cases, the similarity was in their wish to dissociate themselves from Sikhs and to project their PH identity.

In response to this split between PHs and religious- and nationalistic-minded Sikhs in Southall, a third group of socialist-minded PHs began to assert its 'Panjabi' identity. They, along with some Sikhs of similar views, wanted Panjabi Hindus and Sikhs to maintain a united Panjabi-cultural identity. Here, the emphasis was on learning Panjabi in Gurmukhi script. They were also against

the wishes of those Sikhs who wanted to make an exclusive claim over Gurmukhi as their religious script.

The above subgroups of PHs cannot be subdivided neatly in terms of their migratory origins, age and sex. The way Panjabi and Hindi, and also English, were valued as languages by these informants were influenced by individuals' backgrounds to some extent. The origin of those who showed more of a 'Hindi' tendency could mainly be traced to Delhi and the Panjab cities. In contrast, the origin of those who showed more of a 'Punjabi' tendency, with or without learning of the Gurmukhi script, could largely be traced to the Panjab villages and to East Africa. PH women and the third generation age-group showed slightly more positive attitudes toward Panjabi.

Generally, PHs showed more 'utilitarian instrumental' attitudes toward English and 'integrative' attitudes toward Panjabi and Hindi. Some PHs also showed 'utilitarian' attitudes toward Panjabi and Hindi languages and literacies reflecting their increasing role in the British institutional context. PHs attitudes and language practices were found to be shaped by the relative statuses of Panjabi, Hindi and English in India and Southall. In India, the statuses of English, Hindi and Panjabi are in the descending order which forms a triglossic situation. In Southall, these languages form a "double overlapping diglossia" (Fasold 1985: 44-46): Hindi is the High language and Panjabi the Low at the community level; and English is the High language and both Panjabi and Hindi are the Low languages at the wider societal level.

The broad trends of 'current' patterns of language use and their association with language attitudes and PHs' places of origin showed that the PHs who originated from the Panjab villages appeared to be more retentive in the use of and to have more positive attitudes toward Panjabi language than the East African, Panjab City and Delhi groups in that order; whereas the Delhi group used more Hindi than any other group. The 'age-cohort' analysis (Lieberson 1980), which looked at the 'past' patterns of language use contradicted the 'age-grading' analysis in that the PHs of East African origin were found to be more maintenance-oriented than those from the rural Panjab. Similarly, only a smaller proportion of the Delhi group were showing language shift tendencies toward Hindi. In the absence of any empirical studies, the 'age-cohort' analysis also provided some indication towards the past patterns of language use among the East African and the rural Panjab PHs. The 'age-cohort' analysis also contradicted some of the findings from the 'age-grading' analysis, thus proving that the latter analysis is not fully reliable in revealing changes in the patterns of language use.

The findings revealed that various age groups showed different patterns of Panjabi, Hindi and English use. I explained these differences in terms of the individual groups' personal sociolinguistic histories (1940s-80s), which seemed to have shaped their language use patterns. The use of Panjabi has declined, with a concomitant increase in English, among the third generation. Their use of Panjabi is very low and that of English is very high with the people of their own generations. But a very large

percentage of parents use Panjabi with them, and a large percentage of them use it with their mothers. If they follow the example of the second generation informants from the 30-39 yrs age group, the maintenance of Panjabi has a chance in the future. Many of the real second generation PHs are reviving their Panjabi and Hindi trying to pass it over to the third generation. While referring to South Asians, as one second generation informant (No. 38) said, "they realize now through their own negative experiences in the schools how significant are their languages and cultures for the self esteem of their own children".

It is very difficult to predict future trends, but, at the moment, the high ethnolinguistic vitality of the PH community itself and that of the majority PS community in Southall favour language maintenance¹. The dominant language of interaction between parents and children is Panjabi which also favours language maintenance. The sociolinguistic history of PHs demonstrates that no matter where they lived they have shown a strong tendency towards maintaining their languages and have done so.

What seems to be happening at present is not a language shift but a language change in terms of the development of Panjabi-Hindi and Panjabi-Hindi-English mixed codes. Many of the third generation PHs command various codes: P-H mixed code, P-H-E mixed code and English. In addition, some of them also have command of Panjabi and Hindi codes on their own. As their patterns of

¹ My general impression in Southall was that the PSs, with whom the PHs interact socially and commercially on the daily basis, seem to be maintaining Panjabi, particularly because of its use in religious practices. While English is important for survival in Britain, Panjabi is important for social existence in Southall.

language choices demonstrated, almost all the third generation PHs show a good communicative competence in various codes in their verbal repertoire which is a prerequisite for the development of the Panjabi and Hindi languages.

Finally, contrary to the widely held stereotype, the findings convincingly show that PHs are not and never have been a homogeneous speech community: PHs' association with 'Hindi-Hinduism' identity is a myth. Variation in sociolinguistic attitudes and practices of PHs are not only evident at the levels of age and gender, but there are differences at the ideological level and in terms of where these PHs originate. In the introductory chapter, I raised some research questions related to such sociolinguistic variations. The theoretical and methodological approaches that I adopted in this study helped me to answer these questions. I hope this study makes a useful contribution to the community-level studies of the sociolinguistics of bilingualism in Britain.

8.1 Recommendations

Fishman (1991:4) argues that for the maintenance, survival and revival of ethnic minority languages the communities themselves first show "greater sociocultural self-sufficiency, self-help, self-regulation and initiative". This study has demonstrated that PH community is doing just that. However, the findings of this study also suggest that the PH community strongly supports the teaching of Panjabi and Hindi languages and literacies in mainstream schools. For the maintenance and development of these languages among the future generations of the PHs, it

is therefore crucial that these languages and literacies are taught in the early and middle years of school education in Britain.

The complexities of views that have resulted from this study have wider consequences for language policy and language provision for PHs in British schools. For instance, if decisions about language provision in Southall schools were to be made on the basis of findings of the E(aling) S(chool) L(anguage) S(urvey) (1985), then provisions for Hindi would have been undercut. Following the Schools Language Survey (LMP 1985), ESLS asked pupils the language(s) they spoke at home beside English. An overwhelming majority, 78.7%, of the pupils reported Panjabi as the first language as compared to 3.9% who reported Hindi. This might have been a true reflection of the situation in Southall, although ESLS itself admitted its methodological shortcoming with respect to the lack of knowledge of the teachers, who administered the questionnaires, about the sociolinguistic complexities relating to Panjabis.

However, my point here concerns the way questions were constructed in the ESLS survey about the language use at home. Even if the majority of the PH pupils said that they spoke Panjabi at home, that was not necessarily the language many of their parents would have liked them to learn. Therefore, ESLS's findings, at best, could only be used to reflect linguistic diversity in Southall, but not for making language provisions in schools or "to resolve some of the educational issues arising from this diversity" (ESLS 1985: 1). It does not ask the appropriate question to

resolve the educational issue fully, nor does it take on board parents' views on this issue.

On the other hand, the general perception about PHs' loyalty towards Hindi should not entail either that all PH parents would like their children to learn Hindi. At the same time, if the MT question is asked, PH parents who declare Panjabi as their MT would not necessarily like their children to learn Panjabi in the Gurmukhi script. What, therefore, a good survey requires are: appropriate questions and a representative sample for the desired purpose; cross checking of different attitudinal questions; and support from qualitative data gathered through interviews and ethnographic observations.

There is also a need for replication of similar multi-model approaches grounded in strong ethnographic tradition in the other parts of Britain. As this study has convincingly demonstrated the usefulness of the 'age-cohort' analysis model for the language studies among non-indigenous minorities, future research may incorporate it as an analytical tool.

While other researchers have identified Panjabi-English mixed code (e.g. Agnihotri 1979, Chana and Romaine 1984, Martin-Jones and Saxena 1995) and Hindi-English mixed code (Upadhyay 1988) among the Panjabi population in Britain, this study has added to the list of mixed-code, viz. Panjabi-Hindi-English mixed code. The scope of this study did not allow a more detailed study of these codes. Future research needs to look at the P-H-E mixed code in much more detail. Furthermore, such research would also need to look at variation in the practices of these codes

among various subgroups of PHs more closely. Swahili appears to be getting lost among East African PHs, and this needs closer examination.

Findings of the study and particularly the ethnographic observations tend to suggest that networks based on family, kinship relationships and, place of origin more than ideologies and attitudes shaped individuals' language practices. This aspect of the heterogeneity and network groupings in the PH community was not something that I could go into in advance. This finding has in fact resulted from this study. Future research among PHs in Southall could usefully take families of different places of origin (Rural Panjab, Urban Panjab, Delhi and East Africa) as its starting point to explore in detail the discursive practices of individuals in these families.

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APPENDIX OFACTORS ENCOURAGING
LANGUAGE MAINTENANCEFACTORS ENCOURAGING
LANGUAGE LOSSA. Political, Social and Demographic Factors

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 Large number of speakers living closely together. | Small number of speakers well dispersed. |
| 2 Recent and/or continuing in-migration. | Long and stable residence. |
| 3 Close proximity to the homeland and ease of travel to homeland. | Homeland remote. |
| 4 Preference to return to homeland with many actually returning. | Low rate of return to homeland and/or little intention to return. |
| 5 Homeland language community intact. | Homeland language community decaying in vitality. |
| 6 Stability in occupation. | Occupational shift, especially from rural to urban areas. |
| 7 Employment available where home language is spoken daily. | Employment requires use of the majority language. |
| 8 Low social and economic mobility in main occupations. | High social and economic mobility in main occupations. |
| 9 Low level of education to restrict social and economic mobility, but educated and articulate community leaders loyal to their language community. | High levels of education giving social and economic mobility. Potential community leaders are alienated from their language community by education. |
| 10 Ethnic group identity rather than identity with majority language community via nativism, racism and ethnic discrimination. | Ethnic identity is denied to achieve social and vocational mobility, this is forced by nativism, racism and ethnic discrimination. |

B. Cultural Factors

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 Mother-tongue institutions (e.g. schools, community organizations, | Lack of mother-tongue institutions. mass media, leisure activities). |
| 2 Cultural and religious ceremonies in the home language. | Cultural and religious activity in the majority language. |
| 3 Ethnic identity strongly tied to home language. | Ethnic identity defined by factors other than language. |
| 4 Nationalistic aspirations as a language group. | Few nationalistic aspirations. |
| 5 Mother tongue the homeland national language. | Mother tongue not the only homeland national language, or mother tongue spans several nations. |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 6 Emotional attachment to mother tongue giving self-identity and ethnicity. | Self-identity from factors other than shared home language. |
| 7 Emphasis on family ties and community cohesion. | Low emphasis on family and community ties. High emphasis on individual achievement. |
| 8 Emphasis on education to enhance ethnic awareness or controlled by language | Emphasis on education if education in mother tongue community. |
| 9 Low emphasis on education if in majority language. | Acceptance of majority language education |
| 10 Culture unlike majority language culture. | Cultural and religion similar to that of the majority language. |

C. Linguistic Factors

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 Mother tongue is standardized and exists in a written form. | Mother tongue is non-standard and/or not in written form. |
| 2 Use of an alphabet which makes printing and literacy relatively easy. | Use of writing system which is expensive to reproduce and relatively difficult to learn. |
| 3 Home language has international status. | Home language of little or no international importance. |
| 4 Home language literacy used in community and with homeland. | Illiteracy (or aliteracy) in the home. |
| 5 Flexibility in the development of the home language (e.g. limited use of new terms from the majority language). | No tolerance from majority language; or too much tolerance of loan words leading to mixing and eventual language loss. |

(Adapted from Conklin & Lourie 1983, as quoted in Baker 1993: 43-45).

Appendix II.1 : Situation, Activity Type/ Event

Brown and Fraser (1979: 35) provide a comprehensive list of extralinguistic variables under the term 'situation'. This typology could be seen as a type of cultural grammar where each variable in the typology can be marked by the way people use language. However, even though very useful, this typology does not provide us with the way in which these variable interact with each other or what we attend to when we are participating in a conversation. This can be seen in the way they define "activity types":

"There appear to be a considerable number of quite general types of activities which are identifiable virtually irrespective of their specific content matter; for example: buying, selling, chatting, lecturing, conducting a meeting, negotiating, playing a game. Such 'activity types' are culturally recognised units of interaction that are identifiable by constraints on (a) goals, (b) roles activated in the activity, (c) interactional structure, and (to some extent) (d) participants and setting. In the activity of teaching, for example' the purposes (goals) of imparting information (and/or ways of thinking, attitudes, etc.) and the roles of teacher/student are activated." (op cit.: 40)

The concept of 'activity type', also referred to as 'speech events' or 'episode' by others (see e.g. Hymes 1972, Levinson 1979), allows us to see how different kinds of setting, purpose and participant occur together in fairly predictable patterns. This concept helps us to describe recurring features of sociolinguistic life in a particular community. It also has psychological implications in that we carry a large number of activity types in our heads (inferential schemata), which we use to organise and understand the endless stream of sense of data that we produce and encounter in the course of everyday life. However, activity types are only probabilities. There are always unpredicted elements in them; and if there were not any, there would never be any sociolinguistic change.

Furthermore, participants in an encounter might not always and necessarily agree in terms of their understanding of the activity type. The activity types are extensively negotiated in the course of interaction itself. This is a key issue in cross-cultural communication. As Robert, Davies and Jupp (1992: 89) points out: "One of the great contributions of ethnic minority groups has been to make the majority aware of how cultural-specific are the schemata and ways of interacting which are taken for granted as normal. Communication breakdowns or unexpected responses serve to amplify the subtle and usually taken-for-granted processes which make interaction smooth and successful.".

13. How well do you think you understand/speak/read/write in the following languages? Use the scale:

Not at all= 1 ; only a little= 2 ; quite well= 3

Language	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Panjabi				
Hindi				
English				

14. Do you wish to learn or improve the knowledge of any/all of the following languages? If yes, mention the order (1 to 5/6/7) in which you want to learn/improve the spoken and/or written skill in these languages.

Language	Spoken Skill	Order	Written Skill	Order
Punjabi				
Hindi				
English				
French				
German				
Other				

15. Which of the three do you agree with:

- In the long run it would be better if all Punjabi Hindus gave their ways of life up and tried to take on the British ways just as quickly as they could....;
- It would be best if the Punjabi Hindus maintain their ways of life to some extent and adopt the British culture simultaneously....; or
- It would be best if Punjabi Hindus maintain their identity and culture completely as a distinct group without assimilating the British culture at all....

16. Do you agree/disagree with the following:

- We can maintain the culture and identity of our communities even if we cease to use our languages.....
- Our communities should completely abandon the use of our languages and should adopt the use of English everywhere..

17. Do you go to: Hindu temple..... Gurdwara.....

If yes, how often: regularly... sometimes... rarely....

18. Name the newspaper and magazine that you read in each of the following languages:

Language	Daily	Weekly	Fortnightly	Monthly
Punjabi				
Hindi				
Urdu				
English				

19. What language(s) do you use with the following people (who are of South Asian Background)?

People (Asian)	Sometimes	Very Often
Grandfather		
Grandmother		
Father		
Mother		
Brothers & Sisters		
Relatives		
Neighbours		
Friends		
Shop-Assistant		
Priest		
God Praying Aloud		
Praying Silently		
At School Teachers		
Students		

21. What language(s) do you use to write letter/note to following people (who are South Asians):

People	In Britain		In India	
	Sometime	V. Often	Sometime	V. Oftenime
Friends				
Relatives				
Officials				

21. a) What language(s) did you use with the following people before you went to play group/nursery/school:

Father:

Mother:

b) During that time in what language(s) did the following people use to talk to you:

Mother to you:

Father to you:

c) What language(s) do the following people use with you now:

Mother to you:

Father to you:

22. Some qualities of languages are listed below. Each quality has a scale ranging from 1 to 5. Mark the appropriate number against each language and quality. For example,

Not sweet at all = 1
Slightly sweet = 2
Undecided = 3
sweet = 4
very sweet = 5

Qualities\Language	Panjabi	Hindi	English
Sweet/pleasant sounding			
Easy to learn			
Literary			
Prestigious			
Useful for moving in your society			
Useful for employment			

23. Across the top are listed some communities (ethnolinguistic groups) you may come into contact with. On the left are listed some options in relation to your acceptance of these communities. Please tick yes/no at the appropriate places to show your intimacy with the communities listed.

PH= Panjabi Hindu
 PM= Panjabi Muslim
 GJ= Gujarati
 AC= Afro-Caribbean

PS= Panjabi Sikh
 H= Hindu (Hindi speaker)
 WB= White British

Communities ----->	PH	PS	PM	H	GJ	WB	AC
Would like to be associated with them							
Would prefer to have them as neighbours							
Would prefer to talk to them frequently							
Would allow children to play with them							
Would invite them to our religious and other functions							
Would prefer to have them as close family friends							
Would have matrimonial alliance with them							

24. Can you understand the language of sermons in the temple?
 Do you think priests should give sermons in English? Why?

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

25. a. What type of food do you prefer to eat:
 b. What type of clothes do you like:
 c. What type of music do you like:
 In what language:
 d. Do you listen to radio programmes in Panjabi, Hindi and Urdu languages? If yes (or no), why?
 e. Do you watch Panjabi and Hindi films on Video/ TV/ Cable TV?
26. a. Should schools teach about Asian cultures & religions?
 b. Should children be allowed to speak Asian languages in schools?
 c. Should Asian languages be taught in schools? Which & why?
27. Do you know jobs where knowledge of Asian languages can be useful? If yes,
 what are they?
 would you like to do such jobs & why?
 what type of jobs would you be interested in?
28. a. If given a choice of employment where would you prefer to go:
 Stay in Southall; Elsewhere in U.K., e.g.
 India, e.g. Europe; U.S.A.; Other:
- What language would be essential to get jobs there?
- b. After finishing school, do you want to take up job or go for higher studies? Why?
29. What are your views on marriage within the PH community? Should PHs invite men and women from India for matrimony? If yes, from where in India (Panjab, city, villages...) and why?
 If not, from where (Southall, other places) and why?
 Do you think language is one of the reasons?
30. Do you like living in Southall & why? Is language the reason?
 If no, where do you want to live & why?
31. What are the languages most important for shopping and business in Southall? Why?
32. Do you think Panjabi Hindus from India are different from those who came from East Africa? If yes, how?
 Are Panjabi Hindus different from Panjabi Sikhs? How?
33. Has there been any social change taken place in Southall since the death of Indira Gandhi? How, if at all, has it influenced the views of Panjabi Hindus in Southall with regards to sending their children to learn Panjabi in Gurdwara, and marriage between Panjabi Hindus and Sikhs?

Appendix III (b)

P. INF.NO.

1. Name (optional):
2. Address (optional):
3. Occupation:
4. Sex: M/F
5. Year of Birth:
6. Mother Tongue:
7. Where were you born? (Mention the place name also.)
INDIA.....E.AFRICA..... U.K..... Other.....
8. If not born in U.K., when did you come to U.K.....
9. Mention the name of places where you have lived for four years or more in the past.

Country	Place Name (city/village)	Period (from-to)

10. Provide the name of place from where you, your parents or grandparents have migrated?

Country:

City:

Village:

11. Please supply following information about your educational background:

Level	Place of Study	Languages Learnt	Period of Learning	Medium of Instruction
Primary				
Middle				
Secondary/ High School				
College				
University				

12. Mention the names of the languages you know and the order in which you acquired them.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

13. How well do you think you understand/speak/read/write in the following languages?

Not at all= 1 ; only a little= 2 ; quite well= 3

Language	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Panjabi				
Hindi				
English				

14. Do you wish your children to learn or improve the knowledge of any/all of the following languages? If yes, mention the order (1 to 5/6/7) in which you want to learn/improve the spoken and/or written skill in these languages.

Language	Spoken Skill	Order	Written Skill	Order
Punjabi				
Hindi				
English				
French				
German				
Other				

15. Which of the three do you agree with:

- In the long run it would be better if all Punjabi Hindus gave their ways of life up and tried to take on the British ways just as quickly as they could....;
- It would be best if the Punjabi Hindus maintain their ways of life to some extent and adopt the British culture simultaneously....; or
- It would be best if Punjabi Hindus maintain their identity and culture completely as a distinct group without assimilating the British culture at all....

16. Do you agree/disagree with the following:

- We can maintain the culture and identity of our communities even if we cease to use our languages.....
- Our communities should completely abandon the use of our languages and should adopt the use of English everywhere..

17. Do you go to: Hindu temple..... Gurdwara.....

If yes, how often: regularly... sometimes... rarely....

18. Name the newspaper and magazine that you read in each of the following languages:

Language	Daily	Weekly	Fortnightly	Monthly
Punjabi				
Hindi				
Urdu				
English				

19. What language(s) do you use with the following people (who are of South Asian Background):

People (Asian)	Sometimes	Very Often
Grandfather		
Grandmother		
Father		
Mother		
Spouse		
Brothers & Sisters		
Relatives		
Neighbours		
Friends		
Shop-Assistant		
Priest		
God : Praying Aloud Praying Silently		
At Work	Seniors	
	Equals	
	Juniors	

20. What language(s) do you use to write letter/note to following people (who are South Asians):

People	In Britain		In India	
	Sometime	V. Often	Sometime	V. Oftenime
Friends				
Relatives				
Officials				

21. What language(s) did you use with following people (who were of South Asian Background) when you were between following age groups:

(Use the scale: sometimes = 1, very often = 2)

People(Asian)	10-20 yrs	20-30 yrs	30-40 yrs
Father			
Mother			
Siblings			
Grandmother			
Grandfather			
Friends			
Relatives			
People at school/work			

22. Some qualities of languages are listed below. Each quality has a scale ranging from 1 to 5. Mark the appropriate number against each language and quality. For example,

Not sweet at all = 1
 Slightly sweet = 2
 Undecided = 3
 sweet = 4
 very sweet = 5

Qualities\Language	Panjabi	Hindi	English
Sweet/pleasant sounding			
Easy to learn			
Literary			
Prestigious			
Useful for moving in your society			
Useful for employment			

23. Across the top are listed some communities (ethnolinguistic groups) you may come into contact with. On the left are listed some options in relation to your acceptance of these communities. Please tick yes/no at the appropriate places to show your intimacy with the communities listed.

PH= Panjabi Hindu
 PM= Panjabi Muslim
 GJ= Gujarati
 AC= Afro-Caribbean

PS= Panjabi Sikh
 H= Hindu (Hindi speaker)
 WB= White British

Communities ----->	PH	PS	PM	H	GJ	WB	AC
Would like to be associated with them							
Would prefer to have them as neighbours							
Would prefer to talk to them frequently							
Would allow children to play with them							
Would invite them to our religious and other functions							
Would prefer to have them as close family friends							
Would have matrimonial alliance with them							

24. Mark the following statements appropriate to your choice on the scale:

Disagree strongly= 1; Don't care= 2; Agree Strongly= 3

My children NEED to be able to:

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Panjabi				
Hindi				
English				

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

25. a. What type of food do you prefer to eat:
 b. What type of clothes do you like:
 c. What type of music do you like:
 In what language:
 d. Do you listen to radio programmes in Panjabi, Hindi and Urdu languages? If yes (or no), why?
 e. Do you watch Panjabi and Hindi films on Video/ TV/ Cable TV?
26. a. Should schools teach about Asian cultures & religions?
 b. Should children be allowed to speak Asian languages in schools?
 c. Should Asian languages be taught in schools? Which & why?
27. a. Do you know jobs where knowledge of Asian languages can be useful? E.G.:
 If yes, would you like your children to have such jobs?
 If no, what sort of jobs you wish them to get into?
 b. What is the proportion of Asians in your workplace?
 c. What language group among them is in the majority?
 d. What language do they generally use among themselves?
 e. Is the knowledge of (spoken/written) Panjabi, Hindi and English essential for your job?
 f. What types of job PHs in Southall do?
28. Do you have a workers' union at work. If yes, do you participate in the meetings held by the union.
 What language(s) is generally used there:
- | | | |
|------------------|----------|------------|
| | Formally | Informally |
| by the president | | |
| by the members | | |
29. What are your views on marriage within the PH community? Should PHs invite men and women from India for matrimony? If yes, from where in India (Panjab, city, villages...) and why?
 If not, from where (Southall, other places) and why?
 Do you think language is one of the reasons?
30. Do you like living in Southall & why? Is language the reason?
 If no, where do you want to live & why?
31. What are the languages most important for shopping and business in Southall? Why?
32. Do you think Panjabi Hindus from India are different from those who came from East Africa? If yes, how?
 Are Panjabi Hindus different from Panjabi Sikhs? How?
33. Has there been any social change taken place in Southall since the death of Indira Gandhi? How, if at all, has it influenced the views of Panjabi Hindus in Southall with regards to sending their children to learn Panjabi in Gurdwara, and marriage between Panjabi Hindus and Sikhs?

Identify Number	Sex	Age	Born	Age at Arrival in UK	Age at Arrival in Southall	Duration of Stay in UK	Duration of Stay in Southall	Country	State	City/ Village	Education	Occupation
01	1	12	3	00	00	11	11	1	1	1	2	9
02	2	12	3	00	00	12	12	2	9	1	2	9
03	2	13	3	00	00	12	12	1	1	9	2	9
04	2	13	3	00	00	13	13	1	1	2	2	9
05	2	13	1	05	05	08	08	1	1	1	2	9
06	1	13	3	00	00	13	13	1	1	1	2	9
07	2	14	3	00	00	14	14	1	1	1	3	9
08	1	14	3	00	00	14	14	1	1	1	3	9
09	2	14	3	00	00	14	14	1	1	2	3	9
10	2	14	3	00	00	14	14	1	2	1	3	9
11	2	14	3	00	00	14	14	1	1	9	3	9
12	1	14	3	00	00	14	14	1	1	2	3	9
13	1	14	3	00	00	14	11	1	1	2	3	9
14	1	14	3	00	00	14	14	1	1	2	3	9
15	2	15	3	00	00	15	15	1	1	1	3	9
16	2	15	3	00	00	15	15	1	1	2	3	9
17	2	15	3	00	00	15	15	1	1	9	3	9
18	1	15	3	00	00	15	15	1	1	1	3	9
19	1	15	3	00	00	15	15	1	1	2	3	9
20	1	15	3	00	04	15	10	1	1	2	3	9
21	2	16	3	00	00	16	13	1	2	1	3	9
22	1	16	3	00	00	16	16	2	9	1	3	9
23	2	16	3	00	00	16	13	1	1	2	3	9
24	1	16	3	00	04	16	12	1	1	2	3	9
25	1	16	3	00	00	16	00	1	1	1	3	9
26	1	18	3	00	03	18	15	1	2	1	3	9
27	2	20	3	00	04	20	16	1	2	1	3	7

Informants' Background

APPENDIX III (d)

28	1	20	3	00	00	20	20	1	1	1	3	4
29	1	20	1	01	01	19	19	1	1	1	3	3
30	2	21	3	00	00	21	21	1	1	1	4	9
31	2	21	3	00	00	21	21	1	1	2	4	9
32	2	21	3	00	00	21	21	1	1	2	4	9
33	1	21	1	01	01	20	20	1	1	2	4	6
34	1	21	3	00	00	21	17	1	2	1	4	9
35	2	21	2	05	05	16	16	2	0	1	4	2
36	1	23	2	03	03	20	20	2	9	1	4	3
37	2	25	1	12	12	13	13	1	1	2	5	2
38	2	25	3	00	00	25	25	1	1	1	5	2
39	1	26	2	04	04	22	22	2	9	1	5	1
40	2	26	1	16	16	10	10	1	1	2	3	7
41	1	28	2	04	04	24	24	2	0	1	3	7
42	2	33	1	16	22	17	11	1	1	2	4	2
43	2	33	1	13	13	20	20	1	1	2	2	7
44	2	33	1	14	14	19	15	1	2	1	3	3
45	1	33	1	19	19	14	14	1	1	2	3	4
46	2	34	1	19	19	15	15	1	1	9	3	6
47	2	35	1	15	15	20	20	1	1	2	2	6
48	1	36	1	12	12	24	24	1	2	1	4	1
49	1	36	1	16	16	20	20	1	1	1	3	5
50	2	37	1	16	16	21	21	1	1	1	3	6
51	2	38	1	18	18	20	20	1	1	1	3	5
52	2	38	1	19	19	19	19	1	1	2	3	5
53	1	38	1	16	16	22	22	1	1	2	1	6
54	1	38	1	26	26	12	12	1	1	1	5	3
55	1	39	2	20	20	19	19	1	1	2	3	5
56	1	40	2	24	24	16	16	2	9	1	3	3
57	2	40	1	22	22	18	18	1	1	2	4	6
58	2	40	1	20	20	20	19	1	1	1	3	6

59	2	41	2	24	24	17	17	2	0	1	3	7
60	1	42	1	18	18	24	24	1	1	1	3	4
61	1	42	2	21	21	21	21	2	0	1	3	4
62	2	43	1	23	23	20	20	1	1	1	3	6
63	1	44	1	27	27	17	17	1	1	1	4	4
64	2	45	2	30	39	15	06	2	9	1	4	3
65	2	45	1	24	24	21	21	1	1	2	2	7
66	1	46	1	23	31	23	10	1	2	1	3	6
67	2	46	1	29	06	15	00	1	2	1	3	5
68	1	47	2	37	37	10	10	2	9	1	4	3
69	1	47	1	20	26	27	21	1	1	2	3	6
70	2	47	1	45	45	02	02	1	3	2	0	7
71	1	49	2	32	32	17	17	2	0	1	5	1
72	2	50	1	30	30	20	20	1	1	1	5	6
73	1	51	1	28	28	23	23	1	1	1	5	6
74	1	52	1	28	28	24	24	1	1	1	3	5
75	1	52	1	32	32	30	30	1	1	1	3	5
76	2	52	1	32	32	30	30	1	1	1	4	2
77	2	52	1	34	34	18	18	1	2	1	2	7
78	1	55	1	32	32	23	23	1	1	1	4	5
79	1	56	1	26	04	30	04	1	1	1	3	3
80	1	56	1	33	33	23	23	1	1	1	3	3
81	1	57	2	36	36	21	21	2	9	1	3	3
82	2	57	1	32	32	25	25	1	1	1	2	7
83	1	60	1	40	40	20	20	1	1	1	4	4
84	2	62	2	40	40	22	22	2	9	1	2	7
85	1	63	1	38	38	25	25	1	1	1	2	5
86	2	64	1	40	40	24	24	2	9	1	1	7

APPENDIX III (E)

COMPUTER CORPUS: Against each variable is given the index scores according to which it is quantified.

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>INDEX SCORE</u>
(1) Informant Number	Continuous variable (CV)
(2) Sex	1 Male 2 Female
(3) Mother Tongue	1 Panjabi (P) 2 Hindi (H) 3 English (E) 4 PH 5 PHE
(4) Age	CV
(5) Place of Birth	1 India 2 East Africa 3 UK
(6) Age at Arrival in U.K.	CV
(7) Age at Arrival in Southall	CV
(8) Duration of Stay in U.K.	CV
(9) Duration of Stay in Southall	CV
(10) Places of Stay	1 India (I) 2 East Africa (EA) 3 UK 4 I & UK 5 I & EA 6 EA & UK
(11) Places of Origin:	
Country	1 India 2 E. Africa
State	1 Panjab 2 Delhi 3 Other
	1 City 2 Village
(11) Education	1 Primary 2 Middle 3 Secondary 4 College 5 University 0 Uneducated
(12) Place of Study	As in (10) above
(13) Period of Language Learning	CV
(14) Medium of Instruction	
Primary/Secondary/College/ University	1 Panjabi 2 Hindi 3 English

Appendix III (f)Identification of Panjabi Hindu names:

The isolation of Punjabi Hindu names from the rest of the Asian population, viz. other Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Christians, needed to be carried out in various stages. Since Punjabi Hindu names are not markedly distinguishable from Sikh names, a method of elimination needs to be adopted. As for Christian names, which differ both in first names and the surnames from rest of the population, they can be eliminated without much difficulty; so can Muslim names. In some cases a Muslim name, like Iqbal, can be found amongst the first names of Hindus and Sikhs. However, they can be isolated on the basis of differences in the surnames. The third step is to isolate Punjabi Sikh names by looking at 'Singh' (male) and 'Kaur' (female) following their first names. But in some cases Punjabi Hindus also write 'Singh' after their first names. In this situation, the distinction has to be made by looking at the first names. The first names of Sikhs, in many cases, follow a particular pattern of having '-er' (as a suffix), e.g. Harjinder, Gurminder, Parminder, etc. However, it is not true in all cases, e.g. there are Sikh names, especially male, like Seva Singh Kalsi, Amrik Singh Kalsi. In such cases, it is possible to look at the caste names for the identification of a Sikh person. However, some Sikhs drop their caste names. In such instances, by looking at the rest of the families' names, especially female names with 'Kaur' (which is not dropped), it is possible to work out the difference between Sikh and Hindu names. The fourth and final stage involves the isolation of the Punjabi Hindu names from that of the rest of the Hindus (i.e. non-Punjabi Hindus) on the basis of surnames. Although possible, it is the most difficult and time-consuming step owing to the fact that the list and variety of Hindu surnames are enormously large in number and not easily distinguishable. Some of the Punjabi Hindus' surnames are pan-Indian and cut across even Aryan and Dravidian boundaries, e.g. Sharma and Verma. The isolation of Punjabi Hindu names after this stage requires a cross-check with other Punjabis.

APPENDIX IV

Tables from Chapter 4

Origin	PH	HH	PS	GJ	WB	PM	AC	Av.
P.City	93.1	82.8	17.2	34.5	13.8	6.9	9.5	36.8
P.Vilg	96.0	76.0	56.0	32.0	8.0	16.0	5.3	41.3
Delhi	100.0	100.0	57.1	28.6	28.6	42.9	33.3	55.8
E.Afrc	100.0	83.0	25.0	41.7	8.3	8.3	0.0	38.0
P.City	96.6	86.2	79.3	86.2	65.5	62.1	52.4	75.5
P.Vilg	100.0	84.1	73.1	61.5	46.2	50.0	44.4	65.6
Delhi	100.0	100.0	100.	87.5	50.0	62.5	57.1	79.6
E.Afrc	100.0	100.0	75.0	75.0	66.7	58.3	40.0	73.6
P.City	93.1	89.7	72.4	89.7	93.1	65.5	61.9	80.8
P.Vilg	100.0	100.0	84.6	76.9	80.0	80.0	57.9	82.8
Delhi	100.0	100.0	87.5	100.	87.5	75.0	57.1	86.7
E.Afrc	92.3	92.3	69.2	76.9	92.3	53.8	40.0	73.8
P.City	100.0	100.0	79.3	86.2	79.3	69.0	61.9	82.2
P.Vilg	100.0	100.0	96.2	80.0	73.0	84.6	63.2	85.3
Delhi	100.0	100.0	100.	100.	50.0	75.0	57.1	83.2
E.Afrc	100.0	100.0	92.3	100.	100.	76.9	80.0	92.7
P.City	100.0	93.1	86.2	93.1	96.6	79.3	85.7	90.6
P.Vilg	96.2	92.3	84.6	69.2	76.9	84.6	68.4	81.7
Delhi	100.0	100.0	100.	100.	87.5	87.5	85.7	94.4
E.Afrc	100.0	100.0	84.6	100.	100.	76.9	80.0	91.6
P.City	96.6	96.6	89.7	96.6	96.6	86.2	81.0	91.9
P.Vilg	100.0	100.0	96.2	88.5	80.0	92.3	73.3	90.0
Delhi	100.0	100.0	100.	100.	87.5	87.5	85.7	94.4
E.Afrc	100.0	100.0	92.3	100.	92.3	76.9	80.0	91.6

Table 4.5: Social Distance Scale by Place of Origin

Gender	PH	HH	PS	GJ	WB	PM	AC	Av.
male	94.9	87.2	41.0	41.0	12.8	12.8	10.7	42.9
female	97.4	78.9	34.2	28.9	18.4	18.4	14.8	41.6
male	97.4	89.7	76.9	76.9	59.0	51.3	51.7	71.8
female	100.0	90.0	80.0	72.0	60.0	60.0	42.3	72.0
male	92.5	90.0	70.0	77.5	87.5	60.0	51.7	75.6
female	100.0	100.0	82.5	87.5	90.0	77.5	66.7	86.3
male	100.0	100.0	85.0	82.5	75.0	67.5	62.1	81.7
female	100.0	100.0	92.5	90.0	75.0	82.5	59.3	85.6
male	97.5	90.0	87.5	85.0	90.0	77.5	75.9	86.2
female	100.0	97.5	87.5	87.5	90.0	85.0	81.5	89.9
male	97.5	97.5	90.0	92.5	92.5	82.5	82.5	90.7
female	100.0	100.0	97.5	95.0	87.5	90.0	77.8	92.5

Table 4.6: Social Distance Scale by Sex

Gntion	PH	HH	PS	GJ	WB	PM	AC	Av.
3 rd gen	92.0	88.0	56.0	36.0	20.0	28.0	12.5	47.5
2 nd gen	100.0	63.6	45.5	27.3	27.3	18.2	25.0	43.8
1 st gen	95.2	85.3	24.3	36.5	9.7	7.3	11.1	38.5
3 rd gen	100.0	84.6	76.9	73.1	53.8	50.0	37.5	68.0
2 nd gen	100.0	81.8	72.7	45.5	36.4	54.3	50.0	63.0
1 st gen	97.6	95.3	80.9	83.3	69.0	59.5	55.1	77.2
3 rd gen	96.2	92.3	73.1	69.2	84.6	53.8	52.0	74.5
2 nd gen	100.0	100.0	75.0	75.0	83.3	66.7	50.0	78.6
1 st gen	95.2	95.3	78.5	92.8	92.8	78.5	65.5	85.5
3 rd gen	100.0	100.0	88.5	73.1	65.1	69.2	52.0	78.3
2 nd gen	100.0	100.0	91.7	91.7	83.3	75.0	50.0	84.5
1 st gen	100.0	100.0	88.0	92.8	80.9	78.5	68.9	87.0
3 rd gen	96.2	80.8	84.6	69.2	88.5	76.9	76.0	81.7
2 nd gen	100.0	100.0	83.3	91.7	83.3	75.0	50.0	83.3
1 st gen	100.0	100.0	90.4	95.2	92.8	85.7	82.7	92.4
3 rd gen	100.0	100.0	96.2	92.3	92.3	92.3	92.3	95.1
2 nd gen	100.0	100.0	91.7	100.	83.3	75.0	50.0	85.7
1 st gen	97.6	97.6	92.8	92.8	90.4	85.7	72.4	89.9

Table 4.7: Social Distance Scale by Three Generations of PHs

Language(s) /Age	Pan- jabi	Hindi	English	Panja- bi Hindi	Panjabi Hindi English
10-19 yrs	68.2	31.8	3.6	9.1	4.5
20-29 yrs	54.5	27.3	9.0	9.0	---
30-39 yrs	82.3	17.74	---	---	---
40-49 yrs	42.9	50.0	---	7.1	---
50+ yrs	21.4	64.3	---	14.2	---

Table 4.10: Reported Mother Tongue(s) by Age

Attributes	Language		
	Panjabi	Hindi	English
Sweet	2.15	4.19	3.0
Literary	2.26	3.74	3.54
Prestigious	2.21	3.68	3.85
Easy to Learn	3.2	3.29	3.61
Useful in society	3.49	3.31	4.49
Useful for jobs	1.63	1.9	4.84

Table 4.11: Attitudes toward Panjabi, Hindi and English

Attributes	Sex	Language		
		Panjabi	Hindi	English
Sweet	Male	2.33	4.0	3.00
	Female	1.97	4.39	3.04
Literary	Male	2.16	3.59	3.52
	Female	2.36	3.9	3.56
Prestigi- ous	Male	2.02	3.47	3.83
	Female	2.41	3.9	3.87
Easy to Learn	Male	3.21	3.14	3.54
	Female	3.19	3.43	3.68
Useful in society	Male	3.50	3.28	4.52
	Female	3.48	3.34	4.46
Useful for jobs	Male	1.52	1.64	4.92
	Female	1.75	2.17	4.75

Table 4.12: Attitudes toward Panjabi, Hindi and English by Sex

Attributes	Place of Origin	Language		
		Panjabi	Hindi	English
Sweet	Panjab City	2.0	4.43	2.96
	Panjab Village	3.1	3.92	3.12
	Delhi	2.0	4.44	2.66
	East Africa	2.26	4.13	3.2
Literary	Panjab City	2.0	3.96	3.5
	Panjab Village	2.9	3.32	3.48
	Delhi	2.1	4.44	3.11
	East Africa	2.4	3.6	4.0
Prestigi- ous	Panjab City	2.13	3.93	3.5
	Panjab Village	2.98	3.44	4.16
	Delhi	2.2	4.22	3.55
	East Africa	2.6	3.53	4.26
Easy to Learn	Panjab City	3.1	3.46	3.3
	Panjab Village	3.98	2.72	3.0
	Delhi	2.55	3.77	4.13
	East Africa	3.73	3.73	4.33
Useful in society	Panjab City	3.36	3.36	4.46
	Panjab Village	3.76	2.9	4.36
	Delhi	3.0	3.8	4.33
	East Africa	3.4	3.66	4.86
Useful for jobs	Panjab City	1.46	1.63	4.9
	Panjab Village	1.84	1.92	4.66
	Delhi	1.22	2.33	5.0
	East Africa	1.53	1.86	5.0

Table 4.13: Attitudes toward Panjabi, Hindi and English by Place of Origin

Attributes	Age Background	Language		
		Panjabi	Hindi	English
Sweet	10-19	2.03	3.89	3.0
	20-29	2.0	3.83	3.2
	30-39	2.11	4.29	2.8
	40-49	2.3	4.69	3.23
	51+	2.5	4.8	3.08
Literary	10-19	2.48	3.37	3.44
	20-29	2.25	3.58	4.0
	30-39	2.17	3.47	3.23
	40-49	2.3	4.51	3.61
	51+	1.8	4.75	3.66
Prestigi- ous	10-19	2.62	3.2	3.72
	20-29	1.75	3.25	4.25
	30-39	2.0	4.0	3.82
	40-49	2.38	4.15	3.84
	51+	1.83	4.33	3.83
Easy to Learn	10-19	2.41	2.34	4.27
	20-29	2.91	3.83	4.16
	30-39	3.7	3.58	2.28
	40-49	3.92	4.53	3.23
	51+	3.91	4.2	2.91
Useful in society	10-19	3.31	2.96	4.68
	20-29	3.33	2.75	4.58
	30-39	3.64	3.47	3.82
	40-49	4.3	3.53	4.53
	51+	3.0	4.25	4.83
Useful for jobs	10-19	1.7	2.03	4.72
	20-29	2.0	2.25	4.83
	30-39	1.3	1.35	4.82
	40-49	1.69	1.92	5.0
	51+	1.41	2.0	5.0

Table 4.14: Attitudes toward Panjabi, Hindi and English by Age

Appendix IV (a)

IVa.1: Pragmatic Functions in Panjabi-Hindi-English Codeswitching by the second and third generation Panjabi Hindus

Various functions of CS that Gumperz (1982) proposed are: 'quoting', 'message qualification', 'marking interjections/sentence fillers', 'reiterating', 'addressee specification'. He also sets up a category of switches which has the function of marking personalization v. objectivization.

a. Quotation

This function of discourse in CS distinguishes between direct and reported speech. "In many instances the code switched passages are clearly identifiable either as direct quotations or as reported speech." (Gumperz 1982: 75-76). Often the speech of another person which is reported in a conversation is in different language.

<English> The ones I heard, <Hindi> Hindu curuRe hai~, camaar hai~ (The Hindus are lower caste), <English> right. Because my friend is quite open <Panjabi> kenda e tuu te baaman ii e, panDat e (says, you're nothing but a baaman, pandat¹). <English> To them these are the words which are derogatory and not worth. My wife and I quite accept it thinking that we are superior anyway. <Panjabi> jaaT te hai, ennaa nuu akkal nii e (He is jaaT. They lack common sense), <English> you know, <Panjabi> khote te hegge aa, te <English> only <Panjabi> khotaa ii ce ce ce kare jaaegaa (He's donkey. And only a donkey (stupid people) does idle, noisy talk), <English> you know. So it is empty vessel make much noise.

In the above extract, the interview was taking place in English. A second generation PH informant (No. 41) was telling me how Panjabi Sikhs and Panjabi Hindus ridiculed each other. He starts off by switching and quoting in Hindi what Sikhs say about Hindus. Then, he switches back to English, followed by a quote in Panjabi from his Sikh friend. He provides further quotes in Panjabi from his wife and himself.

<English> Just before I collected you (the researcher), Manjeet, I haven't seen her in couple of months <Panjabi> kii haal e {the other woman said} (How're you?) Thiik e.. mai~ keyaa (I am fine. I said) <English> I have come here to collect you (the researcher) and I said <Panjabi> ke kadii aande naii~ (that you don't visit us).

In this extract, a second generation informant (No. 37) is relating her conversation with her friend (who she bumped into while picking me up in her car from an agreed spot in Southall). All the quotes are in Panjabi, except the one related to me (the researcher), viz. "<English> I

¹ 'baaman' (the term refers to the highest cast of Hindus) and 'panDat' (the Hindu priest). In the Hindu social system, only a 'baaman' can be a Hindu 'panDat'.

have come here to collect you (the researcher) and I said". The main language of the interview was English.

b. Message Qualification

"A topic will be introduced in one language and commented on or further qualified in the other" (Romaine 1989:149).

<Hindi> ek joker thaa. Raj Kapoor (There was a clown. Raj Kapoor) <English> who is the clown <Panjabi> tin vaarii pyaar kar daa e (who falls in love three times).

Here, a third generation informant (No. 17) is telling me a story of a Hindi film in Hindi and Panjabi. She switches into English to qualify her message in the form of a relative clause.

<Panjabi> nait~, pataa e kii e (No, you know, what it's) <English> because you can't tell them from these words really. <Hindi> jis taraa~ aap bolte hai (the way you speak) <English> the society you sit in and the way you speak.

In the above extract, the topic under discussion with an informant (No. 33) was the way Panjabi is used by various groups of Panjabis in Southall. The interviewee (second generation) switches into English, first from Panjabi and then from Hindi, to qualify his message.

c. Sentence Fillers/Interjections

Another function of CS is "to mark an interjection or sentence filler" (Gumperz 1982: 77). This kind of CS is similar to what Poplack (1980) calls tag switching.

<Panjabi> ik do vaarii houndaa e (It takes place once or twice), <English> you know, <Panjabi> tin chaar minyaa~ ic (in 3/4 months time), <English> so <Panjabi> lokkii pasand karde aa (people like it). [Informant No. 28]

<Panjabi> jaadaa samaj vii nii~ kar sakde, par oddaa~ ii (Can't understand much, but just like that), <English> sort of, dance <Panjabi> kar sakde. paangRaa paa sakde (they can dance, do bhangra). <English> I mean, <Panjabi> edyaa~ to jaadaa understand vii nii~ kar sakde (can't understand more than that). [Informant No. 11]

The second and the third generation PHS (those born in Britain, or brought up here from an early age) use English interjections very frequently in their Panjabi discourse. As in the above quotes, they are of the type 'sort of' [], 'I mean', 'you know', 'so'. The use of such interjections marks a distinctive style of Panjabi as compared to the Panjabi spoken in Delhi or the Panjab and by the first generation in Southall.

d. Reiteration

Reiteration of a message in another code frequently signals clarification or emphasis of that message (Gumperz 1982).

<Panjabi> tuu saare din oddi bichaarii dii buraaiyaa~ (you are slagging him all the time). <Panjabi> kucch hor naii-tuaaDDe kaul hai? <English> Why don't you do something else?

<English> My sister-in-law, <Panjabi> merii jeThaaNii (my sister-in-law), <English> we know they are sitting and listening. And that happen in almost every family.

In the first quote, reiteration in English of a Panjabi message is by a third generation informant (No. 25) to his sister (also third generation).

The switch from English to Panjabi in the second quote from a second generation informant (No. 42) was to clarify for me what the respondent meant by sister-in-law. It was important to point out exactly who she was talking about because elder and younger brothers' wives of husbands are differentiated lexically in Panjabi language.

e. Addressee specification

"Code-switching can also be used to specify an addressee as the recipient of the message." (Romaine 1989: 149-150).

<Panjabi> utte aa <English> uncle <Panjabi> aae aa, o terii <English> interview <Panjabi> lenii e. aa eddar aa. (Come upstairs. Uncle has come. He wants to interview you.) <Hindi> bacce bot kharab hai. kal mere ko boltaa hai club <Hindi> mai jaanaa hai <English> club join <Hindi> karaa hai. aaj mere ko boltaa hai ke <English> mummy <Panjabi> mere ko <English> snooker table <Hindi> le de. (Children are spoiled. Yesterday, he told me that he wanted to go to the club. He has joined a club. Today, he said to me that mummy get me a snooker table).

The above extract is from an interview in Hindi with a second generation informant (No. 37). During the interview, when the respondent heard her five-year old son downstairs, she switched to Panjabi. As I observed on other occasions, this is the language in which she addressed him generally. Switch back to Hindi, after the call to her son in Panjabi, marked me as the addressee.

f. Personalization versus objectivization

Another function of CS is to mark contrast between personalization and objectivization. According to Gumperz (1982: 80) this contrast is related to things like: "the distinction between talk about action and talk as action, the degree of speaker involvement in, or distance from, a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge, whether it refers to specific instances or has the authority of generally known facts." Switches into

Panjabi and Hindi in the following extracts mark these functions.

<Hindi> Hindi jaraa pyaarii lagtii hai. mujhe ye lagtaa hai ke (Hindi is sweet. It seems to me that) <Panjabi> Panjabi zaraa, <English> I don't know, <Panjabi> kaRvii jaii e. (Panjabi, I don't know, is harsh.) [Informant No. 21]

<English> People should maintain their languages <Panjabi> jeRe Panjabi hegge onnaanu~ Panjabi bolnii chaayidiyaa kyo~ ke Panjabi saaDDii <English> language <Panjabi> e (Those who are Panjabi should speak Panjabi because Panjabi is our language) <English> I think so. [Informant No. 9]

The above quotes are from two different interviews with the third generation females. In the first quote, switch to Panjabi marks 'personalization', talk about action. In contrast, in the second quote switch to Panjabi marks 'objectivization', talk as action. Here, the interviewee is not only saying that Panjabis should speak Panjabi but switching to Panjabi to say that.

IVa.2: Group Identities and Lexical Choices:

The following are some of the equivalent lexical items (relating to cooking, parts of the house, body parts, clothes, etc.) in Hindi and Panjabi that PH informants quoted to me and that I observed in their everyday use. The informants generally associated Hindi lexical items with PHs and Panjabi lexical items with Panjabi Sikhs.

<u>Hindi</u>	<u>Panjabi</u>	<u>English</u>
pyaaz	gaTThe/ganDDe	(onion)
namak	loon/loonN	(salt)
darvaazaa	darvajja/buaa	(door)
khiRkii	baarii	(window)
baccaa	nyaaNaa	(child)
aurat	tiiyii~	(woman)
piiTh	tuii/Tuii	(back of body)
baal	vaal	(hair)
kapRe	liiRe	(cloth)
kapRe kaa	Tallii	(a piece of cloth)
choTaa TukRaa		

PHs from Delhi tend to say and use more Hindi lexical items in their Panjabi discourse, than any other group.

The East African Panjabi Hindus identify themselves or are identified because of their use of certain Swahili lexical items in their day-to-day Panjabi and Hindi discourse. The following are the most quoted and observed items:

<u>Swahili</u>	<u>Panjabi</u>	<u>English</u>
kissuu	chakkuu	(knife)
fagiaa	jhaRu-karo	(broom)
bikraa	patiile	(utensils)
kasiala	kuuRaa	(dirt/rubbish)
bogaa	sabzii	(vegetable)
paassii	'press'	(iron)

('press' is a borrowed item in Panjabi and Hindi from English)

Some of the older age group women from East Africa can still be observed using fagiaa for vacuum cleaning thereby extending the meaning of the word broom.

APPENDIX V**Tables from Chapter 5**

UNDERSTAND									
Age Gr	Quite Well			Only a little			Not at all		
	P	H	E	P	H	E	P	H	E
10-20	89.7	65.5	100.0	6.9	24.1	0.0	3.4	10.3	0.0
21-30	83.3	58.3	100.0	16.7	33.3	0.0	0.0	8.3	0.0
31-40	94.1	94.1	76.5	5.9	5.9	23.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
41-50	92.9	92.9	78.6	7.1	7.1	14.3	0.0	0.0	7.1
51+	85.7	100.0	71.4	14.3	0.0	21.4	0.0	0.0	7.1

SPEAKING									
Age Gr	Quite Well			Only a little			Not at all		
	P	H	E	P	H	E	P	H	E
10-20	62.1	31.0	100.0	31.0	34.4	0.0	6.9	34.5	0.0
21-30	75.0	25.0	100.0	16.7	58.3	0.0	8.3	16.7	0.0
31-40	94.1	76.5	76.6	5.9	23.5	29.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
41-50	92.9	85.7	78.6	7.1	14.3	14.3	0.0	0.0	7.1
51+	85.7	100.0	71.4	14.3	0.0	21.4	0.0	0.0	7.1

Table 5.3: Claimed Language Control by Age

Language/Sex --->		Panjabi		Hindi		English	
Age Gr	Scale	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
10-20	Not at all	6.7	---	13.4	7.1	---	---
	little	13.3	---	26.6	21.4	---	---
	Quite Well	80.0	100.0	60.0	71.4	100.0	100.0
21-30	Not at all	---	---	---	14.3	---	---
	little	20.0	14.3	40.0	28.6	---	---
	Quite Well	80.0	85.7	60.0	57.1	100.0	100.0
31-40	Not at all	---	---	---	---	---	---
	little	14.3	---	14.3	---	---	40.0
	Quite Well	85.7	100.0	85.7	100.0	100.0	60.0
41-50	Not at all	---	---	---	---	---	14.3
	little	---	14.3	14.3	---	14.3	14.3
	Quite Well	100.0	85.7	85.7	100.0	85.7	71.4
51+	Not at all	---	---	---	---	---	20.0
	little	11.1	20.0	---	---	---	60.0
	Quite Well	88.9	80.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	20.0

Table 5.5a: Claimed Language Control by Age & Sex -- Understand

Language/Sex --->		Panjabi		Hindi		English	
Age Gr	Scale	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
10-20	Not at all	13.4	---	40.0	28.6	---	---
	little	26.6	35.7	26.6	42.8	---	---
	Quite Well	60.0	64.3	33.4	28.6	100.0	100.0
21-30	Not at all	---	14.3	20.0	14.3	---	---
	little	40.0	---	40.0	71.4	---	---
	Quite Well	60.0	85.7	40.0	14.3	100.0	100.0
31-40	Not at all	---	---	---	---	---	---
	little	14.3	---	28.6	20.0	---	60.0
	Quite Well	85.7	100.0	71.4	80.0	100.0	40.0
41-50	Not at all	---	---	---	---	---	---
	little	---	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3
	Quite Well	100.0	85.7	85.7	85.7	85.7	85.7
51+	Not at all	---	---	---	---	---	20.0
	little	11.1	20.0	---	---	---	60.0
	Quite Well	88.9	80.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	20.0

Table 5.5b: Claimed Language Control by Age and Sex -- Speak

Language Choice->	Panjabi	Hindi	English
Domains			
Religion	31.8	58.2	15.9
Family	75.1	24.2	18.5
Community	50.0	21.3	51.6
Employment	44.6	19.3	69.6
Education	6.6	2.6	92.1

Table 5.8: Reported Language Use of PHs by Domain

APPENDIX VaVa.1: Attitudes to sociolinguistic transmission: some notes

PHs live among more than one culture, broadly speaking, the dominant English/western culture and the South Asian/Indian culture. They can be divided into two main groups in terms of their attitudes towards language and culture which they wish to pass on to their children. There are two types of parents: those who are well educated and those who are less educated, or the ones who know English very well and the others who do not know English very well. The latter group, though try to talk to their children in English, has mostly Panjabi to communicate with their children. One respondent explains this situation as follows:

"Those who speak English are considered important, whereas those who speak Panjab are not taken in that high regard. This is the attitude of our people. The one who speaks English, don't know how highly educated that person is, even though s/he may not be educated at all. And the one who speaks Panjabi or Hindi and even have a Ph.D. will be treated as if s/he does not know anything. That's why uneducated parents will wish that their child speaks English, even though they do not know anything else at all. They will think that their child has achieved a high status, s/he speaks English. Whereas, the educated parents will wish that their child learns Hindi as well as English." (Inf. No. 68)

The more educated PHs can be divided into two groups. The first group thinks that since in this country the medium of education is English and it is a passport to success in most situations in this country, it is worthwhile for children to learn English right from the beginning. They are the ones who are Anglicizing their behaviour at home and outside while maintaining Indian culture at home. They are the ones who speak more English, along with some Panjabi and/or Hindi, with their children at home. Though in a minority, they are also assimilating into the western food and dress habits. They do not make a concerted effort to teach their children Panjabi or Hindi formally.

The second group thinks that they are living in a society which is racially prejudiced. They think if they are to fight back they have to maintain and assert their own identity. They, in the majority, are the ones who are more keen to teach their children Panjabi or Hindi languages and their own cultural behaviour. There is a growing number of PH parents who believe in this ideology.

Many of the first group of more educated respondents who had moved out of Southall have returned because of the racial harassment they experienced in some of the white-dominated areas. They are beginning to adopt the second group's attitude.

Va.2 : Brown and Levinson's 'Politeness Model'

Brown and Levinson (1978) define the notion of face as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (p. 66). Their 'politeness model' makes following assumptions:

- a. participants in an interaction wish to protect their own face;
- b. attention to other's face is affected by relative power in relation to other; and
- c. attention to other's face may involve damage to one's own face.

They derive the first assumption from the work of Goffman (1967). Positive face involves the wish for approval, while negative face involves the wish for freedom of action and freedom from imposition.

APPENDIX VITables from Chapter 6:

	P	PH	H	PHE	PE	HE	E
GRANDMA							
10-19	69.0	13.8	13.8	-	3.4	-	-
20-29	63.6	18.2	-	-	-	18.2	-
30-39	94.1	-	-	-	5.9	-	-
40-49	64.3	14.3	14.1	-	7.1	-	-
50+	54.5	18.2	27.3	-	-	-	-
GRANDPA							
10-19	69.0	13.8	13.8	-	3.4	-	3.4
20-29	63.6	18.2	-	-	-	18.2	-
30-39	94.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
40-49	64.3	21.4	14.1	-	5.9	-	-
50+	54.5	18.2	27.3	-	-	-	-
MOTHER							
10-19	58.6	10.3	6.9	-	3.4	3.4	17.2
20-29	66.7	8.3	8.3	-	-	18.2	16.7
30-39	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
40-49	64.3	7.1	21.4	-	7.1	-	-
50+	54.5	9.1	27.3	9.1	-	-	-
FATHER							
10-19	31.0	6.9	3.4	-	3.4	3.4	48.3
20-29	45.5	9.1	9.3	-	18.2	-	27.3
30-39	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
40-49	64.3	14.3	14.3	-	7.1	-	-
50+	54.5	9.1	27.3	9.1	-	-	-
RELATIVE							
10-19	27.6	3.4	26.9	-	13.8	-	34.5
20-29	50.0	8.3	8.3	-	-	16.7	16.7
30-39	88.2	8.3	-	-	5.9	-	-
40-49	64.3	28.6	7.1	-	-	-	-
50+	45.5	27.3	27.3	-	-	-	-
SIBLING							
10-19	3.4	-	0.0	-	-	3.4	89.7
20-29	8.3	-	8.5	-	-	-	83.8
30-39	94.1	5.9	-	-	-	-	-
40-49	71.4	14.3	7.1	-	-	-	-
50+	36.4	27.3	27.3	9.1	-	-	-
FRIENDS							
10-19	3.4	-	0.0	-	-	3.4	93.1
20-29	8.3	-	-	-	-	8.3	83.3
30-39	52.9	23.5	-	11.8	5.9	-	5.9
40-49	57.1	35.7	0.0	-	-	7.1	-
50+	18.2	45.5	18.2	-	-	-	18.2
SCHL/WORK							
10-19	1.7	-	0.0	-	-	-	96.5
20-29	8.3	-	-	-	-	-	91.6
30-39	27.7	11.1	2.7	2.7	22.2	-	33.3
40-49	34.7	35.7	0.0	13.0	4.3	-	48.0
50+	-	-	13.2	26.0	-	-	60.8

Table 6.2: Language Choice with Various Interlocutors by Different Age Groups (P - Panjabi; H - Hindi; E - English)

	P	PH	H	PHE	PE	HE	E
GRANDMA	69.1	16.1	18.4	-	5.5	18.2	-
GRANDPA	69.1	17.9	18.4	-	4.7	18.2	3.4
MOTHER	68.8	8.7	16.0	9.1	5.3	10.8	17.0
FATHER	59.1	9.9	15.0	9.1	9.6	3.4	37.8
RELATIVE	55.1	15.2	15.9	-	9.9	16.7	25.6
SIBLING	42.7	15.8	12.6	9.1	-	3.4	89.0
FRIENDS	28.0	34.9	9.6	11.8	5.9	6.3	50.1
SCHL/WORK	18.1	23.4	6.6	13.9	13.3	-	66.0

Table 6.1: Language Choice with Various Interlocutors
(P - Panjabi; H - Hindi; E - English)

Age groups/ Origin	10-19 yrs	20-29 yrs	30-39 yrs	40-49 yrs	50+ yrs
Panjab City	38.5	26.7	28.6	25.0	73.4
Panjab Village	42.3	33.3	50.0	25.0	0.0
Delhi	11.5	13.3	14.3	12.5	6.6
East Africa	7.7	26.7	7.1	37.5	20.0

Table 6.3: Percentages of Informants by Age & Origin

Retrospective Language Use: Family Domain							
	P	PH	H	PE	HE	PHE	E
Panjab City	62.3	25.4	10.5	---	0.9	0.9	---
Panjab Village	80.7	19.3	---	---	---	---	---
Delhi	63.3	3.4	33.3	---	---	---	---
East Africa	66.7	31.4	---	---	---	1.9	---
Retrospective Language Use: 'Outside-family' Domain							
	P	PH	H	PE	HE	PHE	E
Panjab City	45.7	17.4	13.1	4.3	---	2.1	17.4
Panjab Village	69.1	12.6	---	9.6	---	3.1	5.6
Delhi	14.3	7.1	35.7	---	---	7.1	35.8
East Africa	11.1	19.4	---	29.8	---	31.6	8.1
Current Language Use: Family Domain							
	P	PH	H	PE	HE	PHE	E
Panjab City	52.2	10.8	12.1	4.3	3.2	1.1	11.3
Panjab Village	73.1	5.1	---	3.2	---	---	18.6
Delhi	45.0	11.7	30.0	---	---	---	13.3
East Africa	64.3	17.3	2.3	4.6	2.4	---	9.1
Current Language Use: 'outside-family' Domain							
	P	PH	H	PE	HE	PHE	E
Panjab City	16.2	15.0	6.4	2.8	2.6	6.5	50.5
Panjab Village	23.7	6.1	2.1	5.4	---	1.9	60.8
Delhi	7.5	15.0	---	---	5.0	---	72.5
East Africa	24.4	6.7	3.4	---	3.4	7.4	54.7

Table 6.10: Retrospective And Current Language Use by Origin

APPENDIX VIaData from Male Informants' Diaries

MOTHER

Panjabi: 'goodnight' 'wake up at 6.30am' 'my school work'
 'going on Thorp Park trip' 'making
 sandwiches' 'swimming in sea' 'having supper'
 'money' 'my trousers' 'house's security'
 Hindi : 'dinner' 'TV'
 English: 'house' 'going shopping'
 Panjabi-Hindi: 'tomorrow'

FATHER

Panjabi: 'changing windows' 'letters' 'dinner' 'money'
 'going out' 'party' 'goodnight' 'about tomorrow'
 'supper (rotii etc.)' 'money for seaside (later in
 the evening & 2 day's later, after the request in
 English)' 'his shirt keys' 'where the hammer
 is' 'making sandwiches' 'going to school'
 Hindi: 'breakfast'
 English: 'money for seaside' 'dinner money' 'about holidays'
 'about Thorp Park trip' (few days later, after
 talking to mum in Panjabi)' 'about the day' 'about
 mum'
 Panjabi-Hindi: 'breakfast'
 Panjabi-English: 'cricket' 'today'

AUNT

Panjabi: 'about my brother & her (aunt's) son'
 English: 'about holidays'

UNCLE

Panjabi: 'school' 'general'
 English: 'Hindi films' 'trip to seaside'

BROTHER

Hindi: 'about tennis' 'do your home work'
 English: 'asking him to go to my friend's house' 'toy sword'
 'about money' 'telling him its time for school' 'pop
 world' 'his open evening' 'packed lunch box' 'break
 fast' 'library book' 'wearing clothes'

SISTER

English: 'TV' 'tea' 'clothes' 'shopping' 'temple' 'milk
 bill' 'money' 'Hindi classes' 'good night'
 'weather' 'holidays' 'time' 'fire works' 'school'

COUSIN

English: 'shopping' 'video film' 'drinks' 'tennis' 'traffic'
 'cricket' 'coach journey' 'going home' 'about
 tomorrow'

NEIGHBOUR

Panjabi: 'our broken window'
 English: 'tennis' 'stereos' 'pop music' 'general'

FRIENDS

Panjabi: 'about the day' 'about parents' 'about the school day'
 Hindi: 'swimming in sea' 'camera' 'trip to Thorp Park' (three days later after talking in English) 'money and parents' 'bus' 'time' 'money'
 English: 'homework' 'general' 'computer games' 'cricket' 'about project week at school' 'nice girls' 'play cards' 'other people' 'alcohol' 'about test' 'Thorp Park trip' 'going to cinema' 'film' 'English work' 'open evening at school' 'cinema'

TEACHER

Hindi: 'about my dad at school' 'about filling out a form'
 English: 'computer studies' 'maths' 'technical drawing' 'physics' 'my project in 5th year' 'discussion on racism which ended up in fight' 'English lessons' 'chemistry' 'my work experience (Panjabi teacher)' 'my behaviour' 'parents evening' 'about seaside trip' 'reports (Panjabi teacher)' 'reading and writing Hindi (Hindi teacher)'
 Hindi-English: 'about Hindi book'

Data from Female Informants' Diaries

GRANDMA:

Panjabi: 'going to get Hindi film' 'work'

MOTHER

Panjabi: 'for money' 'pocket money' 'shopping' 'make tea for visitors' 'wash up dishes' 'if I could go to my cousin's house' 'get up to turn off water' 'when to turn on hot water' 'get up and out of bed' 'if I can perm my hair' 'about today' 'about film Kranti' 'parents' evening' 'cooking'
 English: 'going out'

FATHER

Panjabi-English: 'bathroom' 'today's fun fair'

PARENTS

Panjabi: 'talked about meeting' 'weakness in some teachers' 'improvement in school subject' 'Indian songs'
 English: 'cooking' 'going out'
 Panjabi-English: 'shopping' 'going out to market' 'breakfast'

AUNT

Panjabi: 'make tea for visitors' 'about songs of film Sambandh'
 English: 'food' 'clothes' 'Hindi film'

UNCLE

English: 'pop music' 'clothes'

BROTHER

Hindi: 'going to school'
 English: 'coming school' 'computer tape' 'neighbours' 'going to cousin's house' 'films' 'where are mum and dad'
 Panjabi-English: 'food'

SISTER

Panjabi: 'clothes' 'food'
 English: 'breakfast' 'camping in her room' 'school' 'clothes' 'about waking up'

COUSIN

Panjabi: 'people' 'going to library for books' 'tape (cassette)' 'records' 'going home' 'holidays' 'how to get to Gatwick'
 English: 'TV' 'pop music' 'ambitions'
 Hindi-English: 'about shopping' 'other people'
 Panjabi-English: 'baby's kurtaa suit'

FAMILY

Panjabi: 'going out'
 English: 'TV' 'food'

RELATIVES

Panjabi: 'going on holiday'

FRIENDS

Panjabi: 'what to bring on Friday' 'people in our school' 'about my walkman' 'Indian film' 'dance' 'don't sing on the train' 'having lunch' 'where is animal and energy exhibition' 'lets see my friend in Abbey National (a building society)' 'about trip'
 Hindi: 'about other friends' 'clothes for today's trip'
 English: 'swimming' 'money' 'autograph' 'time' 'to go out for meeting friends' 'America' 'Nutty Day' 'clothes to wear on Wednesday/Friday' 'about future' 'fun fair' 'getting off the back-seat of coach' 'got back-seat' 'jokes' 'now' 'how about lunch'
 Panjabi-English: 'in disco'

TEACHER

Panjabi: 'trip'
 English: 'dinner' 'packed lunch' 'English story' 'about today's trip' 'about my new T-shirt' 'Travel to museum' 'Sonia don't sing in the station' 'when do we leave for Ealing' 'can we go straight home' (English teacher -- 'science' 'gymnastics' 'geography' 'maths' 'clothes to wear on biology trip' 'biology')

DINNER

LADY

Hindi: 'lunch'
 English: 'what's for dinner'

SHOP-
KEEPER

Hindi: 'baby's kurtaa suit