The Enactment of Status and Power in the
Linguistic Practices of
Three Multilingual, Malayali Families in the UK

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Dedication

To ammi and appachchi, my parents

Brahmā ti Mātāpitaro
Pubbācariyā ti vuccare
Āhuṇeyyā ca puttānaṁ
Pajāya anukampakā
(Pali Verse from Anguttara Nikāya)

Mother and Father are our creators and very first teachers

Compassionate to their children, they are worthy of obeisance

To Sanjeewa, my husband

To Chris Hall, my Guru
Guru Brahmā Guru Vishnu
Guru Devo Maheshwarahā
Guru Sākshat Para Brahmā
Tasmai Sree Gurave Namahā
(Sanskrit Verse)

Guru is the representative of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva

He creates, preserves knowledge and destroys ignorance

I salute such a Guru

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Abstract

Focussing on three families living within a previously unexplored immigrant multilingual Malayali community in England, the present study investigates the manner in which the participants employ their linguistic practices in order to contest and/or retain traditional status and power relations. The use of semi-structured interviews, recorded intra-family conversations and observational fieldnotes provide data from both emic and etic perspectives.

The findings suggest intergenerational language transmission to contribute to the maintenance of Malayali cultural values. Embedded within these cultural values are beliefs and practices relating to respect for traditional authority figures within a patriarchal system observed to be generally upheld by the participant families. The older children, irrespective of gender, are noted to promote the use of Malayalam, whilst the mothers play a key role in Malayalam language and cultural socialisation of the children at home. The linguistic practices of the participants provide evidence for the emergence of a new linguistic hierarchy that diverges from the patriarchal authority structure traditionally determined by gender and generation. The key agents within this linguistic hierarchy are the fathers and younger children. Whilst the fathers' language practices seem to be accommodated by their partners and children, the younger children are observed to exert a new dimension of power that influences the language practices of their mothers and older siblings.

The research proposes that empirical studies that focus on the acculturation of first-generation immigrants into mainstream society, both culturally and linguistically, could benefit immigrant multilingual populations in general by enhancing their experience of inclusion within mainstream society. The study also emphasises that the immigrant Malayali families present a paradigm of heritage language and cultural maintenance that should receive attention at local and national levels.

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1. Introduction

1.1. An Overview

As far as documentary and scientific evidence goes, Neil Armstrong was the first man on the Moon in 1969. A popular Indian comical anecdote widely adapted and re-told by Malayali bloggers and writers would say otherwise. According to the story, stepping out of his spacecraft, Neil Armstrong was dismayed to find that he had been beaten by a Malayali, who was already there selling tea at a *chaikada* which in Malayalam terminology refers to a small tea shop. It is the wider social context out of which this anecdote originates that is pertinent to the present study. It reflects the general consensus that Malayalis have historically been known to migrate, leaving behind their homeland in the South Western region of Kerala, India.

Home to seven universities, Kerala is famously recognised for its 100 % literacy rate. According to reports, however, education is one factor that has contributed to the failing economy in the region, for the educated youth have been observed to shy away from agricultural work, aspiring for jobs that are perceived to be more on par with their educational qualifications instead. Consequently, Kerala is brought up in discussion via national and international media for having a high unemployment rate, and has been referred to as an economy in decline reliant on tourism and remittances sent to the region by its people who work overseas (Biswas 2010). As a result of this situation, Malayalis have left their homeland and set up new homes across the globe for many years, especially in the USA, UK and Gulf countries. It is estimated that about 2.5 million equating to approximately 8% of the total population of Kerala, have migrated to the Gulf States (Zachariah et al. 2008; Gallo 2003). As a consequence, in Saudi Arabia alone, an estimated 576,000

Keralites have found employment (Sanandakumar and Duttagupta 2013). The migration of Kerala Malayalis to the USA, UK and Canada was led by women as a result of the demand for nurses (Jacobsen and Raj 2008 p.27). Owing to the on-going increase of Malayalis, who migrate across geographical continents, these people have been referred to as the primary 'export' of Kerala (Thekaekara 2013). Despite being a globally-scattered diasporic population, the Kerala Malayalis have not, to my knowledge, been featured in sociolinguistic research to this day.

The surge in research in the field of *sociolinguistics,* which could broadly be defined as the study of the correlation between language use and social context, could be traced to Labov's pioneering work on social factors and language variation in 1963. Drawing on *ethnography* or the process of presenting a detailed account of a group of people (Wolcott 1999; Agar 1986), sociolinguistics developed further in the direction of studying specific speech communities (Eckert 1989). Language use and change within immigrant multilingual communities is yet another branch of sociolinguistics that continues to proliferate to this day, as observed in recent influential contributions to the field (Canagarajah 2008; Hua 2008; Wei 1994). Therefore, the originality of the present study will be claimed first and foremost on the basis of its research context. By *research context*, I refer to both the geographical setting and participants under study. Accordingly, whilst emphasising the spread of the Kerala Malayalis in the UK, I shall define possible reasons behind this immigrant community being overlooked in sociolinguistic research in the sub-section that follows.

The distinctiveness of the current investigation will also be contended in relation to its chief research focus on the enactment of status and power relations in the language practices of immigrant intergenerational nuclear families. Whilst it is the participants' *multilingual* language practices that receive attention within the present study, their status and power relations are examined against the traditional *patriarchal* system in India. For the purpose

of this research, *multilinguals* will be referred to as individuals with the capacity to use more than a single language to different degrees of proficiency in every day settings (Baker 2011). As it is generally understood to be in practice within Indian families, the *patriarchal* system will be interpreted as a hierarchy in which authority and status are assigned on the basis of gender and generation (Kaul 2012: Pandit 1977). Accordingly, within a nuclear family unit in which a married heterosexual couple are of the same generation, the father would become the head of the household owing to his gender. Previous research on immigrant multilingual families of South Asian heritage has addressed the ways in which children and adolescents use language to contest the power of older generations (Canagarajah 2008). Nevertheless, the manner in which figures of authority in immigrant multilingual families founded on patriarchy maintain their status and power in everyday linguistic practices has not been a primary focus of sociolinguistic or ethnographic work. Thus, preliminary observations of the two-generational participants of this study led to the formation of the main research focus, which addresses the way in which conventional status and power relations within these families are being contested and/or retained through multilingual language practices. Thus, the present study is original in its primary focus on the interrelation between the role of multilingual language practices in preserving and/or challenging the previously defined authority structure. The emergence of the main research focus reflects an *inductive* approach in social sciences and, more specifically, in ethnography that allows empirical context-based observations and data collection to lead to theory-formation (O'Reilly 2009).

The uniqueness of the present study is also attested in its key findings. Even though a language shift from Malayalam to English is discernible in the attitudes and the language practices across the generations, I propose that intergenerational transmission of the Malayalam language is concurrently being practised within the Malayali homes and community. Thus, I argue that this language is seen to be the chief mode for transmitting the values relating

to the status and power structures upheld by the older generations of the participant group. At the same time, I contend that parallel to this authority structure of patriarchy, a new dimension of power is being constructed within the arena of linguistic practices with the key agents of this new dimension being the fathers and younger children. As these outcomes will be examined and discussed in greater detail in chapters 4 to 6, a separate section will not be devoted to addressing them at length within this preliminary chapter.

The primary objectives of the rest of this chapter will be to characterise the distinctiveness of the research context and the research focus, to introduce the key research questions and to outline the organisation of the thesis.

1.2. The Unexplored Immigrant Malayalis

I contend that immigrant Malayalis deserve attention - firstly given the statistics which dictate that they continue to be one of the prominent minority groups in England and York, the city in which this study is based, and secondly as they seem thus far to have been treated as an *invisible* community concealed beneath the broader umbrella term of *Indian*.

As demonstrated in the 2011 Census, York has an estimated population of 198,051 (ONS 2013). The figures for the Malayalis are significant within the immigrant communities in the city, who statistically form 5.5% of the overall population (ONS 2013). Those who contribute to these figures include any person aged three years and over, and who had, at the time of data collection, either been resident in the UK for over twelve months or had the intention of doing so. According to the data, 1194 South Asian language speakers were identified in the local authority of York out of whom 127 were found to be individuals who used Malayalam as their *main* language (ONS 2013). For the purpose of the 2011 census, a *main* language was defined as the language a person considered to be his or her first or preferred language (ONS 2013). It is not merely the statistics relating to Malayalam speakers that indicate them to

be a prominent immigrant group in York, as well as in England and Wales in general: Malayalam is listed as one of the key non-English languages that the census questionnaires were likely to have been translated into (ONS 2013). The inclusion of Malayalam in the multilingual service adopted within the methodology of the 2011 census itself further reflects the prevalence and spread of long-established Malayali communities in England and Wales.

The tendency to conceptualize Indians as a homogenous group has been identified as a leading cause behind the absence of research on ethnically Indian yet regionally diverse individuals from this nation (Jacobsen and Raj 2008). The lack of research on immigrant South Asian, or more specifically, South Indian Christians, the group under which the majority of Malayalis are also classified, is explained by Jacobsen and Raj (2008 p.4), who claim that Western scholars tend to homogenise South Asians, irrespective of differences in religion, particularly due to the fact that South Asian Christians are indistinguishable from their Hindu counterparts in terms of appearance.

What is more, the immigrant Malayalis seem content to network chiefly with other Malayalis even within the diaspora, in all aspects but their professional lives. In relation to the immigrant Malayali nurses, it could also be suggested that their professional environment introduces them to other Malayalis and ultimately allows them to develop a community of their own. As a result, they celebrate cultural and religious festivals and organise family gatherings that are attended exclusively by Malayali families and relatives. It is possible that this seemingly self-contained characteristic of Malayali communities has dissuaded foreign researchers from attempting to gain access to their lives.

Consequently, the Kerala Malayalis seem to have remained somewhat unnoticed in the UK, a country in which ethnically Indian Hindi, Punjabi and Gujarati-speaking immigrants generally receive the attention of ethnographic researchers (Hussain 2011; Creese et al. 2008). In order to address this void in research, York presents itself as a previously unexplored context, sustaining a

community of immigrant Malayalis. The manner in which I came to know and became interested in studying this community, which in due course led to the formulation of the main research focus, will be defined in the following section.

1.3. The Research Focus: From Context to Research Design

The inspiration and primary research focus for the study of Kerala Malayalis came about due to my acquaintance with their community in York. Difficulty in gaining access to community life was previously referred to as a possible cause for the absence of sociolinguistic research on immigrant Malayalis. Wei (1994 p.2) refers to this kind of contact as a 'prerequisite for community-based projects with ethnic minority populations'. Narrowing the focus to research based on intra-family discourse within such communities, Mayor (2004 p.2) concedes that as an inherently private domain, family life is traditionally a difficult area to explore. Therefore, the main purpose of this section will be to describe the way in which my introduction to the Malayali community paved the way for me to develop an area of enquiry for the present study. A secondary objective will be to define the manner in which my role within the research context evolved from that of the dance teacher's wife to a researcher in my own right.

When my husband moved to the UK with me from Sri Lanka, neither of us expected the extent to which his background and training in Indian classical dance would impact on our lives, both personally and academically. Several months into our stay in York, we considered meeting an Asian on the street as a most unusual and rare occurrence. Consequently, when three Malayali gentlemen approached my husband and asked him to teach the children in their community Bharatanatyam, the Indian classical dance form native to Southern India, we were certainly delighted but most of all intrigued to find out more about this substantially large community that we had not previously heard of or come across up until that point in time.

The three representatives from the Malayali community who met with us initially, not only promised to send their children to the class, but even offered use of the church hall within their local parish as a location from which to conduct the classes. My husband accepted the offer, and a class consisting of around ten Malayali children was soon established. My participation in the class from the day of its inception was a result of my own passion for dance.

In class I took the role of the dance teacher's wife, engaging in friendly chit-chat with the parents, helping with taking class attendance, dancing alongside the students and fulfilling a legal requirement in the UK as the second adult in a class consisting of children. It was whilst attending these classes that I first began to notice the language practices of the Malayali students and their families.

As a bilingual, an immigrant from a post-colonial setting and a speaker of a variety of English which could be labelled 'South Asian', it was inevitable that I would consider the multilingual immigrant hailing from a country that shared a cultural kinship with me to be of personal interest. The two generational Malayali families were observed to operate bilingually at the dance classes. Whilst they addressed my partner and myself in English, they were heard using Malayalam when talking to each other. Thus, the spoken interactions that took place between the Malayali students and their parents aroused my interest in the language practices of the immigrant community.

The degree of uniformity perceived amongst these families in terms of their commitment towards Bharatanatyam was reflected as a shared interest amongst the parents as well as the children. Therefore, not only have these families verbally expressed their interest for Indian classical dance but over the past five years the children have attended the classes every week without fail except for when they make their annual trips to India. Thus, the zealous enthusiasm noted in these families towards retaining and fostering a certain aspect of their cultural heritage within the UK led me to question whether or not the immigrant community was equally committed towards maintaining

their *heritage* language in this new setting. For the purpose of this study, the *heritage* label will be associated with a cultural element that a person has connections with due to family roots (Valdés 2001).

Thus, the main area of enquiry within the current research was developed on the basis of preliminary observations made within the Malayali and wider Indian community in York. I noted the way in which cultural events organised by North Indians in York catered to the multi-ethnic audiences I sat amidst by hosting the programmes in English. In contrast, the South Indian Malayali community appeared to organise events that were attended solely by Malayalam-speaking families.

Inspired by such observations, I turned my attention to literature in the field that identified enthusiasm for maintaining heritage performing arts to be a characteristic of other diasporic South Asian immigrant communities as well (Canagarajah 2008). Furthermore, I came across previous research on immigrant multilingual families which suggest that the authority of first-generation immigrants is being challenged by second-generation children as a result of discrepencies of English language proficiency (Canagarajah 2008: Hua 2008). Thus, my initial observations of the Malayali families gradually developed into a need to focus more specifically on the manner in which their associated status and power structure was portrayed through their intergenerational language practices.

To summarise my ethnographic journey, as soon as I entered this community, I began to develop certain assumptions and preconceptions based on my initial observations which eventually led to the formulation of the methodology of the present study. Therefore, I believe that my take on ethnography coincides with that of O'Reilly (2009), who suggests that being purely inductive in ethnography is unrealistic. O'Reilly contests the view that ethnography is about entering the field free of preconceived ideas. In reality, the scholar states that the inductive approach does, in fact, begin with certain

notions regarding the research context - a claim that I saw materialise in my ethnographic enquiry.

1.4. Research Questions

Adopting a sociolinguistic approach which in essence is the study of the interaction between social factors and language (Labov 1963), the aim of this study is to investigate the manner in which the social constructs of status and power (Foucault 1980) are enacted through the linguistic practices of immigrant multilingual, intergenerational families. Prior to presenting the research questions that address this main area of investigation, key terminology that is integrated into the present study will be defined as follows.

The Foucauldian (1980) concept of *power* incorporated for this study and discussed in much greater detail in the literature review argues that *power* originates from the variables of gender and age, amongst other dimensions. As previously mentioned, it is the *linguistic practices* of three two-generational immigrant Indian families that form the focus of this study. For the purpose of this research, *linguistic practices* will be synonymously used with *language practices* to include the use of linguistic resources, such as *language choice* and silence in day-to-day verbal interactions within the home. As will be explained in the literature review, a bilingual who knows more than one language has the option of using one language or the other generally referred to as *language choice* (Baker 2011). Adopting the UK census (2012) definition, an *immigrant* is defined as a non-UK born or overseas born individual for the present study. The families comprise *first-generation* parents and *second-generation* children. In this study, *first-generation* parents are interpreted as individuals born outside the host country. The *second-generation* participants will be understood to be the children who are either British or foreign-born. Drawing on my cultural upbringing in a South Asian context and on the basis of preliminary observations made within the Malayali community, I presumed that the nuclear Malayali families would be based on the Indian patriarchal

system according to which each member within a family has a certain *status* or position. Therefore, on the basis of my preconception that the three families are founded on this system of traditional hierarchy, the manner in which status and power relations are challenged and/or maintained in the linguistic practices of the participants become the central focus of this study. Accordingly, the following research questions were formulated:

Research question 1: What are the extra-linguistic variables that are agentive in the participants' language use and preference?

Research question 2: What are the cultural values of the parents that the children oppose and accept? How do these shared or conflicting values manifest themselves in the language practices of the participants?

Research question 3: What are the linguistic resources that participants use in order to challenge and/or retain status and power relations?

The crux of the three questions lies in the language practices and the way in which they reflect cultural values which essentially also include concepts of status and power. The definition of *culture* that will be adopted for this study resonates with the general consensus that it encapsulates shared and learnt patterns of behaviour that are most often symbolic and intangible (Banks et al. 1989). The social factors of gender and generation will also provide a basis for the examination of linguistic practices as well as the hierarchical structures that are discussed as prevalent within the three participating families.

1.5. Conclusion and Organisation of the Thesis

Presenting the immigrant Malayalis to have an established presence in the UK, the focus of this chapter moved to tackling possible reasons for the absence

of sociolinguistic research on this diasporic community. Thus, the distinctiveness of the present study was argued for in relation to the uniqueness of this research context for the field of sociolinguistics. After detailing the manner in which my contacts with the Malayali community in York inspired this study, I presented the research questions that encompass the primary focus of the current enquiry. Before moving onto the second chapter, I outline below the division of the thesis chapters.

Chapter 2 has two aims: first and foremost to critically examine a selection of key concepts in multilingualism, and secondly to evaluate relevant literature in the field of immigrant multilingual communities and thereby highlight the niche for the current study.

In **Chapter 3**, the sociolinguistic and ethnographic frameworks that inform and underpin the methodology of this study will be presented.

Chapter 4 develops the linguistic profiles of the participants in relation to a variety of variables, including domain-specific and interlocutor-specific language use. Following on from this analysis will be an exploration of the first research question, addressing the correlation between language use, preference and the social factors of gender and generation.

Addressing the second research question, **chapter 5** will define in detail the congruent and divergent cultural values that the two-generational participants were found to uphold and/or practice as they were reflected through their linguistic practices.

Chapter 6 will discuss the third, main, research question on the manner in which status and power relations are enacted through the linguistc practices of the participating families.

Bringing this thesis to a close will be **chapter 7,** summarising key and original findings and presenting possible areas for future research.

2. Review of Literature

2.1. Introduction

Theoretical perspectives surrounding the linguistic practices of the immigrant multilingual, including how they reflect the interplay with non-linguistic dynamic variables such as status, power and identity and vice versa have received, and continue to receive notable attention (Hua 2008; Canagarajah 2008; Wei 2000) for the most part, but not exclusively, from linguists living in the diaspora. In most instances, hailing from or having roots in the same country as a specific immigrant community, it is my understanding that such scholars have a unique affinity, perspective and interest in heritage cultures.

The overarching aim of this chapter will be to critically examine literature that is related to the immigrant multilingual speaker. When discussing language or language practices, it goes without saying that the speakers of those languages must necessarily be discussed for 'languages have no existence without people' (Baker 2011 p.41). As the carriers of language, people also transport culture that encapsulates a way of life governed by ideological stances. The main purpose of this chapter will therefore be to review work on the language practices of this culture-bound immigrant in relation to extra-linguistic variables such as status, power, gender and generation.

To state a somewhat obvious fact, the literature examined in this chapter concerns itself with the immigrant multilingual. Having uprooted themselves from their countries of origin, the immigrant multilingual finds himself or herself in new contexts and new domains. In this process of migration, an individual's first, native or mother language is also transported to a new context in which it receives a new appellation. Thus, this chapter

begins with an exploration of the sociolinguistic definitions of the multilingual speaker, domain-specific language use and immigrant languages.

As immigrant multilinguals integrate within their new settlements, what becomes of their native languages is the question that will be addressed in the following sub-section of this chapter. Introducing literature related to the ethnolinguistic vitality framework, discussing immigrant language preservation and shift within multilingual communities will become the main purpose of this section.

Exploring the factors in addition to language status that affect language choice and alternation in multilingual homes, communities and countries will be the primary objective of the next sub-section. The interactional goals of language choice and alternation in relation to displaying power, status and identity will also receive considerable attention throughout this section.

Bringing this chapter to a close will be an examination of previous research that addresses family hierarchy and the use of linguistic resources to maintain and resist traditional status and power relations within the family. A closer look at the patriarchal system in Kerala, India and the status and power dynamics of the Malayali family in the UK, will also be integrated into this section as a means of presenting a prelude to the Malayali families being researched for the present study.

Multilingualism has been addressed and investigated within different strands of linguistics. Adopting a primarily sociolinguistic premise, definitions to some of the key terminology in this field of enquiry will be presented in the next sub-section of this chapter. The underlying connotations embedded within these meanings that highlight the limitations of such terminology will also be raised during this discussion.

2.2. Defining Key Terminology

The key theme that underlies this review is immigrant language use, maintenance or shift brought about by the multilingual speaker owing to language ideologies and/or contextual factors following migration. Consequently, the multilingual speaker, domain-specific language use and the terminology associated with immigrant languages will be examined from a sociolinguistics premise.

2.2.1. The Multilingual Speaker from a Sociolinguistic Perspective

From a sociolinguistic perspective, the definitions of the multilingual speaker although seemingly different, are fundamentally based on language use and competence (Baker 2011; Bhatia and Ritchie 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas 1984). One such perception states that a multilingual is one whose communicative competence in the languages within his or her linguistic repertoire is on par with native speaker proficiency (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984; Bloomfield 1933). The association of a multilingual speaker's language skills with native speaker proficiency inevitably highlight the need to locate a middle ground between language use and competence: the understanding of a multilingual as presented above excludes those that have the capacity to operate in two or more languages but do not have the proficiency of the so called *native speaker*.

As suggested with the emphasis on *native speaker*, another limitation of the definition presented in the preceding paragraph, is that it appears to align itself with the so-called *native speaker* proficiency. According to this purist notion, native speakerism refutes the acknowledgement of *World Englishes* (Mesthrie 2008; Kachru 1988). Consequently, defining a multilingual as someone who is as proficient as a native speaker seems flawed for two reasons: firstly, in light of its rather restricted way of equating proficiency with *standard variety norms* associated with the *native speaker* and secondly owing to its failure to acknowledge the capacity to use a language as a significant

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aspect. Consequently, placing prominence only on competence highlights that defining the multilingual speaker is not that straightforward and simplistic.

Explanations of the multilingual speaker that places greater emphasis on the operational skills in the languages within an individual's linguistic repertoire followed. Baker (2011) elaborates by stating that a multilingual is one who has knowledge of two or more languages. He further elucidates that the term does not necessarily suggest the speaker to have an equal level of proficiency in all the relevant languages or in all four skills in any given language.

In defining multilingualism on the grounds of usage, linguists thus point out how an individual may use two or more languages in their daily lives, simultaneously or one language at a time, in different domains ranging from the home environment to email communication, and so forth (Baker 2011; Pavlenko 2006). Baker (2011) explains further that the degree to which the multilingual uses more than one language in the above mentioned domains and in others, would be influenced by a number of factors. Some such contributory factors may be the extent to which an individual has contact with the host language community, personal motivation and prestige of the languages (Baker 2011).

Whilst these factors will be revisited in relation to the language practices of Chinese immigrants in the UK (Hua 2008), a closer look at the significance of 'domain' in the understanding of language use by multilinguals will be examined in the following section.

2.2.2. Domain-Specific Language Use

It has been previously mentioned that language use by the multilingual speaker could depend on the domain that s/he finds herself or himself within. Discussing domain-specific language use by multilinguals, Hoffman and Ttsme (2004) refer to the concept of domain as an umbrella term, as the term encompasses different situations in which more than one language variety

comes into contact with another. These varieties, according to Hoffman and Ttsme could include dialects of the same language or different languages, ranging from standard to non-standard forms. Hoffman and Ttsme claim further that these varieties may have local, regional, national or international status and prestige. The fact that language cannot be divorced from context and that the use of two or more languages can be studied within specific domains of language use is implied through this explication. As the studies explored in this chapter will show, multilinguals use a combination of different languages according to the domain in which they find themselves and their reasons for doing so can range from socio-cultural factors to ideological concepts.

As explained earlier, Hoffman and Ttsme (2004) refer to the way in which domain-specific language use by multilinguals manifests itself with two or more varieties of dialects or languages coming into contact. This suggests that a fundamental aspect of domain-specific language is the fact that bilingualism is embedded within multilingualism.

Within the physical and virtual domains of language use studied from a sociolinguistic angle, the home becomes a context of interest for many a scholar as a link between home language use and language maintenance or shift has been observed, researched and established in multilingual countries (Canagarajah 2008; Wei 1994). As previously mentioned, a multilingual speaker can been defined in relation to communicative competence, degree of usage and socio-cultural factors.

The correlation between communicative competence and contextual factors could best be explained in relation to Hymes's (1974) ethnographic framework. Famously known as the *ethnography of communication*, Hymes presents eight interlocking factors that the scholar claims are important for successful communication. The first factor in Hymes's framework includes *setting* and *scene,* which encompasses the physical and psychological setting respectively within which conversations take place. For Hymes, *participants*

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refer to different dyads consisting of speakers, listeners and receivers. The factor labelled as *ends* denotes the result of an interaction and participant motives in relation to what they hope to accomplish through verbal interaction. Amongst these factors, *act sequence* refers to a speaker's use of words, the way in which they are used and their relevance to the topic of the conversation. The fifth factor, *key,* explains the tone, manner and spirit in which a verbal utterance is made. For instance non-verbal gestures and body positions are recognised as keys that could enhance, complement or completely distort the meaning of the message being conveyed. The next factor, *instrumentalities,* refers to the mode of communication as well as the dialect, code or register that is selected for interaction. Another factor in Hymes's framework is *Norms of interaction and interpretation,* which refer to certain behaviours associated with speaking, such as gaze return, loudness and silence and how these would be viewed by someone who does not share them. *Genre,* the eighth factor, refers to the different forms of utterances such as poems, proverbs, sermons, prayers and lectures.

Apart from communicative competence, a multilingual speaker could also be studied in terms of attitudes that are informed by language ideologies. Hence, a multilingual's attitudes towards a language can lead to its use or discontinuity at home whereby the maintenance, restoration, shift or death of a language within a community at large will be determined (Baker 2011). Owing to the relevance of language use within the domestic context for the present study, the link between bilingual practices within the home and the ethnolinguistic vitality of immigrant languages will be continuously emphasised throughout this literature review.

The languages that form the linguistic repertoire of the multilingual speaker and contribute to the prevalence of bi/multilingualism consist of host languages as well as those that are introduced to *mainstream* society by immigrants. The term *mainstream* which carries with it connotations of *dominant* trends, also indicates the unequal power distribution between

different cultural groups that live together in one society as a result of immigration (Berry 1997 p.4). Key terminology used for languages brought to a country by immigrants will be examined in the following section.

2.2.3. Languages of the Immigrant

Migration, and the ensuing changes experienced by multilingual families in relation to language maintenance, shift and endangerment receive the attention of academic and governmental organisations alike for purposes of policy planning, validation and modification. Within this category of research, multilingual families that migrate to Anglo-American nations are researched from a sociolinguistic angle owing to the status and power differences between the host language and first languages of the migrant families, who leave behind their official status and take on the *minority*, *community* or *heritage* language label as they transcend geographical boundaries. Despite the fact that immigrant languages may have had national or regional status in their countries of origin, on arrival in Anglo-American countries, they become secondary to the majority language or English, which is also the international language of the world at large.

Consequently, languages that first-generation immigrants bring with them to a foreign settlement, receive new appellations. What this name change reflects in actuality is the way in which the position of these languages changes within a multilingual setting (Edwards 2008). In addition to new nominations, such languages also receive new statuses: when these languages are introduced to the mainstream society they are spoken by a minority rather than the majority. Thus, the very fact that such languages are associated with minority populations, from a demographic perspective, carries with it implications of a lower status for the languages themselves. It must be noted, however, that the number of speakers of a certain language does not constitue the sole factor that may serve to influence such status change. For instance, in South Asian contexts such as India and Sri Lanka, native English speakers form a minority.

However, English has either national or official status in the two countries owing to socio-historical factors, as well as the institutional support it has received since the latter half of the twentieth century. Moreover, English is at present a language that carries global recognition and prestige. This example illustrates that demographics alone do not affect the status change of languages. The dominant language of the foreign context that immigrants introduce their languages to also plays a significant role in addition to the extent to which the host language has international prestige and recognition.

Consequently, Edwards (2008) is amongst those who voice their dissatisfaction with such appellations as *immigrant* and *minority* languages that carry with them connotations that verge on the derogatory. Edwards (2008 p.253) acknowledges multilingualism to be no different to other fields of study of recent origin, in relation to the fact that 'discussions around linguistic diversity are plagued by terminological confusion'. The scholar thus critiques language nominations and the meanings attached to them. In place of holding a more complacent view of language nominations as being 'dynamic diversity markers' (Aronin and Singleton 2010 p.111), Edwards (2008) forthrightly rejects the appellation *immigrant languages*. Referring to languages of the Indian subcontinent as an example, the writer claims that they are spoken by individuals who are the second and even the third generation born in the UK and therefore cannot be rightly classified as *immigrant languages* (2008 p.254).

Owing to the fact that the term *immigrant languages* like many other labels, is traditionally understood to have an inextricable link with the users and their immigrant status, Edwards (2008) suggests the term *community languages* as a much more generic and suitable term. The writer does acknowledge that there remains opposition to this term on the grounds that those who speak the same language are perhaps not always equally supportive of maintaining and using the language as the term denotes. However, the very fact that it is free of undertones relating to the immigration status of the

speakers makes it much more appealing than *immigrant languages*, according to the scholar.

Another term that has come into use in recent years and places increased significance on the 'historical and personal connection an individual has with a language is *heritage languages* (Valdés 2001 p.2). Hence, rather than emphasising speaker proficiency, the term denotes an individual's motivation to maintain a language to which he or she has connections through family roots. Accordingly, in majority English speaking countries, heritage language families may be seen as those with socio-historical connections to a language other than English. The nomination does not imply however, that each and every member within a heritage language family will speak the non-English language. Therefore, given that this term is not loaded with preconceived notions of language proficiency or nuances of inferiority in terms of the number or status of speakers, *heritage language* will be adopted henceforth in place of *minority*, *immigrant* or *community* languages when referring to the language that the first-generation non-UK born participants of this study had acquired and use as their first language.

The co-existence of multiple language nominations each with its own defining characteristics, stress the need for an all-encompassing umbrella term. This statement could be better explained examining the case of the Welsh language in Wales. Statistically, in comparison to the number of English speakers, Welsh language speakers may be considered a *minority* in the British Isles (Lewis et al. 2013). However, the language is spoken primarily by individuals born and raised in Wales making it a non-immigrant language. Therefore, when assigning a language nomination to Welsh, the question arises whether it should be described as a heritage language owing to the fact that it is spoken chiefly by a population who have socio-historical links with the language or as a minority language due to number of speakers. Ultimately, what such unresolved issues relating to language nominations and definitions

to key terminology in general suggest is the varying perspectives from which languages are viewed and understood by individuals.

As previously stated, an individual's motivation and attitudes towards maintaining or discontinuing languages may be influenced by extra-linguistic factors such as the status and prestige associated with such languages. With this in mind, the ensuing section takes a closer look at how and what contributes to language preservation and shift within immigrant, multilingual communities. In order to do so, ethnolinguistic vitality, which has been used to explore language maintenance and shift within multilingual settings, will be introduced first and foremost.

2.3. Migration and Ethnolinguistic Vitality

The multilingual speaker has already been introduced in relation to domain-specific language use, the concept of status, institutional support and demographics. As this section intends to examine the ethnolinguistic vitality of community languages, presenting a definition of the term seems appropriate at this point. Referring to the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality introduced by Giles et al. (1977), Yagmur (2011 p.111) points out that the framework 'attributes status, demographics, institutional support and control factors as that which make up the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups'. The writer elaborates by explaining that status refers to the socio-economic, socio-historical and language status of the group within the mainstream community as well as outside of it. Yagmur (2011) outlines demographic variables to include the number of ethnolinguistic group members throughout a particular region or territory, their birth rate, mixed-marriage rate and patterns of immigration and emigration. According to the scholar, the extent to which such groups receive support from the mass media, educational, governmental, industrial, religious, cultural and political institutions also contribute to the ethnolinguistic vitality of community languages. In essence, Yagmur's (2011)

elaboration on the ethnolinguistic vitality theory presents it as the multi-faceted concept that it is in actuality.

The necessity to address the ethnolinguistic vitality of community languages has arisen from one primary issue. Whilst it is true that mass migration has led to the rise of immigrant multilingual communities in Europe and elsewhere in the world, Hua (2008) points out they have now become the norm and by no means the exception within the world. Hence, community language maintenance and shift within multilingual settings will be examined in relation to the ethnolinguistic vitality framework.

2.3.1. Community Language Maintenance and Shift

Entering this discussion on the ethnolinguistic vitality of community languages by referring first and foremost to statistical evidence on linguistic diversity was thought appropriate for one main reason. Statistics not only lead to questions around the reliability of numerical data, but also raise questions relating to whether or not they provide an accurate picture of the ethnolinguistic vitality of languages under study: it goes without saying that the primary informants of statistical data are people themselves. As has already been explained, the ethnolinguistic vitality framework suggests that individual and community motivation for the maintenance of languages are influenced by demographics, institutional support, socio-economic, socio-historical and language status. Hence, official statistics on linguistic diversity inevitably derived from the individual are, more often than not, unreliable.

As a result, the 'one nation-one language' myth promoted via official statistics is, as Edwards (2008 p.256) suggests, yet another outcome of 'decisions about linguistic status' being 'political and therefore contentious'. To further explain this point, the Ethnologue (2012) reports that 83 nations worldwide are officially monolingual within which 63% of the languages are European. The implications of these statistics are two-fold: firstly, the

European languages enjoy and exert greater political status, power and instrumental vitality globally. A result of this, other languages within these very same countries hold less power and prestige. The very fact that these countries are identified as officially monolingual when the reality of the situation reveals them to be multilingual highlights the way in which community languages do not receive the same institutional support and official recognition as the dominant or host languages.

As already outlined, the immigrant multilingual speaker is the primary source of information that feeds in to national and international statistics on multilingual communities. It is therefore necessary to examine an individual's motives for reporting or choosing not to report information relating to their actual language use. To explain the misrepresentation of the linguistic diversity in the world at large, Edwards (2008 p.256) states that 'history, culture and religious affiliations' may at times influence self-report data. Illustrating her point, the scholar refers to Pakistani Muslim families who despite using a dialect of Punjabi at home, claim to be speakers of Urdu owing to the fact that it is the language associated with religion and high culture.

On the one hand, Edwards's (2008) observation reiterates the questionability of reported data. On the other hand, it further highlights the extent to which languages associated with socio-political and socio-cultural prestige prevent or discourage speakers of minority languages from reclaiming the declining significance of their native languages. This discrepancy between the languages that immigrant communities are thought to use and those that they claim to use has also been highlighted in quantitative research on the speakers of different languages in UK schools (Block 2006). What Block (2006) concludes is that immigrants from South Asian countries such as India, Pakistan and Bangladesh do not necessarily report using the languages traditionally associated with their nationalities.

Even as far back as the 1980's, scholars such as Fishman (1989) explained the marginalisation of minority languages from a socio-economic

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perspective. He argued that the thinking behind educating the immigrant minority populations in the dominant languages, rather than in the mother tongues of their contexts of origin, was informed by one perspective. This understanding associated the dominant languages with gain both from an individual and a collective point of view (Fishman 1989).

Reiterating Fishman's (1989) postulation is Vaccarino (2011) who attributes the influence of the dominant culture as the main cause behind multilingual families and their children embracing monolingual practices. The process of assimilating into mainstream culture therefore affects the immigrant's native culture, as it loses its place of precedence by the learning and use of the host language (Vaccarino 2011). Referring specifically to countries in which English may be the dominant and majority language, the writer identifies the task of transmitting heritage languages to be challenging for immigrant families. Vaccarino (2011) cites New Zealand as an example in which demographically 80% of the population are monolingual speakers of English.

Thus, identifying the dilemma between cultural assimilation and heritage language maintenance, linguists (Vaccarino 2011; Fishman 1991) reiterate the Vygotskyan (1978) claim that the home is a context in which minority language maintenance can be advocated. In doing so, these scholars highlight that in most multilingual settings, the home becomes the only place within which minority language maintenance can take place. Thus, the scholars identify the parents as the only individuals within the home domain who are capable of promoting bilingual language practices. According to Fishman (1991) language maintenance is a process of intergenerational transmission. Given that language maintenance is linked to communication with family as well as to cultural identity, Fishman (1991) reiterates that in most instances it is the parents who decide to expose their native tongue to their children. Hence, ultimately it is intergenerational language transmission which acts as a powerful means of reversing language shift as discussed by

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Fishman (1991). According to Fishman, the media and educational, governmental, legislative and economic policies, cannot promote language transmission alone. Unless practised and brought to the fore through 'the normal, daily, repetitive and intensely socializing and identity-forming functioning of home, family and neighbourhood', language shift is inevitable (Fishman 1991 p.162).

In the observations of Fishman (1991) and Vaccarino (2011), it is interesting to note that there is no explicit mention of other family members such as siblings, or extended family members as individuals who may also play a role in promoting heritage language practices at home. Nor does this notion take in to account how the status of dominant languages could deter parents from passing down their heritage languages to the children. Investigating the possible link between the identities women attach to themselves as mothers and their role in language transmission, Mills (2000) argues that the language that is first acquired by a child is not always the native language of the biological mother. Researching the attitudes of ten bilingual mothers and their children towards the languages within their linguistic repertoires from a minority language community in the West Midlands, UK, the writer examines the inter connection between mother tongue ideologies and bilingual language practices. In addressing this question, the writer points to the collocation *mother tongue* and how this in itself is embedded within the maternal role in language provision or maintenance. On the basis of her findings, Mills (2000) asserts that whether or not the mothers teach their native language to the children is determined by the status of a particular language and the socio-economic advantages or disadvantages attached to this.

A further influential factor that affects heritage language transmission within the home is the interlocutor. Wei (1994) adopts an ethnographic approach to the study of a Chinese community living in Newcastle, UK, and their linguistic practices. Using conversational data from a group of 58 individuals within ten family units, the writer addresses inter-speaker and

intra-speaker differences in the language choices the participants make. The participants consist of first-generation migrants, sponsored immigrants of those already settled in the UK and the British-born children (Wei 1994).

Wei's (1994) interest lies in investigating why and how speakers choose different languages when communicating with different interlocutors. Examining more specifically the variables of age, sex and length of residence in the UK, the scholar reports how the grandparent generation tend to use more Chinese, whilst the British-born children employ more English. Furthermore, the scholar finds that both Chinese and English were used by parents and to parents.

Wei (1994) attributes these findings to the social networks of the different generations. For instance, the writer explains that members of the grandparents' generation have less frequent interaction with the English speaking host community, as they tend to operate within their own families and Chinese communities. The writer also identifies a link between the language proficiency of the younger generations and the male Chinese individuals who possess sufficient knowledge of English to interact with non-Chinese speakers and as a result of this inevitably enjoy a wider social network outside of their homes. Conversely, those who do not have adequate English to communicate with the English speakers, engage less with the British community in general.

Echoing Bell's (1984) premise, Wei (1994 p.93) finds that the multilingual, multi-generational Chinese community 'design their speech according to their audience'. Wei's (1994) examination also indicates that heritage language use within the home does not necessarily ensure its continuity and finds that a language shift from 'Chinese monolingualism to English-dominant bilingualism' is taking place in in these three-generational families (Wong 1992; O'Neill 1972). Identifying similarities in the speakers using similar language choice patterns, he concludes that females have remained largely Chinese monolingual whilst males display a more bilingual

approach in their inter- and intra-speaker communications. This then evidently shows a shift in allegiance in terms of language use- we are driven to question whether this is also indicative of a shift in allegiance towards a membership in the host community. Thus, addressing whether this shift in language use indicates the participants' desire to embrace an identity within the English-speaking context in which English holds a place of power and prestige may have offered another means of understanding the language shift in this community.

The perspective that multilingual parents are the key agents in transmitting their heritage languages (Vaccarino 2011; Fishman 1991) to the children does not take into consideration complementary schools that constitute voluntary groups in multilingual settings for promoting and teaching minority languages. Complementary schools and their contribution to heritage language maintenance will be discussed further in the discussion. If policy makers on language provision as well as those at the receiving end or the immigrants themselves, were informed by the thinking of Fishman (1989) and Vaccarino (2011), it stands to reason that the factors that contribute to this rationale need to be explored.

2.3.2. Community Languages in Europe

When considering migration, there is general consensus that migratory routes are somewhat linear in the sense that migration has historically occurred and continues to take place predominantly towards Western, Southern, and Northern Europe as well as North America. Europe has therefore become a central context for researching multilingual communities and homes (Extra et al. 2004).

With a view to investigating and capturing the present-day linguistic diversity as well as vitality in Europe, a series of studies were carried out and documented by Extra et al. (2004). The studies aimed to investigate the status of immigrant languages at home and in school in six major multicultural cities

in Europe, namely Gothenburg, Hamburg, the Hague, Brussels, Lyon and Madrid. Whilst the six cities are major urban cities, the variety within the immigrant minority languages and the existence of a university-based research facility to conduct and analyse the data were also taken into consideration when selecting the locations. Emphasising the linguistic diversity prevalent in most cities across the globe, Wei (2012) points out that multilingualism and multiculturalism have become aspects that people in most parts of the world encounter on a daily basis in their own neighbourhoods. According to the 2010 report of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Wei (2012 p.1) writes that in cosmopolitan cities such as Delhi, London and New York, 'one in three families are transnational and multilingual'.

In defining the importance of studying home language data in immigrant language speakers, Extra et al. (2004) reiterate the factors that inform the ethnolinguistic vitality framework. Extra et al. first present their demographic perspective behind conducting the research. In doing so, they claim that home language data enables the identification of multicultural school populations. Secondly, referring to information on home language use and its relevance to education providers, the writers state that the data can inform language policy and planning and thereby highlight the institutional support discussed within the ethnolinguistic vitality framework. Thirdly, Extra et al. (2004 p.113) write that data on home language use can 'offer relevant insights into both the distribution and the vitality of home languages across groups, and thus raise the public awareness'. The researchers attribute equal weight and importance to the benefits home language data can provide in developing economic opportunities within the mainstream society. The writers also identify a niche for gathering statistical data on home language use of multicultural school populations and report that this is rarely seen in European nations other than Great Britain, Sweden or Switzerland. Consequently, the scholars present their motive for studying home language

use amongst immigrant communities in Europe on the basis of the ethnolinguistic vitality framework.

The data is collected from students of local schools in each of the selected cities. The researchers design, pilot and amend a questionnaire that is translated in to the local languages before it is sent to the schools. The self-report data from this series of research highlights the status participants attached to languages within their linguistic repertoires. For example, the study of home language use in Gothenburg, Sweden, conducted by Nygren-Junkin (2004) reveal that a surprisingly high number of school children reported using a language other than Swedish at home and one of these 'other' languages was English. Illustrating how institutional advocacy can influence language use, the participants explained that English was taught as a compulsory subject from second grade and upwards in Swedish schools and that the status of English and its use in popular culture has led their parents to use English within the home.

The research conducted amongst primary school children in Hamburg, Germany reflect the cultural diversity that the researchers Bühler- Otten and Fürstenau (2004) had observed in the population statistics of the city. The cultural and linguistic diversity they came across in the city was so extensive that the scholars claim 'multilingualism is a fact of life' (2004 p.187). Moreover, similar to the study in Gothenburg, in Hamburg English is once again found to be the fourth most common language used at home, excluding German. The scholars report that the status of English, as well the exposure to the language through electronic media, were two factors leading the children to claim to have used the language at home. Thus, the results of the studies also show that immigrant populations in Europe acknowledge the importance of and embrace English alongside other host languages in mainstream societies. What is more, they also continue to maintain and use the languages from their countries of birth. These qualitative studies stress the link between language status and institutional support within multilingual societies.

The outcomes of the Home Language Survey eventually reveal that contrary to existent assumptions, minority communities are able to maintain the languages of their native countries, whilst integrating linguistically in to mainstream society. It is therefore suggested that 'maintaining the home language is in no way detrimental to the knowledge of German' (Bühler- Otten and Fürstenau 2004 p.188). Expounding on their findings, Bühler- Otten and Fürstenau (2004 p.188) state that both social and linguistic acculturation in the diaspora seem achievable in instances in which the immigrant communities 'invest in maintaining their mother tongues and when children have access to appropriate mainstream instruction'. As scholars such as Cohen (2008 p.6) and Block (2006 p.18) point out, commitment towards maintaining the culture, language and history of the homeland, in addition to a strong sense of ethnic identity, have been identified as key features of diasporic communities.

Returning to Bühler-Otten and Fürstenau's (2004) findings, it is indicated that the key agents in maintaining the native languages of the immigrant communities are the immigrants themselves. Thus, maintaining the heritage language whilst concurrently acquiring the host language can be achieved as a collaborative effort with support at institutional level as well as from the home domain.

In relation to the studies reported above, it is necessary to keep in mind that these projects were carried out in urban cities and therefore the results may not be applicable to the general populations of these countries at large. Moreover, whilst the scholars address factors contributing to successful social and linguistic integration in relation to immigrant children, they overlook the older generations- more specifically the parent and the grandparent generations. For example, even though it is stated that immigrant children would acquire the host language through appropriate mainstream education, no mention is made of the parent generation and what forms of language support or enhancement factors are or should be in place to facilitate their

social and linguistic adaptation in a foreign country. As a result, the adult multilingual immigrant and his or her linguistic adaptation in a new country of settlement appear to be an area that requires further investigation from a sociolinguistic standpoint.

As already discussed, studies on community language speakers in Europe identified English to have entered their linguistic repertoires as a result of the language being institutionally endorsed. What is significant is that in the countries in which these findings were made, English is not the national language. Hence, the influence that English is seen to exert in European contexts in which English is dominant, but not necessarily the national language, cannot simply be dismissed. With this in mind, it seems relevant to examine the impact and the degree of influence that English may have on minority languages in a European nation in which English is both the dominant and national language. As Extra and Yağmur (2011) point out, Great Britain is one of the few European countries to have a tradition of collecting home language use data. The ethnolinguistic vitality of community languages within this linguistically diverse nation will therefore be explored in the following section.

2.3.3. Community Languages in the UK

The UK has become home to a thriving and ever-increasing immigrant population attracting individuals from all parts of the globe, particularly from South Asia, South-East Asia and Africa. Amongst these immigrant communities in the UK, according to 2011 census, the Indian population make up the largest non-UK born residents, numbering 694,000 (ONS 2012).

Edwards (2008 p.253), whose interest lies in the 'new minority languages' or all languages other than English which have existed in 'the linguistic landscape in more recent years', points out that the availability of employment opportunities in the UK brought about the first noticeable influx of immigrants from India, Pakistan and the Caribbean between the mid-1950s

and the late 1960s. According to Block (2006), a large proportion of South Asians arrived in Britain from Africa in the aftermath of Kenyan Independence in 1963. In 1972, following their expulsion from Uganda, South Asians started migrating to Britain as a result of which 'those listed in the census as Indians and Pakistanis had overtaken Caribbeans as the largest ethnic minority group in Britain' (Block 2006 p.53).

Whilst it is difficult to present statistical data on the speakers of minority languages as the UK census only refer to Welsh in Wales, Gaelic in Scotland and Irish in Ireland, Edwards (2008) states that looking at data relating to nationality or country of origin may be an alternative way of assessing speaker numbers. Looking at the 2001 census data, Edwards (2008) states that 2% of the population in England and Wales were Indian, whilst another 0.5% were Bangladeshi. Block's (2006) use of the 2004 census statistics also establishes the Indian population in Britain as the second largest ethnic group in the country. By the time the last census was completed in 2011, from amongst the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations, the three largest South Asian immigrant groups living in Britain- the former made up around 1.2 % of the resident population in England and Wales (ONS 2012).

Extra et al. (2004) report Indian languages to be prominent in the United Kingdom, which forms an inevitable contribution to any discussion on immigrant minority languages in Europe. Speaking more generally on the basis of local authority survey results, Edwards (2008 p.255) reveals that at least three hundred languages are spoken by 702,000 children in England. Significant in Edwards's (2008 p.255) writing is the observation relating to the change of multilingualism from 'an urban phenomenon' to something that is increasingly prevalent in more rural areas. Even though immigrant populations in the UK continued to grow, studies that focussed on their linguistic diversity were slow to emerge. Thus, Extra et al. (2004) highlight the dearth of research on home language use that prevailed in the early days by

stating that although Great Britain had been carrying out the census since 1801, the forms did not initially feature any questions on home language use.

Inspite of the emergence of literature in the latter 1970s (Derrick 1977; Campbell-Platt 1976) concerning language diversity in London, Block (2006) rightly asserts that the ethnolinguistic vitality could not be inferred from statistical data obtained from census surveys. In order to address this gap in literature, the 'Languages and Dialects of London School Children' project was introduced in the late 1970s (Rosen and Burgess 1980). In addition to using questionnaires, the project also adopted interviews that would produce qualitative data to address and present the vitality of the languages found to be spoken by 4600 school children aged 11-12 in the Boroughs of London. Although the group discussions concerning the linguistic repertoires of the children were conducted by the school teacher, the data revealed that 15% of the participants spoke a language other than English at home. However, as McPake (2006) points out, the validity of this data is questionable as this self-report data was obtained from school children who may not have been able to accurately present information relating to their linguistic practices at home.

A significant breakthrough in relation to addressing not just multilingual school children, but all those who fell in to the linguistic minority population came about in 1985 (Extra et al. 2004). The new initiative known as the 'Linguistic Minorities Project', consisted of a school language survey, secondary pupils survey and an adult language use survey, and came into being under the auspices of the Department of Education and Science and London University (Extra et al. 2004).

The key features of the Linguistic Minorities Project's methodology are described by Extra et al. (2004) on the basis of the research instruments and participants. Led by the school teachers, the school language survey consisted of semi-structured interviews. The data obtained was used to construct a general impression about language diversity at school and students' proficiency in the languages used at home. The secondary pupil's survey was completed by

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the students themselves and the results allowed the researchers to determine who the speakers of a certain language were, and for what purposes the language was used. To conduct the adult language use survey, the assistance of bilingual interviewers was sought. The outcome of this survey pointed to domain-specific language use, attitudes towards bilingualism and language shift across generations. The methodology of the Linguistic Minorities Project suggests that the researchers designed the project with certain assumptions about the language proficiency of the participants. For example, the secondary pupil's survey is the only survey completed by the participants themselves. What this implies is that the researchers had a preconceived notion that these pupils were sufficiently competent users of English to complete the questionnaires. In relation to the actual data that was collected across the three surveys, all the responses were in fact self-report information. With no interactional or observational fieldnotes to validate the findings, the data raises inevitable questions regarding the validity and reliability of the results.

Despite such shortcomings, by presenting an overview of immigration to Britain, this Project was able to offer a theoretical perspective on bilingualism and society (Block 2006). The importance of this study was therefore two-fold. Firstly, the study confirmed Britain to be a linguistically diverse nation. More importantly, the project revealed that the ethnolinguistic vitality of the non-English languages existed due to the 'individual and community level efforts towards language maintenance' (Block 2006 p.63). As referred to earlier, whilst the Linguistic Minorities Project highlighted community level endeavours to maintain minority languages, what it also brought to the fore was the fact that institutional support for the learning and preservation of minority languages was found to be scarce (Block 2006). This finding is echoed in Edwards's (2008) observation about the creation and prevalence of a sub-community for minority immigrant speakers within the UK. The writer reflects on the Bangladeshis in East London, the Panjabis in Bradford and Gujaratis in Leicester who have established restaurants, travel agents and retail shops providing jobs and

services to members of their respective communities. In relation to minority language maintenance, Edwards (2008 p.258) writes that these businesses provide 'an environment where it is more natural to use the minority language to communicate with co-workers and customers from the same community.

The lack of institutional support especially from education providers at the time is reflected in the 1985 Swann report 'Education for All'. The document recommended that the teaching of minority languages was not a primary responsibility of mainstream education but one of the respective communities (Edwards 2008). Despite this endorsement, the need for official educational statistics that could inform the educational budget was highlighted and resulted in the annual Ethnic Monitoring Survey being carried out in all schools in England between the years 1990 and 1995 (Extra et al. 2004). Whilst questions relating to ethnic origin and religious affiliations were integrated in to the survey, the methodology fell short of including questions relating to home language use and in devising a means of presenting the most accurate possible data. For instance, information on ethnic origin was obtained merely from parents who wished to disclose this information. As a result, in the absence of data the schools failed to classify the majority of students under a specific ethnic group (Extra et al. 2004). These shortcomings not only led to a revision of the survey, but also brought about the Nuffield Languages Inquiry between the years 1998 and 2000 that endorsed the teaching of new minority languages within the school curriculum. Thus, with institutional backing, Chinese was one of the minority languages that saw an increase in its integration to UK mainstream schools (Edwards 2008). In spite of the contribution made by the Linguistic Minorities Project (1985), mapping the linguistic diversity of Britain continued to receive the attention of researchers in the field.

2.3.4. Language Maintenance at Home and in the Community

The significance of community-level efforts to maintain heritage languages has already been referred to in relation to multilingual communities in Europe at large. Creese et al. (2008) study community-level efforts in the UK for immigrant language maintenance. From a sociolinguistic angle, the scholars choose four complementary schools in Birmingham, Manchester, Leicester and London teaching Bengali, Mandarin and Cantonese Chinese, Gujarati and Turkish respectively. Creese et al. (2008) stipulate that identifying teachers' and pupils' attitudes to the heritage languages being taught at the schools alongside English, to be the main purpose behind their investigation. The project defines a complementary school as a voluntary organisation that is synonymously used with community language, heritage language or supplementary schools. The main objective of a complementary school is to cater to a specific linguistic, religious or cultural community. In order to triangulate their findings, the scholars adopt fieldnotes, interactional data and interview transcripts. The researchers find that the teachers preferred and advocated the use of standard varieties as opposed to regional varieties of the community languages being taught. Thus, the teachers mention their preference for using Bengali over Sylheti, Mandarin and Cantonese over Hakka, mainland Turkish over Cypriot Turkish and Gujarati over Leicester Gujarati.

Notwithstanding the teachers' insistence on using the standard varieties of community languages, they do not show a similar interest in the students' use of 'non-standard' varieties of English. Having presented this finding, the writers do not discuss a possible explanation for this. As the teachers of these schools are parent and adult volunteers from the minority communities, the researchers should perhaps have raised the fact that these individuals may possibly not know or believe in plurilithic notions on language (Makoni and Pennycook 2007) to condone the use of different varieties of their native

languages. In relation to endorsing a particular variety of English, the teachers may not have possessed a similar level of proficiency as that which they had in their native languages.

Unlike the teachers, the young learners held specific notions about a 'standard' variety of English that they either did or did not identify in their own language use or in that of others attending the complementary schools. Examining complementary school pupils' perceptions, Creese et al. (2008) observed them to display an awareness of the 'correct' use of English. As a result, the students were seen to undermine those with lower proficiency levels in English by the researchers who write that 'we also found evidence of young people mocking others who, like them, they also regarded as lacking a requisite linguistic proficiency' (2008 p.17). Not only did the student participants belittle and tease their peers and teachers- they also mocked themselves.

The students' views on competence in the community languages that were being taught were not dissimilar. The way in which these notions were reflected through their verbal behaviour is conveyed in the following excerpt:

> We found evidence of young people teasing one another and parodying themselves and others about a lack of 'proficiency' in community language while also simultaneously distancing themselves from the language learning endeavour by appearing not to try too hard' (Creese et al. 2008 p.16).

Hence, data obtained from this study indicates that for children from these multilingual immigrant communities, competency in the standard variety of a language was important as a result of which 'poor proficiency' in English or in a community language was looked down upon. The study also highlights the fact that the students did not show much enthusiasm and commitment towards learning the community languages at the complementary schools. Nevertheless, the research team do not discuss the factors that may have contributed to the lack of enthusiasm in these students. As already mentioned,

complementary schools are informal teaching environments in which members of the minority language community take on the responsibility of teaching languages, religious studies or both. Hence, the informal set up may quite possibly have deterred students from focussing or taking their learning seriously. Moreover, the researchers were placed amidst the students, teachers and parents whilst collecting ethnographic data. This would undoubtedly have affected the behavioural patterns of the participants. One other factor that should have been addressed in relation to the linguistic behaviour of mocking, teasing and the perceived absence of seriousness amongst students is the fact that in these complementary schools learning and teaching occurred in mixed-gender classes. Consequently, given that this could have been a completely new educational experience for immigrant children who may have been educated in unisex schools back in their home countries, they may have opted to minimise the level of formality amongst themselves. Moreover, there is no indication of how many of these student participants may have had experience of education in their home countries owing to age or other socio-cultural, economic or political factors.

Moreover, the fact that the students chose to tease any one whom they felt was not adequately proficient in English or in the community languages shows that those lacking in competence also lose a certain degree of power and status. For instance, the teachers of the complementary schools who one would think would have status are, in fact, mocked by the students for their lack of proficiency in English. This dimension to the findings is not discussed or addressed by the research group.

In recent years, research on home language use of minority communities in the UK has begun to emerge. For example, Hussain (2011) conducts a research on South Asians living in the UK examining the measures they adopt in order to maintain their heritage languages. In order to collect the date, the researcher uses questionnaires containing both quantitative and qualitative questions. The 45 participants are of Indian, Bangladeshi and Pakistani origin

from the cities of Liverpool, London, Nottingham and Birmingham. The researcher finds that even though the participants refer to the home as the main domain for maintaining heritage languages, they do not necessarily promote this at home in practice. The findings suggest that the parents' main aspiration is for the children to excel in their studies in the English medium. The participants also claim that they maintain ties with relatives back home, subscribe to Indian television channels, go to places of worship where the mother language is used and integrate within their own community as ways of preserving their native languages. As the researcher does not present the findings according to the different nationalities or compare and contrast cultural practices amongst the different ethnic groups, the outcomes are referred to as being applicable to the entire participant group in a generic sense.

On the premise that 'differences across generations of speakers are interpreted as evidence of language change' (Milroy and Gordon 2003 p.35), language change has been studied in relation to social factors such as age and generation in sociolinguistics ever since the work of Labov (1963). With inadequate advocacy from the home domain, Hua (2008) observes an intergenerational language shift from heritage languages to the host language amongst the Chinese immigrant groups in the UK. Whilst the older first-generation immigrants prefer the use of their community languages, the British-born children of these communities choose English over their parents' heritage languages, explains Hua (2008). Referring to the language shift from Chinese to English in these communities, Hua (2008) discusses how socio-economic factors affect the transmission of heritage languages from the p'rents' generation to that of their children. According to the researcher, the work patterns of the older generations results in the grandparents, the parents and the children not spending sufficient time together at home. In the Chinese community the researcher studies, the older generations who work in the catering sector are away from home when the children return from school and

as a result of this Hua finds that the opportunity for language transference is removed from their homes.

Furthermore, Hua (2008) states the population of Chinese school students in any given area rarely forms more than 3%, because of which the local educational authorities do not seem to find it necessary to provide them with additional language support. Consequently, the Chinese students use English as their primary language. However, owing to the fact that Mandarin Chinese is offered as a GCSE and A-Level subject and due to its prestige and official status within mainland China, increased numbers of Chinese immigrants in the UK show an increased interest in learning the variety of Chinese.

Like Hua's (2008) research, a study that finds inadequate contact hours between parents and children to affect minority language transmission is by Jones and Morris (2009). In contrast to Hua, Jones and Morris focus on a group of non-immigrant Welsh-English speaking parents to investigate whether the gender of the parents has a direct influence on the opportunities they create for Welsh language socialisation for their children. In these families one parent is a first language speaker of Welsh, and the other uses English as the native tongue. During the study, the researchers learn that even the parents who were not first language users of Welsh had a basic knowledge of the language. For this ethnographic enquiry, language use is considered a social practice that can be studied through everyday activities such as talking, reading, writing and the media. In addition to these activities, individual language practices are also examined on a socio-cognitive level by the researchers. Hence, the activities that the individuals engage in either consciously or mechanically on a day to day basis were considered to give an insight into understanding language transmission.

The data includes diaries and photographs produced by the parents of their youngest child's daily activities. The children whose activities with their parents are studied are under the age of two. The researchers also conduct

semi-structured interviews with the parents predominantly in English for the benefit of the non-Welsh speaking parents. Older sibling talk and spouse-spouse interactions that took place in the presence of the younger children were also taken into consideration in attempting to gauge the extent to which Welsh language socialisation took place at home.

The researchers find that the amount of time each parent spends with their children, as well as their views and beliefs influence the extent to which language socialisation takes place within these homes. The data shows that the different roles and responsibilities taken on by a parent such as playing, reading to and putting a child to bed, and the resulting amount of time spent with the child had a direct impact on a child's socialisation in the Welsh language. As it was the mothers who spent most of the day with their children and also due to the fact that two of the twelve mothers were on maternity leave at the time of data collection, it was found that the mothers were more proactive in building networks and friendship with other Welsh-speaking families. For instance, mothers were observed to attend child care centres and the children's activities where there was a likelihood that they would meet other Welsh-speaking parents. Thus, the researchers conclude that Welsh-speaking mothers created more opportunities for their children to receive Welsh-language input in contrast to their male counterparts.

Driven by the assumption that individual or shared values affect peoples' language practices, the researchers also study the interview transcripts and the diary entries to identify the values that the parents assigned to Welsh. The results establish this presupposition, for the more value that was placed on Welsh, the more exposure the child received to the language, accrding to the scholars' findings. The researchers also examine whether there were conflicting views between parents in relation to the value they assigned to Welsh. They find that in certain families, tension increased when Welsh was used predominantly by the minority-language speaking parent. For example, the study reports the way that in some families, such as

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those in which the minority language speaker was the mother, her language use as well as that of her family's was not only affected but also changed by the attitude of her husband. Conversely, in certain other families, the father's preference for the use of Welsh in the home was seen to be followed and tolerated by the mothers.

Given that the main focus of the researchers' article is gender and values in relation to language socialisation, the researchers' discussion limits itself to these two variables. However, the fact that the language practices of these participants reflect the notions of power and equality cannot be ignored. The manner in which the subordinate position of the mothers manifests itself from within the language practices of these patriarchal households is rather too apparent in this data. As the study focuses on the topic of gender, the article may have benefitted from a brief look at the way in which power and gender undoubtedly play a significant role in the language practices of these families.

The studies that have been considered so far focussed on minority languages in the UK that statistically have some of the highest numbers of speakers. In order to examine other minority languages which are studied to a lesser degree, Canagarajah's (2008) qualitative research on the loss of the Tamil language amongst Sri Lankan Tamils living in three multilingual cities including London will be discussed. Whilst Tamil is an officially recognised national language of Sri Lanka, it has the second highest number of speakers in the country. However, worldwide the Ethnologue (2013) reports Tamil to have over sixty-five million speakers including eighty four thousand speakers in the US. Focussing on member motivation as one factor that determines minority language maintenance, Canagarajah (2008) presents the challenges faced by Sri Lankan Tamil families in maintaining their heritage language. The data is collected through interviews, focus groups and questionnaires from participants based in Lancaster, Toronto and London.

Like Hua (2008) who observes intergenerational language transmission in the Chinese immigrants in Britain, Canagarajah (2008) finds English to be

the dominant language amongst the children and the medium of preference for conversations within and outside of family contexts in families across the three cities. Thus, Canagarajah's interview data reveals how both first generation grandparents and third-generation children from these families find fault with the parents for not encouraging the children to learn and maintain the Tamil language. The participants explain that the parents also use English predominantly as they are proficient in the language. The interviewees acknowledge the governmental support established for the preservation of heritage cultures, whilst once again stressing the indifference shown by the parent generation in making use of such support and resources on offer.

Discussing colonisation, and how even in its aftermath, English has retained its superior status in the mentality of Sri Lankan Tamils, Canagarajah (2008) refers to Indian Tamils as a group who have not experienced a heritage language loss to the same extent that the former have, despite being subject to British imperialism. Whilst Canagarajah (2008) states that it is difficult to explain this difference, it undoubtedly reveals how attitudes to language can impact upon language maintenance and shift.

Nonetheless, Canagarajah (2008) points out that heritage language transmission takes place amongst Sri Lankan Tamils living in mainland Europe. Even though the children of such families learn the dominant languages in the European nations they migrate to, they maintain the heritage languages in order to allow for interaction within the home context.

Canagarajah (2008) does not mention the possibility of there being a difference in the composition of the families in mainland Europe and in the UK. Historically, such families may have migrated as three-generational families. However, this may no longer be the case in the 21st century for it is generally known that South Asian families who aspire to migrate with families face firmer immigration rules than before as a result of which grandparents merely visit their children and grandchildren living overseas at irregular intervals. If the parents are bilingual at the time of migration, then the

likelihood of the children becoming more proficient users of the English language is feasible.

Bearing in mind that there is a long-standing tradition of Indians migrating to the UK (ONS 2011), examining the ethnolinguistic vitality of Indian languages both in India itself and within the UK would fulfil the following objective. Indians unlike most South and East Asians are in a unique position as English is one of the two national languages in the country (Lewis et al., 2013). With a total of 461 identified languages in the country Indian immigrants hail from linguistically diverse contexts. Therefore, identifying the nature of the motivation Indians have towards maintaining their heritage languages within India itself and the role played by English within this multilingual country will form the discussion in the ensuing section.

2.3.5. Ethnolinguistic Vitality of Languages in India

In the latter half of the twentieth century Pandit (1977) noted language maintenance to be the norm in India. Consequently language shift was an exception (Pandit 1977) and perhaps rightly so due to the fervour with which India and other newly independent South Asian nations were reviving indigenous cultural elements in the aftermath of the colonial regime.

Almost three decades later, contradicting Pandit's (1977) view, Mohanty (2010 p.132) claims that the '…loss of linguistic vitality, marginalisation and endangerment of languages in India are rooted in structural inequalities in its hierarchical multilingualism'. He notes further that the power associated with different languages is a reflection of the socio-economic status and power of the speakers. Elaborating on this point, the writer explains how minority language speakers in India are those who are economically disadvantaged, and are principally destitute residing in rural areas. Thus, Mohanty (2010 p.137) concludes that the lack of socio-economic status, power and recognition of these people 'contributes to the association of these languages with powerlessness and insufficiency'.

Owing to the hierarchical nature of Indian multilingualism, the situation has been referred to as the 'multilingualism of the unequals' (Mohanty 2010). Referring to a study on the discrimination faced by speakers of the Kui language, in Orissa, Mohanty (2010) notes how the language has been marginalised from being used in public domains such as the market place. The Kui language which empowered the Kond women in commercial transactions where non-tribal customers could not speak the language, have now been deprived of their powers within the market place owing to other languages with higher socio-economic status. Thus, Kui has lost its instrumental vitality and has fallen into a position without power. Mohanty (2010) points out that a lack of legal and official status, in addition to general neglect and marginalisation from the domains of power have all contributed to the birth of inequality in Indian multilingualism.

Statistical data presented by the Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2013) reflects this unequal status distribution to be the main cause behind the decline in linguistic vitality of Indian languages (Mohanty 2010). Adapted from Lewis et al. (2013), figure 2.1. (below) presents the latest statistics on the status of language development, as opposed to language endangerment, in India:

Figure 2.1. Language Status in India

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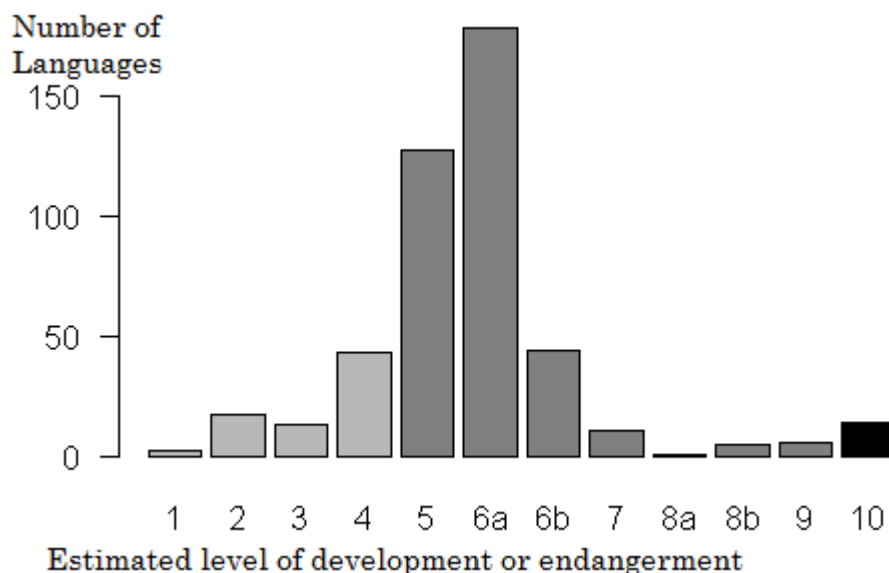
In this graph, the vertical axis illustrates the number of Indian languages estimated to be at either a level of development or endangerment (Lewis et al. 2013). As the graph illustrates, the highest number of languages is represented by the bar 6a. The Ethnologue identifies these languages to be in vigorous use across all generations. However, the languages classified under the bar 6a are neither standardised nor used at institutional level. As such, bar 6a indicates that the highest number of languages in India are lacking in institutional recognition and status, despite being greater in numbers.

In complete contrast, the bars 1-4 represent a much smaller number of languages and are those that are used at institutional level outside of the home and community (Lewis et al 2013). It is English and Hindi the two national languages of India and a significantly smaller number of languages that are categorised within bars 1-4. Hence, the Ethnologue captures the current trend where due to institutional support and official status, a smaller number of languages are contributing to the decline in the use and transmission of a much larger number.

One of the languages classified under bar 2 in this graph is Malayalam. It has statutory provincial status in India and is reported to be spoken by 33,000,000 speakers in India in their 2001 census (Lewis et al. 2013). As this is one of the main languages addressed in relation to the present study, its status and use in its region of origin will be discussed in the following section.

2.3.6. Malayalam

Being one of the four Dravidian languages alongside Telegu, Tamil and Kannada, Malayalam has its own script and literary history. The language is said to have at least three main regional dialects distinguishable in the North, Central and Southern parts of the State, alongside a number of communal dialects (Lewis et al. 2013). Within the educational sector, Malayalam is the twelfth most frequently taught language across the States of India (Meganathan 2011).

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In 2000, Malayalam was identified as one of the languages that fell into the 31st position in the list naming languages with the largest numbers of speakers in the world (Baker and Mohieldeen 2000 p.6) Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the figures represent the competent users of the named languages and therefore as Baker and Mohieldeen (2000) point out, these figures can be misleading for as soon as the number of second-language users of the said languages are added, the status of the languages change.

Whilst Malayalam is believed to be the one Dravidian language which has most been influenced by Sanskrit, as the official language in Kerala it is used in Government, commerce and media. The Language materials project (UCLA n.d.) further claims that within this South Western State itself, over one hundred newspapers, more than two hundred weekly periodicals, and a staggering five hundred monthly journals are published. The project further claims that the most widely distributed newspaper in India is written in Malayalam indicating the large Malayali readership in the country at large. This proliferation of the printed media can only reflect the literacy rate in the State.

Whilst Malayalam enjoys its regional status, the status of Hindi and English, especially in the education system of the country, also extends to Kerala. Discussing the three-language policy in the Indian school system, Meganathan (2011) reports that this was introduced in the 1950s with a view to addressing the inequalities that lay within India's multilingualism (Das Gupta and Sardesai 2010; Mohanty 2010). Accordingly, the policy proposed that all schools in India should teach either English or Hindi or both in non-Hindi speaking areas. As the national language of India, Hindi was introduced to the school curricula as a subject to be taught in non-Hindi speaking states including Kerala (Meganathan 2011). Referring to the general Indian perception of English, Meganathan (2011 p.6) writes 'today, every child and parent wants the language'. This motivation for acquiring English is reflected in the National Curriculum Framework report (2006 p.1) which reads 'English

in India today is a symbol of people's aspirations for quality in education and fuller participation in national and international life'.

This citation reflects the thinking of the present-day Indian. When the language policies were first introduced in the 1960s however, 'apprehension about the dominance of English (as a colonial language which signifies the master's language)' underpinned the regulations (Meganathan 2011 p.6). For instance, one regulation stipulated that English was not to be introduced earlier than class five and that each State had the power to decide when the language would be introduced during the middle stages of a child's education (Meganathan 2011 p.5). Hence, the very order in which languages were prescribed to be introduced to primary school children in which English did not take place of precedence indicated a wish by the policy makers to see languages native to the country become the children's first language.

Listing the entire first, second, third, classical and elective languages taught across all stages from primary to secondary schooling in different states, Meganathan (2011) says that in Kerala alone a total of 12 languages were offered at the time of data collection. These languages, namely Malayalam, Tamil, Kannada, Sanskrit, Hindi, English, Urdu, Arabic, French, Latin, Syriac and Russian include not only classical but also European and Middle Eastern languages (Meganathan 2011 p.8). Although the writer lists all such languages being taught across Indian States, he does not investigate or comment on the reasons for the inclusion of Middle Eastern languages for instance, as his discussion mainly surrounds the English language.

Nevertheless, it may be safe to conclude that with the introduction of Syriac Christianity and Islam by the Apostle St Thomas and Prophet Mohammed's disciple respectively, Syriac and Arabic may have proliferated in Kerala. Consequently, loan words from Syriac, Arabic and Portuguese have been identified in Malayalam and this in itself is suggestive of the vitality that the languages may have had in the linguistic make-up of the region for years. The inclusion of these languages in language policy formation reiterates this

further. Furthermore, as the language policies were written and implemented in the 1950s, it may be possible to postulate that the *instrumental* value of these languages may have heralded large numbers of Keralites migrating to the Gulf countries for employment. As Gardner and Lambert (1972) state, a language can be studied with an instrumental motive such as passing an examination or securing a job that has socio-economic benefits.

Looking at language instruction in India as a whole, Meganthan (2011 p.9) finds that in all thirty two States, Hindi and English were the two most frequently taught languages. The guidelines of the language policy within the Indian education system stipulated that the home language or the mother tongue of the pupils is taught as the first language at primary and upper primary levels. The education policy further stipulated that at secondary school level, the mother tongue, home language, the language of the region or the State can be offered as the first language. In Kerala where Malayalam is taught as a first language at primary and upper primary stages, it is English that is taught as the first language in secondary schools (Meganathan 2011). Thus, whilst Malayalam takes place of precedence at primary and upper primary levels, English is taught as a second language and Hindi is introduced as a third language to students in the upper primary level. Conversely, at secondary school Malayalam is taught as a second language alongside Tamil, Kannada, Sanskrit, Arabic, Urdu, Hindi, Syriac and French (Meganathan 2011 p.12). In his study, Meganathan (2011) also finds that of the 75 different languages found in India's education system, 31 are used as media of instruction (p.26). In relation to the media of instruction at the three levels of schooling in Kerala, Meganathan (2011 p.21) says that Malayalam, Kannada, English and Tamil were all used across the different levels of schooling.

Despite being a linguistically diverse nation, figure 2.1 suggests how the status of a few languages has contributed to the decline in the recognition of the majority of languages in India. The status of host languages in multilingual communities elsewhere in the world was observed to exert similar influence

over immigrant languages. Influenced by status, language choice therefore becomes a powerful means of ensuring the continuity or decline of a certain language. With this in mind, the next section of this chapter will explore status as well as other factors that affect language choice and alternation in multilingual countries, communities, homes, and individuals.

2.4. Language Choice and Alternation

Although bilingualism and multilingualism have been referred to as 'the norm rather than the exception in the world' (Aronin and Singleton 2010 p.1) and multilingual communities have been described as a global phenomenon (Hua 2008), Baker (2011) makes a valid statement in saying that in predominantly monolingual communities, using two languages may not constitute a *choice* for bilinguals. As hitherto explained, the discussion on the ethnolinguistic vitality of minority languages explored how linguistic heterogeneity within many societies and countries is affected and disguised by status which manifests in socio-cultural, economic and political spheres, as well as language ideologies. Nonetheless, when the use of two languages does become a possibility, the bilingual has a *choice* (Baker 2011). It is therefore bilingualism that makes language choice possible (Fishman 1965). Similarly, in situations in which those other than the speaker(s) in the conversation are also bilingual, the interlocutors can *alternate* between languages also known as code-switching (Baker 2011). Referring to the popularly acknowledged notion that extra-linguistic factors affect language choice, Wei (1994 p.10) notes that 'the key determinant for language choice is the interlocutor'. This notion that language use and choice are the outcome of individuals responding to other individuals has been discussed and examined by many a scholar including Hymes (1974) and Bell (1984). Returning to the terminology *code-mixing*, as Wardhaugh (1992) recognises, the term *code* designates neutrality and can be used synonymously with language or a variety of a language. 'The practice of alternately using two languages' (Weinreich 1953 p.5) was one of the first

definitions to *Language alternation* or code-switching. The meaning has since developed to specify the units within a conversation in which code-switching can take place as 'any switch within the course of a single conversation, whether at word or sentence level or at the level of blocks of speech' (Baker 2011). As language choice and the practice of code-switching have been studied from various premises within the domain of bi/multilingualism, they will be presented briefly along with research based in this field.

From a pragmatic perspective, scholars like Auer (1984) and Gafaranga (2005) place emphasis on the directionality of code-switching. Accordingly, in code-switching excerpts, language alternation is placed in patters using letters for languages and numbers for speakers. For example, in a pattern such as A1, B1, B2, B1, B2, language A is used by one of the two speakers once after which the two speakers switch to language B for the rest of the conversation. Hence, they identified code-switching as occurring within identifiable categories in which the focus was on examining the directionality of code-switching or from which language to which language alternation took place, the insertion of a single word to highlight its association with a particular culture and the process whereby the interlocutors find a common language. As sociolinguistic perspectives focus on the reasons behind the use of code-switching, these will be discussed at greater length in this section.

From a sociolinguistic angle, the premise within which this section is primarily based, Myers-Scotton (1993) views code-switching and the resulting language choice as mirroring the connection between language use and context. Milroy and Gordon (2003) decipher this interpretation by alluding to Spanish which could be the language of Business and English the language of the home in a predominantly Spanish speaking context. In his pioneering work in the field of domain analysis, Greenfield (1972) gives his participants from a Puerto Rican community in New York City a hypothetical situation identifying two factors relating to *topic* and *participants* and asks the research participants to choose the third factor or the domain they feel is most suitable for the given

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topic to be discussed between the identified participants. For instance, giving the participants a range of domains from the beach, church or home to the school, the scholar asks his participants to choose the context in which they would have a discussion on home-related issues with their parents. All the participants choose *home* as the domain. The researcher then requests that his participants allocate the languages they thought were suitable for a specific number of domains. Greenfield's (1972 p.23) data reveals that the participants use Spanish in the more informal and familiar settings such as the home and English in settings such as the church where there existed a difference in status between the interlocutors. Thus, in this study on domain-related language choice, speaker ideologies on interlocutor status and interactional goals come to the fore. As Wei and Hua (2010 p.161) explain in the following citation, if language ideology includes an individuals' notions on what language can do, it could be said that it is in fact the language ideologies of the multilingual speaker that contribute to the language choices made within a certain setting:

> Language ideology refers to the perceptions held by people about a specific language or languages in general, what language can do, and how language should be used.

It is therefore such understandings of the functional value of a certain code that determine the choice and eventual use of a certain language. Hence, throughout this discussion, the interconnectedness between context and attitudes as overlapping factors which influence language choice and alternation in multilingual communities will be reiterated.

Previous research in this field of enquiry, discusses how interactional goals and contextual aspects operate as interlocking determinants of code-switching in multilingual communities. By alternating from one language to another, a speaker essentially makes language choices. Consequently,

contextual factors that impact language alternation necessarily affect language choice (Fishman 2000). With the aim of presenting the nexus between language choice, alternation and context-related factors, Fishman (2000 p.89) refers to *intra group multilingualism* in which 'a single population makes use of two (or more) separate codes for internal communicative purposes' within a multilingual setting. In such intra group interactions, language choice can index 'group membership' (Fishman 2000 p.89). An individual's decision to use a particular language within his or her linguistic repertoire is therefore interpreted as the person's wish to claim kinship and receive acceptance within a certain group. Fishman (2000) elaborates, stating that in certain multilingual communities, 'certain languages in contrast to others are considered by particular interlocutors to be indicators of greater intimacy, informality, equality, etc.' (Fishman 2000 p.91). Language choice is hence presented by the scholar as having the capacity to contribute positively to the degree of formality in a relationship between two or more individuals. On this basis, Fishman (2000) proposes that the choice of a certain language is governed by the understanding that it has the capacity to achieve certain goals of its user.

It is not merely language choice but language alternation too is seen to be an indicator of a speaker's identities, values and attitudes (Myers-Scotton 1993; Gumperz 1982; Fishman 1965). Echoing the same notion, Wei (1998) presents the idea that code-switching essentially introduces a speaker's values into an interaction, which are negotiated throught to bring about new values.

Hua (2008) observes this negotiation of values in language alternation amongst multi-generrant immigrant Chinese communities in the UK. The main purpose of this study is to investigate the correlation between language alternation and the contesting of values within the cross- cultural context the three-generational participants find themselves in. Analysing bilingual talk in interactional data from families living in London, the North-West and North-East of England, Hua (2008) examines how language alternation is used to achieve interactional goals by the speakers. In the conversational data, Hua

(2008 p.1799) identifies *conflict talk* which the author defines as that which encompasses 'verbal interactions in which participants take alternative positions, whether reconcilable or mutually exclusive, on issues of common concern'. In relation to the socio-cultural factors that shape the nature of intergenerational conflict talk, the writer refers to how it reflects different life experiences on topics that are of common interest to the interactants concerned. In this manner Hua (2008) refers to the obvious yet crucially important factor that leads to differences in social values and perceptions in intergenerational talk, be they multilingual or monolingual families: the generation gap. Whilst acknowledging that 'social roles, power relationships, responsibilities and expectations can be useful in understanding the meaning of code switching in conversation', Hua (2008 p.1800) states that this association between language and social values is not always clear-cut and fixed.

Illustrating excerpts of conflict talk from mother and daughter conversations, Hua (2008) concludes that code-switching is carried out by each participant strategically. As a result, the scholar points out that the mother uses her native tongue Mandarin for specific acts such as stating and reiterating her stance, and English when responding to her daughter's challenges. Owing to the recurrence of episodes with similar linguistic behaviour, Hua (2008 p.1808) asserts that all her participants made use of language alternation as a 'linguistic resource to try and dominate the interaction, to establish and negotiate their positions and to oppose and challenge each other'. Thus, Hua (2008) illustrates how the power relationship between a parent and a child can be maintained or challenged with the use of code-switching as a linguistic tool of power. The study also suggests that in conflict talk, multilinguals do not necessarily rely on languages with societal status to maintain power relations. Instead, they seem to depend on the language they are most proficient in to maintain authority or a particular stance.

As these minority ethnic families consist of non-UK born adults and local-born children, the researchers observes what she calls an incongruity in the ideals and perceptions of the two generations as they adapt to the host country in which cultural values and practices are different to those that are familiar to the parents. Thus, Hua (2008 p.1811) concedes that 'language plays a critical role in the development of new family dynamics in diasporic families'. In essence, Hua (2008) reiterates that divergent socio-cultural factors are reflected through language alternation in multilingual, immigrant families.

The manner in which factors such as values and identity come in to effect in the language choices of multilinguals is also acknowledged by Esdahl (2010). The scholar (2010 p.80) accepts that 'values and relations created in the conversation become factors that can influence the language choice'. Esdahl (2010) believes that values and relations that are context-specific and indisputably intangible, fluid and ever-changing influence language choice and code-switching amongst multilingual speakers.

Despite being evaluated as ideologically and contextually loaded linguistic practices, Cashman (2008) reports how language alternation has nonetheless been considered to indicate a speaker's low proficiency in a language. As Wei and Moyer (2008) point out it is interesting that of the three different types of code-switching identified within linguistics, namely *inter-sentential, intra-sentential* and extra-*sentential* code-switching it is the second which refers to the production of two languages within a single sentence which is an indicator of an unbalanced bilingual with a low level of proficiency in one of the languages. Cashman (2008) stresses further that observed language practices of research participants cannot be always accepted as mirroring the actual language attitudes of the individuals under scrutiny. Explaining this postulation, Cashman (2008) writes that bilinguals who criticise code-switching are generally noted to code-switch in their own speech. Cashman's (2008) observation has been said to 'translate a deeply rooted monolingual linguistic ideology' (Gafaranga 2007 p.279).

Bono and Melo-Pfeifer (2011 p.291) address the notion that code-switching is an indicator of a speaker's inadequate competence in a language, writing that influential research on bilingual conversation (Auer 1995; Gumperz 1982; Myers-Scotton 1988) has conceded otherwise:

> (…) a change of language can also be a means to add subtlety to one's utterances, to draw attention to cross-cultural differences, to create emotional proximity, to remind other participants of one's stares as a foreigner, in short, to introduce a new layer of meaning in the conversation.

In brief, contesting the view that code-switching is a signifier of a person's incompetence in a language, the pragmatic value enmeshed within this language practice is accentuated by Bono and Melo-Pfeifer (2011).

Bono and Melo-Pfeifer (2011) address the pragmatic value of multilingual language practices whilst focusing on the communicative events that trigger language alternation amongst speakers. The two communicative events selected for their study are face-to-face conversations in Spanish as a third language and online chats in Romance languages between students of a French university. Following data analysis, the scholars find 'negotiation' to be a key determiner of successful multilingual communication. Whilst claiming that pragmatic and strategic competence is as important, Bono and Melo-Pfeifer (2011 p.291) write how the language choice made by a speaker 'is constantly subject to negotiation and the outcome of these negotiations is usually determinant in the way meaning is locally produced in multilingual contexts'. The writers thus reiterate that effective language communication is bound in a context-specific and participant- specific manner.

This study also refers to language alternation as a strategy that allows for the modification of meaning. For example, the research reveals that English is used by beginner level learners of Romance languages as a translation tool in

order to aid comprehension. Due to the recurrence of English in the conversational data that is observed despite the explicit instructions given to the students against the use of English, the writers ask 'wouldn't it be more sensible to embrace English as an important asset in the learners' repertoire than to try to work "against it"?' Whilst highlighting the status of English in international communication and the fact that language learners, especially those from mainland Europe, are far more familiar with English than any other foreign language, the scholars claim that it should be regarded as a tool that facilitates, aids and contributes to the language learning process.

The work of Canagarajah (2007) features prominently within the body of literature that addresses the immigrant multilingual speaker from a Second Language Acquisition (henceforth SLA) perspective and examines both language acquisition as well as use by users of English as a Lingua Franca (henceforth ELF). ELF users are those who do not share a single mother language and therefore adopt English as a common language (Seidlhofer 2005; Crystal 2003). In relation to language acquisition and proficiency, Canagarajah (2007) dismisses the belief that the target of multilinguals is reaching the norms of an already 'standardised' variety of English, Canagarajah (2007 p.927) writes that multilinguals are developing their own norms in a context-specific manner. Furthermore, speaking of the place assigned to 'form' in Lingua Franca communication, Canagarajah (2007 p.928) states that this is determined by context and participants. Discussing the variable nature of Lingua Franca English, Canagarajah (2007 p.926) states the way in which users will draw upon other languages and varieties of English for lexical items, 'grammatical patterns and discourse conventions'. Studies in SLA have shown ways that multilingual communication speakers draw language resources from their first or second languages. Thus, cross-linguistic influence is a key characteristic that makes multilingual communication similar to Lingua franca communication. The speakers of Lingua Franca English are inevitably multilinguals and it therefore seems inevitable that this feature would be

discernible in both types of communication and consequently that the observations discussed by Canagarajah (2007) are, in my opinion, applicable to multilinguals in a generic sense.

As language choice and alternation are considered in relation to the participants of the present study, a selection of literature that discusses notions of identity, status and/or power of speakers, language and other contextual aspects to be key contributory factors in these language practices will be discussed.

2.4.1. Language Choice, Alternation and Identity

Reflecting on how exposure to different cultures shapes identity, Sparrow (2000 p.190) refers to himself 'not as a unified cultural being but as a communion of different cultural beings'. In saying this, Sparrow acknowledges that an individual can develop multiple cultural identities for oneself by experiencing different cultures that he or she will draw on according to the needs of the situation. It may be correct to assume that Sparrow's perception is applicable to many an immigrant, or even to one who has travelled internally within a culturally diverse country. An immigrant multilingual group whose bilingual practices provide insight into notions of identity are the Chinese communities living across the world. The linguistic repertoires of Chinese communities living in the diaspora most often comprise two languages both of which have the highest numbers of first language speakers in the world at large: namely Mandarin Chinese and English (Lewis et al. 2013). Therefore, the immigrant Chinese users employ two languages with power and recognition. The linguistic make-up of the immigrant, multilingual Chinese community therefore continues to receive notable attention from scholars working within different strands of linguistics, e.g.Williams, 2005 and Wei, 1994.

Williams (2005) researches the role of identity and its connection with code-switching amongst ethnically Chinese families living in the San Francisco Bay of the United States, which exhibits one of the highest urban

concentrations of this East Asian immigrant population. One of the main aims of the project is to identify how the American-born and foreign-born participants differ in their language use and how that in turn reflects their sense of ethnic identity. The researcher describes the American-born Chinese participants to be second-generation Chinese and the foreign-born participants as those who were born outside of the United States and had migrated to the country as children. The researcher finds all the participants to be either university graduates or studying at university level. In relation to the participants' command of the English language, the researcher states that all were fluent in the language even though the term *fluency* is not defined for the purpose of the study. To gather the data from these young Chinese American bilinguals between the ages of 18-35, Williams (2005) adopts questionnaires, interviews and ethnographic observations.

On the basis of the self-report data from the participants, the researcher assumes to find significant differences in the language practices and the association of ethnic identity between the two generations. The questionnaire data points to a notable difference in the extent to which the two groups of Chinese Americans use Mandarin or Cantonese Chinese at home. Whilst the foreign-born Chinese reported using Chinese in the domestic context rather extensively, the American-born Chinese used more English. However, this pattern of language choice was reported in relation to the participants' interactions with their parents only. Both groups reported using more Chinese with their grandparents, whilst admitting that they code-switched with parents, siblings and Chinese-speaking friends. A further similarity reported by the scholar is that English was used with non-Chinese speakers, which goes without saying. Consequently, Williams (2005) concludes that there were more similarities than differences between the two groups of participants and draws a parallel between her findings with the language practices of Chinese immigrants in Tyneside, England as reported by Wei (1994). These findings

therefore related to the interlocutor within the home domain being a determiner of language choice.

In relation to the ethnic identity that the participants associated themselves with and the degree to which they participated in community events, similar results were seen for both groups in the questionnaire responses. Williams (2005) therefore notes the inconsistency between the qualitative data, which suggests the language practices and identity of the participants to be significantly different, and the quantitative data which implies otherwise. Addressing this discrepancy, the writer explains that the degree of usage or higher proficiency in Chinese or English, does not necessarily indicate that the participants identify themselves more closely with the ethnicity associated with one of the two languages. She believes that her mixed-method approach to data collection produced results that focus on two aspects of identity. According to Williams (2005) the questionnaire responses indicate the participants' perceptions of themselves as belonging to a certain ethnic group such as Chinese, American or Chinese American. The qualitative data from the interviews and observations signals that their language and community practices 'can make the participants feel or appear more Chinese or American or Chinese American' (Williams 2005 p.2355). In brief, the quantitative and qualitative data yields the participants' perceptions of themselves and how they are perceived by society in general. Williams (2005 p.2349) concludes that 'identity is fluid and socially constructed in many ways'. Reflecting on the generational differences reported by the participants, Williams (2005 p.2355) suggests that even though the differences between American-born and foreign-born participants in terms of language use, community practices and identity are not that significant, certain practices such as their dress code and language ability 'do mark the two groups as different from each other'. Although Williams does not discuss this at length, what the study highlights is that the country of birth does not necessarily

result in substantial variations in the cultural and language practices of the two generations in this minority ethnic multilingual community.

Moving away from the multilingual immigrant, the relationship between language choice and identity has also been explained in relation to diglossia where the speakers are native to a given context. *Diglossia* has been defined as the relationship between two or more varieties of the same language as they are used in different functions within a speech community (Ferguson 1959). In Diglossic situations, the *High* variety is associated with education, religion and other domains of high culture, whilst the *Low* variety is used at home and lower work spheres. In effect, speakers are given the choice between two varieties that are associated with two levels of prestige. Collecting conversational data, Blom and Gumperz (2000) explore speaker awareness of standard as opposed to local dialects and their associations with identity amongst the residents of Hemnesberget in Northern Norway. The two varieties examined in relation to the residents of this town are Ranamål, a dialect of prestige to Northern Norway, and 'Bokmål, one of the two standard languages recognised by Norwegian law. With reference to the understanding that the two varieties are recognized as distinct, the scholars write this 'does not necessarily mean that their separateness is marked by significant linguistic differences' (2000 p.113). As such, the researchers ask the informants to produce words, sentences, and texts in the dialect as well as in the standard language. The collected data confirms the authors' initial postulation that the dialect was a distinct linguistic entity from the standard language. The scholars observe further that the members of this region never mix the two languages and speak one language at a time.

The participants' use of the two varieties for different social functions also indicated the notions of identity and group membership as previously discussed in relation to Fishman (2000). Blom and Gumperz (2000 p.135) contextualise this finding by reporting that the locals of the town used the standard variety with strangers who were outsiders to their community and

with whom 'meanings of officiality, expertise, and politeness' needed to be conveyed. However, 'in private gatherings where people meet as equals and natives' using the standard variety indicated 'social dissociation' (Blom and Gumperz 2000 p.135). Therefore, the scholars find that the use of the native variety signified the speakers' local identity for the 'native speaker mindful of the association between dialect, local culture and local identity' was 'anxious to present his locality in the best possible light' (Blom and Gumperz 2000 p.112).

Hence, in this diglossic context, use of the standard or the native variety is determined by the level of formality with the addressee or interlocutor, the intended outcome of the interaction and the identity the speaker wishes to associate himself or herself with.

From within a sociolinguistic perspective, language choice and alternation has therefore been identified as a means of communicating language ideologies and as way of achieving interactional goals within multilingual contexts. Signalling identity and group membership were two of the interactional goals highlighted in the discussion so far. The interactional motives of bilingual practices have also been addressed in terms of challenging, exerting and maintaining power relations between speakers, especially in terms of intra-family discourse.

2.4.2. Language Choice, Alternation and Power

Brown and Gilman (1960 p.254) define *power* to be 'a relationship between at least two persons, and it is non-reciprocal in the sense that both cannot have power in the same area of behaviour'. The notion that *power* cannot be shared and that inequality is ingrained within it is conveyed in this definition. The significance of the quoted definition is that even though it is, in a sense, a generic interpretation to the term, it can quite easily be applied to the power relations arising in monolingual as well as multilingual communication. In spoken discourse, when two speakers contend for power, conflict arises.

Bi/ multilinguals have at their disposal more than one code or language which can be used as a means of exerting or displaying authority, writes Esdahl (2010 p.80). When Esdahl (2010 p.80) concedes language choice to be a bilingual power tool, having operational skills in multiple languages is viewed as a pragmatic strategy employed by bi/ multilinguals intentionally or unconsciously to their advantage. In relation to bilingual language use and power, it is recognised that the ability to use more than a single language does not spontaneously allow an interlocutor to exercise power over another. The additional element that allows a speaker to contest power relations in multilingual discourse is explained by Pandit (1977 p.134), who states that the languages used 'often signify expression of identities and attitudes and more importantly different power relationships between the languages'. Thus, it is the language being used and its level of status or recognition at societal, national or international level that ultimately determines whether or not it can be used as a source of power. Esdahl (2010 p.80) restates the same notion when he writes that 'the effectiveness of a power motivated language choice may depend on the difference in status between the two languages'.

The implication in this citation is that language choice can influence the power relations between users given that an unbalanced status distribution exists between the languages in use. As the literature has addressed so far, and has been demonstrated within this section, the immigrant multilingual speaker is most often one for whom the language with status is English in many, though not all, cases. For many immigrant multilinguals, English is also a second or foreign language. The notion that the status ascribed to certain languages can encourage language alternation has not however, deterred researchers from acknowledging that other socio-cultural factors may also affect power relations. For example, in immigrant multilingual Chinese communities, it has already been suggested that members do not necessarily use the language with societal status to challenge power relations as outlined in Hua's (2008) research. The nexus between language and power, and the

manifestation of the two at different levels is aptly phrased by Talbot et al. (2003 p.1) as follows:

> Language is crucial in articulating, maintaining, and subverting existing relations of power in society, both on global, national, and institutional levels and in the local level of interpersonal communication.

Talbot et al. (2003) seem to assert that language is a medium by which power dichotomies are reflected or brought to the fore. Referring to the Foucauldian conceptualisation of power, the writers (2003) elaborate that power is not a monolithic phenomenon that emanates from one source. In contrast, power stems from multiple dimensions such as class, race, gender, ethnicity, generation, sexuality, occupation and subculture, according to the authors. Furthermore, whilst stating that individuals are the carriers of power as articulated by Foucault (1980 p.98) the writers refer to 'resistance, contestation, and struggle' as the 'accompaniments of power' to elaborate on the fact that power is not a one-way process (Talbot et al. 2003 p.2).

In Foucault's (1980) conceptualisation of power and language, the variables of age and gender are emphasised as factors that shape and inform the nature of the outcome (s). Esdahl (2003) explores gender-related differences in language choice and alternation as an instrument of power. In this investigation, all interactions are considered to be conflicts of power in which 'linguistic resources can be used as tools' (Esdahl 2003 p.79). Whilst the power associated with a certain language is perceived by Esdahl (2003 p.80) to be predetermined by social factors, he points out that this power may be challenged according to the gender of the language users:

> The difference in linguistic behaviour between men and women
> is a phenomenon which has been described by classical feminist

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sociolinguistics as a power relation. Men are seen as suppressors, being assertive and competitive. Women, on the other hand, are seen as complacent and cooperative.

Esdahl (2003) explains how these stereotypical notions of verbal behaviour as associated with the two sexes are carried on by the younger generations through the process of acculturation and socialisation. The scholar identifies the parents as the role models from whom children receive knowledge of how gender differences are stereotyped by society. Emulating the language use and behaviour of their parents, children portray their identity as boys or girls (Esdahl 2003).

Studying language choice and alternation patterns in the interactional data of Turkish-Danish seventh graders, the scholar finds that there is a significant change in the use of the two languages in single-gender and mixed-gender interactions when compared to language use during grades 1-6. As a consequence, Esdahl (2003) asserts that language choice and alternation are not only determined by the status of the language, but also by situation, and more importantly by gender-related language ideologies.

Looking at power from the multiple dimensions that Talbot et al. (2003) refer to, Mayor (2004) focuses on a Spanish-English family with a British-born father, Mexican-born mother and 14 year old male twins. The primary objective of this research is to take into account not merely the issue of gender, but also intergenerational factors in investigating language alternation as a power tool. Claiming that the language practices of the larger community do not always affect or influence family language practices, Mayor (2004) refers to her family under study as a 'linguistic island' in which the linguistic practices of the members are informed by internal factors such as power relations.

Reporting her findings from video data, Mayor (2004 p.420) writes how the teenagers 'strategically used their command of the two languages to signal new themes of defiance' and even to challenge existing power relations. Mayor

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(2004) lays emphasis on gender and the way in which it manifests itself in their linguistic behaviour when the teenagers attempt to adopt the language associated with their father to establish themselves as different to their mother. The researcher likens the interactions in the family to a 'fencing match' (Mayor 2004 p.191) as the adolescents challenge and at times submit to parental values, regularly employing code-switching strategically as a tool of power. The outcomes of this research subsequently places greater significance on gender, rather than on the status of English or Spanish.

Mayor's (2004) study does not however, explore how the children's' linguistic behaviour is responded to by the parents. For example, as Mayor (2004) points out, the children submit to their parents' values and practices at times. If the writer had addressed how the parents achieve submission from their children and retain their place of authority, the outcomes of this research may have proven significantly more elucidating.

Similar to gender, generation is another variable that has caught the attention of scholarly activity on bilingual language practices and power. As this chapter has already addressed the multi-generational immigrant multilingual family in relation to language maintenance and shift (Hua 2008; Wei 1994), the following section will discuss power-dynamics in intergenerational multilingual talk.

2.5. The Multi-generational Multilingual Family and Power

In the 1970s amidst an increased interest in the interrelationship between gender, power and language practices, the 'deficit framework' (Ardener 1975; Lakoff 1973) portrayed women as inferior to men in the domain of language use. This framework originated from the belief that differences in language ability between the sexes were connected to institutionalised patriarchy (Pavlenko et al 2001 p.19). Reflecting a similar notion was the 'linguistic lag' hypothesis (Stevens 1986) in the field of multilingualism which claimed that minority women were less bilingual than their male counterparts. According to

Pavlenko et al (2001 p.24), when taken as a 'system of social relations and discursive practices', gender has traditionally been seen as determining access to majority language education and the workplace. Accordingly, viewing females as the bearers of children, as financially dependent and as being restricted from attending mixed-gender classes and bound by similar culture-specific practices have all contributed to immigrant women being marginalised from accessing linguistic resources (Blackledge 2001).

The deficit framework was duly critiqued for upholding a 'male-as norm language standard' (Pavlenko et al. 2001 p.18) and new theories that were more aligned with changing social and gender roles began to emerge. On the one hand, multilingual immigrant communities such as the Indians and Pakistanis who arrived in Britain during the 1960s and the early 1970s established community associations and places of worship (Vertovec 2007 p.1027) that would uphold heritage cultural and patriarchal values. However, in increasingly diversifying multicultural societies, country of origin and ethnicity were not the only defining characteristics of immigrants for often overlooked variables such as immigration status (Vertovec 2007 p.1025) reflected the actual diversity as well as the socio-economic mobility of first-generation immigrant women. For instance, As Vertovec (2007) rightly points out, women in certain immigrant groups such as the Indian nurses have been the principal migrants because of whom their spouses and children have been able to follow suite.

Consequently, researchers in multilingualism such as Holmes (1993) and Gal (1978) claimed that owing to their level of education and linguistic repertoires women are at times more bilingual and even the agents of language shift. For instance, in a study of Austrian-Hungrian peasant community, Gal (1978) demonstrated how women led language shift from Hungarian to German in order to break away from their subordinate position within their own community. Thus, post structuralism problematized the unquestioned

'masculinities' and 'femininities' and thereby presented gender roles as being 'socially constructed, fluid, and variable' (Teutsch-Dwyer 2001 p.175).

With this in mind, this concluding section of the literature review begins with an examination of the status of the Malayali women in India with a view to presenting the socio-cultural and economic factors that have paved the way for their social mobility within a conventionally patriarchal society. This examination will be followed by a look at the status and power dynamics found within immigrant Malayali families in Ireland. This section will conclude with an exploration of the effects bilingual practices in immigrant multilingual families have on intergenerational status and power relations.

2.5.1. Status and Power in the Malayali Family in Kerala

The homeland of the Malayali is the South Western belt of the Indian subcontinent known as Kerala. On the basis of their geographical origin, the people of this region are referred to as *Keralites*. However, they are also known by the appellation *Malayali*, owing to their State language Malayalam. In education, women of Kerala have been referred to as possessing the highest literacy rate when compared with women in other Indian States (Eapon and Kodoth 2003). In the employment sector, whilst the women in Kerala are largely nursing staff, the men engage in various sectors of business and agriculture. This career choice made by Kerala women has brought about mass migration of Keralites to Gulf nations, Singapore, Malaysia and further afield to the USA and the UK.

The socio-cultural make up of Kerala is also steeped in the historical matrilineal system that disintegrated in the twentieth century. It is useful to give a brief introduction to this system to understand whether or not the present-day Kerala woman has inherited any of the rights and privileges their predecessors enjoyed under the matrilineal system. Customarily, according to Hindu law, women did not have the right to inherit land. However, due to the

matriarchal system in Kerala women are said to have headed households and become landowners. They had the right to end an unsatisfactory marriage and divorcees as well as the widowed were permitted to remarry. Thus, even though the Kerala woman are said to have enjoyed more status than their counterparts in other parts of the country, the system has slowly collapsed allowing the patrilineal system to re-enter the family system in the State. There is also widespread scepticism around whether the matrilineal system was, in fact, practised in actuality, especially since the patrilineal system took over without any great resistance (Eapon and Kodoth 2003).

Despite this shift and notwithstanding the debate as to whether a matrilineal system in its purest form ever did exist in practice, its positive effects on the later generations of women are spoken of to this day. For instance Patil (2011) echoes the general consensus that the Kerala woman had access to education and was never thought of as a liability by her parents owing to the progressive way of thinking introduced with the matrilineal system. Patil's reference to a female as being considered a burden conveys a strong message about the way in which the female child was viewed in the traditional patrilineal family in India. Thus, even though the present-day Keralite woman may in fact enjoy equal status with her male counterparts within educational and professional spheres, her place and level of power within the home may quite possibly be similar to that of a female within a traditional patriarchal joint family. The traditional Indian joint family comprises several married couples and their children living within a single household. The men are related by blood whilst the women are the wives and the unmarried daughters, according to Mandelbaum (1948).

There is widespread agreement that the dawn of the twenty-first century has brought no significant changes to the patriarchal family structure within Indian society in which women are assigned the tasks of child-bearing, rearing and housekeeping. In such households, 'the word of the man is *law*' says Kaul (2012 p.256). Nonetheless, Kaul posits that with socio-economic mobility,

women have received recognition within professional spheres which is challenging the conventional patriarchal family system.

In spite of this, the International Broadcasting Network for Kerala (2012), reporting on the survey results carried out by the matrimonial services 'Malayaleeshaadi.com' on young Malayalis from both sexes, reveal that the participants expressed a preference for living in joint families after marriage. The reasons behind this preference ranged from added security to having the option of sharing household expenses. Whilst the report does not elaborate on whether the respondents referred to financial security or some other form of security, these results raise the question of whether gender-based power relations in South Asian joint families are accepted as the norm by the locals.

To an Indian who has been brought up and had undergone the process of socialisation within the country, the hierarchical system within the joint family is the *norm*. According to this hierarchical frame-work, in terms of seniority of age, the elders hold the authority over juniors (Singh 2014 Forthcoming; Gupta 1978). Amongst peers, the men rank above the women. The mother of a household is in charge of a daughter-in-law, who must behave and conduct herself under the authority of the daughters of the house. In brief, amongst the adult members of a family, it is a daughter-in-law who holds the least power. If this hierarchy still exists, the fact that the modern Indian woman from Kerala prefers living within a joint family may seem somewhat difficult to comprehend for the non-Indian 'outsider'. If the modern Indian woman is in favour of the joint family system (Sharma 1990) it may mean that this system of hierarchy, may not be as difficult or as challenging to live within as it first appears. As mentioned previously, the Indian female is brought up amongst these cultural practices and value systems, so that by the time she is of a marriageable age, the prospect of living as a member of an extended family would seem the next natural step to take.

As explained in this section, when employment opportunities arise, Keralite women most often travel abroad, joined by their partners and

children. As the Malayali families of the present study are based in the UK, a recent research that looks at Malayali families in Ireland will be examined. Whilst Percot's (2012) research, discussed in the following section does not tackle language practices, this became the only ethnographic study related to status and power relations in the immigrant Malayali families that the literature search produced. As suggested in the introductory chapter, there remains a scarcity of literature that examines the language practices of immigrant Malayali families. Consequently, the next section is based primarily on this single study of Malayali families in Ireland.

2.5.2. Status and Power in the Malayali Family in the British Isles

During the colonial era, the first Malayali women to migrate to Africa, Malaysia and Singapore were Christian nurses. In the 1970s the Malayali Christian males encouraged their women to seek work particularly in the Middle East. This trend was propelled by the belief that it would result in the improvement of women's education and job training in Kerala (Kurien 2002). Nevertheless, as higher status became associated with the non-working housewife, migrants began to discourage their daughters from pursuing a career in nursing. Consequently, Kurien (2002) notes that it was the women who could not afford a college education that remained in the nursing profession.

Thus, both economically and socially, the immigrant nurse hailing from Kerala came with a stigma attached to their very profession. Percot (2012) who researches the immigrant Malayali families in Ireland reports the way in which the Malayali nurses are now being viewed as an *asset* by potential grooms. Traditionally, the matrimonial market in India did not present nurses in a favourable light. However, at present Percot (2012) reports that on matrimonial websites nurse are in high demand and form a group that is viewed with great popularity by prospective grooms. The reason for this is that

nurses ' tend to represent the key to the Western dream for loads of young men belonging to the Christian Malayali middle class' (Percot, 2012, p.1) and for whom there are no prospects in their own country.

Following her visits to nursing schools in Kerala and Delhi, Percot (2012) finds that the Kerala women enter the nursing profession with the motive of going abroad. Therefore, the researcher writes that the majority of the student nurses she spoke to in the nursing schools were hoping to migrate upon completion of their nursing qualifications (Percot 2012 p.3).

Kerala men are often belittled and critiqued by the media (Percot 2012 p.4) as a result of their dependence on their wives, who not only pave the way for them to migrate, but who also become the breadwinners in the family. Their masculinity is thus undermined and mocked:

> (…) their wives are supposed to have a full control on them, reversing the "normal" role.

The writer presents the circumstances that lead to this role-reversal in the Kerala marriages. Even though men are sent to expensive English-medium schools, upon graduation with a Diploma men soon face the reality of unemployment. As such, entering in to a marriage with a Christian nurse who has the potential to change their future through migration seem like the only favourable option available to them. For those who migrate to the Persian Gulf, finding work as plumbers or mechanics is not too challenging, according to Percot (2012). What Percot (2012) is intrigued by is why these families migrate to Western countries with the knowledge that finding work would be much more difficult especially due to the 'language barrier'. The interviews conducted with her participants reveal two reasons: the ease with which the children can be sent to public schools and the opportunity to gain a new citizenship that would allow greater freedom of travel.

Migration to Western countries has brought new roles and responsibilities for the Kerala husbands. As is the case for most families migrating with young children, they struggle to afford child care facilities. Therefore, Percot's (2012) participants claim that the husbands adjust their work patterns because the wives have permanent contracts and better salaries.

Having gathered ethnographic data from Malayali families based in Ireland, Percot (2012) is therefore able to present a realistic picture of the daily struggles of a Malayali husband and father. Their insecurities, coupled with the sense of feeling unvalued and unrecognised in female-dominated households are all powerfully conveyed in the researcher's discussions with the Malayali husbands. Even those who had secured work in the hospitals in which their wives were nurses, felt a sense of inferiority to be in positions that were subordinate to those of their wives. To illustrate this, Percot (2012 p.8) presents the following segment from an interview with a Malayali husband:

> It is not possible to be in a position where your wife can be giving you orders because she is a nurse and you are a nobody. You know how it is in Kerala, that is not the way.

In this excerpt, Percot's (2012) participant expresses his thoughts on the fact that the traditional system of patriarchy has been destabilised in their new setting of Ireland. His rather direct and bold statement that the father is still the head of the household in India encapsulates the idea that he no longer associates patriarchy with his present country of residence.

As has already been discussed in this chapter, it is not merely socio-economic factors that can destabilise status and power relations. With this in mind, the manner in which bilingual practices of multilingual immigrant families affect family hierarchy will be addressed in the ensuing sections.

2.5.3. Generation, Power and Conflict Talk

Defining conflict talk, Leung (2002 p.3) associates this concept with 'the central idea that participants take alternative positions on the same issue (whether reconcilable or mutually exclusive)'. Leung (2002 p.5) concedes argument to be a 'response-centred' event and given the unpredictability attached to an addressee's response, the scholar argues that an outcome of a conflict is non-linear and by no means fixed. Leung (2002 p.6) claims that this lack of structure within conflict talk makes the task of analysing such data complex when he states that 'one of the most analytically challenging aspects of conflict talk is that once an episode begins, it can follow a bewildering array of trajectories'.

Leung's (2002) assertion on the difficulty of analysing conflict talk resonates with Maynard (1985) who examines the initiation of arguments between children acknowledging that the opposition could be verbal or non-verbal. The researcher attributes opposition to either an action or utterance as the cause behind the initiation of arguments. Maynard's (1985) participants consisting of fifty-four elementary school children representing a similar number of male and female children are videotaped during their reading sessions. The children are from Caucasian middle class families, and are native English speakers. After identifying episodes of argument, they are transcribed for further examination. The writer concludes that opposition not only leads to an argument, but can also be found at the closing of a disagreement. He further explains that an opposition does not necessarily bring forth an argument; during interactions amongst children, the response, or the absence of it, would mean that the opposition would merely stop at that point with no further outcome. Maynard's (1985) findings therefore illustrate the difficulty in analysing conflict talk which Leung (2002 p.3) reiterates stating that 'it does not restrict itself to a single speech act nor a single turn sequence nor a single topic of contention'.

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Leung's (2002) assertion may be applicable to conflict talk irrespective of age, gender or any other factor by which one chooses to define the speakers: when conflict talk occurs within natural speech is never scripted, pre-determined or planned in advance. Talk and the route it takes is determined by a plethora of factors, whether physical, psychological or socio-cultural and their effect on the speakers at a given time and location.

Despite the difficulties in defining conflict talk, it has in no way deterred scholars from making it a focal area of research and investigation. The very term *conflict* carries with it questions and issues regarding its multi-layered connotations on the severity of the spoken discourse being referred to. Leung (2002 p.1) refers to conflict talk as a strand of spoken discourse that has not received favourable attention within most disciplines, and comments on this as being commonly viewed as 'destructive, disruptive, hostile and aggressive behaviour'. This perception of conflict talk would suggest a failure to recognise it as a form of interaction that could be applied to and studied along a continuum which may range from mild to aggressive confrontational discourse. However, such perceptions on conflict talk do not in any way form a consensus, for research in to this field has been carried out in both monolingual and multilingual contexts.

One of the major areas of interest in such studies that places focus on the element of spontaneity within conflict talk, proceeds from the observation that conflict talk is 'a cooperative endeavour achieved by two (or more) participants' (Leung 2002 p.6). In particular, researchers using conversation analytical methodology have shown how the 'natural' structure of interaction promotes the continuation of conflict talk. Other researchers have considered the linguistic resources that interlocutors have at their disposal, as well as non-linguistic variables such as goals and contextual or social constraints, such as power and status.

In relation to literary precedents, Vuchinich's (1990) ethnographic study of dinner time talk of sixty-four families in the USA deserves mention

primarily due to the intra-family conversations are collected within the domestic context. Defining conflict talk as a speech activity that occurs with participants opposing the 'utterances, actions, or selves of one another in successive turns', Vuchinich (1990 p.118) also identifies a conflict to end with those involved moving on to another activity. Whilst acknowledging that conflict talk may involve two or more interlocutors, Vuchinich (1990) focuses on dyadic disagreements in which a third person may or may not become involved.

To analyse his data, Vuchinich (1990) adopts a conflict termination format that includes a number of predictable outcomes to a disagreement. The first of these is the *stand-off*, which can occur when a conflict is dropped without any kind of resolution. According to the researcher, *submission* is achieved through dominance, whilst a verbal or non-verbal *assent* can be the third possiblity. Another pattern of submission is commonly seen within family settings where the intervention of a third party or more specifically a parent, can bring the conflict to an end. Another conflict termination format is the *compromise* which is the outcome of offering a concession. A compromise may indicate a willingness to close a debate, but not necessarily an acceptance of defeat or submission by the parties involved (Vuchinich 1990 p.128). The final format is the *withdrawal* which occurs when one disputant is too upset to continue with the argument and physically removes himself or herself from the location.

Vuchinich's (1990 p.136) data shows that almost half of the observed submissions took place in 'across-generation conflicts'. Elaborating on this outcome, the researcher explains that in 85% of these submissions observed across-generations, the participant from the younger generation was observed to submit to the older generation member. At this point, the writer rightly mentions that this finding is far from surprising as 'parents usually wield power in families' (Vuchinich 1990 p.136). Thus, Vuchinich (1990 p.118) concludes that 'verbal conflicts are arenas for displays of power and affect'.

2.5.4. Generation, Power and Role-reversals

In relation to family hierarchy, be they multilingual or monolingual, Boxer (2002 p.6) concedes that 'children can have power despite lacking status; parents can lack power despite having status'. Consequently, in multi-generational families, the conventional roles, status, and power of children, parents and grandparents have been observed to change when the older generations are first generation migrants (Canagarajah 2008; Hua 2008).

Interested in the multilingual Tamil migrant families living in North America, the UK and Canada, Canagarajah (2008) adopts a qualitative approach to collecting and analysing intra-family conversations. Canagarajah's (2008) study reveals how differences in host language proficiency contribute to the subversion of traditional power relations in these immigrant families. Hence, one emerging theme in Canagarajah's (2008 p.163) research is the correlation between proficiency in English and the resulting reversal of roles within the family networks:

> This father of a young son goes on to explain that the lack of proficiency in the dominant variety of English is treated by children as a mark of their parents' social ineptness and cultural alienation. This perception leads to ridicule and insult. The elders find their authority and status challenged.

Canagarajah (2008) goes on to explain that children who acquire accents local to the host countries, may see their parents' accents typically identified with Sri Lankan English, as a sign of incompetence. The immigrant children therefore feel empowered when they detect the 'locally valued accent' (Canagarajah 2008 p.163) missing in their elders' English.

As Canagarajah's (2008) participants report, the older generation were subject to ridicule as they failed to conform phonetically to the locally

acknowledged linguistic practices of the community they found themselves in when the research was carried out. Therefore, the researcher finds that these local English features that the children had acquired, influence the parents in such a way that there was a tendency for the older generation to 'adopt local English features' following their arrival in Western countries (Canagarajah 2008 p.162). The very fact that the parents attempt to adapt their English language use phonetically signals the extent to which they were affected by the children's' reaction to their Sri Lankan accents. The parents who were already bilingual at the time of leaving Sri Lanka were therefore able to adopt and attempt to emulate local accents. However, there was another group of parents and grandparents within this immigrant group who were unable to do so. The scholar detects a role reversal in these families, especially where the elders were not proficient in English. Furthermore, the parents' inability to directly deal with 'social and institutional transactions' meant that the chances of them being misinformed by their English speaking children were high (Canagarajah 2008 p.163). What is more, 'the mere fact that they were not proficient in English made them vulnerable to children's insult, if not outright rejection' reports the scholar (2008 p.163). The parents' lack of proficiency in English which enjoys a far more privileged and superior position than their native language leads to their status and power within family being challenged- they are subsequently looked down on by the children within the family.

Canagarajah's (2008) observations imply that neither the children nor their parents attach any discernible significance to the heritage language of the older generation. The scholar notes that even though the Sri Lankan Tamil communities in the diaspora take great pride in the fact that they have opportunities to teach their children dance and music that have their origin in Sri Lanka, they do not express similar sentiments, or wish for their children to learn and maintain the heritage languages (Canagarajah 2008 p.168).

A similar language shift is reported by Asia Harvest (2013) in relation to the large numbers of Malayalis who have settled in Malaysia for employment

purposes. The younger generation Malayalis in these families are losing their parents' heritage language according to the source (2013 p.78). Nevertheless, in relation to celebrating cultural festivals, the Malayalis organise and participate in festivals of Indian Hindus like Deepavali as well as traditional festivals based on Malayali legends. What these Sri Lankan Tamil and Indian Malayali diasporic communities display is an enthusiasm for practicing and maintaining certain heritage cultural elements whilst disregarding others, such as language. As Asia Harvest (2013) does not present the reasons behind this observed lack of interest in maintaining heritage languages, it is difficult to get a fuller picture of the factors contributing to this perceived language discontinuity.

According to Canagarajah (2008) the immigrant adults in the Sri Lankan Tamil communities do not actively condone the learning and use of their native languages amongst the younger generations growing up in the US. Nor do they attempt to address the insults and the resulting challenges to their authority directed at them by the children. Although Canagarajah (2008) does not raise this point, the language practices and attitudes of this multilingual immigrant community show that the parents, similar to their children, believe the local variety to have prestige and status. Hence, the children who do not observe their elders attaching any sense of status to the heritage languages or to the varieties of Sri Lankan English, choose to devalue these codes and their users. In essence, Canagarajah's (2008) research carries many implications relating to the power reversal observed within the immigrant multi-generational Sri Lankan Tamil families.

Studies in this field of enquiry have also shown that differences in host language proficiency in multi-generational families and the younger generations' higher competence in the mainstream language to aid the older generations in their process of acculturation. Investigating multilingual adolescents from Chinese and Vietnamese backgrounds in a US High school, Tse (1996) explores the role they play as *language brokers* or translators for

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their parents and grandparents. The research is built on the assumption that as language brokers these linguistic minority students not only transmit information, but also make educational and other decisions that are normally made by adults (Tse 1996 p.486). The main aim of the study is to look at the nature of language brokering amongst the selected participant sample and to identify its effects on them.

The data is collected with the use of a written survey that the participants complete during school hours. In order to gain an idea of the language proficiency of the adolescents, the researcher asks the participants to gauge their proficiency in Chinese and English, the two languages that all participants are proficient users of to varying degrees, on a Likert scale. On the basis of the data reported by the participants, Tse (1996) writes that all the adolescents identified themselves as having a high level of proficiency in Chinese, whilst roughly 65% claimed to have a higher command of Chinese than English. The research finds that over 90% of the participants had carried out language brokering at some point. In relation to contextual factors, the teenagers report the home as one of the key contexts in which language brokering took place and that this function was carried out primarily for the benefit of parents.

In this study, the language minority students' attitudes to language brokering are also investigated. It is interesting to note the number of brokers who consider the process to aid them in developing their first and second languages. The researcher found that language minority students were translating documents that were far above their grade level, succeeding in doing so accurately. Consequently, Tse (1996) asserts that language brokering has linguistic, cultural and social benefits, not only for the students but also for the schools and other services that provide bilingual services. Tse (1996 p.492) concludes that even though the participants' stated proficiency in their first and second languages were not homogeneous, language brokering is 'a common phenomenon' in this linguistic minority community. Thus, Tse's (1996) findings

reflect on the one hand a dimension of language acculturation in which the children are providing a service that older immigrant members may not know how to, or be able to access at official or institutional level. On the other hand, even though the researcher does not address the notion of power, the very fact that language brokering takes places in the multi-generational families in this community indicates that the adolescents have received a form of authority within their families. What is more, the adolescents' language behaviour is cooperative as they do not use their proficiency in the language as an instrument of power to challenge their elders' authority. Instead, the new roles and responsibilities that they have been given due to their English language proficiency have given them a new dimension of power that they view as an opportunity to develop their language skills. Hence, the bilingual language practices of these adolescents indicate a cooperative language behaviour that is non-threatening to the status and power of their elders. Despite the significance of Tse's (1996) findings, one shortfall exists in the fact that the findings are based on the adolescents' self-report data. Hence, data obtained from the parents in these communities and even observational or interactional data may have presented a clearer, or perhaps contradictory portrayal of that which is depicted through the teenagers' responses.

Tannenbaum and Howie (2002) who research language maintenance within Chinese-speaking immigrant families in Australia, present a view that contradicts Tse's (1996) findings. The scholars write that when children act as translators and representatives for their families, the parents struggle to retain their authority. They further elaborate by stating that 'discrepancies between the generations in regard to what language to use, when and to what extent' may lead to conflict within such families (Tannenbaum and Howie 2002 p.409).

Thus, as Canagarajah (2008) reports, parental power can be challenged within certain multilingual immigrant communities. In Canagarajah's (2008) research, the parents' lack of English language proficiency results in them

being subject to ridicule by their children. The reasons as to why children threaten or challenge parental authority are countless. With this in mind, the linguistic resources adopted by monolingual and/or multilingual parents and children in order to maintain or challenge authority will be explored in the following section.

2.5.5. Gender, Power and Linguistic Resources

'Gender relations are basically power relations', claim Osmond and Thorne (1993 p.593) implying that the two are inextricably linked and that they inform, reflect and shape the nature of one another. Examining nexus between gender and power within the domestic context, Talbot et al. (2003) discuss the manifestation of patriarchal power relations *in* and *through* language. The wording in the preceding sentence, specifically *in* and *through* was a deliberate choice to suggest a concept that is two-fold. Firstly, the studies that are about to be discussed proposes that *in* the language used by participants, power relations can manifest themselves, unknowingly at times to the speakers themselves. Secondly, the idea that at other times, interlocutors may choose to represent certain power relations *through* the conscious use of language.

Highlighting how linguistic choices or practices may reflect extra-linguistic factors such as status and authority within intra-family discourse, Jørgensen (1998 p.238) writes 'the powerful and dominating interlocutor's utterances will relatively often be strong initiatives'. The writer explains that in child-parent conversations, the adult asking a question is considered a strong initiative. In response, the child will answer the question, but may not necessarily contribute to the remainder of the exchange by introducing new topics. Consequently, the linguistic roles taken by a parent- child dyad in a conversation reflect the power distribution between the individuals.

The secondary data that Talbot et al. (2003) refer to in order to present these theoretical propositions are those on dinnertable dynamics amongst

family members. Talbot et al. (2003 p.142) rightly point out that meal-time talk in families plays a significant role in socialising children and in 'establishing fathers as authority figures, they position mothers as people who may be legitimately criticised'. What the writers leave unaddressed however, is the extent to which this process of socialisation inadvertently or purposefully represents the gender and power relations that the parents expect the children to observe, accept and/or maintain. What these investigations do examine are the participants' linguistic verbalisations, as well non-linguistic behaviour that ultimately establishes the position of power held and maintained by the fathers. From amongst the linguistic practices, the authors cite women's silence or the silencing of women as examples that indicate patriarchal power within families. From a socio-political stance, Jaworski (1992) discusses silence in depth, as it is seen to signify oppression amongst women. The scholar writes that silence can be taken to signal oppression 'when it is characteristic of a dominated group, and when the group is not allowed to break its silence by its own choosing' (1992 p.27). Silence is also regarded as the appropriate response expected from children on being disciplined in certain communities such as the Western Apache (Wardhaugh 2006 p.243).

One of the principal studies that Talbot et al. (2003) discuss is the research on language use and the maintenance of power relations amongst family members by Ochs and Taylor (1995). The researchers collect interactional data from naturally occurring narratives that are recorded from seven European American middle class families. Their methodology consists of designating pre-identified roles to the family members as follows: 'protagonist' for the person narrating the story, 'narrative introducer' for the individual paving the way for the narration and 'primary recipient' for the person for whom the stories are related.

In recurrent episodes, the researchers find how the mothers initiate a narrative by requesting a child to become the protagonist and relate a story. The primary recipient or the person the story is chiefly oriented towards is

most often observed to be the father. Explaining this pattern of roles assumed by the family members, the writers state that it is the fathers who are normally seen to spend the least amount of time during the day with the children. As a result of this, the mothers are keen for the off spring to update the fathers of the children's activities during the day. Careful scrutiny of such episodes allows Ochs and Taylor (1995) to conclude that even though the mothers appear to hold authority to a certain extent as they almost always initiate the narratives and designate the protagonist from amongst the children, they were soon subject to judgement and monitoring by the fathers. What the researchers do not explicitly state is that on the basis of the results, it could be postulated that the mothers hold authority over children. The scholars highlight the way in which the fathers' power destabilises the authority of the mothers. In the relationship between the fathers and children, the former retain their authority as they are randomly assigned the role of the protagonist. Hence, unlike the children who were regularly asked to report their daily activities at the dinner table, the fathers were rarely requested to discuss actions and feelings making them the least likely members in the family to be questioned further (Talbot et al. 2003 p.104). This study reveals that within these families, the role held by the father as the head of the conventional hierarchy is maintained and uncontested.

Research that explores power relations in multilingual immigrant families has focused more on bilingual language practices and how these are used in contesting power and status. Williams (2005) looks at mother-daughter disputes in a multilingual Chinese American family living in Detroit, Michigan. Grimshaw (1990 p.3) claims that the style and nature of a dispute varies according to gender, 'by participant relations of affect and of power and by the nature of the matter under dispute'. Referring to the excerpt from interactions identified as a disagreement between a mother and daughter, the writer claims that the daughter assumes an authoritative role as she offers advice to her mother. The mother thus falls in to the position of an 'advice-

seeking child', according to the researcher (2005 p.317). The writer elaborates employing a selected number of excerpts from the data to state that conversational resources such as language alternation, repetition and silence are all used by the participants as markers of agreement, or disagreement. For example, Williams (2005) interprets the mother's silence as a way of rejecting the daughter's authoritative attitude.

The studies referred to in this section outline that gender, generation and linguistic resources all play a key role in the enactment of power relations in family interactions.

2.6. Conclusion

The conclusion will outline the main topics that were addressed in this chapter, after which some of the key pieces of literature already discussed will be referred to with the intention of indexing the niche for the current study.

2.6.1. A Summary

Opening the review of literature was an introduction to some of the key terminology on and around multilingualism. This discussion emphasised the inconclusive nature inherent within terms such as *bilingual* and *community* that are associated with speakers and languages respectively. Furthermore, it was noted that most terms associated with immigrant languages have derogatory connotations that reflect the status of the speakers themselves.

An examination of the ethnolinguistic vitality of the languages primarily spoken and used by immigrant multilingual communities followed thereafter. In reviewing the literature, socio-economic and historical factors, language status, demographics and institutional support were presented as contributory and overlapping factors behind language maintenance or shift within minority language groups in the diaspora. The manner in which language ideologies, interactional goals and contextual factors determine the bi/multilingual

practices of language choice and alternation became the focus of the next section. Previous research in the field developed the idea that language choice and alternation can be regarded as linguistic practices that convey individual, community, and societal notions of power, identity and cultural values. Subsection 5 opened with an examination of patriarchy and the status of the Keralite woman in India. This section highlighted socio-economic factors that have given a boost to women's status in their personal and professional lives. The role-reversals taking place in the homes of the Kerala families in Ireland was considered next as a means of presenting a prelude to the sample of participants within the current study. A review of literature that examines linguistic resources adopted in monolingual and multilingual families to retain and challenge traditional power relations brought this section to an end.

2.6.2. Niche for Present Study

The theoretical perspectives and methodologies that underpin the literature in multilingualism presented, discussed and critiqued in this chapter highlight the prevailing gap for the current study.

In relation to the work that is founded on ethnographic and sociolinguistic premises and which addresses power and the language practices of immigrant multilingual South Asian and South East Asian families, there remains a discernible gap for research into the multilingual South Indian immigrant families living in the UK. The seminal work described in the literature review suggests that within the research conducted on East Asian and South Asian immigrant families, the language practices of immigrant Malayali families, who form the main focus of this study, have received little or no attention up to date.

The major works of literature on the linguistic practices of the immigrant, multilingual, multi-generational communities were Canagarajah's (2008) study of the immigrant Sri Lankan families and the research on the multilingual Chinese families abroad by Hua (2008) and Williams (2005).

These studies emphasise how the children of first-generation immigrants use the host language as an instrument of power in challenging traditional status and power relations. Moreover, Canagarajah's (2004) study reveals host language proficiency to be a key factor behind status and power struggles amongst Sri Lankan Tamil immigrant families where the parent and grandparent generations are first-generation immigrants. The scholar does not address whether similar contestations for status and power occur where the older children in the immigrant families are also immigrants. Mayor (2004), writing on code-switching within a bilingual family, asserts that male children switch to the language associated with their father to signal their allegiance to him and their opposition to their mother. A similar line of argument is presented by Esdahl (2010), who claims that language used in challenging and maintaining power relations is determined by gender-based language ideologies. In essence, these postulations point to the need to investigate whether female children also adopt similar linguistic strategies when challenging parental authority.

Hua (2008) and Canagarajah (2008) both report that intergenerational language shift is taking place in the two immigrant minority ethnic communities they investigate. Asia Harvest (2013) finds a similar trend of language shift amongst the younger Malayalis living in Malaysia. Consequently, examining whether heritage languages are maintained or overlooked in the Malayali families living in the UK presents itself as an area worth exploring.

In terms of cultural and language socialisation, Mills' (2005) study explores ways in which mothers do not necessarily pass on their heritage languages to their offspring if they consider another language within their linguistic repertoires to hold greater socio-economic status and prestige. Jones and Morris (2009) concede that in Welsh-English families even though the mothers play a proactive role in promoting Welsh language learning at home, patriarchal power and preference affects the extent to which this is carried out.

Extra et al. (2004) conclude that in minority language homes in mainland Europe, both older and younger generations use the heritage languages alongside English.

Conversely, Hussain (2011) finds the South Asian families investigated for her study did not necessarily promote or practice heritage language maintenance in their homes in the UK. The literature suggests that heritage language maintenance as well as shift occurs in minority language homes in the diaspora. This research indicates that there may be other members of immigrant multilingual families other than mothers who play a key role in language maintenance or shift. Therefore, in place of restricting the focus on the mothers, the attitudes as well as the contribution made by fathers, grandparents and even older siblings towards language use and promotion within families will be investigated in the present study.

Creese et al. (2008) study teacher and student perceptions and community-level efforts at transmitting heritage languages to the younger generations in the UK. The researchers stress the prevalence of teasing amongst the students in relation to their poor command of the heritage languages. However, the scholars overlook or choose not to mention how the students' attendance in these classes itself could be considered a means of signalling their interest for the language. Therefore, community level motivation for heritage language maintenance will also be taken into consideration in the present study.

Based on self-report data from Vietnamese and Chinese American adolescents, Tse (1996) arrives at the conclusion that they consider language brokering to be beneficial to their own language development. The validity of Tse's (1996) findings could have been established if the researcher had adopted a mixed-method approach and examined instances of actual language brokering as they took place with family members. The lack of triangulated data as a limitation becomes evident in the statistical surveys conducted on home language use of minority ethnic students in the UK. Therefore, the

following chapter will explain the mixed-method approach adopted for the present study of bilingual language practices in multilingual immigrant families.

When Extra et al. (2004) carry out their extensive research on home language use in Europe, they do not address the acculturation process of the older generations into the mainstream society. Hence, the possible link between host language acculturation and the language practices of the older immigrants will be examined in the present study.

Overall, this chapter emphasises a gap in the literature for a research that: a) studies linguistic practices and language ideologies of all members within a nuclear family, b) considers mainstream and minority cultural assimilation of participants across generations, c) considers gender, generation, country of birth and other non-linguistic variables as contributing to status and power relations and d) adopts a mixed-method approach in order to address questions on language practices and status and power relations in immigrant multilingual families.

3. Methodology

3.1. Introduction

In the closing remarks of the literature review, the scarcity of research that explores language practices of immigrant multilingual families using a mixed-method approach was mentioned. For the purpose of this study, I define a *mixed-method* approach as that which adopts different data collection instruments which could generate purely qualitative or both qualitative and quantitative data in order to enhance the validity of the research findings. Addressing the above-mentioned methodological gap in previous research, this study makes use of self-report, interactional and observational data that are characteristically qualitative and ethnographic in nature. As interviewing and observing are two means of gathering information first-hand from within a research context, they have been identified as prominent data collection tools within ethnographic research (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; Fetterman 1998; Spradley 1980). Furthermore, it is my view that the pools of data employed for the present study allow the portrayal of an *emic* or *insider* perspective combined with the etic, or in this instance my own interpretations and understanding (Agar 1986; Spradley 1980) to present a detailed and in-depth insight into the participants' language practices and the ways in which they enact status and power relations.

This chapter opens with an outline of the way in which the research questions, data collection methods and data analysis sit within a characteristically ethnographic yet broader sociolinguistic methodological framework. The next sub-section offers a detailed presentation of the multiple roles performed by myself and the participants within the research process. The focus of the chapter moves on to methodological precedents in the field of ethnographic enquiry after which the data collection instruments are

introduced. The analytic approach adopted for this ethnographic research brings this chapter to an end.

3.2. An Ethnographic Approach

The term *ethnography* has been defined as describing (*graph*) a particular group of people (*ethno*) (Wolcott 1999; Agar 1986). As previously mentioned, since it is the study of social and cultural phenomena 'in action' (Murchison 2010 p.5) that forms the main purpose of this research, it can be referred to as an ethnographic enquiry. Reflecting on ethnography and its beginnings in the field of anthropology, Murchison (2010 p.5) states it originates with the advent of the twentieth century 'in the context of a particular set of historical circumstances that influenced early ethnographic work'. These conditions that the writer refers to include 'understandings of race, ethnicity and gender' prevalent at the time (Murchison 2010 p.5). In the 1900s, these social factors were commonly discussed and debated in relation to the power of the white male as opposed to the marginalised other. Therefore, the fact that these social phenomena were under scrutiny is hardly surprising given that people were prone to operate from within a colonial mindset at the time. Hence, the origin of ethnography is associated with the study of social factors such as gender and social constructs like power and their interaction with other social phenomena. Whilst this research also examines status and power relations and the manner in which they are enacted through the language practices of a community, approaching the study from an ethnographic premise seemed even more apposite given that I was keen to combine my understanding of the area of focus with the perceptions of the *insider* or the research participants.

Thus, within the current research, the interconnectedness of social factors and constructs are not merely studied but thoroughly examined in relation to the participants' self-perceived and observed linguistic practices. The methodology of this research is broadly founded on linguistic ethnography

as it has been termed by scholars in Britain (Creese 2008; Rampton 2007). On the premise that language and the social world shape one another, they argue that linguistic ethnography refers to the interpretation of talk as it is observed within cultural contexts. In order to highlight this dual focus on socio-cultural factors and language embedded within the research questions, these are presented once more below:

Research question 1: What are the extra-linguistic variables that are agentive in the participants' language use and preference?

Research question 2: What are the cultural values of the parents that the children oppose and accept? How do these shared or conflicting values manifest themselves in the language practices of the participants?

Research question 3: What are the linguistic resources that participants use in order to challenge and/or retain status and power relations?

From the stand point of linguistic ethnography, the first research question seeks to explore the link between the socio-cultural factors of generation and gender as they influence the language practices of the research participants. The second question addresses possible conflicting cultural values between generations in the two-generational participant families. The findings to these two questions feed in to the primary research question that examines the ways in which the socio-cultural constructs of status and power are enacted in the language practices of the participant group. Therefore, whilst the inextricable link between socio-cultural factors and language is acknowledged even within sociolinguistic frameworks, I contend that the research questions are in line with a linguistic ethnographic framework owing to the fact that it is the insider perspective that informs and feeds into making sense of the above-mentioned correlation.

As has been already mentioned, the methodology of this project adopts data collection instruments that can be defined as ethnographic tools due to the manner in which they are deployed. The audio-recordings taped during their day-to-day conversations at home provided an insight in to the actual language practices of the participants. Fieldnotes and interview responses provided two additional sets of data that reflected the attitudes, motivations, value systems, cultural practices and aspirations of the participants, and ultimately informed the naturalistic conversational data. As description and interpretation were used to analyse the three pools of data, the analytic framework of this study could be described as fitting within a broader linguistic ethnographic framework. As the key purpose of this research is to identify how talk enacts status and power, discourse analysis will also be integrated as a means of examining the conversational data. For the purpose of this study, discourse analysis will be viewed as the understanding of language according to the context that it is produced in (Halliday and Hasan 1976; Harris 1952).

Seminal work on discourse analysis describes an analytic approach that, like the approach taken in this study, takes shape and meaning from the correlation between language and social practices (Gee 2011; Fairclough 2003; Wodak 2001). Discourse analysts study language as it is used to project varying social identities and perform diverse social activities. Accordingly, Fairclough (2003) explains that discourse may exist at three different levels within social practice. Firstly, discourse may occur within the genres of oral or written communication. Secondly, discourse is represented within social practices either concretely or abstractly denoting the material world. Thirdly, discourse is embedded within the specific style of language and non-linguistic behaviour adopted by an individual in order to project certain social identities (Fairclough 2003 p.26). These three elements are referred to as 'saying, doing and being' by Gee (2011). In the present study, as I examine *genre* in the form of family conversations that take place whilst the participants use specific *styles* of language to engage in day to day *social practices* such as disciplining and

praising, it could be claimed that all three levels within which discourse is said to occur (Fairclough 2003) are taken into consideration.

Of the various strands of discourse analysis that exist, critical discourse analysis, or the study of language in relation to socio-political issues, is a strand that is exemplified by Fairclough's work. Gee (2011 p.9) claims however, that 'all discourse analysis is critical discourse analysis' for all language is political and language is used to maintain, sustain and break away from institutions and cultures. Despite such parallels in relation to language and the portrayal of socio-cultural perspectives and identities, the scholars' stance on discourse analysis is classified further with Gee's distinction between 'Discourse' and 'discourse'.

Gee(2011 p.29) thereby proposes that Discourse when used with a capital 'D' may refer not just to discourse or the use of language, but also to the 'actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing and using symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity'. Developing this concept further, Gee (2011 p.39) puts forward the idea of borderland or hybrid Discourses which may be enacted when, for example, students from different ethnic backgrounds interact according to a Discourse that is typically associated with a school playground but converse differently when situated within their respective neighbourhoods. Gee (p.30) suggests that inequality within society stems from this very fact that people have the capacity to project different social identities in a context-specific manner. Hence, Gee considers Discourse to transcend the spoken word and consist of the non-linguistic behaviour as well as the intangible ideologies and perceptions of a speaker. In essence, it is both cultural and linguistic competencies combined together that form Discourse. Therefore, taking into consideration socio-psychological, political and ideological elements as being fundamental to understanding Discourse, critical discourse analysis occupies a distinct place amongst other sociolinguistic approaches (Meyer 2001).

As the process of data analysis together with the application of discourse analysis to the intra-family conversations will be revisited in this chapter, a more in-depth look at the manner in which my participants and I contributed to the data collection process will be discussed in the following section.

3.2.1. Within an Ethnographer's Role

On reflection, it appears as though my role within this enthnographic study began when I came across the research context in person for the very first time and subsequently began to consider it theoretically. The initial phase in which interest towards conducting the present research began to emerge from the context itself, briefly referred to in the introductory chapter, needs further mention as a process that resonates with the bottom-up approach in research methods. The bottom-up approach as it has been defined within the social sciences refers to a preliminary stage of observation that leads to the formulation of conclusions or theories following investigation. Arriving at an ethnographic approach to researching my participants was in no way a linear process. I would therefore compare this methodology, which emerged gradually as the design and implementation progressed, to the piecing together of a jigsaw puzzle. The experience of making sense of the pieces of different shapes and sizes sheds light on how the methodology came to exist within this ethnographic study.

Having become acquainted with the Malayali community in York referred to in the first chapter, I carried out a pilot study with two Malayali families in order to test how best to explore the complexities surrounding the field of interest as a researcher. The main objective of carrying out this pilot study was to understand the feasibility of collecting interactional data from multi-generational families. With this intention, I approached two Malayali families, each with two children, in which the parents spoke Malayalam as their main language. As two families that I had become acquainted with through my husband's dance classes, they readily agreed to assist with my

research and to record family conversations from the home. Uncertain of the number of conversations that the families would be able record at home and hoping to make the recording more structured in terms of when and where they were carried out, I asked the parents to keep the recorders in their vehicles when they came to drop off and collect their children from dance classes every week. When the recorders were collected after a month, the families claimed that completing recordings in their vehicles had been difficult as they most often offered lifts to friends with young children who had tried to play with the recording device. Moreover, they were aware that written consent needed to be obtained from anyone whose conversations were recorded. Conversely, they did not report that recording their conversations at home was difficult. When these family conversations were translated, they contained dialogues between different dyads and indications that status and power relations were being negotiated in the participants' talk. Even though, I was not aware of how the analysis would take place at this point, the preliminary data duly encouraged the implementation of this study. Furthermore, the decision to use the home domain as the primary and only context for carrying out the audio-recordings was made. Thus, from explaining key pieces of information to the participants of the pilot study and ensuring that the children involved understood the nature of the study, to arranging times to visit the families to hand over and collect the digital recorders, all proved to be a learning experience in designing the eventual ethnographic study.

Additionally, the more opportunities I had to speak to the participants and to listen to their interactions with others, the more convinced I became of one of the chief features of ethnography: the research context itself and its participants would yield the data that would then be translated in to a theoretical stance. Thus, the research context was considered key in determining the nature and scope of an ethnographic investigation, and therefore became central in the design and development of this study.

Therefore, following a bottom-up approach to data collection and analysis seemed a reliable and realistic way of addressing the question of whether linguistic practices were in fact used by the participants in contesting and maintaining their status and power relations. Rather than starting with a particular theoretical stance and looking to support that through the data, the bottom-up approach allowed me to further explore the themes and assumptions that emerged through the data. The common as well as contrasting themes that arose from the interactional data informed the follow-up interviews. The continued and much more importantly progressive and comparative approach enabled me to focus on emergent themes that were then studied against the transcripts of follow-up interviews. This process was continued until recurring themes allowed for the formulation of a general theoretical stance on and around the research question. The end result, or completed puzzle, reflects the etic as well as the emic perspectives as it is the product of not just myself but also of the participants (Agar 1986; Spradley 1980).

Within this type of ethnographic research, it would be careless to simply describe myself as the researcher and subsequently dismiss the topic. The roles that I found myself in characterises the nature of my participation in the study, as well as the ways in which I was perceived by the participant group as a result of my socio-cultural background.

Having used observational fieldnotes as a data collection tool, one of the roles I fulfilled within this research was that of a *participant observer*. Discussing participant observation, Brewer (2000) associates its effectiveness with the researcher's capacity to find an acceptable balance in assuming the role of the *insider* and the *outsider*. According to the scholar, as an insider the researcher must 'identify with the people under study and get close to them' whilst being able to simultaneously retain a professional rapport with the participants (Brewer 2000 p.59). As Brewer (2000) points out, the ethnographer observes and subsequently interprets the observed. That which is observed by

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the researcher is understood on the basis of his/her socio-cultural and educational background, identity and ideological perceptions.

This explanation suggests that the ethnographer can essentially play a dual role. As Brewer (2000) explains, both roles possess strengths as well as weaknesses. As an insider, the researcher must take care not to allow their existing understandings of socio-cultural phenomena to affect their interpretations unnecessarily. As an outsider, the researcher must take care not to step beyond the professional boundaries in such a way that it may affect the etic perspective. Thus, the extent to which the insider and outsider statuses apply to me must be discussed further in order to clearly highlight the distinguishing lines between my place and that of the participants in the context of this study.

My participants and I share commonalities in terms of being bilingual citizens of South Asian countries. Having been raised in a home in which both English and Sinhala were spoken by my two siblings and parents, I have consequently had first-hand experience of growing up in a bilingual family. Furthermore, it may even be possible to broadly classify the varieties of English spoken by myself and the participants under the umbrella of South Asian Englishes. In using the term South Asian Englishes, I refer to varieties that are used as a second language and which also have official recognition within governmental, legal and educational spheres (Kachru 2005). At a typological level, South Asian Englishes, or more specifically Indian and Sri Lankan English, share similarities. Both these 'varieties' are the outcome of local languages with Indo-Aryan and Dravidian roots coming into contact with standard forms of English (Lim and Gisborne 2009). In referring to South Asian Englishes as 'varieties', I choose to use the quotation marks to reflect the debate on the recognition given to them as different codes. Nevertheless, in rather a broad sense, the 'Asian' label can be attached to myself as well as my participants.

Saville-Troike (2003 p.89) explains 'the advantages of studying one's own culture' writing that 'ethnographers are able to use themselves as sources of information and interpretation'. As previously explained, even though the parallels between the participants and myself are primarily based on and around South Asian heritage, Saville-Troike's assertion seems applicable to me to some extent. As the writer points out, the researcher could easily become the source of information in the process of undertaking ethnographic research. However, this is not without its shortcomings and pitfalls, for familiarity with the setting being investigated could lead the researcher to ignore or overlook important pieces of data. Furthermore, over-reliance on one's own knowledge and understanding may deter the ethnographer from validating his or her findings against the perspectives of the participants.

As mentioned previously, given that I was not a complete *insider* to the community that was studied, I could also be considered partially as an *outsider*. One key difference that existed between the research participants and myself was linguistic, as we did not share a common native language. My native language is Sinhala, being the only language that I used until the age of seven and the language in which I was instructed at primary and secondary school. As Sinhala originates from the family of Indo-Aryan languages, it does not bear similarities with Malayalam, the Indian language used by the research participants and which has roots in the Dravidian languages. Thus, during the encounters with the participants over the last five years, I have noticed how both the children and the parents in the sample group switch from English to their native language when discussing a matter that they do not wish me to be privy to, indicating that the participants themselves have identified me as an 'outsider' from their language domain. The fact that the participants of the study are Catholic, once again establishes my status as an *outsider*, as I am a Buddhist by religion. From the upbringing that I have had in a South Asian country, I was aware that caste is a sensitive topic particularly for those from the 'lower' castes and one which they may not

comfortable discussing. As a result, the decision was made not to discuss this topic with the participants. The parents of the participant group had either completed secondary school or qualified at nursing college. Having been in the teaching profession since completing secondary school, I yet again found myself an outsider to the participant group.

As bilinguals who use English in their linguistic repertoires and speak a South Asian 'variety' of English, the participants and I seem to share similarities at the outset. However, as a result of not knowing Malayalam or any of the other Indian languages used by the parent-generation, it is the position of an *outsider* that I fall into within the heritage language context of the present study. Moreover, nationally and ethnically the participants and I became *outsiders* to each other's backgrounds. Therefore, the researcher almost by definition arrives as an outsider, for 'as a fieldworker, you never belong 'naturally' or 'normally' to the field you investigate, you are always a foreign body which causes ripples on the surface of smooth routinized processes' (Blommaert and Jie 2010 p.26).

Therefore, owing to my non-membership within the participant group, the risks in interpreting the interactional data were inevitably high, especially given that the audio-recordings that capture the interactional data were not supported by video. The manner in which follow-up interviews were used in order to enhance the validity of the findings will be addressed in detail later on in this chapter. Notwithstanding this fact, it must also be acknowledged that it is due to this very same *outsiderness* that I became interested in the linguistic practices of the participants. Hence, finding a common ground where the *insider* and *outsider* perspectives merge in order to elucidate the topic being researched was my ultimate endeavour within this research.

In addition to being a participant observer, Murchison (2010) explains that when an ethnographer enters a community with little or no knowledge of the local language and customs, s/he becomes a *student* within a setting in which the participants operate as the *teachers*. The *student* ethnographer then

relies on the participants or the informants to a certain extent in order to gain a better understanding of the field of enquiry. Assuming the role of a *student*, the ethnographer must essentially bear in mind that s/he 'can learn from anyone' (Murchison 2010 p.16).

'Learning' if it is to be considered in a more holistic way, could naturally take place through interactions with or observation of anyone. However, within the research context in which questions relating to the validity of data can be raised, the investigative approach required scrupulous attention. For instance, an ethnographer may believe data obtained from children to be more believable than parents' as adults in comparison do not necessarily discuss family matters openly and directly. However, it is the researcher's task to investigate whether this general consensus is in fact applicable to the children being studied owing to cross- cultural differences. Gender too can become an important factor for consideration in ethnographic research. For example, brought up in a South Asian country, I was aware that most of my female friends from Sri Lanka were specifically instructed not to discuss personal details or information relating to family members with anyone outside the family, let alone ethnographers whom they may never have encountered before. Given that this may also have been applicable to the South Indian female participants of my study, even though they currently reside in the diaspora, careful thought and planning was required for me to be able to account for the validity of data obtained from such a community of women. As previously explained, the credibility of data can be maximised and discrepancies avoided to a certain degree through the triangulation of findings using multiple data collection tools.

The final yet equally important role that I performed in the study was that of a *participant-observer*. In the months leading up to the start of this ethnographic research, I had become a *participant-observer* of these Malayali families who met and exchanged small talk at their local church. Their conduct in the presence of my spouse who was their children's dance teacher and

myself, both verbal and non-verbal, caught my attention: firstly, the fathers' exchanges with us were almost always limited to a greeting in English such as 'hello' and 'how are you?' articulated in a shy and almost apologetic manner. This linguistic pattern of behaviour of the fathers was noted by me, for the very same was observed of all the Malayali fathers whose children attended dance classes. The mothers, on the other hand, tended to stay for much longer and to converse with us in English until before and after class hours. All the students were ethnically Indian and from Malayali families and knew one another from the local neighbourhood or school. The older girls displayed almost maternal affection for the younger students and carried them around, plaited their hair and were first to console them when they mysteriously developed a cold or flu or claimed to be too tired to dance.

The students' linguistic behaviour also caught my attention. The senior students were heard to switch between English and Malayalam when in conversation with each other. The younger children on the other hand, used English much more often and were rarely heard using Malayalam. When either my spouse or I enquired about a Malayalam word or expression out of curiosity, the younger students went quiet, claiming there were not sure, or that they didn't know. It was always the senior students who provided us with the answer, although as non-Malayalam speakers we were never sure of the accuracy of their responses. Such observations made during class time, inspired my initial interest in the Malayali families, which later developed into this project. These observations once again reiterate how I had entered the role of a participant observer even before the actual research was implemented. As explained in this section, the ethnographer's role as both an insider and outsider is a balancing act that necessitates the researcher to perform, drawing on one's own cultural knowledge as well as that of the participant; in the role of participant observer, I took in all that I saw, heard, smelt, touched and tasted; as the student I studied, selected and revisited this plethora of information in

order to make sense of its content and address the research topic under investigation.

Before moving on to describe the data collection methods, a description of the roles played by the participants would contribute to giving a fuller picture of this ethnographic enquiry.

3.2.2. The Participants' Role

As the title of the thesis itself specifies, three Malayali, multilingual families formed the focus of this study. Within the field of ethnography, research can be carried out on a small number of cases from within the field over weeks, months or even years. As my study involves three two-generational Malayali families, the main participant group is without doubt a small number in comparison to studies that chart the activities of hundreds of participants. The main participants I refer to in the preceding statement include the Indian-born parents and their children. However, in one of the three families, the grandparents who happen to visit the UK and an aunt from India who calls the family regularly become willing participants of the study at various points during the collection of interactional data. Therefore, whilst the main participants across the three families totalled twelve members, the overall participant number does not exceed twenty. For that reason, studying the language practices at length, as well as the status and power relations of the individual participants from the main group became a feasible task.

One contributory factor towards the selection of the participants for the study was the commonality shared by the individuals speaking more than one language. Hence, all participants are able to speak the host language English to varying levels of competence. Their linguistic repertoires further consist of one or more Indian languages. I have made the decision to identify the participants as 'multilingual' in addition to 'bilingual' as the former term encompasses all those who fall into the latter category (Cenoz et al. 2003).

The main Indian language that all the participants speak is Malayalam. The term *Malayali* traditionally refers to Keralites who spoke Malayalam as their first language. However in recent years the term has been used more broadly to refer to emigrants of Malayali descent who maintain certain elements of Malayali cultural traditions (Asia Harvest 2013). In employing this term for the title of this thesis, I use the more generic definition as the participant group comprises multi-generational families where not all members can be identified as native speakers of Malayalam. As the full and detailed sociolinguistic profiles of the participants will be presented in the next chapter, this section will focus on the manner in which they contributed to the data collection.

In the naturalistic conversations, the participants became the interlocutors. In this study, the person with whom a speaker converses will be regarded as an *interlocutor*. Talking comes naturally to most, and conversing with one another is something that people do and which is familiar in their daily lives. What is not so familiar to them is recording such interactions for research purposes. Interactional data, as Milroy and Gordon (2003) point out, is language in action, and can be regarded as being closest to natural and untainted data. The writers thus refer to observational data as being preferred over self-report data in the field of sociolinguistics (Miltoy and Gordon 2003 p.2). Observation too, as has been discussed by many a scholar, affects the natural patterns of behaviour of individuals: both verbal and non-verbal. This dilemma, for want of a better word, is known as the *observer's paradox* and is difficult to avoid, particularly in instances in which the researcher is present at the time of data collection. Therefore, in order to minimise the level of discomfort and strangeness that research participants may have felt in having a switched-on recorder in their homes, I handed over the apparatus and left it to the former to carry out the actual recordings. This method of allowing the participants to record their conversations in their own time seemed the best

and most appropriate way to produce intra-family talk unaffected by a researcher's presence.

The participant group became *respondents* when they made themselves available for semi-structured interviews. During these sessions, the participants answered pre-designed and unplanned questions that were directed at them. The participant responses were spontaneous for two reasons. First of all, when introducing the research focus to the participants, a deliberate attempt was made to refrain from divulging too much detail. The participants were informed only of the overarching aim of the project as being the study of language practices and status and power relations. Secondly, the pre-designed questions were not shared with the participants prior to the actual day of the interviews. Thus, it is assumed that the participants may not have had the opportunity to discuss their responses in advance.

Whilst measures were taken to ensure the validity of the self-reported data, the trustworthiness of such information remains an issue of contention within the field of sociolinguistics in general. For instance, Milroy and Gordon (2003 p.2) voice the general consensus that self-report data on language use is 'not generally accepted by sociolinguists uncritically as 'true' reflections of actual usage'. As it is commonly known, it is possible that children report certain patterns of linguistic behaviour that they believe their parents would approve of. Parents, on the other hand, may quite possibly report what they feel is 'culturally' appropriate even if what is reported is not actually practiced within their households. As an *insider* not only in regard to the research context but also to the wider South Asian culture, I felt it highly plausible that the credibility of my data would be affected in such a way.

One of the earliest ethnographic studies to be found fault with due to the supposed misrepresentation of reality by the participants is that of Mead (1928). The anthropologist's study carried out in Samoa came under the criticism of Freeman (1983), who claimed that the participants' accounts that the former had presented were flawed. Hence, it is essential that reported data

is supported by observed data. Moreover, in addition to my interpretation on how and why language is used, I received multiple perspectives on these two areas from the parents and children alike. My approach reflects contemporary ethnography which recognises 'the need to consider the different perspectives and biases that may influence the research' (Murchison 2011 p.11). This, I believe, is also a means of addressing the validity of findings often discussed as a problem within ethnographic research.

Returning to the current research and the validity of self-report data, the likelihood of the participants, especially the child participants not having reflected on their language practices prior to the interviews was mentioned. As a result, it was anticipated that their responses given without much thought or reflection, might not reflect their actual language use. Furthermore, as one or more members from the family almost always joined the respondents, their responses may have been affected by what had already been said by a spouse, child, parent or sibling. This may have been predominantly true in instances in which the parents reported on their children's language use first, and the latter expressed their views thereafter.

Thus, by conducting more than one interview with each family during and after the interactional data was completed and transcribed, I attempted to address the issues of validity associated with self-report data. This allowed me the opportunity to compare the reported data against the actual interactional data and to revisit information that did not tally in relation to language practices. The process of carrying out more than one interview with the families also enabled me to compare not only cross-generational data, but also the reported data of each and every individual and how they may or may not have changed across the discussions.

3.2.3. Ethical Approval

Prior to conducting the actual data collection, institutional ethical approval was sought and granted on the following conditions. As the child participants of

the study were between the ages of 5 and 12 and could not give informed consent on their own, the consent of the parents had to be sought first and foremost. In line with the conditions stipulated by the Ethic's committee, I asked the participants to sign the consent forms which were translated into Malayalam with a view to enhancing clarity and transparency. As the interactional data for the study includes discussions with grandparents and relatives from India, they too have been recorded with informed consent of the participants (York St John University 2013). Therefore, the entire participant group offered their written consent for their participation in the interviews, audio-recordings and observational fieldnotes as well as for the data to be translated and transcribed by two members of the Malayali community.

In order to ensure and safeguard the anonymity of the participants, all actual names in the interactional and interview data as well as in the cited fieldnotes were changed. Moreover, any factual information that had the potential to reveal the identity of the participants or of anyone referred to or mentioned in the interactional data was also deleted or replaced with pseudonyms in the transcriptions.

3.3. Data Collection Methods and Methodological Precedents

As has been stated, the adoption of a mixed-method approach strengthened the overall design of this ethnographic study. Whilst it enhanced the ability to triangulate the results with interview transcriptions, fieldnotes and transcriptions of audio recording, it also allowed for the validation of the data. It is therefore the design and/or application of the instruments that yielded the previously mentioned data that will become the focus of this section. Before introducing the data collection instruments used for this study methodological precedents will first be briefly introduced.

As mentioned in the literature review, the present study draws inspiration from Canagarajah's (2008) research on Sri Lankan immigrant

multilingual families in the diaspora. Canagarajah's (2008) ethnographic enquiry which uses interviews as the main instrument of data collection serves as a methodological precedent to this study. To examine thoughts, concerns and possible challenges experienced by the parent and grandparent generations in transmitting their native language to children whilst living in a majority English-speaking host community, Canagarajah (2008) chooses to interview families living in the metropolises of London, Toronto and California. As such, interview transcripts become the primary data which the scholar analyses using Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (henceforth GIDS). The GIDS is based on the presupposition that the family holds the power to safeguard heritage languages and to retain their vitality. Owing to this power of the family, the model further assumes that the larger heritage language community is protected from the need to reach out to policies and resources from the State and elsewhere to promote its language. Recognising Fishman's GIDS model to be somewhat restrictive in its etic approach to the family, Canagarajah (2008 p.145) uses interview transcripts and fieldnotes to offer an ethnographic point-of-view and '*thick description* that situate the family in the widest possible social context and narrate the everyday challenges in preserving heritage languages.' The term *thick description* introduced to ethnography by Geertz (1973) was expanded by Denzin (1989 p.83) who wrote that it 'presents detail, context, emotion and the webs of social relationships that join persons to one another. Thick description evokes emotionality and self-feelings'. Denzin (1989) therefore recognised that human behaviour required examination in relation to contextual factors as well as the intangible thoughts and feelings of the individuals concerned. It is this approach that Canagarajah (2008 p.145) adopts in order to offer 'an emic portrait of the Tamil family'. Thus, Canagarajah (2008) interviews the families with the help of all or some of the family members to gain an insight in to their attitudes to heritage languages and to build the linguistic profiles of the families. Referring to the limitations that are generally associated with self-

report data, Canagarajah (2008 p.149) claims that the observational fieldnotes he had recorded during his visits to the communities were used to triangulate and offer insights into the data. Acknowledging that the role played by a family in ensuring heritage language maintenance should also be studied and understood in relation to the influences exerted by the wider socio-economic and political context, the researcher examines changing patterns of bilingualism using sociolinguistic surveys. Consequently, Canagarajah's (2008) study emphasises interview data as a useful medium for deriving emic points of view in relation to language use amongst multilingual immigrants.

In the line of ethnographic enquiry on diasporic Chinese families in the UK, Hua's (2008) method of investigation will be discussed focussing more specifically on the collection of interactional data. Studying Chinese communities living in the UK, Hua seeks her data from three metropolises: namely, Manchester, Newcastle and London. Like Canagarajah (2008), Hua is ethnically an insider to her participant community. Furthermore, within their respective ethnographic studies, both scholars consider 'generation' as a main variable against which language use and shift within immigrant multilingual communities are studied. Despite these parallels, unlike Canagarajah (2008) whose main pool of data comprises interview responses, Hua's (2008) primary source of information consists of over one hundred hours of tape-recorded family conversations. Adopting an interpretive approach the researcher examines the interactional data to unravel the 'socio-cultural motivations behind talk' (Hua 2008 p.1800). This brief outline to Hua's (2008) ethnographic methodology was presented in order to highlight its applicability to the study of language practices in bilingual, immigrant, multi-generational families.

Having briefly outlined the seminal work by Canagarajah (2008) and Hua (2008) who use fieldnotes, interviews and recordings of natural conversations in their ethnographic work, these methods of data collection will be referred to next as it was these that were adopted for the present study.

3.3.1. Semi-Structured Interviews

The principal research question of this investigation formulated following the initial stages of observation, presupposes that the multilingual, immigrant Malayali's linguistic practices influence the traditional status and power relations within the family hierarchy. By responding to this question as well as the two secondary questions, I use semi-structured interview data to investigate how and why cultural values as well as social factors like age and gender, can influence the participants' language practices and thereby create contestations of status and power. The manner in which I used *semi-structured interviews* for the purpose of this study resonates with the definition allocated to the term by Mason (2004). The writer claims that *semi-structured interviews* allow flexibility so that they are guided by topics, themes and areas for futher enquiry rather than a rigid set of questions. As is commonly recognised, qualitative methods yield data with which the 'how' and 'why' questions can be addressed (Silverman 2004).

3.3.1.1. The Design

Having examined some of the theoretical and practical affordances behind the use of semi-structured interview, this section will present and specify the objectives behind the pre-designed questions used for the ethnographic interviews within the present study.

Figure 3.1. Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Names of Participants   Age

1. For how long have you lived in the UK?
2. Why did you and your family move to the UK?
3. What languages did you use on a daily basis before moving to the UK?
4. For how many years have your children lived in India?

5. How often do you speak to your relatives in India?

6. In what language(s) do you speak to your relatives?

7. In what language(s) do the children speak to the relatives?

8. What are your thoughts on the possibility of your children refusing to use Malayalam when they grow up?

9. Which language(s) can you speak well?

10. Which language(s) can you speak a little?

11. Which languages are spoken in your home in the UK?

12. At home, I usually speak to my mother in ---- and my mother speaks to me in ----.

13. At home, I usually speak to my father in ---- and my father speaks to me in ----.

14. At home, I usually speak to my sister/brother in ---- and
   my sister/brother speaks to me in ----.

15. At home, I usually speak to my relatives in ---- and my relatives speak to me in ----.

16. At home, I usually speak to my friends in ---- and my friends speak to me in ----.

17. What language(s) do you use in the following situations?

Situation-Specific Language Use of Children				
When...	Malayalam	English	Hindi	Other
I ask my parents for permission to go on a school trip, I use				
If there is a specific reason for using this language or these languages, please explain				
I ask my parents for permission to invite my friends over, I use				
If there is a specific reason for using this language or these languages, please explain				
I want a favour from my sister/brother, I use				
If there is a specific reason for using this language or these languages, please explain				
When I argue with my parents, I use				
If there is a specific reason for using this language or these languages, please explain				
When I argue with my sister/brother, I use				
If there is a specific reason for using this language or these languages, please explain				

18. What language(s) do you use in the following situations?

Situation-Specific Language Use of Parents				
When...	Malayalam	English	Hindi	Other
I am praising my children, I use				
If there is a specific reason for using this language or these languages, please explain				
I am disciplining my children, I use				
If there is a specific reason for using this language or these languages, please explain				
When I am disagreeing with my husband/wife, I use				
If there is a specific reason for using this language or these languages, please explain				

These pre-designed questions were used as a guideline for use during the first round of interviews with the participants. Proving 'open-endedness' to be the essence of ethnographic interviews (Saville-Troike 2003 p.100), the questions that were developed prompted discussions and narratives from the participants that helped me in building the linguistic profiles of the participant sample from an emic point-of-view.

Questions 1-7, adapted from Baker and Sanderson (2000 p.88), were intended to generate information on the linguistic repertoires and the route of migration of the three participant families from primarily the parents' point-of-view. Therefore, in these two-parent families the questions were mainly answered by one or both parents whilst the children interjected at irregular intervals to either assent to or disagree with what was being reported by their parents. The responses to these questions generated information relating to the participants' claimed language practices within different contexts and with different interlocutors. On the basis of this data, I was able to define 'context' rather broadly as will be seen in chapter 4, for the participants' language practices within different geographical contexts as well as various domains from the home to the work place proved to be significant in interpreting the data. Question 8 also enabled the parents to give an insight in to their

thoughts, concerns or anxieties about their children continuing in the use of Malayalam in the future. Questions 9 and 10 were developed in order to gain an understanding of self-perceived language proficiency amongst the older and younger generations in the participant group. Questions 11 to 16 were addressed to the child participants individually with a view to collecting information on participant-specific language use.

Questions 17 and 18 directed at the children and the parents respectively, were designed to gauge whether or not the participants used language either strategically or through habit and practice to challenge or maintain status and power within their families. By introducing the *if* conditional when asking the participants to explain any specific reasons for using the languages they claimed to use in the identified situations, I was prepared to accept the fact that the participants' language practices may not be strategic, and therefore not deliberate.

Thus, the pre-designed questions in the first-round of interviews yielded: a) participant profile information, b) data relating to perceptions of domain-specific, participant-specific and situation-specific language use, c) attitudes to language maintenance and d) self-perceived notions on language proficiency.

Taking its natural course in semi-structured interviews, the responses to these pre-designed questions led to the inclusion of new questions and queries as the interviews progressed.The semi-structured interviews provided the flexibility that was necessary to adapt the questions according to the different participants. As will be described in chapter 4, my participants were of two generations and possessed varying levels of proficiency in English, the medium in which the interviews were carried out. Therefore, the questions were modified, rephrased and adjusted in a way that did not hinder the natural flow of the interview process. Unlike with the interactional data, which I had to listen to without a visual record, the interviews were conducted by me in person. Therefore, the way in which I formulated the questions and addressed them to the participants, the gaps in between questions, the digressions and

interruptions, all varied from participant to participant. The interviews allowed me to observe the participants' gestures, facial expressions and interjections, and to develop a keen sense of awareness and respect for pauses, and hesitations, all of which added meaning to what was being asked, or to that which was being said by the participants. This allowed me to modify lines of enquiry and to respond to the interviewees' behaviour.

In brief, the bulk of the research questions used in the follow-up interviews arose from the participant responses collected at the first stage of interviews as well as from the interactional data. The process in which these interviews were organised and carried out will be discussed further in the following section.

3.3.1.2. Method in Practice

The primary purpose of this section is to describe the actual process involved in interviewing the participants and the manner in which the interviews contributed to data triangulation.

After contacting the parents by telephone, the interviews were scheduled at the participants' homes for two primary reasons. Firstly, as the overarching aim of my study relates to language practices within the home, I was able to observe the participants verbal behaviour in the domain that I was interested in. Secondly, I hoped that being in their own homes would help to relax the participants during the interview process.

Each of the three families of four members who took part in the study consisted of two parents and two children. However, across all three families at least one member was not available to attend the interviews due to other commitments. Despite the fact that not all the family members were present on every occasion that the interviews took place, the self-report data from those that were present was sufficient to develop the linguistic profiles of the families. According to sociolinguists (Canagarajah 2008; Fernandez and Clyne 2007), this is not an uncommon feature in research relating to families.

In order to make sure that the participants were at ease during the interviews, I purposefully opted to engage in small talk for a few minutes before the actual questioning took place. The interviews were carried out in the living rooms of the participants, which were familiar surroundings to them. Whilst the interviewees responded, I noted down responses on a hard copy of the pre-designed questions that I took with me. With consent from the participants, the interviews were also recorded in order to ensure that the data would be preserved not merely in my notes and observational fieldnotes, but also in its entirety in the spoken format. The duration of the interviews with the participants lasted between 30-60 minutes at a time.

Listening to the recorded interviews and reading the transcripts of the interactional data, I identified participant responses or segments of conversations where further clarifications were needed. At the follow-up interviews, the participants were questioned further and asked to elaborate on pieces of data that I was keen to pursue and gain the participant perspectives on. For instance, the lack of a visual record made it difficult to determine the outcome of an episode of disagreement between family members. Therefore, with the assistance of the recordings and transcripts, the participants were able to recall the incidents and to provide further clarifications for me.

In the process of conducting the follow-up interviews, the mothers within the three families became the key informants as they claimed to be knowledgeable of the practices of all members of their families. Whilst they were almost always readily available to meet me for interviews, it cannot be denied that being a female ethnographer, I too felt more comfortable talking to the mothers. As briefly noted at these follow-up interviews, I was able to pick out certain segments from the interactional data and request clarification on episodes that were unclear to me. For example, in the audio-recordings of one of the families, the mother asks her son to eat his vegetable in spite of his protests. As the topic moves on to something different afterwards, and having had no visual record to observe the outcome of the mother's instructions, I was

able to find out whether the son had actually listened to the mother and eaten what had been served at a follow-up interview.

As the chief respondents in the follow-up interviews, the mothers were asked to express their level of agreement/disagreement with the assumptions and emerging themes that were formed in the process of data analysis. For example, based on the self-report and interactional data, the fieldnotes and my informal discussions, I was able make my own assumptions regarding the parents' proficiency levels in the English language. Concurrently, identifying individual language preferences and patterns of use, I realised that these were all interconnected as will be explained in the ensuing chapters. Therefore, one of the follow-up questions asked of the mothers in all three families was the following:

- Would you say that the proficiency level in English between you and your husband is different? If so, who is stronger and why?

This process of data analysis took me on a path of constantly comparing and contrasting interview results. As a result, my assertions were always compared against the results from follow-up interviews in order to establish emerging themes. For example, when reading through the transcripts of the interactional data, coming across the theme of 'roles and responsibilities' that one mother in particular seemed to have in relation to her children's schooling, caught my attention. As explained in the literature review, role-reversals between parent and child generations in immigrant families due to language proficiency has been studied from a sociolinguistic angle (Williams 2005). Therefore, this theme on mothers and their roles within diasporic contexts could only be validated and developed through further investigation. Hence, in the follow-up interviews, the following question was put to all the mothers:

- If you think you are stronger in English, do you think you have more roles now that you would not normally have had in India?

Moreover, the follow-up interviews gave me a chance to question the mothers on family life in India. This line of questioning allowed me to understand their relationships with their spouses and in-laws at the time when they lived in India, and within their present context of residence. In order to enter into this discussion I chose a question relating to the topic of household chores which is traditionally and typically considered to be a woman's domain:

- At home in the UK do you and your husband take turns to do the household chores? Was this different in India?

Thus, the follow-up interviews provided time to explore and better understand emergent themes from the three pools of data for which further clarification was needed. Qualitative data, as already mentioned, is used to compile a 'thick' or detailed description (Canagarajah 2008 p.145) of the findings. Therefore, participants' perspectives on the themes presented and discussed in chapters 4, 5 and 6 were sought at follow-up interviews.

3.3.2. Interactional Data

Interactional data being one of the main pools of data in the present study, this section details the manner in which the research participants themselves recorded their conversations at home. As a study that also examines the language practices of immigrant, multilingual families, the present research obtains interactional data in the form of audio-recordings of family conversations.

Having informed the participant group that my intention was to collect approximately twenty hours of recordings per family, digital audio recorders were given to the three families in order that that they could complete the

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recordings over a period of five months. The recorders were handed over to the parents and subsequently collected from them in person whenever it became necessary to download the data and free memory space in the recorders for further use. Instructions on how to operate the recording application and save the recordings were given by me to the parents. It was clearly mentioned that the recorders should be placed in a location like the living room or the kitchen in which the families tended to spend time together, and that it should be left switched on to capture conversations as they were taking place in real time. The participants were also told that they had the right to switch off the recorder whenever a confidential matter was being discussed.

The language practices of the subjects were therefore recorded in their homes, where the participants are normally at ease, and engage in more naturalistic conversations with the members of their families. Moreover, as the participants include children, it was felt that the home would be a familiar setting to them, and a place where the presence of a recorder would not inhibit them from acting spontaneously and naturally with their siblings and parents.

As collecting naturally occurring verbal exchanges between the family members in their homes did not require my presence, I was to a certain extent preventing the observer's paradox from affecting my data. I therefore exchanged my place with digital recorders that taped family conversations as and when the participants themselves switched them on. Despite my absence from the homes where the interactional data was collected, I was aware that the recorder on its own could have an effect on the families and their language practices. The participants knew that the digital recorders had the capacity to record each and every single word, sigh, episode of laughter and verbal and non-verbal sound that was produced in and around its location. Therefore, during follow-up interviews I offered opportunities for the participants to openly discuss any unease or discomfort the recorder might have created in the process of recording their conversations. Interestingly, none of the participants claimed that they were affected or conscious of the recorder's presence.

The interactional data across the three families captured different activities of the participant group within their home environment at different times of the day; therefore, recordings carried out in the living room, the kitchen, and even out in the back yard whilst the participants engaged in different household chores make-up approximately 70 hours of recordings that I received. The different activities the participants engaged in whilst in conversation include preparing meals, watching television, helping the children with homework, playing and gardening. Whilst families A and C completed over twenty hours of audio-recordings each, family B, who joined the research a few months in to the data collection process completed roughly fifteen hours of recordings. As the audio-recordings were key to identifying 'how' the participant group was using language in intra-family conversations, the conversational data needed to be transcribed and translated as an initial and manadatory step in the process of analysis. Therefore, after downloading the first set of data and returning the digital recorders to the families to continue with their recording, I began the transcription and translation process with the assistance of two translators.

3.3.2.1. Transcription and Translation

In the current study, the approach to analysing the conversational data informed the method of transcription that was utilised. As the interactional data was analysed using an interpretive and descriptive method that drew on discourse analysis in order to depict how talk constructs status and power relations, the transcriptions were not completed word for word. The individuals involved in transcribing and translating included myself and two individuals who considered Malayalam to be their main languge and English to be their second.

As the interactions were bilingual, I initially transcribed the conversations carried out only in English. In the bilingual conversations, I marked the beginning of an utterance or a series of utterances in Malayalam

using timestamps on the transcription in order that these segments were easily identifiable to both myself and the translators. The English utterances were typed out in the Candara font and Arial Rounded MT Bold was used for the translated transcriptions from Malayalam to English. As Auer (2013 p.4) points out although adopting two different fonts in the transcription of bilingual data is customary, it is not without its limitations. For instance, it assumes that verbal discourse can in general be labelled as belonging to one language or the other. In actuality, this is not the case for it is not always possible to determine whether a word belongs to language A or B, for instance.

As the participant families left the recorders switched on for three to four hours at a time, there were long stretches of silence or background noise from a television or radio with no interactions taking place. Therefore, not knowing how much interactional data each recording would yield, the translators and I had to listen to the entire recordings in the first stage of transcribing them. However, as the transcriptions began to take shape, I read through them and was able to identify instances in which I believed status and power relations were being contested. These episodes were listened to once more both by myself and the translators in order to ensure that verbal utterances were not misrepresented on paper. For the purpose of completing the transcriptions, a few pertinent transcription symbols from those developed by Jefferson (Hutchby and Woofit 2008) were adopted (See appendix A).

3.3.3. Observational Fieldnotes

As previously mentioned, prior to and also following implementation of this research, as a participant observer, I become the primary instrument of data collection. As is pointed out in ethnographic research, my five senses became the channels through which data collection took place. For instance, when making the observational fieldnotes, I wrote about what caught my attention in terms of the furniture and the settings in the living rooms in which I sat in order to interview the participants. I also made a note of where the children sat

and with whom, if they sat with anyone at all. The process of making fieldnotes obviously raises questions of validity and objectivity: that which I notice, may go unnoticed by another person and vice versa. Reflecting on this, I realised that my frequent visits to the participant homes meant that I noted certain language practices and behavioural patterns that were consistently similar or different. Moreover, when visiting the families after having read through the interactional data, I had arrived at certain assumptions about the language practices of the participants. Therefore, these meetings allowed me the opportunity to check the validity of those presuppositions against actual observed fieldnotes.

Although ethnographic fieldnotes are considered to be subjective, the fieldnotes are fundamental to ethnography as this approach is about documenting the linguistic behaviour and capturing experiences as I had observed them during my visits to their homes. The fieldnotes were typed out fully following the visits I made to the participants' homes. Even though the fieldnotes were mainly for the purpose of validating the reported data of the language choices and linguistic practices of the participants, I made a conscious effort to document not only the behaviour of the participants but also details about their homes that had caught my attention at the time. It was important that the fieldnotes were made on the same day in fear that I would forget observations and details which would prove to be useful in the data analysis stages.

The fieldnotes also provided a space for me to write about the data collection process. For instance, during an interview with one of the mothers she spoke about the digital recorder and how they had lost three days of recordings as they had mistakenly thought the device to be recording their conversations when it had actually been on stand-by mode. Therefore, as the interviews were taking place, and the fieldnotes were being made whilst the participants were carrying out the audio recordings, I was able to keep abreast

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with the progress they were making in relation to generating the interactional data.

Thus, the contents of the fieldnotes essentially included sensory impressions that make clear at times, the assumptions, expectations and knowledge that I had taken with me when visiting the participant homes. For instance, my interest in this community arose from the keenness that I had observed in them towards maintaining their Indian cultural roots outside of their homes. Hence, I walked in to their dwellings with preconceived notions, expecting to see what I termed 'typically Indian' sights and sounds within their homes. When the images and the overall setting that met my gaze was somewhat different to what I had visualised, I made a note of fact within the fieldnotes.

The fieldnotes also contained questions that arose in my mind regarding the linguistic and non-verbal behaviour of the participants for future investigation. For example, the younger child in one of the families remains quiet for the most part of my second visit to the house which was also my first meeting with him. As I had made a note of his silence, in the visits that followed I paid special attention to observing the son's behaviour and how talkative he became as he grew accustomed to me.

As mentioned previously, the fieldnotes were written up soon after concluding the semi-structured interviews that were carried out in the participants' homes. When writing the fieldnotes, I made a conscious effort to remain as objective as possible. Documenting and retaining the factual information of all that I noticed was of utmost importance to this attempt at deciphering the linguistic profiles of the participants. The fieldnotes have as a consequence, served as supporting information for the data collected through the semi-structured interviews. They proved to be narrative snapshots of the lives of the participants. I choose the word 'snapshot' to stress the fact that the fieldnotes merely captured the participants' lives on a specific number of days and at certain times in the day, making them more akin to digital images that

freeze time, space and participants on a camera film. The data obtained from the semi-structured interviews is primarily reported data of the linguistic behaviour of the participants from their points of view. The fieldnotes on the other hand, comprise observed data that either complements and establishes, or contradicts and challenges the data from the interviews.

When considering the three sets of data obtained from the research context, the participants took the responsibility for completing the audio-recordings in their own time whilst I produced the observational fieldnotes and conducted the interviews. The main challenges in the process of data collection arose with regard to collecting the interactional data. These challenges along with the difficulties I experienced in having the recorded conversations translated and transcribed will be presented in more detail in the subsequent section.

3.3.4. Challenges

Blommaert and Jie's (2010 p.22) assertion that 'every aspect of fieldwork can go completely wrong' when a researcher works 'in a real social environment and with real people' proved to be applicable to the data collection process in this study as it met with its own trials and pitfalls.

The first unforeseen challenge that I came across was in relation to the selection of participants for the study. Out of the three Malayali families who had given their verbal consent and expressed their willingness to participate in the project, two families migrated to Australia a few months before the data collection began. The families later informed me that they had waited until entry clearance to Australia was granted to share their plans with me. As it was these two families who had assisted me with the test study, they had contributed to the initial stages of the research giving me an idea of how best to carry out the completion of audio-recordings. With their departure, choosing two more four-member families, completing the preliminary steps of talking

informally to the parents and children about the research, and obtaining their informed consent prolonged and delayed the commencement of the data collection. However, in retrospect, I feel that recruiting two new families for the study enabled me to examine their linguistic practices from a fresh perspective.

Research involving people cannot be completed within strict timeframes and obtaining the required hours of interactional data from the participants became yet another challenge within the study. My initial intention was to complete the collection of interactional data within a space of three months as I was aware that the translation and transcription of the data would also require a few months. However, soon after the data collection began, one of the participant families started making arrangements to relocate to a new house. Informing me of the new development in their lives, the family claimed that they would therefore not be able to complete recordings for several weeks. Another family from the participant group decided to purchase a house, which was followed by its renovation making it impossible for them to complete the recordings until the workers had left. Soon afterwards, the same family had to make an unexpected visit to India due to the illness of a family member. Therefore, the deadlines for completing the recordings were extended to a more feasible date for the participants as the data collection took longer than initially expected.

The use of the digital recorders was explained and demonstrated to the parents in person. However, operating them proved to be somewhat challenging for the mothers who took the responsibility of recording their conversations at home. Therefore, one mother reported that she had lost a day's recordings as she had forgotten to save them before turning the recorder off. The second parents who lost some recordings reported that she had mistakenly left the recorder on stand-by mode, only realising after several hours had passed that the conversations had not been recorded.

Transcribing and translating the Malayalam data also proved to be a challenge for me. After consulting with professional data translation companies

in the UK it soon became evident that I would not have the necessary funds to approach a professional translating body. As a result, after consulting academics and researchers in the field of multilingualism in the UK and with approval of the supervisory team and the ethics committee, I sought the help of two Malayalis who were both proficient in English as well as Malayalam. Whilst their main language was Malayalam, they were also competent users of English. A few weeks in to the transcription process, the first translator left for university because of which I recruited a second translator. As a result of this, the process of settling down with one permanent translator also took much more time and effort than anticipated.

Labov's (1972) assertion on the paradoxical nature of balancing observation encapsulates the next challenge of this research. According to the scholar, the purpose of linguistic investigations is to examine 'how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation' (Labov 1972 p.209). As explained in sub-section 3.3.2, although one of the objectives of recording interactional data in my absence was to minimise 'observer's paradox', the presence of the recorder may have been sufficient for participants to alter their verbal behaviour.

Therefore, challenges were encountered by myself as well as the participants, mainly in relation to the interactional data before, during and after this was collected. As explained previously, the extent of the qualitative data gathered in this study consisted of the interview responses, conversational data and observational fieldnotes. On reflection, it would be apposite to suggest that the analysis of this data began concurrently with the data collection. The initial stages of translation and transcription that eventually enabled the analysis of this data will be outlined in the following section.

3.4. An Analytic Approach

Analysing the three sets of data in this study could be regarded as a process that developed from a rough-grained analysis to a fine-grained analysis, which will be explained as follows.

Vuchinich (1990) claims that verbal disagreements are, in essence, enactments of power. On this premise, the transcriptions of the naturalistic interactional data were read through, identifying segments that could be classed as *conflict zones*. For the purpose of this study, the term *conflict* was interpreted in the broadest possible manner so that verbal arguments, oppositions and disagreements, or the potential for such occurrences, would be picked out as conflict zones.

The conflict zones that were identified from the intra-family conversations of the present study shared a few key features. The interactions involved two to four participants. Those that were verbally *involved* played a different role within the conflict. The emphasis on the preceding line refers to my understanding that there may have been a third or fourth silent member in the presence of the interlocutors who chose to remain uninvolved in the conflict. Amongst those who contributed to the verbal contestations were two main opponents, with a third member interjecting, or being sought out by a main opponent to intervene. As the third participant was always a parent, these segments also included verbal disciplining and admonishing. There were other segments in which two participants shared common ground against a third relating to an object, or concept of mutual interest. In these instances, both parents or a parent and a child were seen to take sides against the other child in the family.

Even though the unpredictability of conflict talk outcomes was examined in the literature review (Leung 2002), the following sequence of interaction was discernible in the opening and closing lines of the conflict zones identified in

this study. Thus, the opening line of a conflict zone was most often observed to be an utterance that would lead to an interlocutor response that either had the potential for conflict or was in itself the initiation of a conflict. To illustrate this feature, a conflict zone from my interactional data that will be revisited in the following chapters is cited below. In this episode, the response or reaction from Anju to the the question in the opening line was considered to be the beginning of the conflict:

Segment 1

282	**Anand:**	**Are we not going shopping?**
283	**Anju:**	**And then you will go shopping without me!**
284	**Vineeta:**	**We are not going shopping or anywhere else. Today is Saturday**
285		**so not many shops will be open.**
286	**Anand:**	**Yes they are.**
287	**Vineeta:**	**Anand, stop behaving like this son.**

In this segment, Anand's utterance in line 282 is responded to with an exclamatory statement by Anju in line 283. Therefore, whilst Anand's question carries the potential for conflict, Anju's response initiates the argument in the excerpt. In the example below, the utterance in line 95 is a statement made by Kavita that produces a reproach by her mother Deepa:

Segment 2

95	**Kavita:**	**She has not yet finished her bath**
96	**Deepa:**	**Didn't I tell you to take care of that? I have told you many times that**
97		**when she takes her bath, you should supervise it.**

Unlike in segment 1, where a question brings about a disagreement, the opening utterance in segment 2 is merely a statement which results in the addressee admonishing the speaker on an issue of common concern. Hence, an utterance that preceded a response that initiated or had the capacity to produce a conflict, was considered the starting point of the conflict zones in this research.

The termination of the conflicts zones was also studied in this process of analysis. It was my understanding that a verbal assent could quite possibly indicate that a child agreed with a parents' point of view and eventually acknowledged the adult's authority. As a result, this investigative process revealed two main characteristics relating to the termination of the conflict zones. Firstly, certain segments did, in fact, come to an end with an utterance which indicated closure to the conflict through the acceptance of submission or compromise, or the intervention of a third party. However, there were other segments in which the outcome could not be gauged purely on the basis of the interactional data. For example, when a dispute trailed off in to silence with none of the interlocutors uttering a word, interpreting what the silence signalled was far from straightforward. As silence can convey 'respect, comfort, support, disagreement, or uncertainty' (Wardhaugh 1992 p.244) amongst other things, instances where there were no verbal cues in the recordings for me to decide on the outcome of a conflict, were referred back to the participants at follow-up interviews. By doing so, the participants were asked to recall if they could confirm or clarify my assumptions regarding the end-result of a specific conflict zone.

In addition to the conflict zones, segments of conversation that included metalinguistic commentaries were also identified. As the language practices of the participants were being investigated, participant comments relating to language proficiency, learning, use and preference were identified. These excerpts are incorporated into the discussions in the following chapters as reflecting the language ideologies and perceived and actual language practices of the participants.

The transcripts of the interactional data also yielded conversations that reflected participant attitudes to status and power relations within the family and opinions on child rearing and discipline. The following segment is once such example in which the grandmother of one of the participant families refers to the status of a woman in the Indian joint family system:

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Segment 3

2979	**Grandmother:**	**Priya does not have a voice or authority in that house.What**
2980		**to do? Her mother-in-law always finds fault with her. No**
2981		**matter what she does, it's not good enough.**

In brief, non-conflict segments that related to emic perspectives on language practices, status and power relations, as well as those that appeared to be examples of the participants' actual language use, were selected from the interactional data.

The interactional data collected and analysed in chapters 4, 5 and 6 was in no way expected to contain fixed, consistent and linear linguistic practices for each of the participants involved. In fact, as with most behavioural patterns associated with humans, linguistic practices were also seen to be dynamic and far from static. Notwithstanding this fact, as the interactional data was collected concurrently with the self-report data within a specific time frame, I was able to triangulate and thereby maximise the validity of the self-reported data against the actual language practices of the participants.

When studying the conflict zones further, it appeared that the nature of a disagreement depended on the topic, interlocutors and other contextual factors. The manner in which this observation informed the second phase of the data analysis will become the focus of the next section.

3.4.1. The Four Analytic Categories

Following identification of the conflict zones, these were studied further in relation to *content, participants, language practices and other contextual factors,* which I choose to label as *analytic categories* for the purpose of this study. These four categories were adapted from Hymes's (1974) ethnographic framework, which presents the interlocking factors involved in a communicative event. The four analytic categories as they were applied to the interactional data of my study will be outlined below.

i) Content

Although not overtly discernible, it may be pertinent to suggest that Hymes's *Act Sequence* which refers to what people say and how it is said in relation to the topic under discussion, is reflected in the analytic category of *content* which for the purpose of this research, is defined as the topics under discussion.

ii) Participants

Hymes considered listeners, speakers and receivers to all come under the label of *participants*. In this research, family members who verbally contribute to the conversational data are taken in to consideration under the umbrella term *participants*. The conflict zones therefore encompassed child-parent, sibling-sibling, and spouse-spouse interactions. Owing to the roles played by the family members within the conflict zones, they became *participants* within their participatory roles in the larger research project.

iii) Language Practices

Examining whether the participants use language strategically to maintain or challenge status and power relations is one of the objectives of this study, Therefore, the *instrumentalities* factor from Hymes's (1974) framework resonates with the analytic category *language practices* which took in to consideration code-switching, code-mixing and the use of a single code in conversation. The term *code-switching* used synonymously with *language alternation* was adopted into the present study to refer to the change from one language to another within a single conversation by bilinguals. As the interactional data collected for this research was produced by bilinguals or speakers of English and Malayalam, I examined all conversational episodes or segments within the data that included language alternation as well as monolingual speech. Thus, both monolingual as well as multilingual language practices were studied as *linguistic practices* that construct and thereby reflect

the status and power relations of the participants. In addition, *silence* appeared to be a linguistic resource of the participants which is considered under this category.

iv) Other contextual factors

In the present study, *other contextual factors* appear to resonate with Hymes's (1974) *setting* in terms of its definition and application, for it includes the time of day and the exact location within the house that the recordings were carried out from. Specific activities that the participants were engaged in whilst conversing, such as watching television or cooking, also came under this analytic category. Given that the main participants of this study come from the same Malayali community, the extent to which the older generations are explicitly or implicitly practising such norms of interaction (Hymes 1974) and whether or not the younger generations were either emulating or showing awareness of such codes of communication were examined in the interactional data.

The significance of contextual factors in ethnography is discussed by Blommaert et al. (2010 p.18), who compare an object being examined in ethnographic research to 'a needle point in time and space'. What the writers suggest all too clearly is the importance of contextualising the object of study in such a way as to allow interrelated factors, both tangible and intangible, to inform the research. Presenting their perspective, the writers highlight the importance of studying a given phenomenon in relation to the macro as well as the micro contexts within which it finds itself. According to the scholars, the micro-context could include unpredictable factors such as the recorder failing to function in the context of data collection, whilst the macro-context may refer to that which is historical, larger, political or social and somewhat less changeable. For example, associating a certain language with a specific community may be considered a macro-contextual factor. The macro-societal perspective in the field of bilingualism is based on the assumption that

language-choice is 'orderly' owing to the fact that the social structures that inform and govern such practices are orderly (Wei 1994 p.6). Therefore, if the linguistic practices of the participants are to be understood in relation to the situational factors in which they are produced, the concrete elements as well as the perceptions, ideologies and value systems associated with the participants also require attention.

Overall it is Hymes's (1974) notion that for talk to be successful in relation to achieving its goal or goals, the speaker must have an understanding of all the above-mentioned and other extra-linguistic factors that informs the use of the four analytic categories. The application of the analytic categories to the conflict zones yielded themes surrounding the enactment of status and power relations within the language practices of the participants. Thus, the interactional data offered an insight in to the status and power relationships between the family members. These themes along with the identified conflict zones provided a basis for the preparation of the second round of semi-structured interviews with the participant families. I therefore approached the participants whom I believed could feed into and inform the themes from their emic points of view. Consequently, the follow-up interviews allowed the participants to offer their opinion and comment on the themes that I formulated and eventually developed in order to address the research questions.

Thus, in brief, the analysis of conflict and non-conflict zones allowed me to draw out certain themes regarding the linguistic practices and the status and power relations of the participants. Applying the four analytic categories adapted from Hymes's framework to the interactional data, themes relating to the language practices of the participants and their interrelationship with non-linguistic variables such as status, power, gender and generation were formed. These were then triangulated against the data derived from observational fieldnotes and interview transcripts from follow-up interviews. Therefore, the conflict zones became focal points of analysis in the present study.

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3.5. Conclusion

Following an introduction to linguistic ethnography the main methodological framework upon which this study is founded, a description of the roles that my participants and I fulfilled in the research process was presented in the opening section of the chapter. The process of collecting and analysing the data became the focus of the second half of this chapter. Moving forward, the purpose of chapters 4, 5 and 6 will be to address each of the three research questions in turn by incorporating the self-report and interactional data as well as the observational fieldnotes. As some of the conflict zones were lengthy interactional episodes, excerpts from within the identified zones were selected for discussion. Whilst chapter 4 will primarily integrate self-report data, in chapters 5 and 6 the discussions will be based on the interactional data that will be triangulated with the use of interview data and observational fieldnotes.

When examining the fieldnotes, transcripts of semi-structured interviews and interactional data, certain themes began to emerge, some commonly referred to and researched, and others rather unique to this study. These themes will be discussed in chapters 4, 5 and 6, even though they often overlap and show themselves to be interconnected in nature, relating to more than one research question. These themes inevitably shed light on the language behaviour of participants belonging to two generations with upbringings in two different contexts. This process ultimately enables the presentation of a more transparent and in-depth explanation relating to the enactment of status and power in the linguistic practices of the participants.

4. Participant Profiles

4.1. Introduction

The research focus of this study arises out of the presupposition that maintaining traditional family values and heritage cultural practices is of significance for the immigrant Malayali in the UK. Migration does not necessarily indicate a desire to reject or let go of that which is seen and practised as the 'norm' in an individual's country of origin. Whilst this statement may appear a rather bold generalisation, a more informed decision could perhaps be taken by examining the socio-cultural background of an immigrant upon arrival in a foreign country. With this in mind, chapter 4 introduces three Malayali families living in York, UK, more specifically known as the research participants for this study.

This chapter comprises two sections that address its dual objective. As one purpose is to present and analyse the socio-linguistic profiles of the research participants, their details such as age, profession, religion, nationality and ethnicity will form the preliminary section of this chapter. This generic information will include some of the key extra-linguistic variables against which the language practices of the participants will be discussed in the chapter. Therefore, addressing the first research question on the ways in which these variables influence language use and preference will form the second aim of the chapter.

Following an examination of the participants' language use in relation to context and the proficiency of the speakers and the interlocutors, the following research question will be addressed under two themes:

Research Question 1: What are the extra-linguistic variables that are agentive in the participants' language use and preference?

The opening section of the chapter, which is based primarily on the participants' self-report data, will offer the socio-cultural and economic background of the participants. The discussion will then move onto their route of migration as all the first-generation and some of the second-generation participants of the study can be classed as immigrants. For the purpose of this study, I choose to adopt the Office for National Statistics' (2012) definition, which describes an immigrant as an individual not born in the UK. The participants' claimed domain-specific and participant-specific language use will be presented next on the understanding that it allows for a comparison of what languages the families use with whom in an identified number of contexts. The last two sub-sections will adopt an emic perspective on proficiency levels and language use in an identified number of situations in which parents generally exercise status and power whilst children challenge these. In order to build the linguistic profiles of the research participants in this manner, reference is made to self-report data, fieldnotes as well as the interactional data that enhance the validity of, and at times even contradict, the information derived from the transcripts of the semi-structured interviews. Therefore, both the emic and etic perspectives have come together in the process of developing the participant profiles.

As has been mentioned, the participant profiles and language practices presented in this chapter will draw primarily on self-report data. The pre-designed semi-structured interview questions were not shared with the participants in advance. Consequently, the participant responses were spontaneous and not designed or planned prior to the interviews. Their narratives given in relation to languages and the users of those languages seems to provide a clearer picture of the participants' attitudes and perceptions that either inform their own linguistic practices or those of others. This process also allows for the presentation of the participants' reported language use with immediate and extended family members as well as other interlocutors outside

of the family networks. These profiles will be considered to reflect, albeit indirectly, the attitudes, self-awareness and personal motivations of the respondents in acquiring and utilising the languages within their linguistic repertoires.

Addressing the first research question, this chapter also discusses the way in which gender and generation may influence the language use and preference of the participants. As the self-report data is presented, it will be described and analysed further by drawing on excerpts of actual language use or fieldnotes. Integrated within this will be personal interpretations which will either reflect or contradict previous research pertinent to the language practices of immigrant multilingual communities. In order to maintain and ensure confidentiality, the three participant families have been named A, B and C. The allocation of these alphabetical letters was done in a purely random manner. The names of the family members were also replaced with pseudonyms in the interview and interactional data transcripts and in light of this fact the participants will be referred to by their fictitious names in the ensuing chapters.

4.2. A Prelude to the Malayali Community in York

Originally from the South Western Region of Kerala in India, the research participants presently live in a neighbourhood predominantly occupied by Malayali families in the city of York. The twenty or so Malayali families that my husband and I are acquainted with from the community have at least two children, with the husbands and wives working in different sectors. Over the last five years, I have also observed the Malayali men establishing local businesses, such as grocery stores and restaurants in partnership with other Malayalis.

The participants of this research have two key languages within their linguistic repertoires: namely Malayalam and English. Whilst Malayalam is the main language for the parent-generation, English is their second language.

The children, on the other hand, are being brought up within a Malayalam-speaking community in an English speaking country.

Displaying a shared interest in celebrating Malayali cultural festivals, such as the harvest festival of Onam along with Christmas and Easter, this community congregate at their local church regularly. The parents of the three families from the present study, contribute to the organisation of these Malayali community celebrations whilst all the children, both male and female, present dance performances at these celebrations. Over the years, it has become almost customary for the children to inform my husband, their dance Guru, of their intention to perform at a Malayali event and even to request his approval by performing the dance pieces for him to see before they are presented to their community. As the parents always film the performances, I have had the opportunity to view the programs on many occasions, and have noted with interest that these celebrations are hosted in the Malayalam language and are attended exclusively by Malayalis. Therefore, it could be said that in the UK the British-born and Indian-born children receive exposure to the Malayalam language as well as the Malayali culture from a community of first-generation immigrants from Kerala. Thus, similar to the immigrant Malayalis in Malaysia (Asia Harvest 2013), community-level endeavours at retaining Malayali cultural festivals are also observable within this community.

Taking these facts into account, the Roman Catholic Church within their local parish can be described as the hub of this community. It has become a venue that parents and children from the community use alike in order to attend mass, hold meetings of the Malayali association, celebrate childrens' birthdays and to organise Catechism or religious classes that are attended by almost all Malayali children. Moreover, the church hall has been the venue for my husband's Indian classical dance classes attended by over twenty children and adolescents from this community. As already mentioned, it is three

families from this community that participated in the present study and their socio-linguistic profiles will be presented next.

4.2.1. Family Composition

The participant group of this study are three four-member families. All three families live as nuclear families in the UK. Adapting to a new form of family life in the UK has not deterred the participants from maintaining relations within the extended family networks. The grandparents in all three families visit the families in the UK, whilst the former try and make annual visits to India in order to maintain ties with relatives back home.

Figures 4.1 - 4.3 show the members of each family who took part in the study by contributing to the interactional data, the observational fieldnotes and interviews. The partners in each family married in India and are also the biological parents of their children.

Figure 4.1. Composition of Family A
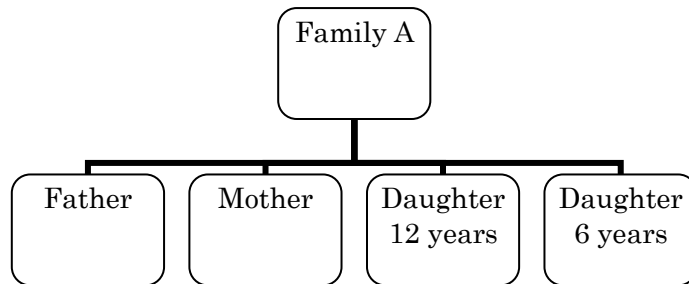
Figure 4.2. Composition of Family B
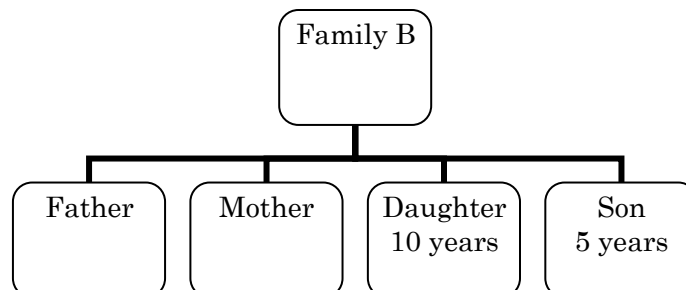
Figure 4.3. Composition of Family C
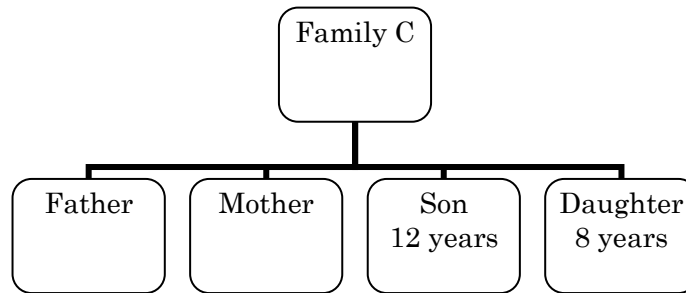
As illustrated in these figures, the eldest children from across the three families are both twelve years of age, whilst the youngest is the five-year-old son in family B. The age difference between siblings in families A, B and C are six, five and four years respectively.

4.2.2. Socio-cultural and Economic Background

The first phase of semi-structured interviews with the participant families started with pre-designed profiling questions. The responses presented in table 4.1 offer an insight in to the socio-economic and cultural background of the participant families. In the second column of this table the pseudonyms for each family member are introduced within brackets.

Table 4.1. Participant Families

Family	Family Member	Profession	County of Birth
A	Father (Janak)	Chef	India
	Mother (Deepa)	Nurse	India
	Daughter (Kavita)	Student	Oman
	Daughter (Priti)	Student	UK
B	Father (Ashok)	Health care assistant	India
	Mother (Chitra)	Nurse	India
	Daughter (Anjali)	Student	India
	Son (Ajith)	Student	UK
C	Father (Shantha)	Taxi driver	India
	Mother (Vineeta)	Nurse	India
	Son (Anand)	Student	India
	Daughter (Anju)	Student	India

As all the families reported to be Roman Catholic by religion, ethnically Indian and British Asian in nationality, these pieces of information were not included within table 4.1 in order to avoid repetition. Originally from a region in which Hinduism remains the majority religion, with Islam and Christianity as the second and third most common faiths, the families are Roman Catholic and currently live in the UK amongst an immigrant Roman Catholic Malayali community.

At the time of data collection, the families reported to have lived in the UK for periods ranging from five to eight years. In these two-generational families, the Indian-born parents are first generation migrants to the UK. Their children, some foreign-born and others British-born are thus second generation members.

The partners in all three families are in employment. In relation to the work they are engaged in, the mothers across the three families are in the nursing profession working for the local National Health Service (henceforth NHS). Their spouses work in different employment sectors. Whilst Janak in family A works as a chef in a local restaurant, Ashok in family B works together with his spouse at the NHS hospital, though his role is that of a health care assistant. Shantha in family C is a self-employed taxi driver. At the time at which data collection commenced, the children fell within the age range of five to twelve years and all attended different local schools whilst the five-year-old attended a local day care centre.

4.2.3. Route of Migration

The geographical transition that the participants of this research have made from the Indian region of Kerala to York in the UK is by no means insignificant. Relocation heralds the transference, maintenance and/or conflict of socio-cultural aspects unique to a migrant's context of origin and those that are associated with the land of immigration. As a consequence, when defining the linguistic profiles of the research participants, the socio-cultural make-up of their former and present lives ought to be taken into consideration. It was previously mentioned that the participant families share similarities not only in relation to variables such as religion, first language of Indian-born parents and the profession of mothers, but also in terms of their route of migration. As the study on immigrant Malayalis in Ireland (Percot 2012) indicated, the educational and professional backgrounds such migrants have acquired from their native land more or less determine their migratory patterns and life styles in the new-found diasporic contexts. The Malayali parents of this study also migrated to the UK as adults, having completed their formal or post-compulsory education back in India. Therefore, with the intention of being able to construct the language practices of the participants from a more informed point-of-view, the primary reasons for creating the lives they have made for

themselves and their families in the UK as they were reported by the participants will be discussed in the following sub-section.

4.2.3.1. Family A

As stated previously, an understanding of family A's reported route and motivation for migration provides a clearer picture of the nature and make-up of their linguistic repertoires. Hailing from the State of Kerala in India, Janak and Deepa entered into an arranged heterosexual marriage, respecting the wishes of their parents. Prior to marriage, Deepa had lived away from home, training to be a nurse and working in a hospital before returning to marry and settle down. In retrospect, Deepa reflects on her choice of partner and how migration to the UK has made her, it seems, rethink her decision:

> Deepa: When I got married, I wanted to settle down in India, so
>   I didn't mind a local businessman

When asked to elaborate on her response, Deepa talked about the challenges her partner had faced upon moving to the UK, as she claims that he was not at all competent in English to begin with. Considering the key role that English played in Deepa's decision to come to the UK, her thoughts on her partner's reported lack of proficiency in the language will be revisited in an ensuing paragraph.

After moving to Muscat in Oman, the couple welcomed their elder daughter Kavita. Whilst both adults said that they were in employment in the Middle East, neither of the two offered to specify the nature of the husband's profession. Even when Deepa reported that Janak was a businessman in India, neither she nor her spouse elaborated on his line of business. Deepa who was employed as a nurse in Oman, returned to India for a duration of approximately twelve to eighteen months and moved to the UK thereafter.

Deepa's nursing career enabled the family to migrate to the UK in 2004, where they have lived ever since. When referring to the husband's profession in York, both partners reported that the former has worked as a chef at a local Italian restaurant since his arrival in the UK. Their younger daughter Priti was born a year after the family's arrival in York. Therefore, whilst the parents were born in India, Kavita and Priti were born in the Middle East and the UK respectively.

As mentioned earlier, at the first interview with the family, Deepa reported that their chief motivation for moving to the UK was employment. However, at a follow-up interview, she revealed that it was her desire for her daughter to be educated in an English-medium school that made her determined to come to the UK:

> Deepa: If we were in India, the children would have gone to
> English-medium schools. I don't know anyone who
> goes to Malayalam-medium schools. The girls' cousins
> go to English-medium schools.

As she explains in this excerpt, the medium of instruction in almost all the schools in Kerala is English. What the mother wished however, was to send Kavita to 'one of the best' English-medium schools, which would be costly:

> Deepa: When I was in North India and Middle East for about
> fifteen years, and came back home, my ideas had
> changed. So I decided to go abroad. I wanted children
> to go to the best school in India. But Janak's ideas
> hadn't changed –he wanted the children to go to local
> English school. So, coming abroad was the only way to
> achieve my dreams for the children's education.

Deepa further elaborates that there were extremely good English-medium schools back home. According to Deepa, Janak did not share her sentiments

and was unwilling to bear the expenses incurred from sending his daughter to an expensive school. Therefore, Deepa reports how Janak thought that a 'mediocre' English-medium school would prove good enough for his child. Realising that she would not be able to persuade her spouse to send their daughter to the school she wanted, Deepa devised an alternative way to achieve her goals. Thus, hoping that her husband and daughter would follow suit afterwards, she initially came to the UK for two years. Her wishes materialised, as Janak and Kavita soon joined her in the UK. According to Deepa, settling in to life in the new country was challenging for Janak due to his lack of knowledge in English. However, Deepa felt that when Janak started his job in the catering sector, he realised that life and work in the UK was less stressful than living and managing a business in India. Hence, the family settled down in the country and had lived in the UK for seven years when the data collection first started.

4.2.3.2. Family B

Family B is yet again made up of four members, consisting of the parents, a daughter of ten years and a son aged five. The parents, Ashok and Chitra, work within the healthcare sector in York, whilst their daughter Anjali and son Ajith attend a local school and day care centre respectively, both situated in close proximity to their home. Whilst the parents and Anjali are Indian-born, Ajith is the only British-born member in the family.

Having spent a few years in India, Chitra says that she moved to the Middle East to work as a nurse. When leaving for the Middle East, she left her partner Ashok and daughter Anjali with her extended family in India. The mother explicitly states that she had no desire for her family to join her in the Middle East. The country, she says, apart from offering a financially secure employment, was not favourable for her daughter's schooling. Therefore, as an employment opportunity for the mother arose in the UK, the decision was made to move to the country as a family:

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Chitra: When I was in Saudi Arabia, my family was in India. I don't like to live with my family in Saudi Arabia. It is a very restricted country. We can earn money in Saudi Arabia, but there is no life. So that time, the Nursing council opened admissions, and a friend applied for me and got work permit. Then we thought we had to come to the UK.

When asked whether Chitra could elaborate on her thoughts about life being 'restricted' in the Middle East, she explained that living costs were generally high especially if they had considered moving out of hospital accommodation to find housing elsewhere in the city. Chitra also referred to the transportation expenses she would have had to bear if she was to send her daughter to school in the Middle East as she did not live in the town in which the schools were based.

When interviewing Ashok and Chitra, the two spoke of their thoughts on life in the UK. The husband stated that he was far from content about life in the UK. Even though they have lived in the UK for the past eight years, it seemed that Ashok's wish was to return to live in India, as he spoke of personal experiences of racism in the UK. Being the proprietor of income-generating coconut plantations and having recently built a house in India, Ashok says that he is confident about being able to lead a comfortable life in his homeland. What is more, he indicates his family to be affluent by reiterating that his parents and siblings in India are all in the teaching profession, an occupation that entails respect and status in Indian society. Both Ashok and Chitra reported that their daughter Anjali is also homesick, as she had spent a few years in India until she was able to join her mother in the UK. Therefore, even though the daughter has never explicitly stated a preference to live in India, Chitra and her partner highlight the daughter's wish to live and attend school in India as follows:

Chitra: Anjali used to say 'I want to learn in India, I want to study in India, let me go.'

Unlike her spouse, Chitra says that she is content with life in the UK and is keen to remain in the country. Despite these observed differences in opinion, the husband and wife claimed that they hope to stay in the UK for the benefit of their children's education. They openly approve of the school curriculum of their daughter's school and repeatedly voice their admiration of Anjali's academic achievements. Therefore, Ashok and Chitra's aspiration that their children would benefit from the education system in the UK appears to be the principal factor that attracts the family to the country. It was also noted that the parents in family B did not at any point mention English medium instruction in UK schools as significant in their children's education, unlike Deepa from family A.

4.2.3.3. Family C

This four-member family from South India migrated to the UK five years ago. According to the mother, Vineeta, their main reason for moving to the UK was employment. Their eldest child, Anand, a son of twelve years and Anju, their younger daughter of eight years, attend a local school in York. Both the son and daughter are Indian-born, and were seven years and three-and-a-half years old respectively at the time of moving to the UK.

Like Deepa in family A, Vineeta talks of the initial phase in her profession that required her to travel internally in India. She refers to having had to move away from home to another state in order to begin her career in nursing at the age of 17. On completing her nursing degree, Vineeta reports to have worked in Saudi Arabia as a nurse for two years, sharing hostel accommodation with fellow-Indians. She then moved to the UK in 2005. Similar to the two mothers in families A and B, Vineeta decided to move to the UK when nurses were being recruited to UK hospitals, which she initially did

on her own. Her spouse and two children continued to live back in India with her in-laws:

> Vineeta: When I came to England first time, my husband and my children were in India, and my mother-in-law was looking after Anju…They are very attached.

A year later, her husband Shantha and the two children joined her in the UK. Even though Vineeta reports that she came to the UK for employment, she does not mention her children's education as a reason for migrating to the country. That which she does mention seems to emphasise the fact that her son had attended an International English-medium school in India and that he adapted easily to studying in English on arrival in the UK as a result.

4.2.3.4. A Summary

When comparing their routes of migration it can be said that the three families might be regarded as representative of the larger immigrant Malayali community that I have become acquainted with in York. The families share similarities in terms of context of origin of parents, the fields of occupation of the mothers, route of migration, religion, number of children and main language of parents.

Outlining their migratory pattern has also illustrated the main motives that influenced the families' decision to leave India. Therefore, it seems that the mothers' migration to the Gulf countries was career-related and based on aspirations for work, coupled with a better income. As a result of their profession, the womens' next stage of migration to the UK was made possible. However, the motivation to settle in the UK with their families was also driven by the opportunity to educate the children in British schools. Since the mothers work at the same NHS hospital, and as they are all members of the Malayali association that has been set up by the community members themselves, the

three families are known to one another and could be described as family friends.

In order to gain a clearer idea of the participants' language use within the different domains they found themselves in the course of their migration, the next section moves on to an analysis of domain and participant-specific language use, as language and domain can not be studied as two separate entities (Hoffman and Tsme 2004).

4.2.4. Domain and Participant-specific Language Use

The self-report data produced an overall picture of the participants' language use within and outside of the domestic context. Their reported language choices at home and in other domains, together with changes/additions made to their language practices as a result of migration proved to be two areas that provided useful insights into the respondents' linguistic practices in their former and present contexts of residence.

The participants' explanations of their routes from India to the Middle East and thereafter to the UK led to further insights on domain-specific language use and acquisition. According to their responses, it appears that most adult languages were learnt due to their socio-economic benefits or instrumental value (Gardner and Lambert 1972). Therefore, completing a mandatory foreign language course at school or within the nursing profession was identified as the main motivation for second and foreign language learning for the research participants. The participants' linguistic repertoires also consist of languages which were not affected by migration, and were used and continue to be used at home and in every day settings.

Categorised under three geographic contexts, namely India, the Middle East and the UK, the domains in which language use has been classified are the home, school or college, work place, social life and relatives. The language use between the participants and their relatives was based mainly on phone conversations that were recorded at home. In family A, however, conversations

with the paternal grandparents were also available for analysis. As has already been mentioned, the domestic context is the main domain of interest for this study. Therefore, the phone conversations with relatives living in India have been identified as a type of 'sub-domain' within the home domain that could offer a better understanding of the participants' language practices within the nuclear family and extended family units.

4.2.4.1. Language Use of Family A

In table 4.2, language use of family A in India and the Middle East is presented purely on the basis of self-report data. Language use in the UK is also primarily based on reported data. However, the observational fieldnotes as well as the interactional data allowed me to triangulate and cross-check the validity of the self-report data on the participants' language use with relatives and within the home domain.

Table 4.2. Country and Domain-Specific Language Use of Family A

Family A				
Member	Country	Specific Domain	Main Language	Other Languages
Father (Janak)	India	Home	Malayalam	Hindi
		Work	Malayalam	
	Oman	Home	Malayalam	
		Work	Malayalam	English
				Hindi
				Arabic
	UK	Home	Malayalam	
		Work	English	
		Relatives	Malayalam	
Mother (Deepa)	India	Home	Malayalam	
		School	Malayalam	Hindi
		Nursing School	Malayalam	English

Member	Country	Specific Domain	Main Language	Other Languages
		Hospital	English	Hindi
	Oman	Home	Malayalam	
		Work	Arabic	
		Social Life	Malayalam	English
	UK	Home	Malayalam	English
		Work	English	
		Relatives	Malayalam	
Daughter (Kavita)	India	Home	Malayalam	
	UK	Home	Malayalam	English
		Relatives	Malayalam	
		Malayali Friends	Malayalam	English
		School	English	
Daughter (Priti)	UK	Home	English	
		Relatives	Malayalam	
		Malayali Friends	Malayalam	English
		School	English	

In family A, the South Western region of Kerala in India is the land of origin for Janak and Deepa and the place in which they were brought up and schooled. As the key informant and main spokesperson for family A at the semi-structured interviews, mother Deepa reflects on their language use in India and claims not to have used any other language but Malayalam in her native country. Soon afterwards, I observe how she contradicts this claim when questioned about the Hindi language:

> Deepa: I speak Hindi. We all learn Hindi because it is our national language. I was in North India where they speak Hindi, so I'm fluent in Hindi.

Thus, Deepa agreed that she spoke the country's national language of Hindi during the period of seven to eight years that she spent in North India as a nurse. She went on to explain that although she had merely learnt to read and write in Hindi at school, she developed speaking skills in the language as it was used for conversing with patients in the nursing school.

According to Deepa, English was also used in her professional life in India. Deepa therefore recounts having had to use English as a lingua franca or common language in nursing school owing to the fact that the trainee nurses came from different parts of the country, and inevitably spoke different regional languages:

> Deepa: We were multilanguage students…so obviously they wanted us to speak in English in the building and in the premises.

As Deepa explains the nursing school being the linguistically diverse environment it was, English was endorsed as the language to be used for communicative purposes. Furthermore, the medium of instruction at the nursing school was English. The requirement that English and Hindi be used on a daily basis was reportedly challenging for Deepa and her colleagues, who had not previously used the two languages for communicative purposes:

> Deepa: Initially it was all difficult to use Hindi and to use English in all our talk. You know, but we had to do it.

Therefore, Deepa's initial response about having only used Malayalam in India can possibly be interpreted in the following manner. When asked what language(s) she used in India, Deepa may have associated language use with frequency of usage as well as competency in a certain language. Therefore, although Hindi and English were used in the work domain, it appears that

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they failed to carry the same amount of significance or value as Malayalam in Deepa's mind. Despite the instrumental value that is claimed to have been attached to Hindi and English at the nursing school, she does not identify the two as languages within her linguistic repertoire until probed further to reflect on other languages used within the work environments.

It was Deepa who initially brought up the topic of Janak's language use in India and abroad. According to her, Janak has always been and continues to operate as a monolingual Malayalam speaker, rather than a multilingual:

Deepa: He has only one good language Malayalam

It seems that Deepa's evaluation of her husband's language use referred mainly to his speaking skills, as was noted at a follow-up interview. Although Janak was able to comprehend the questions, he sought his wife's assistance when attempting to elaborate on his ideas in English. Recalling his time in India, Janak reported that he used Malayalam and no other language either at home or at the work place. Hence, it appeared that Janak's use and preference for the use of Malayalam at home was a result of his perceived lack of proficiency in English.

Their elder daughter Kavita was born in the Middle East, though lived in India when she first began to speak. The mother and daughter both claim the latter to be proficient in spoken Malayalam. Deepa refers to Kavita's literacy in Malayalam by saying 'she knows to read and write Malayalam as well', as the daughter was taught how to write and read in Malayalam at home and as part of the language classes conducted by the Malayali community following arrival in the UK. It is also noteworthy that this is the only family that refers to having brought Malayalam books to the UK for the children to read and use in order to improve language skills.

Family A's language use in the Middle East can be classified within the four domains of hostel, home, workplace and the pub, solely on the basis of

Deepa's references to said contexts. Whilst Deepa lived in a hostel to begin with, she moved into private accommodation once her spouse joined her in Muscat, Oman. According to Deepa, Arabic remained the language of the work place that was also most widely used in their social life. When asked whether she thought she was fluent in Arabic, she responded in the negative, claiming only to know how to count and verbally express simple ideas and questions in the language. As Deepa stressed the fact that she could neither write nor read in Arabic, it seemed that the mother associated fluency in a language with competency in both receptive and productive skills. The mother further claimed that Malayalam was used with her Indian colleagues at the hostel and in their home, when her spouse joined her in the Middle East. Although the elder daughter lived in the Middle East, she had not started speaking at the time, and therefore had no knowledge of the Arabic language.

When questioned about Janak's use of language(s) in the Middle East, Deepa reported that her partner had used only Malayalam in Oman. However, at the second interview Janak claims to have used Hindi as well as Malayalam since he had worked alongside Indian colleagues. He further reports that Arabic was used to a much lesser degree as it was apparently only used by the Arabic drivers at the work place.

In their present country of residence, the UK, the parents' language usage can be discussed in relation to the domestic context, workplace and telephone communication with Indian relatives. In the workplace, Janak and Deepa report that they both use English. It seems that the nature of their work requires the two to use English to different degrees of frequency. As a member of the nursing staff in the NHS hospital, Deepa uses English on a daily basis with colleagues, doctors and patients alike. As a chef, her husband's interactions remain within the restaurant's kitchen and he uses English with his co-workers and managerial staff.

Within the domestic context, Malayalam appears to be the sole medium of communication between husband and wife. All members of the family report

English to be the chief language used between the two children. However, Deepa and her daughters acknowledge that language alternation from English to Malayalam, and vice versa occurs in child-parent interactions:

> Kavita: At home I usually speak to my mother in English and Malayalam…half, half.

In this excerpt, the elder daughter Kavita refers to her conversations with her mother in which they claim to operate bilingually. The practice of using both languages interchangeably with her mother is also reported by Priti, the younger daughter. However, the younger daughter's preference for English is mentioned by Deepa at an interview as follows:

> Me: Do you worry that your children will refuse to use
>   Malayalam as they grow up?
> Priti: Stop
> Deepa: Wherever possible, she will use English. She recognises the people whom she can speak in English.

In this segment, even though the question is directed at Deepa, Priti interjects and says 'stop' voicing her own opinion about her language use later on in life. The mother claims that Priti will use English instead of Malayalam wherever, and whenever possible, and that her younger child will use English with those she identifies as being fluent users of English.

In these bilingual exchanges, cooperative language behaviour was implied in mother-daughter conversations with the elder child, whilst this characteristic was seldom observed in mother- daughter exchanges with the younger child. In such bilingual conversations, code-mixing and code-switching were often practised by the speakers. As previously mentioned, in the following segment, the Candara font represents utterances in English and Arial Rounded MT Bold those that were translated from Malayalam to English:

Segment 4

1005	**Deepa:**	**What time do you have to go to All Saints on June 6th? Is it at 6**
1006		**or 6:30?**
1007	**Kavita:**	**We will go at 6**
1008	**Deepa:**	**Look at the paper because I have night duty that day**
1009		07:30 I have to return
1010	Kavita:	Right…7 pm Mum
1011	Deepa:	Is it 7 pm?

In this dialogue, Deepa initiates a switch to English in line 1009, which is not unusual or uncommon language behaviour for her as reflected in the interactional data. Kavita too switches accordingly, and the conversation ensues in English thereafter. In instances where Kavita was heard to initiate the code-switch, it appeared as though the mother almost spontaneously changed to the language of her daughter's choice. Owing to recurrent episodes of this nature, the linguistic practices of Deepa and Kavita could be seen as cooperative. This perceived mutually accommodating linguistic practice between the mother and daughter is also suggested in the notion that 'women in social interaction with other women use language to establish interactional cooperation' (Esdahl 2003 p.81).

Frequent language alternation is noted in the exchanges between Deepa and her younger daughter Priti as well. In contrast to Deepa's conversations with Kavita, not only are the mother-younger daughter exchanges mainly in English, but it appears that Priti does not switch languages when her mother does so. Instead, it is Deepa who is seen to adapt to the younger daughter's language choices. As a result, Priti is less cooperative than her sister when it comes to switching to Malayalam when the language is introduced in conversation by her mother:

Segment 5

| 111 | Priti: | Mum, what's my second dessert and what's my third dessert? |
| 112 | | (0.5) |

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113   Priti: Mum do we have cake? Or chocolate brownies?
114   **Deepa: I told you to put this on**
115   Priti: What' the next dessert?
116   Deepa: We don't have any

Ignoring or choosing not to respond to Priti's queries on dessert, Deepa uses Malayalam in line 114 and reminds her daughter to put on an item of clothing. This does not produce a verbal response from the daughter. Even though it is revealed at a follow-up interview that the daughter does in fact put her clothes on, she continues to interrogate her mother on the subject of desserts in English. What is discernible in this segment as well as in other interactions between these two interlocutors is that the introduction of Malayalam to the conversation by the mother appears to have no effect on the daughter's preference for using English.

Even though the family is in the UK, the fact that they speak to their relatives in India on a daily basis indicated the parents' wish for themselves and their children to maintain close ties with extended family members. Referring to these phone conversations with their family members in India, Deepa says that Malayalam is the only language used by herself, Janak and Kavita. At a follow-up interview, I observed Malayalam to be the sole medium of communication between family A and the paternal grandparents. The elderly couple who were on their second visit to the UK, joined the interview, and used Malayalam with their son, daughter-in-law and grand-children from time to time. Keen to speak with the grandparents, I sought Deepa's assistance with translating a few questions. As Deepa had informed me that her parents-in-law could understand English although they did not speak the language, I asked a few questions on their language use in India. As I awaited their replies, Deepa addressed her parents-in-law in Malayalam and replied to me whilst the grandparents merely nodded their heads with enthusiasm as if in agreement with what was being said to me by their daughter-in-law in English. It was therefore, Deepa who responded to all the questions that I asked from

the grandparents. As a result it was difficult to gauge the grandparents' level of understanding in English that Deepa reports them to have had.

In relation to conversing with relatives, Deepa pointed out that it was their younger daughter Priti who at times used the odd English word when she did not know the Malayalam alternative:

> Deepa: When Priti talks to the grandparents, she speaks Malayalam. She might be adding some words in English, but the sentence is spoken in Malayalam.

As mentioned beforehand, the younger daughter was born in the UK, and has had no upbringing or language exposure to Malayalam in India. Her tendency to use more English than Malayalam within a household where the rest of the family predominantly use Malayalam could probably be explained in relation to her country of birth which is also the context of her upbringing and schooling.

In the arena of socialising, Priti claimed to use English to converse with her friends in the UK although according to her mother they are mainly born to Malayali parents. The elder daughter reported that she used mostly English with some Malayalam when talking to her Malayali friends. Both girls along with their Malayali friends were reported to attend the week-end Catechism and Malayalam language classes conducted by members of the Malayali community. As one of the volunteering teachers in these classes, Deepa explained that Malayalam was the medium the teachers expected the children to use during these sessions. When asked about languages they would like to learn, the elder daughter talked about currently learning French as a school subject, and said she would like to learn Hindi because of its official status in India. The mother referred to the younger daughter's interest in Hindi owing to the Bollywood movies she watches in the UK. Deepa explained that she translated the dialogues in Hindi for Priti which she did willingly as she was pleased about her daughter's interest for the language. On the basis of the self-report data, and the interactional data that captures the sound of television

programmes, it seems that the family subscribe to and watch Malayali channels at home.

4.2.4.2. Language Use of Family B

Table 4.3. Country and Domain-Specific Language Use of Family B

Family B				
Member	Country	Specific Context	Main Language	Other Languages
Father (Ashok)	India	Home	Malayalam	English
		School	Malayalam	Hindi
		Work	Malayalam	English
	UK	Home	Malayalam	English
		Work Place	English	
		Relatives	Malayalam	English
Mother (Chitra)	India	Home	Malayalam	
		School	Malayalam	Hindi
		Nursing School	Malayalam	Syriac
	Saudi Arabia	Work Place	Malayalam	English Arabic Syriac
	UK	Home	Malayalam	English
		Work Place	English	
		Relatives	Malayalam	English
Daughter (Anjal)	India	Home	Malayalam	
	UK	Home	Malayalam	English
		Relatives	Malayalam	
		Malayali Friends	English	Malayalam
		School	English	
Son (Ajith)	UK	Home	English	Malayalam
		Relatives	English	Malayalam
		Malayali Friends	English	
		School	English	

In family B, language use in India can only be discussed at length in relation to Ashok and Chitra, as it is reported that their daughter Anjali had left the country for the UK at the early age of three. Similar to the elder daughter in family A, Anjali was also brought up in a Malayalam-speaking home in India, and had therefore started learning and speaking the language in India.

As table 4.3 depicts, the father claims to have used English as a second language in India in addition to Malayalam. It should also be mentioned, that the father in family B is the only member from across the three families to refer to his family as possessing communicative skills in English. For instance, talking of his mother, a retired school teacher in India, Ashok says 'my mum, she can speak English, but usually we are using Malayalam'. Soon afterwards, reflecting on his language use with his siblings, all of whom live in India, Ashok reports that 'they are school teachers so they can speak English, but we are speaking in Malayalam'.

Having made this clear, the father presents a demarcation between knowledge of a language and its use, as he appears to believe that proficiency in a language does not necessarily lead to its use if the speakers have an alternative common language or Malayalam in this particular case.

Another language mentioned in relation to the linguistic repertoires of Ashok and Chitra is Hindi. Both partners report to have studied the language as a subject in school. Referring to it as a language that she would like to learn further, Chitra reports having acquired rather limited listening skills in the language when at school. When I asked Ashok whether he shared Chitra's sentiments about wanting to develop a deeper knowledge of Hindi, Ashok claimed 'it's too late for me now'. Ashok's words seem insightful as they could be considered to reveal his notions of second or foreign language acquisition as an adult. This was indicated when the couple were asked whether they had followed or were keen to follow English language classes- neither of the two

expressed an interest. The husband and wife believe that their present level of proficiency in English is sufficient to live and work in the UK.

Despite their apparent lack of interest in taking classes for language development, Chitra, reports to have studied Syriac as a foreign language whilst in College. She quite light-heartedly yet explicitly states that the language was chosen for no other reason, but to obtain a good mark at the foreign language examination which is a prerequisite qualification for those in her profession. The husband interjects at this point, and laughingly claims that his wife 'can't speak the language'. Therefore, once again, the instrumental motive behind learning a foreign language amongst the participants was highlighted.

As the only member in Family B to have lived in the Middle East for employment purposes, Chitra mentions English and Arabic as the two languages that were used in the work place with the doctors and foreign colleagues:

Chitra: There is only medium Arabic and English.

Referring to foreign co-workers with whom English was used, Chitra mentions the Filipino and Sudanese nationals. She says that all her Indian colleagues spoke Malayalam.

As the mother was the only member to have lived in the Middle East, and given that her son has never lived in India, the only context in relation to which the language use of all four members of Family B can be reported is the UK.

During my first visit to the family home, the parents had mentioned their son Ajith's preference for using English and his insistence that his family used the language when communicating with him. At this point in the interview, the parents explain that Ajith's preference for English arose out of a practical wish to understand everything that was being said during family discussions. The parents feel that, Anjali, who has had the benefit of living in

India, has a much better knowledge of Malayalam and converses with the parents in the language without any difficulty. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Ajith is not seen to converse to the same extent as his sibling in the interactional data. The interview data shows the parents' awareness of Ajith's preference for the use of English, which they accept and even speak of with admiration:

> Ashok: Ajith is a bit different. He always saying 'speak in English'. He don't know how to write in Malayalam. He don't know the Malayalam words. He's always telling us 'speak in English'.

In this segment, Ashok compares his British-born son to his daughter Anjali who spent her initial years in India. Whilst identifying his son to be 'different' to his older child in terms of language preference, Ashok presents an explanation as to his son's preference for the use of English. According to Ashok, his child does not possess a sufficiently wide vocabulary in Malayalam to use it as his primary medium of communication.

Therefore, as Ashok and Chitra report, Ajith doesn't have a similar level of understanding in the language, which can also be attributed to the fact that he is five years younger than his sibling.

Even though I had met Ajith on a few occasions outside of their home prior to my first visit to the family home, I felt that the child was quiet and not very forthcoming in relation to interacting, even with his parents whilst in my presence. As he was the youngest participant of the study, his behaviour was not in any way compared to the rest of the respondents who were older. Consequently, at the first meeting with family B, Ajith joined his parents and myself in the living room, remaining quiet but attentive to the conversation we engaged in. As my fieldnotes indicate, his silence was broken when his parents referred to a python Ajith had seen:

> The topic of the conversation had turned to a reptile of some kind that Ajith had stroked on a school visit. Ajith quickly climbs down from his chair, and comes and sits with me to show a picture of the incident on his dad's phone.

Ajith's contribution to our conversation, prompted by a topic that interests him, becomes a recurrent feature in the audio-recordings. As will be discussed later in the following chapters, the family interactions are dominated by topics related to work and school, which Ajith does not demonstrate an interest in and therefore does not contribute to.

It is also noted at the interview that Ajith is spoken to by his parents from time to time in Malayalam, which he responds to in his dominant language, English. As a non-Malayalam speaker, I was unable to gauge whether or not Ajith was responding appropriately to what was being asked from him by his parents. Nevertheless, this language practice of responding to Malayalam utterances in English was observed by me consistently and continuously throughout research-related and informal meetings with the family.

Like family A, family B keep in touch with their relatives in India on a daily basis by telephone. Although Malayalam is said to be the only language used with family members, the mother refers to a phone conversation she had had with her sister in which she had used English words quite regularly. The mother was able to recall the incident as a British colleague had overheard the conversation and had commented on the extent to which code-mixing took place in the conversation. As already stated, Ashok says that his family know English, but use Malayalam amongst themselves for communicative purposes. Based on this reported data, it seems that the families of the husband and wife have a grasp of the English language to different levels of proficiency and are able to comprehend and even use it alongside Malayalam in code-mixed utterances.

According to Ashok, Ajith uses English most of the time when speaking to the relatives. Chitra steps in at this point to explain that their son resorts to using English when he does not know the appropriate Malayalam word:

> Chitra: He *(son)* couldn't get the words

As a result, a similarity can be drawn between Ajith and Priti from family A, who is also said to struggle with vocabulary when speaking with her relatives in Malayalam.

Unlike Ajith who supposedly switches to English when struggling to express himself in Malayalam, Anjali is said to ask her parents or grandparents when she comes across a Malayalam word that she does not understand. According to Chitra, Anjali has learnt the entire Malayalam alphabet, and is highly motivated to improve her written Malayalam. Despite the daughter's professed attachment to the Indian culture and Malayalam, Chitra expresses her surprise at the fact that Anjali and her Malayali friends use English at school and during visits to their home:

> Chitra: They are not using Malayalam when they are talking to each other. They use English. Even when they are coming to visit at home, the children, they are speaking English. I just surprised why they are not talking Malayalam, but they just speak English.

Thus, whilst Ashok and Chitra solely use English at work and in domains outside of the home, Anjali and Ajith are also reported to operate bilingually within the domestic context.

Like the daughters in family A, Anjali attends the Malayalam language classes at the church. The family also report that they subscribe to and watch Malayali television channels at home.

4.2.4.3. Language Use of Family C

Table 4.4. Country and Domain-Specific Language Use of Family C

Family C				
Member	Country	Specific Context	Main Language	Other Languages
Father (Shantha)	India	Home	Malayalam	
		School	Malayalam	
		Work	Malayalam	Hindi
	UK	Home	Malayalam	English
		Work	English	
Mother (Vineeta)	India	Home	Malayalam	
		School	Malayalam	Hindi
		Nursing School	English	
	Saudi Arabia	Hostel	English	Malayalam
		Work	English	
	UK	Home	Malayalam	English
		Relatives	Malayalam	
Son (Anand)	India	Home	Malayalam	
		School	English	Malayalam
				Hindi
	UK	Home	Malayalam	English
		Friends	English	
		School	English	French
		Relatives	Malayalam	
Daughter (Anju)	India	Home	Malayalam	
		Play School	Malayalam	
	UK	Home	Malayalam	English
		School	English	
		Malayali Friends	English	
		Relatives	Malayalam	

Unlike the children in family B, both son and daughter in family C are Indian-born, and have therefore lived in India prior to migrating to the UK. According to Vineeta, Malayalam was the principal language that her family used in India. As table 4.4 demonstrates, Vineeta also reports that English and Hindi contribute towards the linguistic repertoires of herself, her husband Shantha and son Anand, although they are not proficient in these languages to the same standard as Malayalam. According to Vineeta, she studied Hindi as a second language in school and it was reportedly her favourite language. Even though she feels that she is not competent in reading and writing Hindi, Vineeta says that she can still understand the Hindi dialogue on Bollywood movies. Conversely, her spouse claims to be conversant in Hindi as he had worked in Bombay where the language had been the main medium of communication. Like the mothers in families A and B, Vineeta had completed her nursing qualifications in India in English.

Having attended an International school in India, Vineeta reports that Anand was already knowledgeable of English when moving to the UK. As English had been the medium of instruction in this school, Malayalam was merely offered as an additional subject on the school curriculum. His mother claims that Anand was not able to learn the entire alphabet or master his reading and writing skills in Malayalam before moving to the UK. Vineeta also talks of the son not having had any formal lessons in Malayalam since moving to the UK, and implies that he has, as a result, forgotten most of the alphabet. Unlike the other children, Anand and Anju do not attend the Malayalam language classes at the Church for personal reasons. Anand and Vineeta both point out that the former had learnt the numbers and the alphabet in Hindi at school in India. Anju who attended a nursery school in India, was learning the Malayalam alphabet, and had just begun to speak in the language at the time of moving to the UK. Similar to Chitra in family B, it was only the mother in

family C who migrated to the Middle East for a period of two years. Hence, during her absence, Vineeta's two children were brought up by her own family and in-laws, all of whom spoke only Malayalam.

Vineeta, having spent two years in Saudi Arabia, spoke of having used English in the workplace. She explains that although the main language of the work place was Arabic, her lack of knowledge in the language resulted in her having to use English instead. Recalling the languages used in the hostel, Vineeta explains that she was able to use Malayalam with her Indian colleagues, but had to switch to English in the workplace where the workforce was made up of different nationalities.

As is the case in families A and B, it appears that family C also use English on a daily basis; the parents use English as the one and only language in the places of work, and the children use the language in school. Vineeta claims to prefer Malayalam to English, but says that she is comfortable using the latter when the need arises to do so. She believes that her spouse also prefers the use of Malayalam, although he has to switch to English in the work place. Vineeta believes that Anju picked up English with ease when she started play school soon after coming to the UK. Moreover, it seems as though the family are open with each other, and even with outsiders regarding the perceptions of differences in their levels of proficiency in English. For example, Vineeta says that Anju corrects her English when they speak to each other in English:

> Vineeta: Anju says, 'mum that is not right, you should speak
>   like this'.

On another occasion, when father Shantha explains to me that he works long hours as a freelance Taxi driver, Anju interjects by saying 'it's good for him, he can learn English from the customers'. Everyone in the family including the father, laugh at Anju's remarks and outwardly it appears that the parents do

not take the daughter's comment as a slight. In fact, the mother's references to the children's proficiency in English gave me the impression that it is a matter of pride for her.

The mother identifies Malayalam to be the language that is most often used at home when all four members of the family are in conversation, and this practice is heard in the audio-recordings as well. Vineeta also notes that the children generally prefer English to Malayalam when they converse with each other. The children reiterate the same idea. The interactional data from this family also indicates that although the mother code-switches between English and Malayalam in replying to Anju, the father continues to use his native language.

Interestingly, Vineeta also makes references to times of the day when the daughter's tendency for using English increases. For example, Vineeta has observed that Anju uses more English than Malayalam soon after coming home from school. Both children name English as the language that is most used in school and as the language that they feel that they are most fluent in. Furthermore, Anand points out that English is his favourite language as most of his friends speak English, and there is no use for Malayalam in his communications with them. Notwithstanding the fact that the son reports using Malayalam and English with Malayali and English friends respectively, Vineeta does not necessarily agree. She claims that their children use English even with their Malayalam-speaking friends. Anju reports that she uses both Malayalam and English with her Indian friends. She also chooses both Malayalam and English as her favourite languages although she is unable to give reasons for her answer. So, it may be correct to suggest that the children associate a utilitarian value to the English language, and their language usage inevitably contributes to their language preferences.

Like families A and B, family C reportedly stay in touch with relatives in India by phone. Vineeta states that neither her family, nor her in-laws speak English, leaving Malayalam as the sole medium of communication for them

and their relatives. As Malayalam was the only language used in India, Vineeta is certain that her children have no difficulties in expressing their ideas in Malayalam although they have moved to the UK where the language is not used to the same extent. Recounting how her children were left under the care of her mother-in-law until she came to the UK, Vineeta stresses that the bond between her children and her relatives has not suffered due to their move to the UK. It seems that Vineeta sees her children's bond with her relations as reflective of their interest for Malayalam. The fact that the daughter continues to enquire about the meaning of Malayalam words she does not understand is testimony to the mother's confidence that her children will continue to use Malayalam in the years to come.

4.2.4.4. Participant engagement with the languages and cultural practices in the surrounding context- a summary

The hitherto discussed language and cultural practices of specifically three immediate family contexts, the church, the school and the workplace in the UK offer an insight into the factors which influence the participants' daily language use and preference.

In the work domain, the first-generation participants' language use is determined largely by the fact that they live and work in a majority-English speaking country. As already mentioned, the mothers reportedly used English at the work place in the Middle East and spoke of having had to use the language as challenging. In contrast, none of the participants refer to the use of English at the work place in the UK as arduous. It appears that especially for the four first-generation participants who are NHS employees, the work place is a linguistically accommodating environment where although English is the dominant language, there are no restrictions against the use of Malayalam with Malayali colleagues and patients. Thus, despite having differing educational backgrounds, the participants seem to have adjusted to the use of

English which is a mandatory skill within their respective professions in their present country of residence.

For the second-generation participants, especially the younger children, their language of preference, English, is also the medium of instruction at their schools in the UK. Therefore, the school becomes one of the contexts outside the home in which the children's preferred language becomes the predominant language of usage.

From amongst the previously mentioned contexts, the only domain that both first and second-generation participants attend on a regular basis is the church. The church represents religion, a cultural element and an extra-linguistic variable that draws a cultural kinship between the Malayalis and the majority faith in the UK. Thus, the religious texts the participants read from and the prayers they recite in English enable the Malayalis to practise their faith within a place of worship based in an English-dominant country.

As Gee (2011) points out, *Discourse* manifests itself in activities, ideologies, identities as well as in *discourse* or the use of oral or written communication. Therefore, the families' ability to participate in religious services and to engage in work and schooling in a majority-English speaking country demonstrate their capacity to realise these activities at the levels of *discourse* and *Discourse* (Gee 2011). As a result, English is the language that is predominantly used in the surrounding contexts of the participant families. However, within the domestic context, *discourse* seems to be enacted in both languages whilst it is in relation to the Malayalam language and Malayali culture that *Discourse* is predominantly observed within the families.

4.2.4.5. Participant-specific Language Use

On the basis of the self-report, observational and interactional data, the children's participant-specific language use in the UK is presented in the

figures 4.4 - 4.8. The interlocutors include immediate family, extended family and Malayalam-speaking friends.

Figure 4.4. Participant-Specific Language Use: Interlocutor- Mother
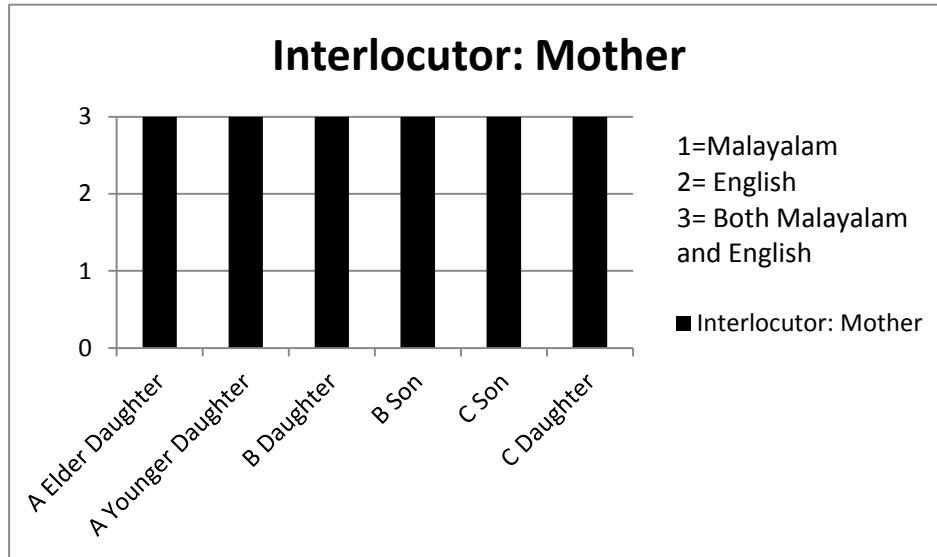
As illustrated in this figure, children across the three families report to use both languages with their mothers. The children did say, however, that they used one language more or less than the other in relation their language practices with the mothers. For instance, the younger daughter in family A reported that she used more English when talking to her mother. This reported language behaviour is also discernible in the interactional data. In family C, even though the son claims to use both languages with his mother, he uses predominantly Malayalam in the interactional data.

Figure 4.5. Participant-Specific Language Use: Interlocutor- Father
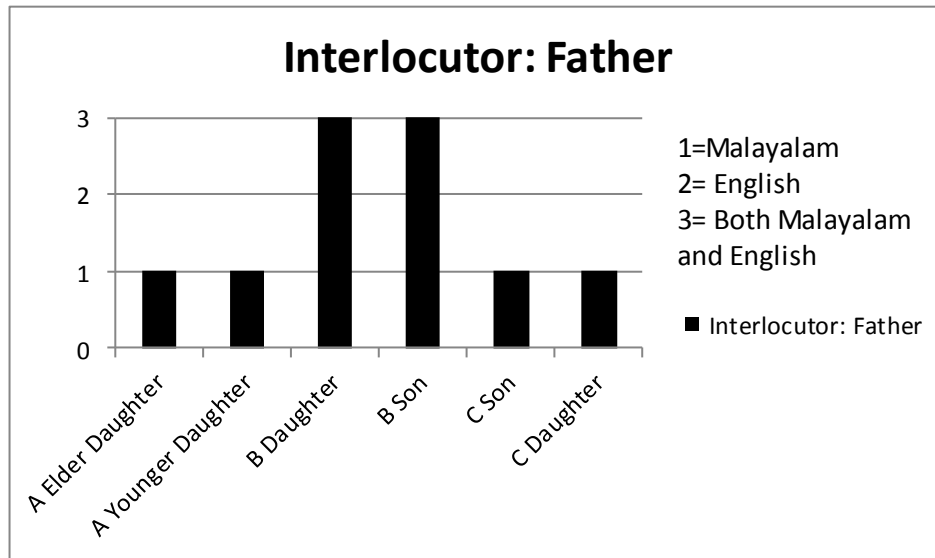
When the interlocutor is the father, it can be observed in figure 4.5 how the children, except for the brother and sister in family B, only use Malayalam. Even though the younger daughter Priti in family A uses code-mixing and introduces a few words of English when interacting with her father in the audio-recordings, her conversations with him are mainly in Malayalam. As had already been mentioned, the father in family B reports that his parents and siblings are proficient in English and that he had used the language in India as well. In the interactional data, the father is chiefly heard using English with his son, and therefore it appears that the father-child interactions in the family may, in fact, be bilingual.

Figure 4.6. Participant-Specific Language Use: Interlocutor- Sibling
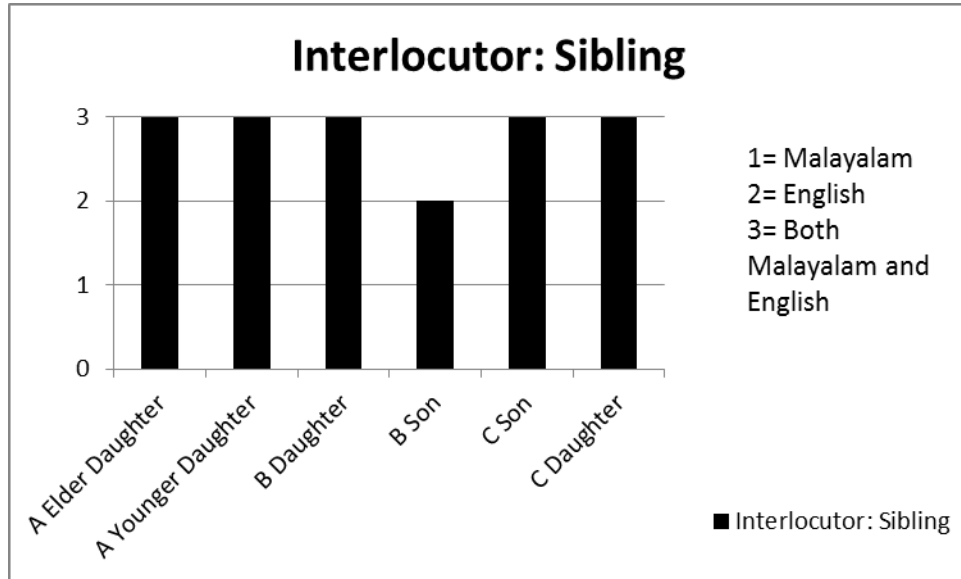
Except for the son in family B, the other children claim to use both languages with their siblings, a pattern of linguistic behaviour that is once again discernible in the interactional data.

Figure 4.7. Participant-Specific Language Use: Interlocutor- Relatives
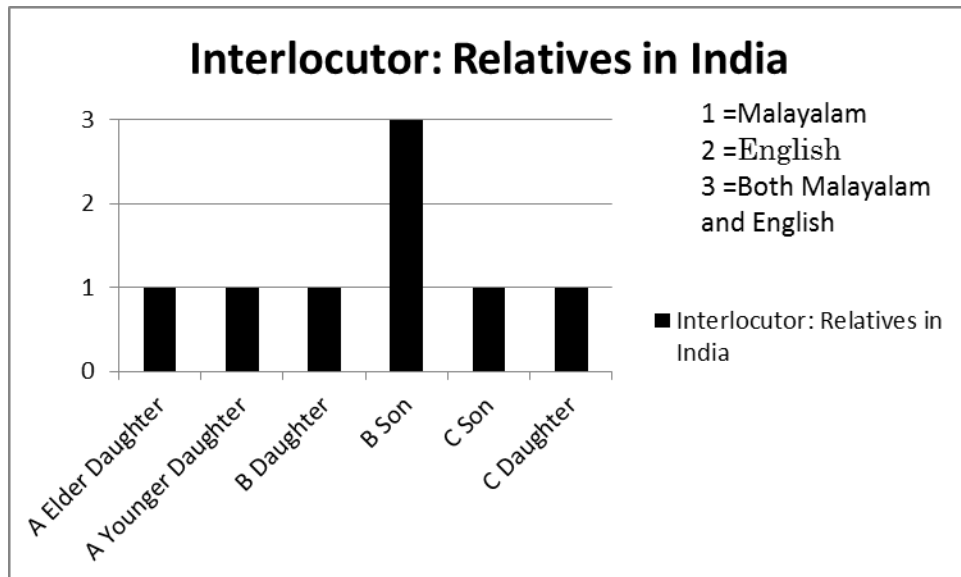
Once again, except for the son in family B, the children's linguistic behaviour with relatives is almost uniform. In other words, all the children across the three families use Malayalam as their main language of communication. As explained in the previous section, this does not mean that the conversations the children have are singularly monolingual for there is interactional and self-report data to suggest that code-mixing does occur especially when the speakers are the relatives and the younger children.

Figure 4.8. Participant-Specific Language Use: Interlocutor- Malayalam-Speaking Friends
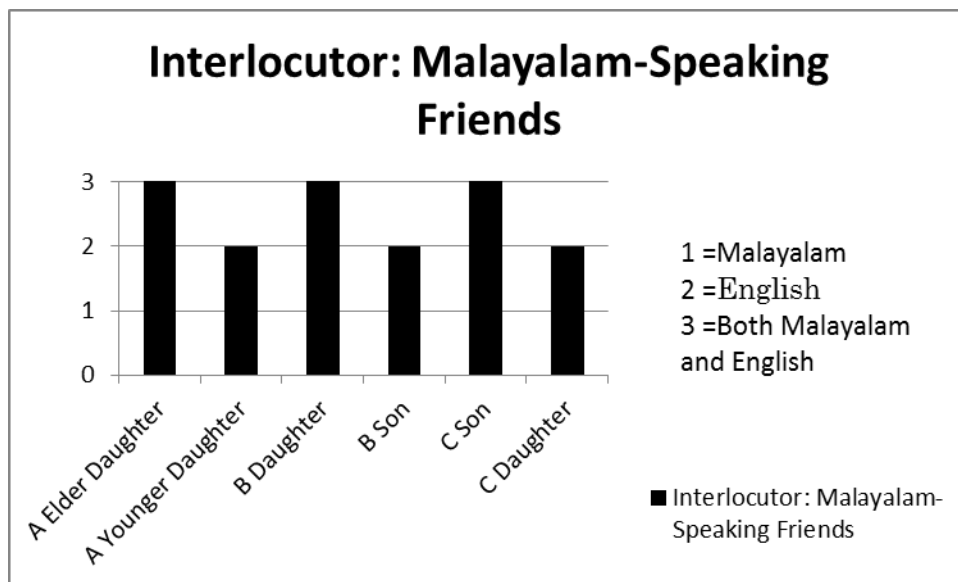
The second and most apparent linguistic behaviour is observed in relation to the languages used by the older and younger siblings with their Malayali friends. According to the children, the older child in the three families claims to use both Malayalam and English with their Malayalam-speaking friends. Showing an equally similar pattern of language use, the younger children in the three families report that they use English when conversing with their Malayali friends.

4.2.5. An Emic Perspective on Language Proficiency

The data of the present study suggests that one of the key determinants behind the linguistic practices of the speaker and interlocutor is their real or perceived proficiency in the languages within their linguistic repertoires. During the interviews, the participants almost always referred to how proficient they felt they were in terms of speaking skills in a certain language. The ensuing bar graphs have been produced for the languages that the participants spoke of whilst expressing their views regarding their speaking skills for a specific language.

In the descriptors for the Y axis, level 3 indicates that the participant believed himself or herself to be well-skilled in their speaking skills. Level 2 represents sufficient knowledge in speaking skills whereas level 1 indicates the self-perceived notion that the speaker had limited speaking skills.

Figure 4.9. Family A- Self-Perceived Language Proficiency
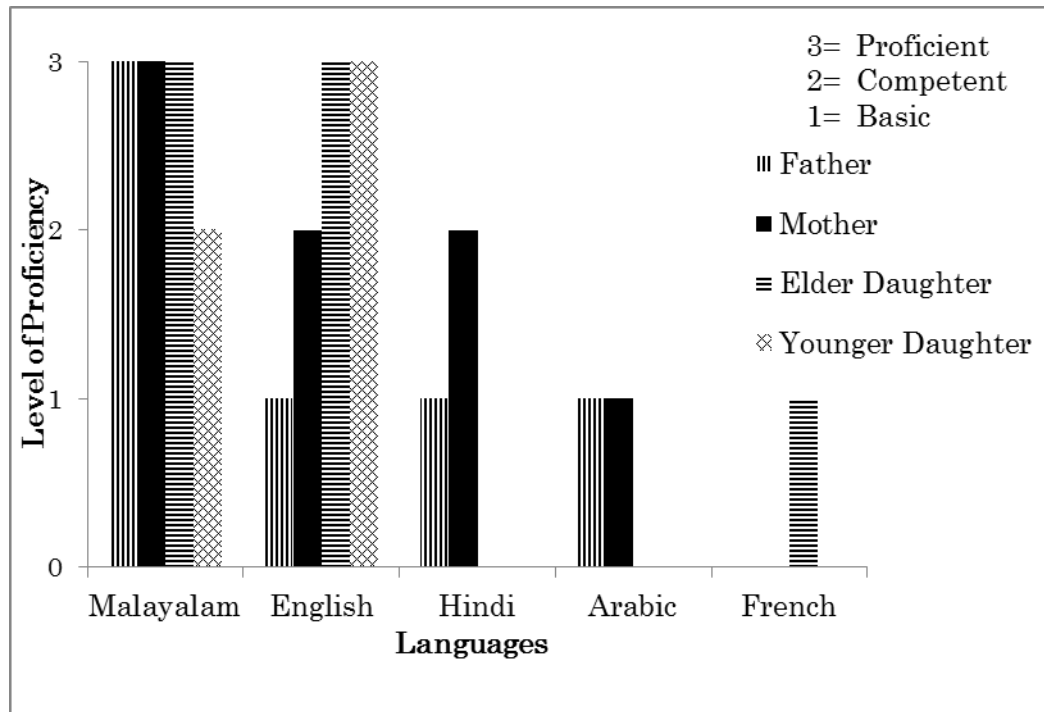
As figure 4.9 illustrates, the two languages common to all members in family A are Malayalam and English. However, as is clear from the illustration, speaking skills in Malayalam vary from proficient to competent and from proficient to basic for English. The two languages the parents claim to have a similar competence in are Malayalam and Arabic. The only language in which the sisters profess to have a level of competence to suit their age is in English.

Figure 4.10. Family B- Self-Perceived Language Proficiency
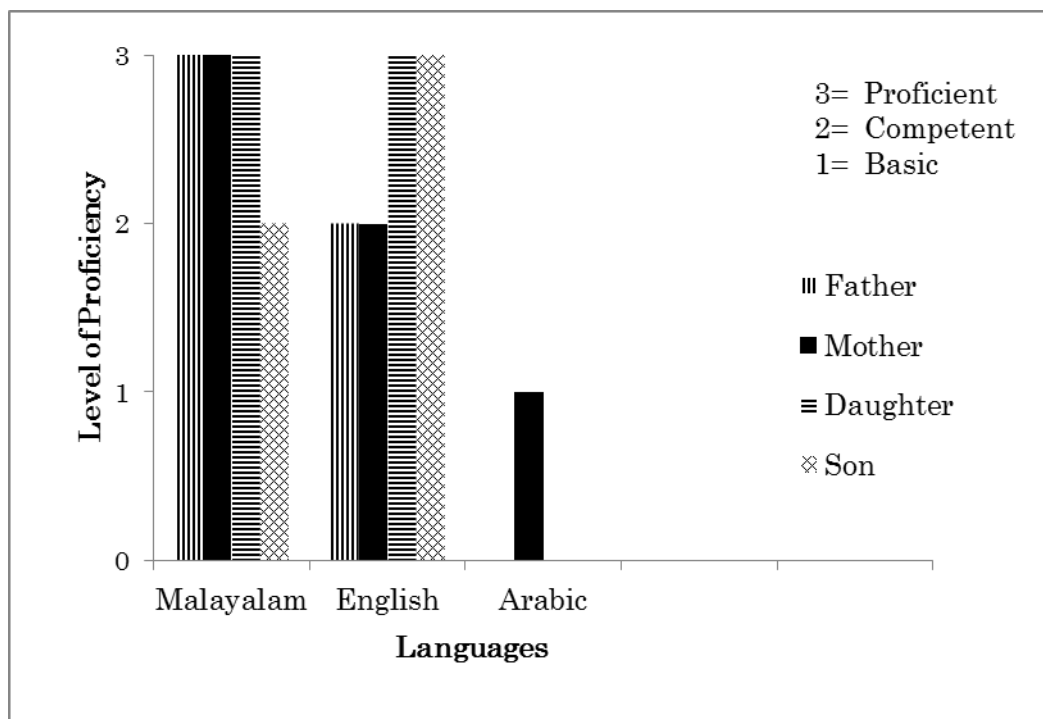
According to figure 4.10, the husband and wife in family B feel that their level of knowledge in Malayalam and English is the same. Even though the mother mentions Hindi and Syriac, Arabic is the only language in which she reports to have basic speaking skills. Like the children in family A, the brother and sister in this family both claim to be proficient speakers of English.

Figure 4.11. Family C- Self-Perceived Language Proficiency
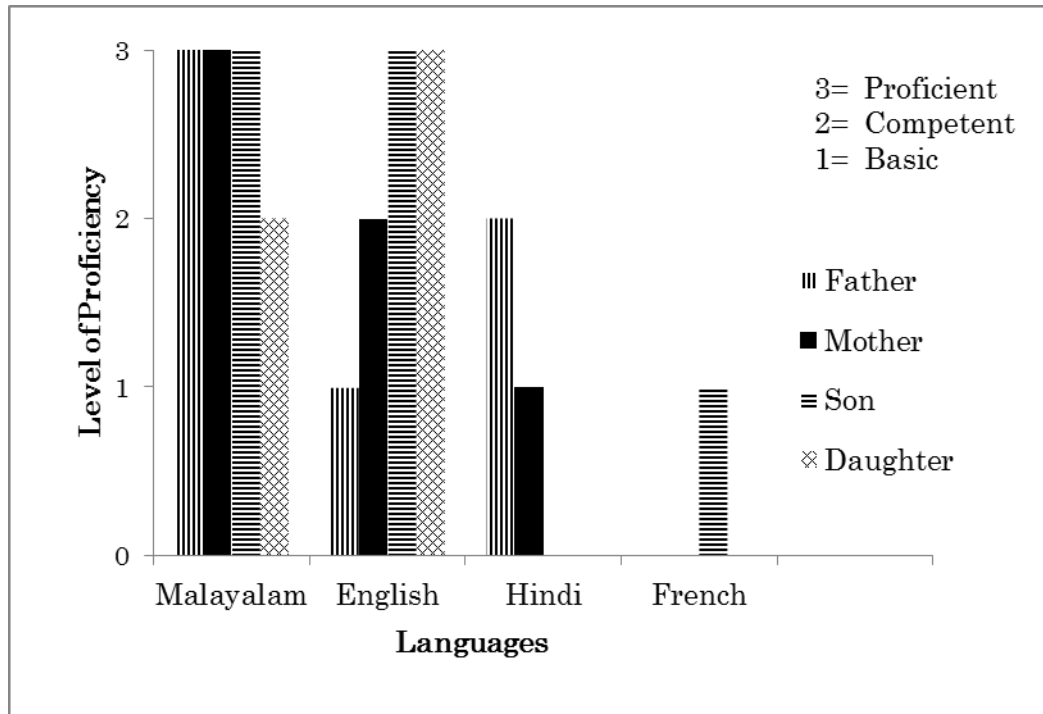
As figure 4.11 indicates, the only language in which the husband and wife in family C seem to think that they have similar speaking skills is Malayalam. In the data, it seems that the parents' tendency to use Malayalam more frequently is directly linked with it being the language that they are most proficient in:

> Vineeta: Some of the Malayalam words me and my husband
> use, the children still don't understand because it's
> hard, Malayalam is a hard language.

Vineeta therefore believes Malayalam to be a difficult language to learn, especially for her children who do not receive formal instruction in the language.

The siblings in the family are no different to the children in the other two families, as they believe themselves to be proficient speakers of English.

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Similar to family A, a significant difference in their knowledge of English is discernible between the father and the children in this family.

The graphs also show that the two mothers in Families A and B report having speaking skills in a higher number of languages within their linguistic repertoires when compared with their spouses. Arabic, the language that they claim to have learnt and used for purely instrumental purposes, remains non-existent in terms of usage in their present lives. When Deepa refers to Arabic, she says that she had basic speaking skills in the language at the time she used it in the Middle East. Therefore, it appears that the two mothers acquired and used the two languages as they had an instrumental value within their professional contexts in the Middle East.

The fathers in the three families have reportedly all studied or used three languages in spite of the fact that it is only in Malayalam, Hindi and English that the fathers in families A and C possess speaking skills. Whilst they themselves, as well as their partners, agree Malayalam to be the one language they have the most competent speaking skills in, Deepa says the language is her husband's only 'best language'.

In the UK all three fathers use English for work purposes. However, at the interviews it was noted that in families A and C Janak and Shantha's reported and observed level of competency in English varies significantly when compared with their partners' and children's knowledge of the language. This observation was reflected through Deepa's comments that Janak 'manages' in English, and Vineeta's claims that her husband has no option but to use the language as a taxi driver. Ashok in family B is the only participant to refer to it as their second language.

Whilst Ashok identifies English to be his second language, both Deepa and Vineeta claim that Hindi is the second language for themselves and their partners. This therefore remains a language that all three fathers, as well as

their wives, had studied at school in India, but had subsequently used to different degrees of frequency in their professional lives back home. For example, Janak said that his knowledge in the language was limited whilst Deepa claimed to be more proficient, having used the language in her work environment in India. In family C, Vineeta claimed not to have a good knowledge of the language, but reported that her husband had good speaking skills in the language having worked in Mumbai using Hindi as the medium of communication.

The older children in families A and C, both of whom were twelve years of age when the data collection began, acknowledge ability in four languages in total. However, it is the degree of claimed competence in the languages that differs. For example, whilst the daughter in family A professes to be knowledgeable of both spoken and written Malayalam, the son in family C does not report to have written skills in Malayalam. The daughter Anjali in Family B is therefore similar to the daughter in Family A as they are both competent in spoken and written Malayalam. According to her mother, Anjali, who is two years younger than the older children in the other two families, has learned the entire Malayalam alphabet.

4.2.6. Participants as Strategic Language Users

As already mentioned in the methodology chapter, the interactional data was studied to identify what I choose to call 'conflict zones'. These segments of conversation were then analysed to investigate whether the participants used their language practices to challenge and/or maintain status and power relations within the traditional family hierarchy. In order to triangulate the emergent findings, self-report data was required. With this in mind, the participants were asked to identify the language(s) they felt they used in a number of situations that I selected. These situations were thought of as instances in which the parents' authority would be exercised, and perhaps also

challenged, by the children. The responses were tabulated in the following manner.

Table 4.5. Situation-Specific Language Use by Children

Situation-Specific Language Use by Children			
	Requesting permission from parents	Asking a favour from family member	Arguing with parents	Arguing with sibling
Family A				
Kavita	Malayalam English	Malayalam	Malayalam	Malayalam English
Priti	English	Malayalam English	Doesn't argue with parents.	Malayalam English
Family B				
Anjali	Malayalam	Malayalam	Malayalam	Malayalam English
Ajith	English	English Malayalam	English Malayalam	Malayalam English
Family C				
Anand	Malayalam	Malayalam English	Malayalam	English
Anju	Malayalam	Malayalam	Malayalam	English

Table 4.6. Situation-Specific Language Use by Parents

Situation-Specific Language Use by Parents			
	Praising children	Disciplining children	Disagreeing with spouse
Family A Parents	English	Malayalam	Malayalam
Family B Parents	English	Malayalam	Malayalam
Family C Parents	Malayalam/ English	Malayalam English	Malayalam

As table 4.5 illustrates the older children professed to use mainly Malayalam in instances where the children thought back to asking for permission from parents or a favour from a family member. On the other hand, two of the three younger children claimed to use English as well as Malayalam. When arguing with each other, the sisters in family A and the brother and

sister in family B said they used both Malayalam and English. This practice is discernible in each sibling-sibling conflict zone identified from family A, which were all either bilingual or monolingual Malayalam episodes. In family C, however, the siblings claim to use only English when arguing with each other. Instances of disciplining and arguing that are discussed at length in chapter 7 indicate that the brother and sister in family C use Malayalam as well as English in conflict situations. Their father Shantha's comments on his children's language use during arguments establishes my observation, as he claims that the siblings begin the verbal contention in Malayalam and switch to English as they do not know, to quote him, 'any cross words in Malayalam'. This response from the father could imply that the children opt to use the language that they are most proficient in when in verbal conflicts. It also carries the underlying implication that the parents, from whom the children receive the greatest amount of input in Malayalam, do not use such words themselves.

When asked about the children's language use when arguing with parents, all except Priti and Ajith claimed to use only Malayalam. Whilst Priti claimed that she did not argue with her parents, Ajith said that he used both English and Malayalam.

Although Priti and Ajith did not elaborate, the other children reported that their language use in these situations depended largely on the addressee as well as language proficiency both of themselves and their interlocutors.

As illustrated in table 4.6, the parents across the three families agree that English and Malayalam are used for praising and disciplining their children respectively. Vineeta in family C explains further by stating that they would incorporate terms such as 'good' and 'excellent' into Malayalam sentences when praising their children. The wife in family B refers to swear words in English and says 'we can't use the language here they are using, we don't want to hear that word even'. It is clear that she believes Malayalam to be an appropriate language for disciplining the children. The husband and wife

dyads in the three families also acknowledge Malayalam to be the language they felt most comfortable using in situations such as disagreements or arguments.

4.3. Emergent Themes

The domain-specific and participant-specific language practices of the parents indicate that language prerequsites within their careers and multicultural settings more or less determined the languages used by the older generation within the professional spheres in India, the Middle East and presently in the UK. On the other hand, it appears that it is aptitude in the mother tongue that is agentive in Malayalam being used as the dominant language by the parents in their homes.

Conversely, the second generation, especially the younger children claim to prefer the use of English owing to the fact that it is the language that is reportedly most often used outside of the home domain. Although the parents operate bilingually within the workplace and in contexts outside of the home, the fathers demonstrate a notable tendency towards the use of Malayalam only at home. Amongst the second-generation participants, the older children operate bilingually or predominantly in Malayalam irrespective of gender. The younger children of both genders show a preference for the use of English over Malayalam at home. These findings can be developed further and discussed under the themes of 'intergenerational language shift' and 'gender and age as determinants of language use'.

4.3.1. Intergenerational Language Shift

In keeping with the notion that differences in generations are representative of language change (Milroy and Gordon 2003), the results of this research indicate a language shift from Malayalam to English at an intergenerational level from the Indian-born parents to the younger children across the three

families. How such a language shift is inferred in relation to language use will be expounded with reference to the gender and generation of participants in the three families.

The fathers in the three families operate as monolingual Malayalam speakers within their homes in the UK. The data suggests the fathers have a much lower proficiency in English when compared to their wives and children. When asked whether they would consider developing their English language skills through formal instruction, none of the fathers expressed an interest in doing so. For example, talking of her husband's attitude towards English, Deepa says the following:

> Deepa: He doesn't know that he's made a mistake, so he's not shy. He's not reluctant to speak in English-he thinks language is for conveying message. To me, it's embarrassing if I make a mistake.

In this excerpt, Deepa explains her view that Janak is not always aware that he makes mistakes in English, and that he is therefore not embarrassed about not being able to speak 'Standard British' English. The fathers use English in the UK for purely instrumental purposes and in situations in which Malayalam cannot be used.

Janak's reported lack of motivation for developing his skills in English should be discussed further, as this may provide further insight into the family's language practices. In family A, it has already been mentioned that Deepa wished to come to the UK in order to send her daughter to school in a majority English-speaking country. As such, Deepa claims to use and is heard speaking English at home with the children, and readily adapts to her daughter's language practices. In contrast, Janak who apparently did not want to come to the UK does not attempt in any way what so ever to use English at home. In family B, Chitra made the decision to migrate to the UK to give her

daughter the opportunity to gain a sound education. However, her husband, Ashok, says that he is not content with life in the UK and hopes to return to India one day. Even though Ashok and Chitra use English at home, the extent to which it is used is rather insignificant when compared to their use of Malayalam. Hence, it appears that the fathers' dissatisfaction with life in the UK is reflected in their use of Malayalam as the language of the home, and their lack of interest in improving their English language skills.

Conversely, the mothers and older children in the three families operate bilingually. The older children, especially the daughter and son in families B and C respectively, are heard using only Malayalam when conversing with their parents. Despite the perceived accommodating language practices of the mothers and their older siblings, the younger children are reported to use and are heard using predominantly English in the audio-recordings. For instance, in family A the elder daughter tends to operate bilingually in the UK within and outside of the home. However, interestingly the younger daughter's reported language use indicates a more monolingual practice where English is used on a daily basis within and outside of her home. Despite the fact that the family subscribes to Malayali television channels, which is also observed in the other two households, Deepa says 'Priti's always interested in English channels on TV'. Even though Deepa and Janak are never heard asking the children not to use English in the audio-recordings, the extent to which Priti uses English at home with her sister is not encouraged according to Deepa who says 'we discourage it when they talk in English at home'. When Priti herself was asked which language she thought she spoke the best, she claimed readily that it was English.

In spite of her preference for English, there are instances in which Priti has no choice but to use Malayalam. Priti uses Malayalam with individuals who do not have the proficiency to talk to her in English and the following conversation illustrates that Priti is able to converse in Malayalam even

though she is merely repeatedly questioning the grandmother about items of food native to India:

Segment 6

2702	**Priti:**	**What is that?**
2703	**Grandmother:**	**That's pickle**
2704	**Priti:**	**What's this?**
2705	**Grandmother:**	**That's a dish called Sambhar**
2706	**Priti:**	**And this?**

However, when reading through the transcripts of the audio-recordings, it became rather evident that Priti is heard very rarely in the conversations with her father and grandparents, particularly when set in contrast to the degree to which she converses with Deepa and Kavita. As English is Priti's language of preference, it is far from surprising that she chooses to interact much more frequently with the two members in her family whom she recognises to possess the proficiency and adaptability to alternate between Malayalam and English when conversing with her. Conversely, with her father, grandparents and possibly other relatives, Priti's conversations are limited as she seems to be aware that her interlocutors do not have the same capacity or motivation as her sister and mother to use English with her. Deepa's response on her younger daughter's interlocutor-specific language use seems to reflect this point:

> Deepa: Whereever possible, she will use English. She recognises the
>   people whom she thinks she can speak to in English.

The mother's views about Priti's capacity to determine interlocutor-specifc language use as well as the daughter's preference for English, appear to be communicated in this excerpt. In a similar fashion, Janak in family A uses English with interlocutors such as myself who do not speak his native

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language. Consequently, at home he uses his mother tongue consistently to converse with members of his family.

The fact that language use at home in India was limited to Malayalam is reported by Deepa who says 'In India we never used any other language but Malayalam'. Having said this, Deepa's next response shows her awareness of the changes taking place within the linguistic practices of her family in the UK:

Deepa: Since Priti started speaking, when they be together, they speak in English, and most of the time in the house, that's the language. But when Priti was little, we all spoke in Malayalam because Kavita knew Malayalam.

In Deepa's response, she refers to her daughters as 'they' and thereby points to the transition that her family is undergoing from a monolingual to a multilingual family.

In families B and C, the transition from Malayalam to English from the parent to the child generation is also starkly obvious. For instance in family C, the younger child who was born in India and introduced to Malayalam at an early stage before moving to the UK prefers English over Malayalam. An excerpt from the interactional data in which Anju questions her understanding of Malayalam implies that it may not be her dominant language:

Segment 7

24	Anju:	First I standed with dad and I was like there are girls at the side **right**
25		**at the back and asked dad if I could go and sit with them**
26		**but dad was like no…I don't know Malayalam do I?**
27	**Vineeta:**	**You can understand Malayalam when you hear it can't you?**
28	**Anju:**	**No, I mean yeah I will understand it but I won't know what**
29		**some words mean. Then, I pretended to be an ice cream**
30		**man and played for a long time.**

In this conversation, the daughter narrates an incident that takes place at a place of worship that she had attended with her father. Anju questions her knowledge of Malayalam in relation to the fact that she had failed to return a palm leaf that she and the other devotees were instructed to return at a certain point during the prayers. Interestingly, in line 26, Anju's question about her knowledge of Malayalam itself is in Malayalam. In the following line, when Vineeta says that Anju does, in fact, have listening skills in Malayalam, the daughter still doesn't reply in the affirmative straight away, and trails off to another topic soon afterwards.

Consequently, the data from the three families suggests that whilst the fathers remain largely monolingual users of Malayalam, the younger children are showing a strong preference for the use of English over Malayalam. Despite the younger girl's preference for using English in family A, she comes across as an active learner of Malayalam in the interactional data. However, the sons are not reported to be as proactive in learning Malayalam. Therefore, amongst the male participants, the language shift is observed from the Malayalam-preferring fathers to the son in family B who uses predominantly English and the son in family C who does not display much enthusiasm for improving his written skills in Malayalam.

In the literature review, reference was made to Hua (2008) and Canagarajah (2008), who find intergenerational language shift occurring in two minority language communities in the diaspora. The present study also seems to suggest a similar trend for language shift from Malayalam to English. Nevertheless, what the findings also highlight is that among the younger generation participants, the older and younger children should not be considered as a homogeneous group in terms of their language practices. The older children in general appear to use Malayalam with their parents and to limit their use of English to interactions with their siblings. The younger children, however, show an inclination towards using English much more extensively within their homes. Hence, it may be concluded that second-

generation children should not be examined as a uniform group when intergenerational language shift is observed in multlingual immigrant families.

4.3.2. Gender and Age as Determinants of Language Use

The intergenerational language shift further highlights that gender and age are agentive in language use, as the languages spoken at home are associated with one or both parents and one or both siblings. In order to elaborate on this theme it is important to consider language use, and more importantly acquisition, of the participants.

In relation to the linguistic profiles of the participants, it was revealed that even though the parents in the three families have studied or used different languages at varying points in their lives, they all have a common dominant language which is Malayalam. For example, the mothers across the three families have worked as nurses in India, the Middle East and now within the UK. Two of the three mothers report knowing, or having used four languages at various points during their career. The fourth language for both these mothers is a language that that was learnt during their employment in the Middle East. It is interesting to note that the languages the mothers learnt whilst working in the Middle East were acquired solely for instrumental purposes, and were discontinued once they moved to the UK. Hence, like their husbands, the wives claim Malayalam to be the language they are most proficient in, and identify this as the preferred language:

Vineeta: I feel more comfortable with my mother tongue Malayalam.

The three older children in the families, two females, and one male, fall within the age range of ten to twelve years. All chiefly use Malayalam at home. The two female children in families A and B claim to be proficient in Malayalam, and also actively engage in learning the language in the UK, both at home and

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through the language classes offered by the Malayali community on Sundays. For example, the husband and wife in family B say the following about their daughter Anjali's interest in learning Malayalam:

> Chitra: She wants to learn Malayalam in writing, and in between was learning school time, she said 'oh mummy how to write, the word…?' So she's copying in Malayalam writings, very keen to write. She knows the alphabet all now.
>
> Ashok: Yes, she likes Malayalam.

The son in family C, however, does not express an equal interest towards becoming literate in Malayalam. Even though he had studied Malayalam as a second language whilst attending an international English-medium school in India, he does not portray himself as being proactive in developing his Malayalam skills. Thus, in relation to the older children, it can be said that the female children show a greater interest towards the maintenance of the Malayalam language.

The three younger children across the families, also made up of two females and one male child, are bilingual. Although the daughter in family C was born in India, and the other two in the UK all three are proficient in English and demonstrate speaking skills in Malayalam. Amongst the younger children, the two female children display a greater effort towards using Malayalam at home in comparison to the male child from family B.

Although it is the females from the participant group who show an overt interest for maintaining the Malayalam language through its use and learning, the fathers also play a role in engaging in Malayali community activities that the children can participate in. Therefore, unlike Jones and Morris (2009) who find Welsh-speaking mothers in mixed-language marriages to be the key agents in maintaining their heritage language, in the present study, both parents and older siblings seem to promote the use of Malayalam at home.

4.4. Concluding Remarks

The interactional data points to the fact that the amount of time two or more members in a family spend with each other ultimately determines the nature, length and breadth of their interactions. More interestingly, the data illustrates how the gender of the speakers determines the extent to which they spend time with each other. For instance, in family A, the two sisters study, read, play and practise dance and converse with their mother together. In family B, the sister is hardly ever observed talking to her brother, talking mostly to the parents in most instances. Also, when comparing the recordings of this family with those of family A, it was noted that there were no recordings of the brother and sister playing together. The absence of play-time talk in family B may be explained in relation to the difference in gender and age between the two children. Therefore, the son plays with the only other male member in his family, who is the father. One such example is where Ajith plays cricket with his father in the lounge. In this episode, although the conversation is limited to exclamations from the father such as 'good shot', most of the exchange tends to be in English. Therefore, when interacting with the son, the parents and sister use English much more frequently as will be illustrated through the conflict zones in the next chapter.

Ajith's rare appearance in the family conversations could therefore be explained in relation to the linguistic practices of the parents and his sister. In their conversations the parents and the daughter mainly use Malayalam. As has already been explained in the chapter, the son is the only British-born member in the family and has had no Indian upbringing. Therefore, the son's preference for using English is referred to by the parents at each and every meeting I arranged with them. Even though the rest of the family acknowledge and are aware of the son's preference for English, this does not seem to alter or minimise the degree to which the parents and the daughter use Malayalam at

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home. Hence, the son's contributions to the family conversations that are predominantly in Malayalam are minimal.

Moreover, it must be noted that Ajith was only five years old when the recordings took place, and is also the youngest member across the three participant families. Consequently, it should be acknowledged that his language skills in relation to contributing to conversations that are mainly in Malayalam would not have been as advanced or on par with those of his sister who is his senior by five years.

Just as Ajith spent a lot more time with his father, in family C it is the mother and daughter relationship that is significant, as they appear to spend a substantial amount of time together. The bulk of the interactions from family C include exchanges between the mother Vineeta and her daughter Anju. Like the mother in family A, Vineeta had taken the responsibility of completing the recordings whilst she was at home with the children. Her husband Shantha a freelance taxi driver could choose to work whenever his partner was at home. This meant that Vineeta and her husband were very rarely at home together, and what the former mainly recorded were her conversations with her children. Anju is the younger child in family C, but older than the two younger children in families A and B. Therefore as the only female child in the family, Anju appears to spend almost all her time at home with the only other female member in the family, her mother. Moreover, Anju is of an age where she is able to assist her mother in household chores, and makes herself useful by helping with the cooking and gardening. This allowed me to think along the lines of how gender-based relationships within the family can determine the extent to which interactions between two members take place at home.

This does not, however, completely rule out talk between Vineeta and her son Anand as scarce. Conversations arising out of activities that Anand also partakes in, such as having a meal with his sibling, mean that he also becomes a participant in the dialogue. What is more, Vineeta and Anju spend almost all their time in the kitchen, a domain within the home which Anand

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uses only when eating his meals or doing his homework with the help of his mother. As a result, almost all interactions involving Anand were taped over a meal or whilst he completed his homework with his sister. Therefore, whilst conversations with Anand are included in the interactional data, such exchanges do not occur to the same extent as the interactions that take place between the two older children in the other two families.

In families A and B, the daughters Kavita and Anjali both female appear to spend much more time with their mothers talking about clothes, school and every day topics. Kavita and Anjali are, as already explained the first-born in their respective families.

In relation to the participants that contribute to the interactional data, what becomes distinctly evident is the rare appearance of the fathers in families A and C. Their spouses report that they were either away at work, or resting when the recordings took place, as they work late evening and night shifts. Although the father in family B also works night shifts, most of the recordings were carried out during meal times before he left for work, when the whole family sat together and conversed, with the exception of the younger son.

On the basis of the self-report data gathered and discussed, it may be apposite to arrive at the following conclusions: self-report data essentially yields an insight into language learning and use that the participants may introspectively weigh   against socially recognised values and ideologies before they are shared with the researcher. This may, of course, be motivated by identity-related goals whereby an individual attempts to present himself or herself as belonging to a certain social class for instance. Edwards (2008) highlights ways in which historical, religious or cultural prestige can affect the self-report data of immigrant multilinguals. Block (2006) also says that immigrants from India do not report the languages that are conventionally associated with their nationalities as the languages of their homes. In my study, the Malayali participants appear to be proud of their native language

and open about its use. However, with a view to enhancing the validity of self-report data, language in practice as they have been captured in the recorded family conversations will be examined in chapters 5 and 6.

5. Cultural Values

5.1. Introduction

Cultural values and language practices were identified as being at the very core of the research questions of the current study when they were initially presented in the introductory chapter. Whilst introducing the language practices, the participant profiles revealed further that the parents, the three older children and one of the three younger children have previously lived in India. They have consequently experienced first-hand the Malayali culture in its ancestral setting. Since my first introduction to the participating parents, I have known them to be first-generation Indian immigrants. As I began to consider them from an ethnographic viewpoint, I began to work on the assumption that they would still hold on to the values they were brought up with in their country of birth, in spite of having moved to the UK as adults. A further postulation was made in relation to the participant children in general irrespective of their country of birth, who I believed would be better acquainted with the culture associated with the UK, leading to possible conflicting values across the two generations. Consequently, these two notions on the possible discrepancies in the cultural values between the two generations led to the formulation of the following question:

Research Question 2: What are the cultural values of the parents that the children oppose or accept? How do these shared or conflicting values manifest themselves in the language practices of the participants?

For the purpose of this study, *cultural values* will be defined rather broadly to include the intangible beliefs and attitudes that relate to the customs, traditions, practices and fundamentally a way of life within a specific culture

(Banks et al. 1989). Given that language is the medium by which culture is communicated and transmitted, the main purpose of this chapter will be to examine how the cultural values the participant group uphold and index through practice manifest themselves in their everday language practices.

In addressing the previously cited research question, the findings are analysed and developed under three sub headings. The first section has a dual focus. Firstly, to examine endeavours to maintain the parents' main or heritage language seen as an expression of cultural values within the home domain and at community level. Secondly, this sub-section explores the link between commitment to heritage language maintenance and linguistic identities. The discussion in the second sub-section expounds on the participants' educational values that branch out to formal education at school, religious studies and the learning of Indian classical dance. Displaying both converging and diverging beliefs and attitudes and bringing this chapter to a close is the third sub-section on family values.

5.2. Language Values

People of diasporic settlements have been characterised for their strong sense of ethnic identitiy as well as a commitment towards the preservation of culture, language and history of the native country (Cohen 2008; Block 2006). In the findings, there is strong evidence to suggest that these two features are equally applicable to the participants of this study. However, this commitment towards heritage language maintenance is not consistently observed, reported and/or reflected in the language practices across the two generational participants. Therefore, within these ethnically homogenous two-generational families, the commitment for maintaining heritage cultures does not always signal a desire to embrace a linguistc identity that is associated with the heritage language in question. This section will examine this divergence within the linguistic identities of the participants, whilst also illustrating its link with the notions of ethnic identity and language status.

5.2.1. Heritage Language Learning and Maintenance as a Collaborative Endeavour

As heritage language maintenance became a focal point of discussion in the literature review, the prevalent premises in this field will first be restated. Although the home has been identified in general as the primary context in which languages of first-generation immigrants can be maintained and transmitted (Vaccarino 2011; Fishman 1991; Vygotsky 1978), recent studies (Hussain 2011; Canagarajah 2008) suggest that this practice is not discernible amongst certain South Asian communities in the UK. Conversely, Extra et al.'s (2004) research series of home language maintenance in Europe indicates that multilingual families not only promote their heritage languages, but also acknowledge and endorse the use of English in their homes.Within the home domain, Fishman (1991) identifies parents as possessing the capacity to ensure intergenerational language transmission, even in the absence of institutional support. Accordingly, Jones and Morris (2009) find that mothers play a more significant role in heritage language socialisation in families with Welsh-English speaking parents. In contrast, Mills (2005) reports on mother language ideologies prevalent within a community in the UK, stating that mothers do not necessarily transmit their first language to their children, but take into consideration the status of the language within the multilingual context they find themselves within. Wei's (2012) observations on the home as a platform for negotiating linguistic practices within multilingual families, considers not only the role of parents, but also grandparents within the domestic context and how it could essentially determine heritage language transmission or its replacement with a language with socio-economic prestige amongst the younger generations. Research which focuses on the older siblings' contribution towards the promotion of heritage languages within multi-generational multilingual families is hard to come by. An aspect that has caught attention in the field is language brokering by multilingual adolscents (Tse 1996), and the

ways in which this benefits their own language proficiency. Outside of the home domain, community-level efforts to maintain heritage languages in the UK, in relation to teacher and student attitudes to the learning and teaching of community languages have received reasonable attention in recent years (Block 2008; Creese et al. 2008).

In keeping with previous research that claims the home to be a context in which heritage language advocacy can take place, the findings of this study suggest the home to be a domain in which Malayalam is used, taught and promoted amongst the second-generation participants. However, within the domestic context, the data indicates that the maintenance of Malayalam is not the responsibility of the parents only. In addition to the parents, the older children and relatives become role models for the use of Malayalam. Moreover, the results of this research demonstrate how, in addition to the home, the Catechism and language classes organized by the Malayali community play a central role in promoting and teaching the Malayalam language.

In family A, the mother reports at the preliminary round of interviews that she used to bring Malayalam books from India for her older child Kavita to read and talks of her intention to teach her younger daughter to read in Malayalam:

> Deepa: Priti wants to learn to read and write Malayalam and
> she copies off books. We are planning to teach her to read.

Putting her thoughts into practice, during the course of the research process, Deepa starts sending her daughters to the Malayalam classes organised by their community. The interactional data from family A yielded further evidence in relation to Deepa's statements about her motivation and her daughters' interest for teaching and learning Malayalam respectively. For example, the following excerpt is suggestive of Priti's enthusiasm for learning Malayalam and how it is encouraged by the mother:

Segment 8

141   Priti: Mum is this right? **1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9.** Is that right?
142   **Deepa:**   **5 and 7?**
143   **Priti:**   **1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9**
144   **Deepa:**   **Then what happened to 6 and 7?**
145   **Priti:**   **6, 7, 8, 9, 10, that's correct, right?**

In this conversation, Priti starts counting in Malayalam whilst the mother is serving lunch. Therefore, it is of her own accord that the child starts to learn the numbers and seeks her mother's help along the way. Another example in which Priti is heard to actively seek out her mother's help in learning Malayalam is as follows:

Segment 9

1016   Priti: Mum what does **Dushta Rubi** mean?
1017   Deepa: It means bad spirits

Therefore, it appears that Priti's motivation for learning her parents' native language is supported and encouraged by her mother. In relation to language use, it has already been mentioned in relation to segment 5 and self-report data presented in chapter 4 that the child prefers English. Therefore, what this discrepancy shows is that enthusiasm for learning a particular language does not necessarily lead to the same or similar degree of motivation for using the same tongue. In family A, the paternal grandparents also show their interest in teaching their grandchildren cultural elements that enhance their understanding of the Malayalam language:

Segment 10

2485	**Grandfather:**	**Do you know this song?**
2486	**Kavita:**	**No I don't**
2487	**Grandfather:**	**I will teach you**
2488	**Kavita:**	**What is this song?**
2489	**Grandfather:**	**It's a religious song**

In this excerpt the grandfather, who is visiting the UK, introduces the topic of a Malayalam religious song that he offers to teach the two granddaughters. What was noted in relation to this excerpt was the girls' interest towards learning the song expressed by Kavita in line 2488. This episode is yet again suggestive of the children's drive to develop their understanding of the Malayalam culture and language. It also serves as an example of the contribution made by the grandparents towards heritage language transmission amongst the younger generation Malayalis.

As already illustrated through the mother Chitra's self-report data in chapter 4, the elder daughter Anjali in family B is also reported to be equally keen in developing literacy skills in Malayalam. She too, like the two daughters in family A started attending the Malayalam classes that were launched soon after the data collection began. In family C, as reported beforehand, the older child Anand had studied Malayalam as a subject in school in India, but according to his mother Vineeta 'he hadn't had any lessons' since moving to the UK. Amongst the younger children in the three families, it is only Priti from family A who is seen to display a great motivation for developing her literacy skills in Malayalam. There are no indications either in the self-report data or in the interactional data to suggest that the other two younger children are as keen to develop their reading and writing skills in their parents' native language.

Therefore the language classes offered by the Malayali association and the input from the parents appear to be the only methods by which the child

participants improve their reading and writing skills in Malayalam, provided that they are interested in doing so.

Nevertheless, what the findings from the self-report and observed data indicate is that the second-generation participants receive many opportunities to develop their speaking and listening skills in Malayalam by watching subscription-based Malayali television channels at home and participating in Malayali cultural festivals, religious sermons and family gatherings within the community. For example, in all three homes, Malayalam radio and television channels are heard in the background of the recorded interactional data. Furthermore, on many occasions I have walked into the participants' homes when they were watching Malayali programmes on television. The parents across the three families also claim at the interviews that their children should be able to communicate with their relatives in India in Malayalam. Therefore, for the families, greater importance is placed on the ability to communicate verbally in Malayalam with other speakers of the language.

Thus, what the parents' self-report data seems to suggest is that they consider Malayalam to be the main link between their children and their relatives in India. Even though the parents report that all their relatives and friends send their children to English-medium schools, they also say that none of them use English at home or with them when they call or make their annual visits to India. Evidence of the families using Malayalam with their relatives back home could be found in the interactional data in two out of the three families. The following phone conversation from family A indicates Priti's enthusiasm for talking to her Indian relatives in Malayalam:

Segment 11

3678	**Priti:**	**What about Mallika chechi?**
3679	**Aunt:**	**You are calling her chechi**
3680	**Grandmother:**	**This is Priti**
3681	**Aunt:**	**Oh really? I thought it was Kavita**
3682	**Priti:**	**I can speak Malayalam. They are teaching me well**

In this conversation, the aunt calling from India mistakes Priti for her older sibling as the younger child is heard to use Malayalam fluently. Realising her aunt to have mistaken her for her sister, in line 3682 Priti refers to how well her family is teaching her to speak Malayalam.

Even though the parents across the three families express their eagerness to teach Malayalam to their children whilst living in the UK, it seems as though the adults did not hold a similar level of enthusiasm for teaching the language when they were in India. For example, the son Anand from family C was reportedly sent to an international school in India in which the main medium of instruction was English. According to his mother, the son had studied Malayalam only as a subject within the curriculum. Even Deepa and Chitra, the two mothers from families A and B, made the decision to migrate to the UK in order to send their children to school in a majority English speaking country.

However, since moving to the UK it appears as though the parents consider it their responsibility to develop their children's knowledge of Malayalam. Thus, the parents report to involve themselves in the Sunday Catechism classes as volunteer teachers and all subscribe to Malayali television channels in order that the children receive additional exposure to the language via the media. It was previously mentioned that Vaccarino (2011) identifies parents as the only people who most often have the capacity to pass on their heritage languages to the children. The results of this study show how in addition to the parents, other immediate family members such as older siblings and grandparents play a key role in encouraging the use of Malayalam through practice at home. For instance, there appears to be a certain uniformity in relation to interest for language maintenance amongst older siblings of both genders. The older siblings not only use Malayalam more frequently at home, but the two female children also show a keen interest for developing their language skills in the language: especially the daughter in

family B. Therefore, it could be stated that heritage language maintenance is a collaborative activity that involves family and community-level efforts.

However, as Jones and Morris (2009) postulated in their own research, the mothers in this study also play a significant role in encouraging the learning of Malayalam despite the fact that both parents in each family claim to be proficient in the language. Finally, the parents of all three families have without hesitation stated that they are confident that their children will continue to learn and use Malayalam in the years to come. At the same time, it has become evident from the observed and reported data that there exists no insistence or strict regulations on the part of the parents that the children should use Malayalam within the home. Therefore, the very fact that all children have succeeded in grasping Malayalam from the input they receive from parents, relatives, community language classes and television signify their interest for the language. As previously noted, studies on minority language maintenance at home (Hussain 2011; Canagarajah 2008) have implied that South Asian immigrants in the UK do not always promote this in practice at home. However, the Malayali community show a different trend whereby Malayalam is taught and used within the home.

Nonetheless, this apparent enthusiasm for learning Malayalam is not reflected in the language use and preference of all the children. A comparison of the older children in the three families also raises a question of gender and language maintenance amongst immigrant children. The daughters in families A and B appear to show greater interest in preserving the first language of their parents. However, this concept is challenged by the younger daughter in family C, whose linguistic practices are more akin to her English-speaking peers. Similar to the daughter in family C, the younger children in families A and B are also reported to prefer the use of English within and outside of the home context. As a result, even though the practice of heritage language maintenance is promoted by the mothers and the older female children, there remains a noticeable divergence in language use between the older and

younger children in the three families. The following section will explore ways in which the practices of language use and transmission relate to the linguistic identities of the participants.

5.2.2. Diverging Linguistic Identities

In this ethnically homogeneous participant group, a discrepancy between the two-generational participants was observed in relation to their linguistic identity. Williams (2005) finds that language proficiency and degree of usage do not necessarily dictate that Chinese American bilinguals associate a language with its corresponding ethnic identity. In the present study, it may appear that the British-born and Indian-born children also set their Indianness apart from their linguistic identity. Conversely, ethnic and linguistic identities appear to be one and the same for their parents. The manner in which this divergence is suggested between the older and younger generation perceptions will be discussed as follows.

In India, the parents' native language of Malayalam has regional status. Other than being identified as a minority ethnic language, the language has no status or prestige in the UK as a whole. Nor has Malayalam received the recognition that certain South Asian languages have received as a subject to be taught at secondary school and at university level in the UK. Notwithstanding the fact that Malayalam has no socio-economic status within the host country, the parents do not appear to be affected by the status of the languages that they associate so closely with their identity. This was noted as being significant since it had been observed in other minority language immigrant communities living in English dominant countries that the status of English lessens the prestige of the heritage languages in the minds of the minority communities (Mills 2005). Revealing this notion to be inapplicable to the Malayali immigrant group, the parents of the present study are observed to attach value

to their native language and promote its significance amongst the second-generation.

Hence, it seems that for the Malayali parents the value in Malayalam lies in the fact that it is their native language. This notion was communicated through the self-report data in which both Deepa and Vineeta talk of Malayalam as having been the *only* language they had used in India. Even though further probing reveals that all of the parents had studied Hindi at school and had even used this national language for work purposes, Malayalam appears to take place of precedence in their linguistic repertoires.

Thus, the data brought to light through this study suggests that the parent generation associate their identity with Malayalam, even though the families have settled down in the UK permanently as British citizens. Thus, the parent generation have not been dissuaded by the fact that Malayalam holds no prestige within the UK. The value they attach to the language in relation to their identity and that of their children as Indians is far stronger. Thus, in terms of their ethnic identity, all the parents claim to be Indian:

> Vineeta: We changed our citizenship but we are still Indian.
>
>   I still think of myself as pure Indian.

Vineeta's words are noteworthy, as this statement is made whilst referring to the British citizenship that she and her family hold. The self-report data from the other parents resonates with Vineeta's point-of-view about their ethnic identity. To quote another example from the self-report data, Deepa speaks of Malayalam as 'our language', whereby she implicitly establishes a linguistic identity not only for herself but also for her family.

The self-identified linguistic and ethnic identities of the parents are associated with their country of birth. With regards to the children, however, it may be appropriate to suggest that they are in the process of developing a dual linguistic identity for themselves. As Canagarajah (2007 p.931) writes 'people

develop simultaneous childhood multilingualism, making it difficult to say which language comes first'. It seems that this notion is applicable to the child participants within my study, who are exposed to the Malayalam language at home and within the Malayali community whilst concurrently receiving formal education and living in a majority English-speaking country. However, the dissimilarity in the degree of exposure the children receive in terms of input and usage in the two languages seem to determine their observed primary self-identification with English. For instance, both Anand and and Priti in families C and A respectively refer to English as their dominant and favourite language for the following reasons:

> Priti: Because I get to use it a lot
> Anand: Well most of my friends are English, and there's no point
>   speaking in Malayalam to them.

These responses seem to suggest that degree of usage not only contributes to language proficiency but also eventually determines language dominance and preference for the individual.

The divergence in the linguistic identities of the parents and the children was reflected in the parents' thoughts on the language practices of the children. In family B, although Ashok and Chitra report that their younger child Ajith struggles to speak in Malayalam, their self-report data seems to convey a sense of pride in the fact that the child is British-born and that his dominant language is English:

> Chitra: He's an Englishman. We know when it's too hot to switch off
>   the radiator 'cause his cheeks go red

In this excerpt Chitra applies a stereotypical view to her son in order to identify him as being different to them. Even though both parents refer to the difficulties that Ajith faces in expressing himself in Malayalam, they do not

seem as concerned in relation to teaching him the language as the mother in family A, who also has a British-born child. As previously mentioned, the two parents are equally proud of their daughter Anjali's competence in Malayalam, and like Vineeta in family C, they express their confidence that the children will continue to use Malayalam in their adult lives.

It appears that the children within this study project a dual linguistic identity shaped by the need to maintain ties with their Indian heritage and the necessity to acculturate into mainstream society in the UK. In addition to heritage language learning, other forms of teaching and learning were also observed to take place within the three families, all of which served to give a better understanding of their educational values.

5.3. Educational Values

In chapter 4, reference was made to the socio-economic factors that encouraged the three families to migrate to the UK. The opportunities in employment and education for the mothers and the children correspondingly proved to be the reasons that stood out amongst these factors. Therefore, the value the parents are perceived to attach to education and the ways in which the children are seen to respond to these parental aspirations will be examined in this section.

5.3.1. Academic Achievement

In the literature review, mention was made of the high literacy rate in Kerala, the native land of the Malayali parents. Morever, it was mentioned that according to the National Curriculum Framework Report (2006), English signifies the Indians' aspiration for a quality education, whether nationally or internationally. According to the Malayali mothers within this study, Kerala is home to many English-medium schools. As a result of this fact, the medium of instruction in UK schools was not the sole reason they represented an attractive option to the families. Instead, as Chitra from family B explains, it is

the approach to the provision of education in England that was considered more beneficial for her children:

> Chitra: There's a different style of education here. In India it's theory-based education, but here it's practical education.

Having received her own primary, secondary and post-compulsory education in India, the mother presents her assessment of the education system in the UK when discussing her reasons for settling permanently in the country. Similar to Chitra, neither her partner nor the other parents within the participant group have been educated in the UK. This observation could be seen to imply a gradual transition in the mindset of the parents in terms of the reasons they feel the need to educate their children in their present country of residence. It initially appears that, an education within a majority English-speaking country was the determining factor behind the families' decision to migrate. On arrival, and following initiation into the education system, it is the method rather than the medium of teaching that takes precedence for the parents.

Their migration does not however, imply that they devalue those who are educated in India. Expressing this notion, Deepa refers to the social mobility of the Kerala woman of her generation:

> Deepa: All the house wives in India are graduates. If I go back to India, I'll be illiterate because I did a diploma. If I had a plan I would have done a degree. But I wanted a job, so that's why I diverted from studies.

Comparing herself to her peers, Deepa expresses a feeling of having failed to reach her full academic potential. Also, noteworthy is the way in which she does not consider the fact that the housewives she refers to are at home despite having graduated from university. The reference to the *educated housewife* carries with it certain nuances and connotations, irrespective of geographical positioning. Thus, this reference may carry underlying implications of socio-

economic status and affluence that women have gained owing to their academic achievements, which have in turn made it unnecessary for them to work. It appears that Deepa considers the level of education achieved by a person to be of greater importance than their subsequent employment prospects. Of the three mothers, Deepa was particularly noted for the emphasis she placed on the education of her children at home. Deepa's aspirations for her daughters to excel in their studies were reflected in the conversational data:

Segment 12

1062	Deepa: Can you beat him in English?
1063	Kavita: Probably
1064	Deepa: And in Science?
1065	Kavita: Definitely
1066	Deepa: So it's the only one subject he's in front of you?
1067	Kavita: Yeah Maths

In this dialogue, Deepa questions Kavita on the daughter's potential to perform better than a classmate in school. As well as sharing the mother's competitive spirit, the daughter's responses seem to express her confidence in her own academic ability. Like Kavita, her younger sibling Priti is often also heard to be reading English books and attempting mathematical calculations of her own accord at home. As Kavita is reported to have shown a keen interest for reading English books from a young age, it appears that she has set an example to her sister. Deepa is therefore seen to stress the value of education whilst the daughters appear to understand and share their mother's aspirations for them.

Thus, education is seen to be promoted as a necessity for both male and female children in the three Malayali families. As a way of providing additional academic support, all six children attend Kumon which is an independent education provider offering tuition in English and Mathematics. Whilst the parents inform me that this tuition is costly, they and many other families in the community send their children to the classes on a weekly basis. The

mothers in families A and C are therefore often heard on the audio-recordings assisting their children with Kumon homework. As a result, it could be said that the parents, especially the mothers take on the role of educators within the home domain. In family C, this responsibility is shared by the husband and wife. The following segment shows one of the many instances in which Vineeta assists her daughter with her English homework:

Segment 13

858	Anju:	The show was... oh no no no,
859	Vineeta :	**What is it? Come here, Mummy will help you.**
860	Anju:	I need a rubber. I put this one wrong.
861	Vineeta:	((Vineeta starts reading)) The fortune teller
862	Anju:	was visited
863	Vineeta:	Give it here. Complete the words using the correct words...

As evident from this excerpt, Vineeta helps her daughter with the English worksheets assigned at the Kumon classes. Whilst Vineeta offers the same support to her son, the interactional data indicates that it is the father that the children approach for help with their mathematics homework. The interactional data from family B does not capture any instances in which the parents offer to help the children with their studies or episodes of the children requesting assistance from the parents. Nevertheless, during an interview with the parents, they inform me that their daughter had received the subject prize for mathematics pointing to the award that she had received at the school assembly. The only participant from the children's generation who is not heard studying in the audio-recordings is Ajith the five-year-old son from family B. Having attended a day care centre when the interactional data was collected, it is unlikely that he would have been assigned homework in the first instance. Thus, the data seems to suggest that the older generation across all three families promote the value of education whilst the younger generation share similar sentiments in relation to excelling in their studies.

As previously discussed within the literature review, Tse (1996) investigates multilingual adolescents in immigrant families and finds language brokering or translating from a heritage language to English, and vice versa, to be a significant role that multilingual adolescents carry out for their parents. The older children involved in this study were much younger than Tse's (1996) participants and were not observed or reported to carry out translation of this nature for their parents. This may also have been due to the fact that the mothers in families A and C and the two parents in family B are observed to have a level of proficiency in English that allows them to engage in their daily tasks without the assistance of their children. Having said this, the research data contains evidence of the parents seeking the help of their children in relation to English, or the children correcting the parents' pronunciation of their own accord.

For example, in family A, it was noted with interest that language instruction was not a unidirectional process whereby the children were always taught by the mother. As illustrated in the following excerpt, the mother turns to her elder daughter Kavita for assistance with English:

Segment 14

800	**Deepa:**	**Kavita what is the meaning of** diligent?
801	**Kavita:**	**I don't know.**
802	**Deepa:**	**Check the dictionary then.**
803	**Kavita:**	Diligent **means** ((reads from the dictionary))

In this segment, Deepa asks the meaning of an English word from her elder daughter. In place of accepting Kavita's response in line 801, Deepa asks her daughter to refer to a dictionary and to locate the definition on her behalf. As mentioned in chapter 4, Vineeta from family C seems proud of the fact that her younger child Anju corrects her English pronunciation. The data from families A and C seems to suggest that Deepa, Kavita, Priti, Vineeta and Anju are all language learners within their respective families.

What is more, as already discussed, there is evidence that the learning of both Malayalam and English are endorsed by the mothers within the domestic context. Even though the fathers are not heard teaching their children in a similar manner to the mothers, there is no indication that they encourage or discourage the learning of one language over the other within the home context.Therefore, the data suggests that whilst the parents within all three families speak of their children's academic achievement with equal pride and satisfaction, some appear to be educators as well as learners of language within the domestic context. In other words, the teaching and learning of languages amongst the older generation within these homes appears to be gendered, as it is the mothers who seem to play a proactive role in these two areas.

Another area of learning that the participant children engaged in and experienced parental support for, is Indian classical dance. Cultural values were presented in the introduction to this chapter as encompassing attitudes and beliefs relating to traditions. Therefore, one of the main characteristics of the three Malayali families that I had noted in the pre-research phase and have subsequently been able to develop is their commitment and passion for an Indian classical dance form steeped in tradition. The manner in which this school of dance offers first-hand experience to the Malayali children of a tradition of transmitting knowledge from one generation to the next will be examined in the following section.

5.3.2. Bharatanatyam Dance: A Window to Cultural Transmission

Personal association, observation and the study of interactional data of the families, led me to assume that the Malayali parents' hopes for their children were not restricted to their academic work. As already mentioned, the female children in the three families were already students of the Bharatanatyam dance classes conducted by my spouse when the data collection began, and they continue to train in the dance form. In Indian society, even in present times,

training in dance or music is almost considered essential for a female child. Historically, Bharatanatyam was taught by male teachers known as the *nattuvanars* whilst students who performed within temple walls were female (Meduri 2008). This gender division is no longer seen within the dance practice, as there are both female and male dance teachers in the field. Geographically, Bharatanatyam, the Indian classical dance form the female children learn in York, has its origins in Kerala and is also the most well-established dance form in India. It is likely that these features attract Malayali families to Bharatanatyam dance. As will be explained in the following paragraphs, it seems to me that it is the *guru-shishya parampara-* the teacher-disciple tradition (Prickett 2007) embedded within the teaching of Indian dance and music that appeals to the immigrant Malayali parents.

Traditionally, students of dance spent many years training in dance under their Gurus within the guru-shishya parampara system until the disciples themselves qualified as dance teachers and could pass on this knowledge to another generation. As many practising artists have realised, including my own spouse, students of Bharatanatyam in the diaspora do not necessarily train in dance in order to take this up as a career later in life. As such, my partner merely draws on elements of this traditional approach that can be readily adopted into his dance practice in the UK.

The guru-shishya parampara essentially develops a student's respect and dedication towards not only the guru but also the art form being studied. Moreover, the training requires students to pay obeisance to Hindu gods, teachers, parents and the audience by reciting Sanskrit prayers and performing a short dance routine that concludes with the disciples kneeling on the floor with clasped hands before and after each training session. Therefore, embedded within this dance tradition itself, is the practice of respecting elders, which the Malayali children in the study are observed to have embraced with great enthusiasm.

Consequently, the parents report during casual conversations and at interviews that they consider dance to contribute to the cultural awareness, as well as the personal, emotional and physical maturity of their children. The three mothers interviewed as part of the research have, on many occasions, expressed their regret of having missed the opportunity to learn the art form as children. Their motivation and respect for the dance form that offers their children an insight into Indian culture appears to be shared by their children. The interactional data includes the two sisters in family A, as well as the daughter in family C, practising dance at home in their mothers' presence. It is not only the Malayali families who are a part of the dance classes, but the members of this community in general refer to my spouse as *their* dance Guru. Therefore, it could be suggested that dance has created a medium for transmitting Indian cultural values to the younger generation Malayalis. This may be why Deepa says the following during an interview:

> Deepa: My sister's family migrated to Australia. She said 'come with us'. I said 'no'. Our life is here, with you and our dance teacher.

Deepa's response is suggestive of the weight her family places on Bharatanatyam, a dance form that introduces aspects of Indian culture and tradition to their children. Her reply also indicates that dance has helped them decide that their life should be established in the UK.

Hence, it could be suggested that classical dance is an element within the Malayali's culture that the two generations share a similar interest in and hold in high esteem. The third area of education discernible in the data related to the religious practices of the participant families, as the following section documents.

5.3.3. Religious Education

So far, the parents' and childrens' shared values regarding the benefit of education and the significance of a form of Indian classical dance have been examined. In relation to the three Malayali families, the home was presented as a context in which the learning and use of both Malayalam and English took place. The teaching and learning that the parents, children and the Malayali community actively participated in also included religious education. Also identified in terms of the participants' religious practices was that it became another mode of exposure to the Malayalam language.

As mentioned in chapter 4, mass at the local Catholic Church was attended on a weekly basis by the participants, whilst the Malayali association organised and offered Catechism classes to the Malayali children over the week-ends at the same church. The families also report that they attend mass conducted in Malayalam once a month. The interactional data further suggests that family C attends a temple in a neighbouring city in the UK in which the main medium of communication is Malayalam. For instance, segment 7 presented in chapter 4 includes a conversation where Anju asks her mother about her understanding of Malayalam. In this excerpt the daughter is relating to her mother a visit to a temple with her father in which the priest spoke Malayalam with the devotees. The religious services at these places of worship offer the children further exposure not only to the religion, but also to the Malayalam language.

In the observational fieldnotes, I record the fact that in each family home, a picture or two of Jesus adorn the living room walls. Furthermore, the religious observations that the families engage in at home are seen to educate the children on the customs associated with Malayali life. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, family C moved to a new house during the data collection process. Just before the move, Vineeta's father offers his daughter some advice on entering the new house for the first time, saying the following:

Segment 15

621 **Father:** **And go in and say a prayer first before sitting down.**
622 **Vineeta:** **Yeah Papa, we will do that.**
623 **Father:** **Ok, say a prayer ok?**
624 **Vineeta:** **We will do that for sure Papa. That's how things are**
625   **Papa, and the priest will come anyway.**

Whilst the father reiterates the importance of reciting a prayer at the point at which they first enter the house, Vineeta appears to display her awareness of the custom by reassuring her father and referring to the intended visit of a priest in lines 624 and 625. This conversation not only highlights the religious customs observed by Catholic Malayalis, but also illustrates the way in which cultural practices are passed down from the grandparent's generation to that of the parents. Despite being an adult herself, Vineeta accepts her father's advice on observing religious practices and this transmission of religious customs is noted to be continued from the first-generation parents to the second-generation children as well. For example, the interactional data in family C contains episodes in which the families pray together in the evenings:

Segment 16

1494 **Anand:**   **Do we have to say our prayers now?**
1495 **Vineeta:** **Yes, we have to. Go sit there for your prayers**
1496   **((Shantha, Vineeta, Anand, Anju chanting prayers and hymns in**
1497   **Malayalam))**
1498 Anju: ((Reads out a religious text in English))
1499 **Shantha** **((Recites in Malayalam))**

In this interaction, Shantha, Vineeta and Anand recite prayers individually in Malayalam. Anju who is also in their presence, does not recite any of the prayers in Malayalam on her own but reads from a religious text in English from time to time. However, she joins in with the rest of the family when prayers are recited together in Malayalam. Therefore, religion appears to be an

important element in the lives of the parents as well as the children across the three families.

The educational values that the parent generation appear to uphold and pass on to their children brought up features relating to language use in the arenas of dance, religious practices and language learning within the home and the Malayali community. This sub-section also drew attention to a similarity in the three areas presented for the importance of education, the discipline of dance and various religious customs and traditions were all seen as being passed down from the parent's generation to that of their children. Hence, there was no evidence to suggest that these values were being challenged or disregarded by the second-generation child participants of the study.

In this study, family values proved to be another area that came to the fore in the language practices of the two-generational participants. The manner in which intergenerational transmission of these values was observed to take place in the participant group will be examined in the following sub-section.

5.4. Family Values

The cultural practices classified as family values can be identified in certain patterns of verbal and non-verbal behaviour that the parents were noted introducing into the lives of the children. These values included respect for traditional authority figures and norms of behaviour deemed appropriate amongst Malayalam and non-Malayalam speakers.

5.4.1. Forms of Address and Respect

In South Asian contexts such as India and Sri Lanka, certain family members are addressed using a term that designates the person's familial relationship. For instance, in the Sinhala language, parents, nephews and nieces are referred to using specific terminology that is associated with their roles within

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the family. There are other nominations for older and younger sisters, uncles, aunts and so forth. Accordingly, an older male child is referred to as *aiya* which is a direct translation for *elder brother* in my native tongue Sinhala. Whilst gender and age are embedded within this terminology, the term *aiya* is generally used for any individual who is male and senior by age. Employing these terms is therefore considered a means of signaling respect for the status of the addressee. This cultural practice is referred to by Saville-Troike (1989 p.73) who states 'status is often marked in forms of address, and in different levels of formality corresponding to different levels of prestige or deference'. From amongst the three families in this research, Deepa in family A is a key agent in teaching her children forms of address that are deemed appropriate within the Indian Malayali culture:

Segment 17

1829	Priti:	Kavita
1830	**Deepa:**	**Don't call her by name. She is your elder sister**
1831	**Kavita:**	**I am your elder sister so call me 'chechi'**
1832	Priti:	Kavita
1833	**Kavita:**	**Call me Kavita 'chechi'**
1834	**Priti:**	**Chechi**
1835	**Kavita:**	**Oh she finally called me 'chechi'**

As illustrated, Deepa reminds Priti not to use her elder sister's first name in conversation. In this episode Kavita supports her mother, asking Priti to use *chechi*, the term used to express *elder sister* in Malayalam. Priti does not accept her elders' instructions with immediate effect, suggesting the prevalence of a cultural disharmony in the values between the younger children and the older members of this family. When Priti eventually does adopt *chechi,* it is welcomed by Kavita in line 1835. Therefore, by discouraging Priti from addressing a family member by their first name, Deepa and Kavita share a Malayali cultural practice with the younger child.

Deepa's advice to her younger child to use the appropriate form of address for her sister reflects a custom that is practised by the older Malayali

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children known to me from within this community. The adolescent Malayali students in my partner's dance class have frequently been heard using the term *chechi* in class. As already discussed, the female children within all three families attend these dance classes in which they learn Sanskrit verses from Vedic literature which they recite in order to obtain permission from Hindu gods, teachers, parents and the audience to perform and train in the dance form. Therefore, it may be apposite to say that these customs have instilled in the children an understanding of deference for seniors, that is considered appropriate within the Malayali culture. When addressing my spouse, the senior students use the term *sir*. Nevertheless, like many of her peers in the dance class, Priti used my partner's first name when she initially joined the dance classes. With time, I have noted the way in which Priti and other students similar to her in age have begun to use his first name interchangeably with *sir*.

5.4.2. Seniority and Status

Another feature noted in the three families revealed itself in relation to the way in which the older children were given the responsibility of helping or keeping their younger siblings company when the supervision of an older family member was required. It appeared that this was done with the intention of teaching the younger children to acknowledge that their siblings had more authority than them. For example, Kavita in family A is asked to assist her younger sister during bath times and study sessions at home. The cultural practice of giving the older children authority over their younger siblings is therefore promoted in the three families. However, this does not mean that the younger children respect the supervisory role given to their sisters, observed particularly acutely in families A and B:

Segment 18

95   **Kavita: She has not yet finished her bath**

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96	**Deepa:**	**Didn't I tell you to take care of that? I have told you many times that**
97		**when she takes her bath, you should supervise it.**
98	**Kavita:**	**Ok I will**
99	**Deepa:**	**Has she finished taking her bath yet?**
100	**Kavita:**	**Not yet**
101	**Deepa:**	**Then I will take care of it. You go to that side now**
102	**Kavita:**	**I told her**
103	**Deepa:**	**You don't say anything. I had already told you before. When I tell you**
104		**to do something, you only do that one thing.**
105	Kavita:	(0.5)
106	**Deepa:**	**Priti, what are you doing?**

In this conversation, seeing that Kavita has failed to supervise her younger sibling in the bath, Deepa voices her disapproval in lines 96-97. This segment also highlights the practice of disciplining the older child even in instances in which the younger child is partly to blame. Even though it is Priti who has not yet finished bathing, Kavita is blamed as it is she who had been given the authority to supervise her sister. This episode highlights status is inextricably linked with responsibility. At a follow-up interview, when Deepa was asked whether she thought Priti respected Kavita due to her seniority in age and subsequent responsibilities, Kavita interjected and replied in the negative:

Me:	When Kavita and Priti are together, you seem to give Kavita responsibilities. Do you think Priti respects Kavita because of this?
Kavita:	No!
Deepa:	They intentionally fight- they think they should fight 'we are sisters' that's what sisters do! They have good moments, but mostly they fight.

This excerpt illustrates how Deepa seems to agree with her elder daughter's notion that Priti rebels against her sibling. In family B, even though daughter Anjali is asked by her parents to help her younger sibling with his writing in English, the only activity they appear to engage in is quarrelling. Therefore, as with the forms of address, it appears that the younger children are still in a

process of being acculturated into certain cultural practices, which were seen to be resisted and challenged at the time of data collection.

5.4.3. Using a Common Language and Linguistic Decorum

In chapter 4, attention was drawn to interlocutor-specific language use that was observed within the three families. It appears that using a common language is a means by which the Malayali families display their respect for members from both the Malayali community and the non-Malayali community in linguistically diverse settings. For example, knowing English to be the only shared language between themselves and me, the participants seemed to make an extra effort not to switch to Malayalam in my presence. When switches to Malayalam were made, they were initiated by a parent to address a partner in most instances. However, the participants always excused themselves by apologising to me before the switch was made. It is possible that this indicated their awareness of a divergence from the otherwise impeccably courteous nature of their linguistic behaviour. Thus, opting to switch to using the common language between themselves, and other interlocutors or those in their presence seems to be practised within their family networks. For example, the two children in family A use only Malayalam in the presence of non-English speakers, such as their grandparents:

Segment 19

2462	**Grandfather:**	**It's 4 after 3**
2463	**Kavita:**	**Yes that's right Priti**
2464	**Priti:**	**1, 2, 3, 4, 5**
2465	**Kavita:**	**Oh ok**
2466	**Priti:**	**Look at that**
2467	**Grandfather:**	**She did not eat any bread?**
2468	**Priti:**	**Chechi, come do some skipping**
2469	**Kavita:**	**Yeah**

In this excerpt, the sisters are playing in their grandfather's presence. From line 2468 onwards the continued use of Malayalam seems to be influenced by

the fact that the grandfather is seated with them, even though the interaction is between the two sisters only. Further evidence of this practice is noted in conversations that occur whilst Janak, Deepa, Janak's parents and Kavita all congregate in the kitchen preparing dinner at which point Malayalam becomes the sole medium of communication. As mentioned in the previous chapter, even though family A report that the paternal grandparents understand English, I gain the impression that the elderly couple's knowledge of English is limited when I meet them in York. Thus, it appears that using Malayalam is a means of showing the family's respect for the grand parents. The grandparents are therefore able to maintain their status within the family in spite of the linguistically diverse family unit in which they exist.

Using a common language out of courtesy and respect for the interlocutor can also be explained in relation to family B. During the data collection process, it was observed that despite his preference for English, Ajith follows his parents' lead in referring to his sister by an Indian term of endearment used for a female child. At the very first interview with the family, I observed the way in which Ajith began to verbalise this term, but stopped short and instead opted to use her name. This episode could indicate that he identified me as an outsider who did not speak Malayalam and with whom it was not appropriate to use Malayalam terms. Towards the end of this interview, Ajith goes against the wishes of his father and attempts to switch on the computer, insisting in English that he wanted to play his video games. Although the body language and the facial expressions of the parents indicate that they wanted to quieten Ajith, they do not do so as they do not want to appear to be impolite by using a language that I do not comprehend. Avoiding one's native language in the presence of those who do not know or use it and using the lingua franca English is common practice amongst Sri Lankans which it seemed was being practised by this family as well. This observation can be further established within the parents' self-report data. When asked about the language(s) they used when disciplining their children, the parents

within all the three families claimed to use Malayalam as the only or one of two languages. As reported in chapter 4, Chitra from family B elaborated on their response by saying that the words she felt were used for admonishing children in English were so unrefined that they did not even like listening to them being used by other parents. As such, when Ajith disregards his father's instructions it appears as though the parents refrain from resorting to their usual practice of disciplining the child in Malayalam as a result of my presence.

These examples seem to propose that identifying and thereby using a common language with both Malayalam and non-Malayalam speakers is a shared cultural practice amongst the bilingual Malayali parents and children.

According to the traditional patrilineal households that were discussed in relation to Kerala Malayalis in the literature review, the fathers were the head of their households (Singh 2014 forthcoming; Gupta 1978). As the parents from all three families are from Kerala, their attitudes towards this system of hierarchy and the way in which it is seen to be practised within their homes in the UK will be examined in the final section of this chapter.

5.4.4. Paternal and Parental Authority

When discussing religious education, reference was made to the intergenerational transmission of religious practices in family C. The status and power of the father as the head of the household was also seen to be passed down from the parent to the children's generation in a similar fashion across the three families. Reflecting on the patrilineal household she was raised in, Vineeta from family C says the following:

> Vineeta: That is the Indian system. Without asking permission from Papa, we can't do anything. That's our culture, ask the Head.

In Vineeta's explanation she uses *we* to refer to herself, her siblings and her mother, none of whom held the same position of authority as the father. Within

her own family, Vineeta acknowledges her husband not only as the head, but also as the decision-maker of the household:

> Vineeta: If Anand wants to go to a friend's place, I say 'ask dad'.
>   He's the superior. He's the decision-maker.

On the basis of the interactional data, it could be suggested that Vineeta's perceived wish to continue with the patrilineal system within her own nuclear family appears to be accepted by her children. Evidence that suggests the children's acceptance of their father as the key decision maker in the family was noted on multiple occasions in the interactional data. In such episodes, daughter Anju is heard referring to the father's consent as being mandatory if she were to wish to go to the library or on an outing of her preference. Although they are rarely heard in the recordings, the fathers in families A and C are regularly referred to, especially in conflict situations by the other members. Therefore, it is interesting that their authority is 'felt' by the interlocutors and comes across in the recordings to the listener. For instance, the following conversation between Vineeta and Anju reflects the father's position as the head of their family:

Segment 20

154 **Anju:**   Shall we take Anand brother too? He can change his books as well.
155 **Vineeta:** Yeah we will take him.
156 **Anju:**   We will go as soon as Papa wakes up. I will beg Papa to take us.
157 **Vineeta:** You will do what?
158 **Anju:**   I will beg Papa to him. Ha ha Well I don't need to because Dad
159   will let me go if you ask as well.

It is interesting that even though Vineeta has already given her consent to Anju's request to go to the library with her brother in line 155, the daughter's words in line 156 show that it is the permission of her father which ultimately matters. Anju's understanding of her father to be her mother's superior is also indicated in line 159. Seeming to change her mind about approaching the

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father on her own, Anju asks her mother to talk to Shantha on the daughter's behalf. Such instances were identified across the interactional data of families A and C allowing the postulation that the fathers were regarded as the chief authority figures of their households.

Holding a contrasting view to Deepa and Vineeta, is Chitra in family B who disagrees with the patriarchal system that was maintained in her parents' generation:

> Chitra: I saw Mum say 'you have to respect what Daddy says'.
> Here we discuss what we have to do.

Chitra's explanations regarding her upbringing in India seem to suggest that it was her mother who had advocated the patriarchal system. Chitra, however, does not appear to agree with the system of hierarchy and claims to hold equal power within her family in the UK. Thus, whilst Vineeta and Deepa seem to condone conventional patriarchy, Chitra expresses the fact that she exerts the same degree of power as her husband within the home. The shared power and status between Chitra and her husband reflected in the self-report and observed data seems to resonate with Kaul's (2012) proposition that the social mobility of Indian women influences patriarchy within their households. This will be discussed in further detail in chapter 6.

Despite Chitra's seemingly contradictory views on patriarchy, all the parents appear to unanimously expect obedience from their children towards both maternal and paternal authority. The spouse-spouse exchanges in families A and B caught my attention, largely due to references made to family life in India and the parenting styles of other Malayali families in the UK. For example, the following discussion between Janak, Deepa and Janak's mother denotes the importance they ascribe to raising obedient children:

Segment 21

670	**Deepa:**	**But Daisy is very difficult to manage**
671	**Mother:**	**What happened?**
672	**Janak:**	**Daisy and three other kids are learning dance. On the day she was**
673		**supposed to perform, she did not go, just because she fought with**
674		**her parents. Look how rebellious she is…**

This segment opens with Deepa disapproving of the behaviour of a family friend's daughter. When the paternal mother asks for details in line 671, Janak narrates an incident involving the friend's daughter indicating that he has little or no tolerance for children who are rebellious. In the next chapter it is emphasised that the interactional data recorded by this family did not yield any disagreements between Janak and his daughters. Therefore, it is possible to postulate that the absence of arguments or disagreements between Janak and his children are a result of his strict approach to parenting.

As data from family B suggests, parents are viewed as blameworthy when children do wrong. For example, Ashok and Chitra from family B appear to share similar thoughts on parents as being responsible for children's behaviour in general:

Segment 22

148	**Ashok:**	**Some kids are real trouble makers**
149	**Chitra:**	**You mean girls or boys?**
150	**Ashok:**	**Boys, the team who study with Anjali**
151	**Chitra:**	**Oh yes, the 3 boys**
152	**Ashok:**	**Yes they were very troublesome but you cannot blame them,**
153		**their parents have brought them up that way**
154	**Chitra:**	**We can tell that by looking at their mother**
155	**Ashok:**	**Oh gosh! Yes true**

In this dialogue the couple discuss a group of children from their neighbourhood who also happen to be their daughter's classmates. In line 153, it is Ashok who first voices his belief that the parents are to blame when

children misbehave. In response, Chitra not only agrees with her partner, but also directly blames the mother of the three male children. It is possible that Chitra considers a mother to hold greater responsibility than a father in terms of influencing the conduct of children. Chitra's self-report data also depicts that her approach to parenting is somewhat different, and perhaps stricter, than that of her husband's:

> Chitra: Children think I'm strict. Ashok is very soft with them all the time. If I am angry with them, I won't say sorry all the time. But Ashok says, 'talk to them later and say sorry'. Ashok did that, but I won't.

In this response, Chitra reports her children's and her own perception that she is stricter than her husband. Chitra reflects further on how Ashok asks her to talk to the children after she has disciplined them, but the wife reports that she does not agree with this method. Whilst this example implies that both partners exercise their authority over the children, it also suggests that Chitra does not necessarily agree with or listen to her partner. Therefore, there is indication of a slight shift from the patriarchal system within family B in which the mother appears to exert equal degrees of power and authority towards the children. However, Chitra reports that the parent that Anjali and Ajith obey unquestioningly and pay particular attention to is Ashok. In concluding this section, although there are some points of tension as reflected in family B, the data suggests that it is generally paternal authority that is endorsed and practised by the three Malayali families.

5.5. Conclusion

Previous research highlights the perspective that social and linguistic acculturation succeeds when immigrant minority groups themselves attempt to maintain their mother tongue and when children receive adequate instruction

in the host language via mainstream education (Extra et al. 2004). The findings of this study support this argument.

Similar to Extra et. al. (2004), the participants of this study promote the learning and use of English at home. The findings also illustrate that the parents and older children actively promote heritage languages within the home, whilst community-level efforts are also seen to be put in place in order to preserve the language. The different activities that the parents and children are seen to engage in within the interactional data from reading and writing to watching television indicate that language and cultural socialisation especially in relation to Malayalam takes place within these households. This finding reflects the study of Hussain (2011) where the use of heritage language media is found to be a common practice amongst South Asian immigrants in the UK. The mothers in families A and C adopt the role of educators within the domestic context: within this role, they initiate and promote language and cultural socialisation for their children. The process of teaching their children the heritage language, as well as introducing Catholicism, exposes their children to the values and ideologies on which the mothers' own cultural upbringing has been based.

The findings of this chapter also emphasised that the prevalence of heritage language maintenance within the home and community contexts does not necessarily indicate uniformity in relation to the participants' perceived linguistic identities. The children were subsequently perceived as developing a dual linguistic identity.

The older and younger generations were found to share similar aspirations in relation to education, showing commitment and passion for formal education, religion and the performing arts. In relation to family values, the children were generally noted to maintain and respect the sentiments and practices of the parents' generation. However, evidence of the younger children

resisting certain family values were also observed within their linguistic practices.

Overall, it could be suggested that heritage cultural practices and continuity were observed within the three families, as it seems that there are more shared than conflicting cultural values between the two-generational participants. The next chapter will focus more specifically on attitudes and practices relating to deference for authority figures and ways in which these values are enacted in the linguistic practices of the participants.

6. Status and Power

6.1. Introduction

From the vantage point of an ethnolinguistic framework, the status and power of heritage languages, as well as the speakers themselves, developed into one of the main areas of discussion in the review of literature. Whilst considering the domain of language power, this study also looks beyond to consider family hierarchy in two-generational families. The term *generation* can carry implications of a cultural incongruity when applied to multi-generational *immigrant* families, in relation to language and family structure amongst other aspects. For instance, the very appellations *heritage* and *host,* used with reference to language, appear to suit most first-generation immigrants at the outset. However, as evidence already discussed in chapter 4 and 5 suggest, applying such labels to second-generation family members, some of whom are born in the host country itself, is not always straight-forward. The Indian-born, UK-born and foreign-born individuals of this participant group are, it seems, uniquely positioned in the sense that there is an apparent cultural divide from the outset. Examining the way in which first-generation parents with a similar upbringing in patriarchal families and second-generation UK and foreign-born children operate linguistically within their family hierarchies will form the main focus of this chapter.

Following a recap of the main findings hitherto discussed in earlier chapters, I define the objective of this chapter in relation to the principal research question. Chapter 4 presented two languages as dominant within the linguistic repertoires of the participants in terms of usage and proficiency. These were the native language of the parents, Malayalam and English, the host language in their present country of residence. Despite the fact that these two were the principal languages, there were other languages that the participants had learnt purely for instrumental purposes, or that had been

used in different geographical contexts. Having examined the participants'
linguistic repertoires, chapter 5 explored in depth the cultural values that were
identified as being transmitted from the older to the younger generations in the
participant group. Evidence that suggests respect for elders within the
traditional Indian family hierarchy was actively endorsed and practised by
parents as well as children, and was presented and analysed in the process.
Not implied or stated, however, was that status and power relations within
these families remain uncontested. Thus, the main purpose of this chapter will
be to explore the linguistic resources the participants employ in challenging
and retaining status and power within the family hierarchy. In doing so, the
central research question of the study outlined below will be addressed:

Research question 3: What are the linguistic resources that participants use in
order to challenge and/or retain status and power relations?

The formulation of this question was based on certain underlying
preconceptions, which will be explained in the following manner. The first
assumption, that there would be a hierarchy embedded within the participants'
nuclear family units, was addressed in chapter 5. In the discussion that
ensued, it was suggested that patriarchy was seen to be in practice in the three
families. Drawing on the sociolinguistic perception that multilingual,
intergenerational families use language choice and proficiency in order to
contest status and power (Canagarajah 2008; Hua 2008; Williams 2005), the
main research question is also based on the postulation that children may be
noted to defy existing status and power dynamics between themselves and
their parents. Furthermore, the question was guided by the supposition that
the wives could be observed to challenge the power of their partners, given that
it is the husbands who are the acknowledged authority figures in the first
instance. As a result, it was assumed that those whose authority was
challenged, be it the fathers, mothers or older siblings, would in turn attempt

to retain their status and power. In order to do so, the question acknowledges that the participants employ linguistic resources amongst other strategies. It is these linguistic resources that will be examined in the first sub-section of this chapter. The main pool of data the discussion will draw on will be the family conversations from which conflict zones, or those perceived as having the potential for conflict, were identified. Excerpts from the interactional data that occur outside of the conflict zones and offer context for the concepts of status and power relations are also integrated in to this discussion. As explained in the methodology, these conversational segments will be examined in relation to the four analytic categories of content, participants, language practices and other contextual factors.

By taking into account the identified linguistic resources as well as the reported linguistic profiles and cultural values of the participants, the second and concluding section of this chapter develops three key emergent themes found within the overall study.

6.2. Linguistic Resources

Linguistic resources speakers use in arenas of power can vary from lexical, phonological and syntactic to pragmatic strategies. The resources that have been identified and discussed here from a socio-pragmatic perspective are those that were highlighted through the data as being germane to the research participants as well as to the research question under discussion. Amongst them is language choice which has been studied and viewed as a bilingual power tool in sociolinguistics (Esdahl 2010; Canagarajah 2008; Hua 2008; Williams 2005).

Therefore, the participants' intentional or habitual use of a specific language in place of another will inform the discussion to follow. Emphasising the correlation between language choice, language preference, proficiency and interlocutor, two approaches to using this linguistic resource will be examined. Firstly, under the bilingual approach, participants' use of two languages either

interchangeably or one at a time will be explored. The practice of using the heritage language specifically for exerting and/or retaining status and power relations within the home domain will be developed as another strand of language choice.

There is evidence in the data of this study to suggest that silence and silencing are other linguistic resources used as a means of defying, exerting and/or establishing status and power relations amongst the participants. As reviewed in chapter 2, silencing and minimal responses of women have been investigated as linguistic practices that signal subservience to men (Talbot et al. 2003). In essence, on the understanding that silence is a powerful medium of communication (Jaworski 1992), the multi-layered nature of silence and the manner in which it manifests itself within the conversational data will be discussed, highlighting its significance as a linguistic resource for this specific participant group.

6.2.1. Language Choice

The participant profiles discussed in chapter 4 identified Malayalam to be the primary language of the home for the parents. Whilst acknowledging Malayalam to be one of the languages used at home, the children placed more emphasis on their use of English within this context. Consequently, inferences made in this section will be informed by the participants' language choices between Malayalam and English for contesting or maintaining status and power relations.

As discussed in the literature review, it is generally conceded that language choice enables language alternation (Baker 2011). What the findings of this study indicate is that having the choice of using more than one language does not always translate into language alternation in the linguistic practices of the participants. Therefore, within the participant group, those who were noted to alternate between languages were primarily the mothers and the children whilst the fathers displayed a tendency for choosing to use a single

language instead. Drawing on evidence mainly from the interactional data, these two approaches to enacting status and power relations will be elaborated further in the ensuing paragraphs.

6.2.1.1. A Bilingual Approach

The linguistic repertoires of the research participants were depicted to include two languages, namely Malayalam and English, both common to the older and younger generations alike. This postulation was made in relation to the fact that these two languages were used on a daily basis by the participants in the UK. Despite the fact that the participants reported using the two languages in their everyday lives, in relation to domain-specific language use, the participants did not claim to use both languages within their homes. Examining further the idea that the participants do not necessarily operate bilingually in their homes, this section presents its implications relating to language choice in conflict situations.

In chapter 4, cooperativeness in language choice was observed in the conversations involving the parents and older children in families A, B and C in the sense that all spoke predominantly Malayalam to one another. A deviation from this language made by the parents and older children was noted when the younger children in these families were heard contributing to the interactions. Whilst it will not be stated that the bilingual language practices were restricted entirely to conversations involving the younger children, the interactional data incorporated into this discussion suggests that the mothers and the older siblings use both Malayalam and English in conflict zones with the younger children. The use of both languages within a single episode of conflict will therefore be defined as the *bilingual approach* for the purpose of this study. As the interactional data examined in this chapter suggests, this approach may not always be an effective means for the mothers and older

siblings to maintain status and power relations which will also be demonstrated through closer analysis of conflict zones from the three families.

In order to support the claim that the mothers' and older children's use of Malayalam does not always allow them to retain their authority or power, conflict zones identified within the data will be discussed. For instance, in family A Priti appears to use English in order to resist her mother's and sister's wishes. In these episodes of conflict, Priti is noted primarily using English to challenge her elders' authority. In contrast, Kavita, who it seems uses both Malayalam and English, fails to exert her power over her younger sister:

Segment 23

195	Kavita:	This is my 3D house. Can I borrow it for a second?
196	Priti:	No, give it back
197	Kavita:	I'll draw on a different piece of paper
198	Priti:	Give it back, that's mine ((screams))
199	**Deepa:**	**Don't fight**
200	Priti:	Huh.huh
201	Kavita:	I'll give it back, one second, one second. **Please Priti. Priti no! Mummy!**
202	Deepa:	(0.5)
203	**Deepa:**	**Take that**
204	Kavita:	Let's do that challenge thing. I like it, right, what shall we draw now.
205		I'm not drawing with you because I can only draw stick people
206	Deepa:	Stick people?
207	Priti:	Nooo Huh.huh
208	**Deepa:**	**Now stop it**

This argument between the siblings starts when Kavita attempts to retrieve her drawing from Priti. As Priti begins to scream and cry in protest, Kavita alternates to Malayalam trying to stop her sister crying, though apparently in vain. Thereafter, Kavita calls her mother to intervene in line 201. The mother, who has already tried to stop the argument once, steps in yet again and asks the children to stop the argument in line 208 using Malayalam. Deepa succeeds in resolving the situation in her second attempt as the children move on and continue with their drawing soon afterwards. This excerpt is one of the

many instances that indicate that Kavita is unable to exert any form of power over her sister, and that Priti does not deviate from her language choice of English in conflict situations with her sister.

Despite being the youngest in the family, Priti seems to exert a new dimension of power over her sister. According to the traditional hierarchy within Indian families, Priti would normally be thought of as the member with the least degree of power according to age and gender. Nevertheless, in actuality Priti seems to possess more power, at least in terms of which language is used when she converses with her mother Deepa and older sibling Kavita.

This new dimension of power seen to emerge from the language choice made by the younger children was also observed in family B. As already reported, there is sufficient interactional and self-report data to support the observation that the parents and daughter in family B primarily use Malayalam in conversations with one another. However, the parents tend to switch to English in the conversations involving the younger child, Ajith, who the parents report as preferring the use of English over Malayalam. Despite this language choice the parents are observed to tailor specifically to their son, it does not seem to be effective in disciplining or exerting power over the child:

Segment 24

458	**Chitra:**	**Put on the** DIVINE channel. Please Ajith**, you are a** good boy **right?**
459		**Otherwise everyone will say Ajith is a** bad boy.
460	Ajith:	(0.5)
461	**Chitra:**	**Do you want people to say that? How about going**
462		**swimming tomorrow, Ajith?**
463	Anjali:	Can we first go to Water world?
464	**Chitra:**	**No we will go to Disney land**
465	Ajith:	Disney land is boring!
466	**Anjali:**	**Did you hear him say that** Disney land is boring?
467	**Chitra:**	**Ajith, don't sit so close. Move back a little bit. Ajith, listen to me**
468	**Ajith:**	What?
469	**Chitra:**	**If you don't change the channel, we will all go upstairs and sleep.**
470		**Will you sit alone and watch the TV? I will tell everyone that you are**
471		**a bad boy.** Ajith I am talking to you Ajith.

As is the case with all conflict zones involving Ajith and his family, this argument arises out of the participants' desire to watch different television programmes. In this excerpt, both Chitra and Anjali switch to English from Malayalam from time to time, addressing Ajith and trying to persuade him to do as he is told. Chitra's attempt to offer Ajith a compromise by suggesting a family trip the following day breaks the son's silence for the first time in this episode. In line 465 he responds by rejecting his mother's proposition in English. Thus, in keeping with his reported and observed language practice of using primarily English at home, Ajith resists his sibling's and mother's instructions and continues to watch his programme of preference. What is more, whilst Ajith uses English to defy the authority of his seniors, it seems that switching to his preferred language choice does not enable the mother and Anjali to exercise their power and status over the youngest member of the family.

Like Deepa and Chitra, Vineeta from family C also appears to adapt her linguistic practices according to the claimed language choices of her son and daughter. As a result, she is noted to address Anand primarily in Malayalam whilst code-switching frequently when talking to her daughter Anju who is reported to prefer English over Malayalam. Although the mother was perceived to use both languages with the daughter, it seemed that she was not always effective in exerting her authority:

Segment 25

135	Anju:	They are cousins Mum
136	Vineeta:	No they are brothers, you ask Dad
137	Anju:	You know why I said that? I said just that to Anand, and Anand said 'no, they
138		are just cousins'. **There is someone else like that.**
139	**Vineeta:**	**Ok you go and ask Daddy. Go, go and ask him**
140	Anju:	Ok but I think them two are brothers but Anand thinks they are not.
141		**Anand…no Daddy Ha ha. Are they both brothers? But Anand was**
142		**saying that they weren't.**
143	**Shantha:**	**(xxxx)**

144	**Vineeta:**	**Who is the** eldest **out of the two?**
145	Anju:	Him
146	Vineeta:	Yes you are right

This dialogue takes place whilst the family watches a Malayalam programme on television the sound of which is captured in the recordings. A disagreement between the mother and daughter emerges when Anju refuses to accept the mother's claim that the two television characters, Prithviraj and Indrajith, are brothers. Seeing that Anju would not agree with her, Vineeta asks the daughter to have the issue clarified from Shantha. Thus, by asking Anju to speak to Shantha in line 139, Vineeta seems to acknowledge that she does not have the power to assure her daughter in this particular instance. Concurrently, Vineeta appears to believe that her daughter can be convinced by Shantha. In lines 142 and 143, Anju addresses her father and receives confirmation that her mother was telling her the truth. In terms of language use, this excerpt indicates that during instances in which the only interlocutors in a conversation are Vineeta and Anju, the daughter is noted to use predominantly English, to which the parent seems to adapt. In contrast, it appears that Anju switches to Malayalam and does not use English at all in interactions with the father. Also observed throughout these mother-daughter interactions was that Vineeta appeared to choose Malayalam for disciplining the child and both languages when the episode related to milder disagreements, such as that illustrated in segment 24. Although Vineeta is not always successful when using both languages to exert power, using only Malayalam appears to be more effective, which will be discussed in the next section.

In summing up this section, it seems that the mothers' bilingual approach to disciplining the younger children does not always enable them to retain their stance and authority. With regard to the younger children, it was demonstrated that they too operate bilingually at home, opting to employ English over Malayalam in the majority of instances for the purpose of

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challenging their mothers' or elder siblings' power. Whilst evidence suggests that the younger children adopted a bilingual approach to resisting maternal authority, in most instances the children were observed to obey and respect their mothers' wishes.

6.2.1.2. The Heritage Language Approach

Whilst the mothers and older children were seen to use both Malayalam and English in conflict and non-conflict situations, two of the three fathers were noted to employ primarily Malayalam as the one and only language in conversations at home. A participant's predominant use of Malayalam with no discernible code-switching in conflict zones and/or in family conversations within the domestic context will therefore be identified as the heritage language approach in the present study.

On the basis of the mothers' self-report data, previously discussed in chapter 5, it was suggested that the parents had experienced their upbringing in patriarchal households in India. The interactional data discussed in chapter 5 also indicated that the homes they are seen to have created for themselves and their children in the UK are generally dominated by paternal and parental power. Thus, the physically absent father figure, whose 'authoritative' presence appears to be felt by the children as well as by the mothers, is noteworthy.

In relation to their language practices, the fathers within the three families were not identified as habitually making use of language choice and alternation. Instead, the fathers, especially the two from families A and C were noted for their predominant use of the heritage language Malayalam in intra-family conversations. The manner in which their use of Malayalam enacts their status and/or power will be discussed in relation to child-father and spouse-spouse conflict zones. It was already mentioned in the preceding section that the mothers also used Malayalam for disciplining their children. Therefore, conflict zones involving the mothers and children will also be integrated with a view to expounding further on the heritage language approach.

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In family A, the parent-child interactions show two individuals to be significantly influential in determining the language use and choices made by the rest of the family. Interestingly enough, it is the two individuals who are generally thought to have the most and least power in the traditional family hierarchy: these two members being the father, Janak, and younger daughter, Priti, who seem to be more fixed and unwavering in their linguistic practices in comparison to the other two family members. As already explained, in Priti's interactions with Deepa and Kavita, she is observed to maintain her language choice of English throughout the conversations. On several occasions even though Priti is heard attempting to switch from Malayalam to English when conversing with Janak, these attempts do not prove to be effective as the father is not seen to adapt according to the claimed language preferences of his children like Deepa:

Segment 26

638	**Janak:**	**Come on eat dear**
639	**Priti:**	**I want biscuits**
640	**Janak:**	**There are no biscuits. Come on dear, eat this now**
641	Priti:	Thank you best Papa ever.
642	**Janak:**	**(0.5) Come on dress. Put on your socks. You put that pink dress on.**

In line 641 of this excerpt, Priti initiates a switch to English whilst talking to Janak. The language alternation is met with silence by Janak who continues to use Malayalam with her and follows the same pattern of linguistic behaviour as he does with the rest of the family. Therefore, the interactional data implies the father to be the only interlocutor with whom Priti uses mainly Malayalam.

Consequently, in family A, the father's use of Malayalam itself seems to be a signifier of the authority he holds and maintains within the family. In order to illustrate the way in which Janak was noted to exert his authority over his spouse and elder daughter in Malayalam, the following excerpt from the interactional data was identified:

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Segment 27

341	Kavita:	Hi Pops!
342	**Janak:**	**Have you not gone to bed after having food? Where is she? Near**
343		**the computer? I have bought some stuff.**
344	**Deepa:**	**Will cook it tomorrow**
345	**Janak:**	**Yes we will cook tomorrow. Did she eat and pee?**
346	**Deepa:**	**She went upstairs and she slept**
347	**Janak:**	**Every day it's the same story. I don't understand. What were you**
348		**both doing? So when did she pee? You said she had peed some time**
349		**back.**
350	**Deepa:**	**Let her sleep then. Anyways it's after 8 o'clock. I had given her**
351		**some rice some time back and then she wanted pizza. Then when I**
352		**heated pizza, she fell asleep**
353	**Janak:**	**I don't want to hear your stories. Stop it.**
354	**Deepa:**	**The recorder is beside us. We had brought it down for recording**
355	**Janak:**	**How long do we need to keep recording?**

This dialogue begins with Kavita greeting her father in English as he returns home after work. In lines 342 and 343, Janak first expresses his annoyance at the fact that Kavita is still awake. Directly afterwards, he enquires after his younger child for whom he has brought some food. On being told by Deepa that Priti has fallen asleep, Janak is heard admonishing his wife and his elder daughter from line 347 until line 354. Thus, this segment appears to illustrate the manner in which Janak dominates the conversation in Malayalam whilst exercising his power as the head of the household, blaming Deepa and Kavita for neglecting to feed Priti. In relation to the topic of seniority and status addressed in chapter 5, the concept of status was seen to be a precursor of responsibilities within the participant families. In lines 347 and 348 of this excerpt, Janak expresses the same idea when he blames his spouse and elder daughter, who are responsible in his eyes for making sure that the younger child has eaten her evening meal and used the bathroom before going to bed. Thus, on the basis of interactional data as well as the interview responses from his partner Deepa, it could be suggested that Janak uses Malayalam the

language that is perceived to be his dominant language, not only in general intra-family conversations at home, but also in instances of exerting his power over family members.

To refer back to segment 27, seeing that Janak continues to reprimand her, Deepa refers to the recorder being switched on in line 354, at which point Janak starts questioning his wife about the number of recordings left for them to complete. Therefore, in relation to this segment it may be possible to explain the scarcity of conflict zones across the three families in which the fathers were seen to exercise their power. For example, the interactional data does not capture any instances in which either Kavita or Priti in family A are seen to challenge instructions, orders or advice given by Janak. As mentioned beforehand, the fathers' absence from the homes during the points at which the recordings were completed meant that the only parent present in most instances were the mothers. When I pointed out this observation to the mothers, Deepa reported that the daughters did not verbally challenge their father's status and therefore did not arouse his disapproval. Notwithstanding the mother's explanation, the seemingly abrupt end to Janak's scolding in segment 27 suggests that the fathers in the three families may have altered their behaviour in instances in which they would normally discipline the children owing to the presence of the recorder.

Janak's sole use of Malayalam within the home, noted in the interactional data, also seems to indicate a lack of equilibrium in power relations between the couple. This is signalled by the mother's disposition to adapt to the linguistic practices that are more conducive to the children, in addition to the father's unwillingness to do so. As the parents do not report during interviews that this language usage is a planned arrangement between the two, it could be suggested that Janak's choice of Malayalam allows him to retain his power at the level of linguistic practices in the home domain.

In relation to parent-child conflict within family B, it was noted that almost all these episodes involve the mother Chitra, who even in the presence

of her husband Ashok appears to take on a lead role in arguing with the children. It must also be mentioned that these arguments lead to disciplining, which was always noted as being carried out by Chitra. However, when referring to power and authority over their children, Chitra states that it is her spouse who exerts greater control over the son:

> Chitra: He's not afraid of Mum, but of Daddy yes.

Chitra's statement could not be validated against the interactional data, as there were no instances in which Ashok was heard to discipline Ajith. Instead, there were conversations in which it seemed to me that the father adopted a rather mild approach when trying to persuade his son to eat or change the television channel, each of which did not produce the desired outcome for the parent. Therefore, on the basis of the conflict zones identified from their interactional data, it could be said that it is Chitra who comes across as the parent who applies greater verbal force when exercising her power over the children. In terms of the language choices she makes, it was observed that she used Malayalam to exercise her power over her daughter:

Segment 28

654	**Anjali:**	**Why are you saying I am not doing anything? I am not there**
655		**for sports but I am there for dance**
656	**Chitra:**	**But you need to be a little more active. You should be involved**
657		**in everything, not just one thing. They told me that you don't**
658		**like swimming.**
659	**Anjali:**	**You always tell me that I am lazy**
660	**Chitra:**	**Just now told you to keep that away but you did not do it.**
661	**Anjali:**	**I cannot climb the stairs.**
662	**Chitra:**	**It's difficult for everyone to climb stairs. You feel bad when**
663		**we correct you in front of others. Why don't you understand**
664		**our feelings when you don't listen to us. First learn how to obey**
665		**your parents and behave properly.**
666	**Anjali:**	**I am behaving well.**
667	**Chitra:**	**Why do you fight with him always?**
668	**Anjali:**	**You don't know how much he hurts me by hitting me**
669	**Chitra:**	**You come and tell me when he hits you. Why are you always**

670		**complaining?**
671	**Anjali:**	**Because I feel sad**
672	**Chitra:**	**Why?**
673	**Anjali:**	**You always criticise me**
674	**Chitra:**	**Of course we will criticise you. When you do something wrong, it's**
675		**our responsibility as parents to point that out. Otherwise when you**
676		**grow up, people will say that your parents did not bring you up well**
677		**and we would have to hear that.**

The cause behind this argument appears to be the mother's perceived inability to accept that the daughter is not interested in sports. The episode moves from a conversational tone to a more argumentative one in line 659 when the daughter retorts by claiming that the mother finds her to be lethargic in general. The mother's words in lines 662-664 indicate that the daughter does not readily accept parental criticism. Chitra's words also suggest that the daughter is corrected in the presence of non-family members. Even though Chitra allows Anjali to express her views, the parent justifies her reasons for criticising the daughter in lines 675-677. According to the mother, if she fails to correct her children as a parent, society would lay the blame on Chitra and her spouse. Having said this, it seems that Chitra quite explicitly reprimands and disciplines Anjali in Malayalam.

Anjali, as previously mentioned, challenges the authority of her parents by questioning their reasons for disciplining her. This indicates that she acknowledges the power of her parents, even though she may not necessarily submit to their power willingly and unquestioningly. Through personal association, although I know the daughter to have a higher command of English than her parents, she is never heard or observed using the language to her advantage when arguing with her mother. Therefore, it could be implied that Anjali's use of Malayalam in conversations that contain and do not contain conflict, is a means of showing her respect for Ashok and Chitra, given that it is the language in which her parents are most proficient. The same characteristic could be applied to Anand and Kavita, the older children from families C and A, who were never heard either on tape or in my presence using English to

undermine their parents' status and power. The younger child in family B on the other hand, appears to use English, both languages or silence in most instances as a means of deliberately disobeying his parents. This strategy will be examined in further detail in the following section.

The episode in segment 28 also suggests the way in which Chitra offers her daughter the opportunity to voice her thoughts before she presents her own explanations. Thus, in a sense it appears that Chitra acknowledges her daughter to hold a certain status within her family. This practice of bringing up children in the family could perhaps be better understood in relation to the status and power of the mother in this family. During spouse-spouse conflict it will be shown that Chitra appears to have an equal say in matters involving the family and household chores. Thus, whilst Chitra disciplines her daughter, the former also allows her child to voice her thoughts and thereby offers her a certain degree of empowerment within the family.

In comparison to the conversational data from families A and C, the recordings from family B offer a fuller picture of the actual language practices between Ashok and Chitra. As already mentioned, the fathers from families A and C were not always present when family talk was taped. In family B conversations, however, the father is almost always present during interactions, making it possible to examine his verbal behaviour within the home to a fuller extent and with greater clarity.

The interactional data yielded from family B in terms of spouse-spouse conflict zones were exchanges that had the potential for conflict. As will be illustrated through excerpts from the interactional data, disagreements or arguments between Ashok and Chitra are brief and somewhat contained or limited in relation to their development. In the conflict zones presented in this section, it appears that the manner in which Ashok responds to his wife's personal criticisms lessens the degree of severity of the disagreements.

The spouse-spouse conflict zones in family B present what is perceived to be an interesting power dynamic within the family. According to the traditional

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Indian nuclear family, women, including wives, are thought to hold a subordinate position to their spouses (Kaul 2012; Pandit 1977). In family B, however, the wife seems to exert power not only over her children but also over her spouse. All the more interesting is that Anjali, the daughter in the family, questions her mother's criticisms directed at her, whilst her father, Ashok, appears to remain silent when reproached by his wife. In connection with the hierarchy and linguistic practices between this husband and wife dyad, three features were observed. Firstly, the conversations suggest that Chitra has an equal or similar level of authority at home. Secondly, this status and power distribution between the couple seems to be transparent to the children. As already discussed in chapter 4, Ashok reports having used English with his family in India. Nonetheless, these conversations in which the status and power relations between Ashok and Chitra come to the fore are Malayalam exchanges. Illustrating these three features is the following segment:

Segment 29

107	**Ashok:**	**I think the washing machine is full**
108	**Chitra:**	**We need to select the clothes and put them into the washing**
109		**machine. I had told you to put it into the washing machine 2 days**
110		**back**
111	**Ashok:**	**I did that. I put it into the washing machine but I couldn't put it**
112		**outside for drying because of the rain**
113	**Anjali:**	**Ha ha**
114	**Ashok:**	**Yes you can laugh**

Traditionally, in Indian homes, household duties were performed by women (Kaul 2012; Pandit 1977). In this excerpt, Chitra holds her husband accountable for not putting the washing out to dry, indicating that the two share the extent of the household chores. Furthermore, the dialogue suggests that Chitra has the power to disapprove of Ashok when he fails to complete the work assigned to him by her. Ashok's acknowledgment of his wife's power is suggested in line 111, where he attempts to present his reasons for failing to do the washing. Ashok does not therefore ignore or retaliate when she points out a

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chore that he ought to have attended to. As previously mentioned, these episodes occur in the presence of their children. In this instance it is Anjali who is present and who lightens the mood in line 113 by laughing and teasing her father. As defined earlier, this conversation takes place solely in Malayalam, with no interlocutors switching to English. The conversation below demonstrates a further example of Chitra's dominance within the family:

Segment 30

374	**Ashok:**	**Which day is the 27th August?**
375	**Chitra:**	**It's a Saturday and maybe you should put in a request for a day off**
376	**Ashok:**	**Most probably it would be night duty for me on that day**
377	**Chitra:**	**Why don't you request for night duty some other day in the same**
378		**week? I don't think that would be a problem**
379	**Ashok:**	**Let's see**
380	**Chitra:**	**Don't see, just do it that way**

In this dialogue carried out entirely in Malayalam, Ashok contemplates the possibility of obtaining leave on a particular day. The exchange comes to an end with Chitra's somewhat stern instructions to her husband in line 380 to follow her suggestion. Whilst Ashok does not respond to Chitra's orders, the couple turn their attention to another matter thereafter. Thus, the upperhand Chitra seems to demonstrate in relation to her husband seems to reflect a correlation with her new-found socio-economic status in the UK:

> Chitra: Before, people used to say we are coming on work permit, our husbands are coming as dependents. Back home men have the power, but here they have nothing, that's why men want to go back.

Hence, Chitra explains her opinion that immigration has affected immigrant Malayali men's power which would generally be unwavering and unquestioned back in India. As previously explained, Chitra also expresses her disapproval of the patriarchal system in India. In essence, due to the recurrence of

conversational data in which Chitra is shown to exert power over her husband, there appears to be a shifting status and power relationship between herself and her spouse.

In family C, the main bilingual interactants are the mother and her daughter. However, when they are joined by Shantha and/or Anand, the mother and daughter converse only or mainly in Malayalam, following a similar linguistic practice to that of the male members of the family. An examination of the conflict zones in family C in which Vineeta exercises her power show that in most instances, the initial argument arises between Anand and Anju. Therefore, it would be correct to assert that parent-child conflict almost overlaps with the child-child conflict in family C. Although it has already been indicated that Vineeta uses both Malayalam and English to exercise her power over the children, the segment illustrated below is an example of the conflict episodes in which Vineeta is also seen to use Malayalam on its own to discipline the children:

Segment 31

282	**Anand:**	**Are we not going shopping?**
283	**Anju:**	**And then you will go shopping without me!**
284	**Vineeta:**	**We are not going shopping or anywhere else. Today is Saturday**
285		**so not many shops will be open.**
286	**Anand:**	**Yes they are.**
287	**Vineeta:**	**Anand, stop behaving like this son.**
288	**Anju:**	**Whether it's on or not, I am not going**
289	**Vineeta:**	**Nobody is going. We will take you to learn dance and after that**
290		**Mummy has to do some cooking.**
291	**Anand:**	**Are we not going to cycle today?**
292	**Vineeta:**	**No, we will do that some other time. Then when Daddy wakes up,**
293		**we will have to go to a shop to buy some things. Are the noodles**
294		**nice darling?**

In this excerpt, Anand directs his question on going shopping to Vineeta in line 282. Before Vineeta can respond, Anju interjects in line 283, assuming that she would be excluded from the shopping spree, and thereby creates a conflict of interest. Having failed to convince the mother that they should do some

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shopping, Anand asks about cycling in the same segment. Vineeta however, is not persuaded and has the final say on the matter. In lines 284, 287 and 292 Vineeta cuts short Anand's proposal to go shopping or cycling. She admonishes her son in line 287 in Malayalam, the language that her son and daughter too use in this instance. Instead of admonishing Anju, who refuses to go for dance classes, in order that she too may join her family in the proposed shopping spree, Vineeta changes the topic and asks her daughter how the food is in line 294. At a follow-up interview, agreeing with an observation of mine, Vineeta claims that she uses topic shift to bring a clear end to a conflict involving herself and her children. As neither of the two children bring up the topic of shopping or cycling for the remainder of the recording, it is possible to suggest that Vineeta succeeds in exerting her authority over the children in the Malayalam language.

The following excerpt proposes that Vineeta chooses Malayalam to discipline her daughter in bilingual conversations as well:

Segment 32

1626	**Vineeta:**	**What did Mummy tell you to do?**
1627	Anju:	It's hard, I don't want to go upstairs.
1628	**Vineeta:**	**Then I will go and get it from upstairs. You need not fight with him.**
1629		**There wouldn't be any problems if you listened to me, but both of**
1630		**you always fight.**
1631	Anju:	I was trying to have a good day today, but he spoilt it.
1632	**Vineeta:**	**What did mummy tell you to do? How many erasers do you have?**
1633		**You just needed to get one of them. Why do you have to go and**
1634		**fight with him?**
1635	Anju:	Sorry.

The conflict in this segment begins when Anju attempts to use her brother's eraser even though she has been instructed by her mother to collect her own from the bedroom upstairs. Although Anju uses English in an attempt to excuse her mistake, Vineeta admonishes her younger child in Malayalam and thereby appears to maintain her power. It was also noted with interest that Vineeta, unlike the mothers in families A and B, admonishes both her children

when required to do so. This may be due to the fact that Anju is relatively older than the two younger children in families A and B. Moreover, in the conversational data from families A and B, the children were never heard apologising for their behaviour. Hence, this segment in which Anju apologises to her mother was considered noteworthy, as it seems to mark the effectiveness of the mother's disciplining.

This does not imply however, that the children always do as they are told by Vineeta or that her use of Malayalam assists her in exerting her power. Also noteworthy in these exchanges is the fact that the son and daughter do not use English to their advantage in order to resist their mother's request. Instead, whilst Anand almost solely uses Malayalam, his sibling uses both languages, trying to present an excuse or point of view that does not necessarily tally with that of the children's mother.

The one member in family C heard least in the interactional data is Shantha. Thus, whilst father-child talk is significantly limited in the family, there were no discernible conflict zones between Shantha and the children. As was postulated in relation to Janak and Shantha, it is possible to suggest that the recorder would have discouraged Shantha from reproaching his children in his usual manner. What is more, there were no recorded instances in which the husband and wife disagree with one another or episodes in which one is heard to blame the other. As a result, spouse-spouse conflict zones could not be identified from the interactional data relating to family C.

In brief, those who were found to use Malayalam as a means of exerting power and status were the parents, for whom Malayalam is a heritage language. The interactional and self-report data examined so far also leads me to believe that Malayalam, whilst an effective means of exerting and expressing status and power relations, is not always equally productive for sustaining power relations.

Moving on from language choice, the multi-layered connotations indexed by silence in the enactment of status and power relations will be examined next.

6.2.2. Silence and Silencing

The socio-pragmatic premise that silence is a communicative method mirroring unequal gender-related power distribution in society at large was reflected in the findings of this study. Once the conflict zones were identified from within the interactional data of family A, it became clear that the majority of the selected parent-child conversations had the potential for conflict. In conflict zones during which the interlocutors were an adult and a child or both children, the disagreements or differences in opinion did not escalate in to full blown arguments. This feature within the interactional data seems to suggest that it was the participants themselves or other contextual factors that determined the course of an episode of conflict. For example, it was mentioned previously that Vineeta, mother within family C, was uniquely found to employ topic shift as a way of terminating conflicts between her children.

A further linguistic resource observed to be adopted by certain interlocutors in order to contain conflict, as well as to exercise authority, was silence and/or silencing. Within the three families, the mothers were observed to use silencing to discipline their daughters. For instance, in line 103 of segment 18, in which Kavita attempts to claim that she had, in fact, asked her sister to finish bathing, she is swiftly silenced by the mother in Malayalam, who says 'you don't say anything'. Thus, it appears that Deepa reminds her daughter that silence is a signifier of a child's respect for the status and power of the parental figures in the family. As an *outsider*, I felt that the elder daughter's reasoning goes unheard in this instance, for Kavita listens to her mother and does not speak thereafter. However, my observational fieldnotes record and indicate that Kavita is expected to regard silence as the correct form of behaviour when in the presence of elders:

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> There were interjections from Priti from time to time all of which were in English. On every occasion, Kavita (in a very soft voice) tried to silence her younger sibling.

This excerpt from my fieldnotes refers to an interview during which questions were being directed at Deepa. As Priti continued to voice her opinions, in between which Kavita attempted to cut short her sister's responses, I made a note of this in my fieldnotes as it appeared to illustrate the older child's awareness of a certain linguistic decorum practised within her family.

In family C, too, Vineeta is observed to adopt silencing to discipline her daughter:

Segment 33

1320	**Vineeta:**	**Anand, are you walking back home?**
1321	**Anand:**	**No, by bus**
1322	**Vineeta:**	**Oh ok by bus. Then what do you have for non-uniform day?**
1323	**Anand:**	**Nothing. It will be** £2.40
1324	Anju:	It's only 50 p, but you want to buy sweets with it as well
1325	**Anand:**	**Who told you that?**
1326	**Vineeta:**	**Anju, I told you, don't quarrel. Why are you talking unnecessarily?**

In line 1324 of this excerpt, Anju attempts to stir up an argument by accusing her brother of asking for extra money with which to buy sweets. At this point, Vineeta disciplines her daughter by silencing her in line 1326.

Silencing is also observed to be used by the father in family A. In segment 27 during which Janak blames his wife and elder daughter for not feeding the younger child before she fell asleep, he questions Deepa and Kavita. However, the daughter remains silent throughout the interaction. Thus, even though the daughter is physically present, it could be suggested that her silence transforms her into a passive interlocutor. Furthermore, it was noted that when his wife attempts to explain her reasons for failing to make

sure her younger child had eaten before going to bed, in line 372 Janak silences his wife saying 'I don't want to hear your stories. Stop it' thereby exercising his authority. This episode is suggestive of the status of the father within the family as one who is not to be challenged. Thus, silencing was seen to be employed by both fathers and mothers within all three families when exercising their power over the children.

In place of silencing another interlocutor, it could be said that the mother in family A also remains silent as a way of maintaining her stance and authority. It was already mentioned that according to Priti, she does not argue with her parents. When studying the interactional data, it became clear that Priti does not in fact appear to directly challenge or engage in arguments to the same extent and degree as her older sibling. However, on the rare occasion that she does oppose her mother, Deepa uses silence as a means of establishing her point:

Segment 34

671	Priti:	Could I watch TV?
672	Deepa:	Not now
673	Priti:	After noodles?
674	Deepa:	Why do you want noodles?
675	Priti:	Because Dad said so.
676	Deepa:	(0.5)
677	Priti:	Dad said we could eat noodles
678	Deepa:	There's a lot of others to eat
679	Priti:	But we never ate noodles, but we should
680	Deepa:	(0.5)

In this excerpt, attempting to convince her mother to make noodles, Priti refers to her father, whom she seems to acknowledge as being more powerful than her mother. This is yet another example that reflects the previously mentioned point that the father's authority is frequently referred to by the younger children in families A and C. Referring to this conversation at a follow-up interview, I asked the mother why she thought Priti referred to Janak in this instance. Deepa's answer was as follows:

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> Deepa: So that I agree with it- I will automatically agree with it.

Even though Deepa claims to 'automatically' agree with Janak's decisions, she does not do so in the above-cited conversation with Priti. Nor does Deepa directly refuse Priti's request. Instead in line 678 the mother replies that food needs to be prepared for everyone and not only for Priti, after which she remains silent for the remainder of the interaction. Deepa therefore, does not waver in her decision and maintains her stance by using the strategy of silence.

So far, silence has been suggested as an appropriate and expected form of linguistic behaviour from the less powerful, and also presented as a linguistic resource used by individuals with authority. Silence however seems to carry with it many more layers of meaning, for there is evidence in the interactional data to propose that the parents might consider silence on the part of the addressee as a form of rebellion:

Segment 35

231	**Deepa:**	**Kavita, go take your bath. Have your bath properly with soap.**
232	**Kavita:**	**I will**
233	**Deepa:**	**No, you won't unless I am always there behind you. Go on. You**
234		**have school tomorrow.**
235	Kavita:	(0.5)
236	**Deepa:**	**Why are you not answering me now?**
237	**Kavita:**	**I will change my dress**
238	**Deepa:**	**Not just changing dress but take your bath properly. First you learn**
239		**to take care of yourself. When I ask you if you have any dirty**
240		**clothes to wash, you won't open your mouth.**

In this segment, Kavita's silence in line 235 is not looked upon favourably by the mother who appears to treat the daughter's silence as a form of defiance. This in turn leads to Deepa admonishing her daughter from line 238 onwards.

The mothers' involvement in resolving their children's disputes has already been mentioned in relation to all three families. Accordingly, in conflict

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zones between Anjali and Ajith in family B, Chitra is either called upon by Anjali to intervene, or the mother steps in on her own accord to stop an argument. In the former case, it is revealed that Anjali acknowledges her mother to have more power over herself and her sibling. In spite of Chitra's involvement, Ajith uses silence as a form of disregarding parental authority in many instances as depicted below:

Segment 36

540	**Anjali:**	**Mother, look at him. He is making faces at me.**
541	**Chitra:**	**Ajith**
542	Ajith:	(0.5)
543	**Chitra:**	**Ajith, I will tell you one thing. I don't like you when you are naughty.**
544	Ajith:	(0.5)

In this excerpt, when Chitra addresses Ajith in lines 541 and 543, the son does not reply. What this segment also suggests is that Anjali, who is Ajith's senior by age, does not appear to hold any power over the latter. Instead, she seeks out her mother's assistance in resolving the disputes. Ajith on the other hand, is seen to use silence as a resource to defy the status and authority of his parents and sister.

In this discussion, silence has been interpreted as a signifier of respect or rebellion when practised by the children in families A and B. Using examples from families A and C, silencing and silence were also suggested to be linguistic resources adopted by parents across the three families to exert their power and status. The discussion has also demonstrated that the parents' attempts to exercise their authority with the use of the above discussed linguistic resources are not always successful. When employed by the children in attempts to defy authority, it seems that these linguistic resources also fail to bring about the desired outcome for them.

6.3. Emergent Themes

In presenting the linguistic resources employed by the participants, the concepts of status and power were examined highlighting observed patterns of conformity as well as divergence in the traditional patriarchal system of the three intergenerational families. Drawing on these findings, the main research topic of the study will next be addressed as three emerging themes.

6.3.1. The Bilingual Malayali Wives: Practitioners of Discipline

The interactional data presented and discussed in this chapter point to the fact that in comparison to their partners, the mothers play a key role in disciplining the children. Moreover, it was argued that in most conflict situations, the children respect the orders, instructions or advice given by the mothers. Therefore, it seems that the mothers enjoy a form of empowerment at the level of disciplining and encouraging the respect of their children. Contributing towards this assertion are also the rare occurrences of conflict zones in which the fathers take on the role of disciplining. As stated, there is no doubt that the recorder may have affected the verbal and non-verbal behaviour of the participants and that it may have discouraged the fathers from exerting their authority over children and wives. However, the recordings were carried out over a few months and in families A and C by the mothers. In family B, the recordings were completed by the father as a result of which he may have been much more aware of the presence of the recorder. Nonetheless, it is assumed that with time, the fathers may have become more accustomed to the research instrument and as a result, acted and spoken naturally. On the premise that the degree to which the fathers were influenced by the recorder would have lessened over time, I maintain that it is, in fact, the mothers who are more authoritative in relation to disciplining their children. Having said this, I acknowledge that the absence of conflict with the fathers could suggest that their authority was rarely contested.

6.3.2. The Immigrant Malayali Parents: A Paradigm of Status Shift

Whilst the self-report and interactional data suggests that the authority of the fathers is acknowledged and upheld by the mothers as well as the children, the same could not be postulated in relation to their status. The data warrants the way in which changes to their socio-economic position in the UK have contributed to the decline in their status within the families. Conversely, owing to their profession, which has made them more financially secure, and their self-reported and observed proficiency in English, I identified the wives to have risen in their status within the homes. Thus, due to their higher command of English, the mothers were noted to have increased responsibilities which related to the education of the children as well as their immigration status in the UK, particularly in families A and C. This, in turn, seems to have given them more status and power reflected in Kavita's words as follows:

Segment 37

| 1016 | Kavita: | You gonna have to Mum. Dad's not going to understand a thing. You are just |
| 1017 | | going to have to Mum. |

This segment is derived from a conversation in which Kavita expresses her thoughts on why her mother should attend the parents' evening at school. According to the daughter, her father does not have an adequate knowledge of English to fulfil this task. In stating this, Kavita's direct reference to Deepa as the parent with the capacity to comprehend and perhaps even contribute to the school meeting alludes to the significance of the status that Deepa holds as a parental figure outside of the domestic context. Therefore, it seems that Kavita's wish to be represented by her mother at school is based on her notions of her parents' language proficiency. This change of status for the Malayali husbands outside of the home domain in the UK is also spoken of by Vineeta:

> Vineeta: I have more responsibilities. Since we came to England,
> there was a lot of applications for citizenship-so I am
> the one who took responsibility for doing that.

In this excerpt, Vineeta refers to the citizenship application that they had had to submit as a family, and the role that she played in the process, as a result of her higher proficiency in English. Hence, this is yet another example that mirrors the rising socio-economic status of the Malayali mothers in the UK.

As explained in the methodology chapter, the mothers within all the three families also played a leading role within the research. First and foremost, it was the mothers who responded to my telephone and email queries about arranging the interviews. In addition, the mothers in families A and C took on the responsibility of recording the conversations at home whenever they were at home. Thus, except for the father in family B, the fathers never seem to have been in charge of operating the recorders or completing recordings when they were at home looking after the children whilst the wives were at work. Moreover, the mothers were the key informants during the semi-structured interviews. They became the voice of their husbands in instances in which their partners seemed to struggle to communicate their responses to me. For example, when organising the first round of interviews with the participant families, the fact that the husbands in families A and C would not be the key respondents was observed and recorded in my fieldnotes:

> When the appointment was made to meet the family on the previous day, Deepa asked me whether her husband needed to be there: in such a way that I wondered whether her partner would not be comfortable facing the interview in English…During the interview, I learnt that Deepa's husband used only Malayalam at home, explaining Deepa's concerns about his capacity to face the interview in English.

Therefore, it may be safe to say that this reflects the way in which the mothers become the spokeswomen for their families when interacting with non-

Malayali speakers. At one of the follow-up interviews, none of the mothers mentioned the proactive and lead role they played in my research, in spite of the fact that I asked the mothers about new roles and responsibilities they have in the UK.

In the literature review, mention was made of Indian women in traditional settings in which they are singled out as responsible for housekeeping duties within their homes (Kaul 2012; Pandit 1977). Whilst the subordinate position of Malayali women in India is referred to by the participant mothers themselves at the interviews, the interactional data from family A suggest patriarchy to be in existence within the very homes of their relations in India:

Segment 38

2518	Grandmother:	Also you are to be blamed too. You make me walk all the way
2519		to the shed and tell me to cook rice there using firewood and
2520		that he is adamant that the rice needs to be cooked in the
2521		huge earthen cooking dish
2522	Deepa:	Why do you spend so much time on fire wood? Can't you use
2523		the cooker?
2524	Grandmother:	Father won't like it at all. He says it's like porridge when we
2525		cook rice in a cooker.

In line 2518 of this conversation, the grandmother blames her husband for making her cook rice in the traditional way which she finds challenging due to her age. By talking about cooking the rice in a certain way, it seems that she is referring to her husband's power within their home. Whilst pointing out that Janak would have paid less attention to house work as the main breadwinner of the family back in India, Deepa reports that her husband contributes to and shares the house work with her in the UK. During my visits to their home, I observe how Janak busies himself in the house, offering to make tea for me which enhances the validity of Deepa's response. The fact that Ashok from family C also carries out household duties has already been indicated in relation to segment 29.

On the basis of this evidence, it could be asserted that a new status and power dynamic is emerging between the husbands and wives in immigrant Malayali families. After all, it is as a result of the mothers' professional qualifications that the families have migrated to the UK. Therefore, the mothers have received a higher status than the fathers in the professional sphere as well as in the home domain. Whilst evidently aware of this fact, the fathers are not seen to retaliate against this.

6.3.3. A New Linguistic Hierarchy

Integral to the the traditional patriarchal system in Indian families is the Foucauldian (1980) notion that power emanates from generation and gender, amongst other dimensions. The findings of this study suggest that the hierarchy in the three participant families is based on this traditional system even though the mothers are seen to have progressed upward in their socio-economic standing in comparison to their husbands. Pertinent to this power-based family structure is Brown and Gilman's (1960) definition of the concept of *power,* in which the scholars assert that no two people can hold authority within a *single area of behaviour*. Thus, I argue that within the area of *linguistic behaviour*, a new power structure is being constructed by the participants, and that its key defining feature is inequalitiy.

The manifestation of this linguistic hierarchy will be expounded by emphasising the linguistic practices of the participants and the manner in which they are seen to impact on the language behaviour of their interlocutors. This explanation will essentially define the way in which a seemingly linear linguistic behaviour headed by fathers is perceived to be challenged by the younger children from amongst the second-generation participants. Therefore, generation and gender will both be indexed as defining the key agents within this new power structure.

My argument will be developed using figures 6.1 - 6.4 presented below. In these figures, the downward arrows signal the perceived directionality in

which the speakers' language practices are influencing those of their interlocutors. At the top of each figure the speakers are identified, along with their claimed dominant language. Adjacent to each downward arrow is an interlocutor on whom the identified speakers' language use is perceived to have an impact. Accordingly, figure 6.1 begins by exploring the position of the Malayali participants' relatives within the linguistic hierarchy:

Figure 6.1. Relatives within the Linguistic Hierarchy

Relatives in India- Malayalam

↓ Fathers

↓ Mothers

↓ Older Children

↓ Younger Children

This figure depicts how the relatives' linguistic practice of using Malayalam is followed by the first- and second-generation participants in the three families. Evidence in the form of self-report and interactional data presented in chapters 4 and 5 indicate that relatives are able to maintain their customary language practice of using Malayalam despite the fact that the children in the three families are being brought up in the UK. The conversations including the paternal grandparents of family A that unravel purely in Malayalam warrant this further. As none of the research participants are seen to challenge this linguistic practice, it could be suggested that the traditional status and power hierarchy between the nuclear families and the extended family members continues to exist with no significant deviations.

Figure 6.2 presents the fathers' language use and the impact it is observed to have on the other members within the nuclear family units:

Figure 6.2. Fathers within the Linguistic Hierarchy

Fathers- Malayalam

↓ Mothers

↓ Older Children

↓ Younger Children

As figure 6.2 suggests, the fathers' linguistic practice of using Malayalam is yet again observed as being maintained by the mothers and the children across the three families. Interactional data from the three families in which the fathers are heard using Malayalam only, considered alongside the mothers' self-report data, enhance the validity of this observation. For instance, an example was drawn from family C's interactional data in which, the younger daughter who generally operates bilingually at home, was seen switching to Malayalam when addressing her father. Therefore, within their families the fathers are seen to be able to retain their language practice of using Malayalam which the other family members appear to abide by.

The next figure depicts the influence that the mothers' language practices were seen to exert on their children:

Figure 6.3. Mothers within the Linguistic Hierarchy

Mothers- Malayalam/English

↓ Older Children

Figure 6.3 portrays how the mothers in the three families use both Malayalam and English whilst retaining their native tongue as the predominant language with their older children. It has already been discussed how the older children, irrespective of gender, maintain a cooperative language practice with their mothers, and thereby show a similar practice of using mainly Malayalam with

their mothers. This figure also presents a change in the hitherto observed hierarchy in which the main speakers' language practices were noted to influence the older children as well as the younger children.

Explaining this absence of the younger children in figure 6.3, is the following:

Figure 6.4. Younger Children within the Linguistic Hierarchy

Younger Children- English
↓ Older Children
↓ Mothers

A sudden reversal of what was so far depicted as a linear pattern of linguistic behaviour is presented in figure 6.4. It has already been reported that the linguistic practices in sibling-sibling and mother-younger child interactions in the three families are bilingual. Although the mothers have a certain status as parental figures, they are not seen as having absolute control when it comes to their language usage with the younger children. This then implies that in the arena of linguistic practices, the younger children, unlike their siblings challenge the mothers' power.

In two of the three families in which the children are mixed-gender siblings, the linguistic practices are seen to be less cooperative when compared to the more accommodating verbal behaviour observed between the two sisters in family A. Thus, Kavita in family A is noted to adapt more readily to the language practices of Priti and uses predominantly English in their conversations. In contrast, Anjali and Anand in families B and C converse mainly in Malayalam even with their younger siblings, who largely prefer the use of English. This does not mean, however, that the younger children in families B and C change their linguistic behaviour, for they continue to use English when their interlocutors are their older siblings or their mothers.

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Consequently, when considering the families, two members seem to exert power in the form of affecting the language practices of the rest. One is the traditional authority figure or the father who by generation and gender can claim superiority over the remaining members of the family. Significant to note is that the second member exercising power over their mothers and at times, their older siblings are the younger children who, in the conventional family set-up, would hold the least amount of status and power. Therefore, defying the variables of generation and gender, all of which would have normally placed them at the bottom of the family hierarchical system, the younger children all under the age of ten are seen to influence the language practices of their older siblings and their mothers. Furthermore, even though their language of preference is English, they are able to switch to Malayalam when conversing with their fathers and relatives. Consequently, even in relation to the younger children's linguistic behaviour with their relatives and fathers, their fluency and adaptability in the two languages make them powerful agents of language within the family networks.

It is Boxer (2002) who postulates that children can hold power in the absence of status and that parents may not always hold the power despite having status. This study suggests this claim to be relevant and applicable to the linguistic arena of the participant group. In light of these findings, the results from the three families signify that it is not adequate to consider status and power relations solely with regard to generation and gender only. As explained, the younger children in these immigrant families are seen to construct a new linguistic hierarchy within their families, indexing a significant link between status, power and linguistic practices.

6.4. Conclusion: Addressing the Niche

As a means of summarising the main findings examined in this chapter, I will address the gaps in literature identified in chapter two. The need to revisit and re-evaluate language status and its correlation with power relations of the

speakers in relation to the present study was emphasised in the review of literature. Esdahl (2010) and Pandit (1977), amongst others, believe that for a speaker to successfully challenge or maintain power relations, the status and power of the language also matters. The findings of this study suggest a contradictory point of view whereby they resonate with Hua (2008), who suggests that in conflict talk, multilinguals do not necessarily rely on languages with societal status in order to maintain power relations. Instead, they seem to depend on the language they are most proficient in to maintain authority or a particular stance. Thus, although Malayalam does not have the same level of prestige as English in the UK, it seems that the fathers use the language whilst successfully maintaining their authority within their families.

In relation to power relations within families, Boxer (2002) claims that children can have power in spite of lacking status, and that parents may not have power despite having status. A review of Canagarajah's (2008) study indicated that first-generation immigrant parents' lack of proficiency in English empowered English-proficient children in Sri Lankan Tamil communities. The children were seen to mock their elders who could not conform to the locally valued English accents. In the present study however, it was indicated that none of the children were observed to use English in order to undermine parental authority. Instead, a cooperative language behavior, whereby the older children in particular switched to the heritage language of the parents, was observed.

The literature review also reviewed Mayor's (2004) study which concedes that in intergenerational multilingual families, male adolescents use language alternation as a power tool to index their gender-based identities. In relation to Mayor (2004), the need to focus more specifically on female children in immigrant families and whether they too challenge parental authority was highlighted. Having examined the linguistic practices of the second-generation participants in the present study, it will be suggested that Indian-born and foreign-born older children, irrespective of gender, display accommodating

language behaviour towards both parents. Moreover, in relation to the new linguistic hierarchy presented in this chapter, it could be said that the older children were not observed to exert any forms of linguistic power within their families. Therefore, they were noted to adopt a *middle ground* in the arena of linguistic practices.

According to my knowledge, Percot's (2012) research is the only other sociolinguistic enquiry on immigrant Malayali families in the British Isles, and as such I place considerable weight on its findings, which prove highly applicable to the present study. Percot (2012) writes that migration had led to a discernible role-reversal between the Malayali husbands and wives in her participant group in Ireland. The findings of the current study appear to echo Percot's (2012) observations. The mothers that participated in the present research seem to have acquired a new level of socio-economic status owing to their level of proficiency in English and their position as the main breadwinners in their families.

To conclude, the mothers were found to take a lead role in exercising their power over the children. The claimed authority of the fathers, although reflected in the self-report data, could not be validated fully against the interactional data owing to the scarcity of conflict zones in which they were involved. However, it is also likely that the fathers who are said to be the superiors in their households, do not associate disciplining as one of their roles. Therefore, it is possible to assert that the fathers hold a *symbolic* power, which is exercised in actuality by the mothers. This in itself suggests a two-tiered power distribution between the husbands and wives of the Malayali families. Taking into consideration the linguistic practices within these multilingual two-generational families, a linguistic hierarchy that reflects a new dimension of status and power amongst the participant group was argued for as constituting a unique finding within this study.

7. Conclusion

7.1. Introduction

The objectives of this chapter will be to summarise the main findings, to reiterate the original contributions made to existing knowledge, to define the identified limitations of the present study and finally to suggest possible avenues of future research in the area of this investigation.

7.2. A Summary

The overarching intention of the present study was to investigate the manner in which status and power relations within three immigrant Malayali families were being challenged and/or maintained through linguistic practices. To address this area of interest, the following questions that focused on linguistic profiles, cultural values and linguistic resources were formulated:

Research question 1: What are the extra-linguistic variables that are agentive in the participants' language use and preference?

Research question 2: What are the cultural values of the parents that the children oppose and accept? How do these shared or conflicting values manifest themselves in the language practices of the participants?

Research question 3: What are the linguistic resources that participants use in order to challenge and/or retain status and power relations?

In order to develop responses to the questions from a dual perspective or the emic and the etic points of view and to enhance the credibility of the findings, semi-structured interviews, recorded intra-family conversations and

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observational fieldnotes were completed. The resulting data was analysed through an interpretive process drawing on elements of discourse analysis to present the key findings reiterated below.

7.2.1. Key Findings and Contributions to New Knowledge

- <u>Intergenerational language shift</u>

The portrayal of linguistic profiles suggests that a transition from Malayalam-speaking fathers to English-preferring younger children was discernible across the three families.

Amongst the first-generation members of the family, the fathers were seen to use primarily Malayalam whilst the mothers tended to alternate between their main language and English when interacting with the children. Similar to the mothers, the older children were found to use both languages at home, using mostly Malayalam with parents and English with their siblings. The younger children seemed to use chiefly English within their homes. A special note was made in relation to the mothers and older children, who were observed to depict a more accommodating language behaviour by adapting their language practices much more willingly, it seemed, according to the interlocutor.

- <u>Heritage language learning and maintenance as a collaborative endeavour</u>

The parents and the children in all three families were generally seen to uphold and practise common values relating to the heritage language. On the basis of the findings, it may be possible to claim that Malayalam is the vehicle that makes the acculturation of the children's generation to Indian values possible or more realistic. The fact that Malayalam does not hold the same

level of prestige as it did in India does not seem to discourage the parents from using and promoting the language.

Whilst the parents appeared to share a mutual interest towards the use and maintenance of Malayalam within the family, the mothers were found to act as the educators who facilitated Malayalam language and cultural socialisation at home.

The older children, irrespective of gender, were seen to promote the maintenance of Malayalam by adopting the language as their primary mode of communication at home and by actively making use of the opportunities offered within the Malayali community for improving their literacy skills in Malayalam.

By keeping in touch with their relatives in India, participating in Malayali community events and subscribing to Malayalam television channels at home, the parents were observed to maximise exposure and opportunities for the children to use Malayalam in the UK. Nonethless, it was emphasised that the younger children's enthusiasm for learning Malayalam did not always seem to manifest itself in relation to their actual language practices. Therefore, it was argued that motivation for heritage language maintenance did not necessarily indicate that all the participants displayed similar enthusiasm for adopting a linguistic identity associated with the language.

- <u>Shared educational and family values</u>

It appears that the parents' encouragement for the use and learning of Malayalam in itself could be considered a way of ensuring the continuity of traditional values and practices - though it may not necessarily be an intentionally adopted strategy of the parents. The domestic context/household thus seems to provide a kind of 'safe haven' for the parents: it is their own personal space in which they can maintain, preserve and transmit their cultural practices to their children. However, it was suggested that the parents'

use of Malayalam to exert power over their children did not necessarily mean they were always successful in sustaining authority in their homes.

The families were seen to place a lot of weight on mainstream education as well as the learning of religious practices and Indian classical dance. The children were found to share the parents' aspirations towards learning and/or excelling in their formal education and dance training. It was found that the parents actively promoted the observance of religious practices both within and outside of their homes.

Thus, overall it seems that the children embrace the Malayalam language and do not attempt to resist its use in order to challenge the patriarchal structure within their families. The children are not seen to employ their 'higher' proficiency in English to their advantage as a means to defy parental authority and status.

- <u>The younger children in a process of acculturation</u>

Whilst the younger children were found to respect parental authority in general, they were also noted to resist certain cultural practices that related to showing respect for older siblings and seniors outside of their homes.

- <u>The symbolic figures of authority and the practitioners of power</u>

Furthermore, I argue that paternal authority, which is not found to be contested by the children, appears to operate at a symbolic level, owing to the fact that it is the mothers who are noted to exercise discipline over the children in practice. What is more, the mothers appear to believe that they have a greater responsibility in terms of parenting in comparison to their husbands.

- The sociolinguistically constructed status of the Malayali wives

The data of this study indicates that patriarchy although seemingly in existence across the three participant families appears to have little correlation with the linguistic acculturation of the first-generation immigrants in the UK. In fact, it seems to be more connected with their educational and professional backgrounds. As a result, the mothers in the participant group are seen to be the principal agents for transmitting the heritage language as well as the host language within their homes.

The three Malayali mothers are also amongst the thousands of Indian women who over the years have become the main channel for their families to migrate to Britain (Vertovec 2007). Therefore, with secure jobs and higher incomes, they are socio-economically of a higher standing than their husbands in the UK.

Furthermore, the results of this research suggest that the Malayali mothers are much more proficient in English than their spouses. Therefore, the traditional gender imbalance where immigrant women remained at home and had little or no access to acquiring or using the host language (Piller and Pavlenko 2001) is not applicable to this participant group. What is more, the Malayali mothers are not seen to be endorsing language shift from Malayalam to English within their families. Instead, in their current country of residence, they are the breadwinners who appear to play a proactive role in championing their heritage and host languages. Thus, these Malayali women seem to have superseded their male spouses at a socio-economic and linguistic level.

- A new linguistic hierarchy

The study contends that a new linguistic hierarchy emerges through the traditional patriarchal system embedded within the families. The two key agents in this new domain of power are the fathers and the younger children.

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Thus, I argue that whilst the fathers' use of Malayalam is seen to be respected and accommodated by their wives and children, the younger children appear to exercise a new form of power over siblings and mothers through their preference and use of English.

7.3. Limitations of the Study

One limitation of the current research exists in the credibility of a section of the self-report data relating to language use of the participants in India and the Middle East. Although the validity of the self-report data on language practices in the UK could be triangulated with the use of observational fieldnotes and interactional data, the participants' language use overseas could not always be triangulated in a similar manner. As reiterated on several occasions, the presence of the digital recorders and the manner in which the fathers may have altered their actual language practices within conflict situations may also have affected the validity of the interactional data of the current study.

A further limitation of the present study relates to the transcription of the intra-family Malayalam conversations, with particular reference to the degree of accuracy within these. As a non-speaker of Malayalam, I was unable to understand the Malayalam utterances in the audio-recordings. As a result, the precision with which the translations were carried out depended solely on the translators, making this an area of the research beyond my control and capacity.

7.4. Implications for Future Research and Conclusion

One of the main propositions for future research will be made with regard to the approach adopted for the present study to gain an *insider* perspective, a defining characteristic of ethnographic research (Agar 1986; Spradley 1980). The current research presented a detailed explanation of the enactment of

status and power relations in the linguistic practices of the participant group, as they were understood to be in practice. Entering the domain of family life, as already mentioned in the introductory chapter is by no means easy from the perspective of ethnographic researchers (Mayor 2004). Once access is gained, I suggest that it is only through months and years of fieldwork that an insight into linguistic and/or non-linguistic family practices that are close to 'reality' can be obtained and studied.

On the basis of the present study, I would also like to emphasise the importance of enhancing the generalizability of research findings. Even though I studied three Malayali families, I was able to draw on observations I had made of the wider Malayali community in York when examining the language practices of the participants. Therefore, in place of considering the participants as three family units with unrelated language practices, I compared the findings of each family with those of the other two and with the practices I had observed in general within the community at large. As this approach enabled me to maximise the pertinence and applicability of the research outcomes to the immigrant Malayali community in York, I reiterate the relevance and significance of taking into consideration the wider context within which research participants are based.

One of the key contributions of the present study that I argue for, is in relation to its distinct finding on the emergence of a new linguistic hierarchy. I therefore propose that examining the possible prevalence of a similar realm of power defined by linguistic practices within other diasporic multilingual intergenerational families would further develop this area of focus.

In relation to the current study, I propose that investigating possible factors that hinder the socio-cultural integration of first-generation immigrants within host countries to be an area that may be of interest to researchers and policy-makers in any field relating to immigrant populations. In family A, the

mother refers to her husband's lack of interest in migrating to the UK. In family B, the father explicitly states that he is unhappy about life in the UK. These findings imply that first-generation immigrant fathers' inability or lack of motivation in integrating into mainstream society should receive further and greater attention.

In the three families of this study, the fathers' observed and reported level of proficiency in English may be regarded as a cause for their 'limited' social mobility in the UK. Furthermore, it appears that their 'restricted' knowledge in English provides them with fewer roles and responsibilities than their wives within the wider social context they live in. However, none of the fathers seemed to convey an interest towards improving their English language skills. Investigating first-generation immigrants' lack of motivation for host language learning through exploratory sociolinguistic research could therefore contribute to measures to enhance the nature of their inclusion within mainstream societies in the years to come.

Moreover, this research suggests that the fathers are not as forthcoming as the mothers in the teaching of heritage languages to their children at home. According to the findings, it is not the lack of sufficient contact hours that seems to prevent the fathers from contributing to the development of the children's literacy skills in Malayalam. It would therefore be worthwhile researching the factors behind the fathers' apparent lack of interest in taking on this responsibility.

In relation to immigrant multilingual children, the present study emphasises that they should not be studied as a homogenous group classed simply as the *second-generation*. I contend that *second-generation* is too broad a term, and that children should not be considered as a uniform unit purely on the basis of generation. Instead, they should be taken into consideration in

relation to other non-linguistic variables, including country of birth and length of exposure to host and heritage languages.

The findings of the current study also highlight that at a community level, the parents have set up voluntary classes to develop the children's knowledge in Malayalam. This initiative, it seems, would benefit from encouragement and even recognition at local authority and national levels as an example of good practice. As existing literature suggests, there appears to be a trend amongst immigrant multilingual parents from South Asian and East Asian nations to disregard the value of their heritage languages - the link, as this study implies, between immigrant children and relatives back home. The Malayalis could therefore be considered as presenting a contrasting paradigm of heritage language maintenance within the home and at community level. An example that should perhaps receive local and even national level attention - in an attempt to change the mindset of immigrant communities in general, and thereby emphasise heritage languages as a medium for ensuring the continuity of the cultural beliefs, practices and traditions that they uphold.

Appendix A- Transcription Symbols

Arial Rounded MT Bold: Translated utterances from Malayalam to English

Candara: Utterances in English

(0.5) :   Silence

He he: Laughter

Huh huh: Crying

(( )) :   Description of Event

! :   Raised or Animated tone

(xxxx) :   Inaudible

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