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Report

2011

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An investigation into Multilingualism amongst 16-19 Year Old College Students

Does speaking a foreign language invoke principally positive or negative attitudes in a predominantly English-speaking environment?

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Introduction

In this investigation we are examining the nature and effects of usage of Punjabi, Urdu, Swedish, Polish and Yoruba by a group of sixth form students in Manchester. Our research question is as follows: does speaking a foreign language invoke principally positive or negative attitudes in a predominantly English-speaking environment? We are additionally interested in examining the source of the induced positive or negative attitudes and the specific domains (environments) in which they are prevalent. After further, careful consideration of the aims of the study, the focus will no longer lie on language use in regards to how the education system in Manchester caters for a multilingual student base, rather on the students' experiences of their language use in their daily lives. We have chosen to conduct our study in Rusholme, Greater Manchester as it is renowned for its multiculturalism and multilingualism. The minority status in England of each language we are investigating invites discussion of the important issues of inclusivity and exclusivity. We are interested in sensitively gaining an understanding of the extent to which the multilingual students feel they possess a freedom to use their native language within different domains such as at home, in college and at social occasions. We will explore the reactions of family members, friends and peers to the use of a language other than English within a primarily English-speaking area, investigating how the

responses manifest themselves, for example in terms of encouragement, discouragement or pressure.

We have chosen this research question as we feel it is facilitated by our methodology. The process of our data collection whereby we personally interviewed individual students and inquired about the specific domains and nature of their language use has been conducive in providing detailed, relevant information regarding attitudes towards language use; specific situations that they have encountered in which language affected unfolding events; and their own personal feelings surrounding multilingualism.

In order to construct an informed analysis we will be referring to relevant literature, namely Eckert (1988) and Fishman (1965).

This table represents the candidates and their respective languages and gender:

Candidate	Language spoken	Gender
A	Swedish	Female
B	Urdu / Punjabi	Male
C	Polish	Female
D	Yoruba	Male
E	Urdu / Punjabi	Female

Unfortunately candidate E did not arrive; therefore was unable to be interviewed.

Before we were able to carry out any further research in the college, we felt it would be beneficial to change our first hypothesis significantly to focus more precisely on language attitudes and domains. The interviews were recorded on a mobile phone as to allow the candidates to feel more at ease and appear unobserved. Due to candidates' individual schedules we were only able to interview four as opposed to five as previously planned. To avoid this in the future it may be that we should have used only the questionnaire format as to avoid locating and pinning-down busy students. A similar problem arose with the changing location and

people interrupting and walking into the room which led to diminished concentration. It would have been more convenient to secure a room solely for the purpose of our interviews.

Analysis of Data

This is a table summarising the findings that were collected from the students when they were asked to fill out the second questionnaire during the interviews. (See Appendix 1)

	Student A	Student B (Punjabi)	Student B (Urdu)	Student C	Student D
Domains	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • home • social events 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • college • home town • social events (with friends) • streets of Manchester • place of worship 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • home • place of worship • college • local shop • supermarket • Manchester • home town • social events 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • home • college • home town • social events 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • home • place of worship • college, • Manchester • home town (with friends) • social events
Communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • text messaging • letters • social networking • e-mail 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social networking • e-mail 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social networking • e-mail 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social networking • e-mail 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social networking • text messaging
Media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • newspapers • books • internet sites • DVDs • radio • music • television 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DVDs • radio • music • television • audiotapes /CD 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • newspapers • radio • music • television • audiotapes /CDs • DVDs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • newspapers • books • internet sites • DVDs 	

Student A

Student A was born in the UK but her mother is originally from Sweden. She explained that she only speaks Swedish with her family when she's in England. Student A does have a house in Sweden so she visits family and friends there occasionally. When she was asked about the choice she made in reference to which language she would speak in Sweden without hesitation she answered Swedish as using this means they are able to understand her "Well when..." (See Appendix 3)

Student A spent a year living in Sweden and going to school there. She discussed how none of her friends spoke fluent English and therefore Swedish was the only feasible language choice if a language barrier were to be avoided. She held very positive attitudes towards her bilingualism, describing it as having two cultures "I like it..." (See Appendix 4) This suggests that she believes being bilingual can be related to being more cultured. It appears that Student A perceives the use of English to be a key factor in a full experience of English culture. However, there is evidence to suggest that she is still aware of her Swedish roots and does not wish to abandon them while living in England.

Student B

Student B was born in Manchester. He can speak English, Urdu and Punjabi and his parents were born in Pakistan which is where his Urdu influence comes from.

Student B explained that he 'use(s) both languages pretty much the same' in reference to the domains in which he uses Urdu and Punjabi. Student B was asked where he would speak Urdu the most and he replied "When I'm at my Grandma's house..." (See Appendix 5) The interviewer then asked "Was there ever a point where you didn't feel comfortable with it? (distinction between where to speak different languages)". Student B replied "I suppose..." (See Appendix 6) Already, we can see that he has had a lot of influence from his Grandma who has put up clear boundaries as to where he is expected to use each language in relation to English

and Urdu. It appears he identifies himself more with Urdu than he does with English, despite the fact he would use English with family. We can see this as he refers to Urdu as 'our language' as though it belongs to the family unit.

According to Student B, Urdu is used much more than Punjabi with the older generation. It seems much more respectful to use Urdu with a person whom you haven't met before. In the discussion, a hypothetical question arose as to what language he would choose if he were in a shop in which he wasn't familiar with an elderly shop assistant. Without any hesitation, he answered Urdu. From the responses given it seems that when someone chooses to communicate in Urdu over English or Punjabi it shows a sign of respect. This is reiterated with his use of Urdu and Punjabi in the home as he would only speak Urdu to his Dad, but with his Mother and siblings he would also use Punjabi or English "But like..." (See Appendix 7)

Student B also says that he is comfortable combining English, Urdu and Punjabi in a single sentence, this seems to be done quite commonly. When we asked him about the media he was interested in e.g. Bollywood movies, he explained that they often use all three languages as well.

Overall speaker B seems to be very proud of his multilingualism. This is reflected in the statement "My grandma's friends..." (See Appendix 8) When asked about how he felt others perceived him, he described positive attitudes mainly from older speakers who are impressed that he has maintained his languages.

Student C

Student C was an 18 year old, female college student. She moved to England at the age of 10 years old and has lived in Didsbury in Manchester for the past eight years with her mother. Student C was originally from the south of Poland, but relocated to England in 2003. Before her emigration to England, Student C spent 2 years living with her grandparents in Poland whilst her mother set up a home in England. Student C's main languages are Polish and English.

Following the questionnaire, Student C was asked “So you mentioned within the home you would obviously speak Polish [...], would you speak it with family?” [3:29], her response to this was “I’ve only got my Cousin and my Aunty as well living here, so yeah, when we meet we do speak Polish usually.” [3:45]. Student C was then asked “Is that all the time?” [3:51], to which she responded “Usually with my Aunty and my Mum, but with my Cousin we usually edge towards English more.” [3:55]. She was then asked why she would use English more with a younger person, and she answered “I think overall I do find it easier to speak English...” (See Appendix 9) This distribution of the use English and Polish between older and younger speakers suggests that although Student C feels more at ease with speaking English, she believes that it is respectful to use Polish in front of/when speaking to her Mother and Aunty as they are more comfortable with the use of Polish.

Following this, Student C was asked “With your Polish and your English, how does it make you feel having two languages?” [4:58] Her reply to this was “It makes me feel good...” (See Appendix 10) This is a significant comment as it reflects Student C’s pride in her ability to speak two languages. She clearly believes that her bilingualism provides her with more opportunities and is an advantage. However, it is also important to note that Student C identifies English as the language that provides better prospects as this is the language that is more dominant. Therefore, this implies that she believes that English will bring her opportunities that may not have occurred if she were to speak exclusively Polish.

Student C was then asked “With your two languages, have you ever had a positive or a negative experience with having two languages? [8:38] Her answer to this was “Not so much...” (See Appendix 11) This demonstrates that Student C has never encountered any negative attitudes towards her bilingualism and that to her knowledge, the environment in which she lives and studies has accepted and embraced her Polish culture and language.

Earlier in the interview, Student C explained that she had met a Polish friend in college to whom she speaks Polish. Later in the interview, she was asked “With your friend in your Maths set, did you ever switch between the Polish and the English?” [9:05] Student C replied “I think I did more often because...” (See Appendix 12) This mixed use of English and Polish illustrates Student C’s ease with both of the languages and exemplifies codeswitching, whereby a language is “reserved for spontaneous language mixing in the conversation of bilinguals” (Matras 2009:106). The utilisation of both languages within the classroom also implies that she is happy to integrate with a variety of people by using the different languages in order to communicate. In addition, Student C’s suggestion that she would try to speak English in front of other non-Polish speaking people demonstrates an awareness of the language that she is speaking and also expresses her need to prevent people from feeling isolated when she is using Polish.

Student D

Student D was an 18 year old, male college student. He moved to England at the age of 8 years old and lived in Manchester. Before moving to England, he had been born in Nigeria where he lived with his mother, father and brother for four years. Following this, the family moved to Gambia where they lived until their emigration to England. Student D explained that his father was the first to move to England and he followed with his mother and brother in 2002. Student D’s main languages are Yoruba and English.

When questioned about the domains, Student D stated that he uses Yoruba most “At home” [2:49] Student D also indicated on the questionnaire that he would use Yoruba in college with his friends. When questioned why, Student D answered “Not most, but some of them are Yoruba as well, so it’s just, sometimes we do it just for fun.” [3:12] This variety in his usage of Yoruba suggests that Student D is very comfortable with speaking another language and is quite proud of his ability as he is not afraid to use the language in a range of locations, including public places such as college.

In addition, Student D was also asked “Would you ever use Yoruba and English together?” [3:45] Student D answered “Yeah, sometimes we mix it up and people just look at us like ‘What are they talking about?’” [3:49] This comment indicates flexibility in the use of both English and Yoruba and suggests that he is at ease with the use of both languages.

Student D was asked about his use of Yoruba at social events, Student D replied “In church...” (See Appendix 13) Later in the interview Student D is discussing visiting Nigeria and is asked “What do you speak over there when you go home to Nigeria?” [6:19], his answer to this is “We speak Yoruba...” (See Appendix 14) This is a very interesting comment as it suggests that Student D feels that it is important to use Yoruba when speaking to the older generations as this somewhat signifies respect and a mutual understanding about their culture and ethnicity. However, when speaking to the younger generations, Student D notes that it is acceptable to speak English as this is what they have been brought up with and it is also what they are taught at school. In addition, Student D was asked “What do you think of the older generation maintaining the language?” [5:07], to which he responded “I think it’s a bit weird...” (See Appendix 15) He explains that when his parents realised he could potentially forget how to speak Yoruba, they no longer discouraged him from using it and instead supported its use, which suggests pride for their heritage and Nigerian origin.

Following this, the interview progressed to discussing Student D’s attitudes toward bilingualism. Student D was asked “You have Yoruba, what do you think of this?” [6:22] Student D responded “I think...” (See Appendix 16) Again, this reflects a positive attitude towards the ability to speak another language. The comment also illustrates Student D’s interpretation of bilingualism as a means of socialisation and an advantage in terms of communication.

When discussing how Student D would know which language to use in different situations, he was asked “Where would you know which language to speak where?” [7:32], to which he responded “It depends who I’m around...” (See Appendix 17) This demonstrates domain-specific language use. However, this also shows a social awareness regarding his use of Yoruba. Although he may not view its usage in

a negative manner, he is conscious that people may be apprehensive if he were to use this language around them due to the fact that they are not able to understand what he is saying. Student D does not seem to interpret this as a negative attitude towards his bilingualism, as he appears to appreciate their reactions and make an effort to change the language he uses in public in order to make people feel more comfortable around him.

Finally, Student D states that the schooling system in Nigeria is English. He is then asked “What do you think about that?” [16:46] Student D answered “It’s Westernised culture innit...” (See Appendix 18) Student D maintains that English dominance is not about disregarding any other language, but instead it is about developing your own knowledge and creating a mutual means of communication between different cultures and societies.

Discussion

To assist our investigation into the relevance of peer pressure in regards to language use, we have chosen to consult Eckert’s study (1988) as it discusses language variation in a secondary school setting and how this can have segregating effects upon social groups of a high school age group. Within our findings we did not find evidence of peer pressure; however friendship circles did influence language spoken in the cases of students B, C and D.

Referring to Fishman (1965), his claims regarding how language use can correspond with a speaker’s company and situation are particularly pertinent to our study. We found this practice to be true amongst the students we interviewed. Fishman also makes a significant claim regarding the family domain and how this is often the main source of multilingualism, which is also reflected in our findings. In addition, it was found that in most instances, the positive attitudes initially come from the students’ home environments. Often, positive attitudes are reinforced by older family members/friends (see Appendix 8). This is supported by the statement ‘Multilingualism often begins in the family and depends upon it for encouragement’ (Fishman 1965: 95). It seems that the strong family structure and support regarding

language use has instilled in the students a sense of pride towards their bilingualism. We found evidence of this from all four of the students as they conveyed an enjoyment in being able to experience two cultures whilst living in England.

Most of the students were found to use code switching when talking to friends and family, with the exception of Student A who only seemed to use Swedish in the family home or when visiting Sweden. This reflects that for Student A, there was possibly not an opportunity in which she would be able to code switch due to the fact that she did not interact with many other Swedish speakers in Manchester.

Furthermore, it was found that most of the students noted that their language choice and age of the interlocutor seems to reflect an element of respect. This is due to the fact that, in general, all of the students spoke their native language with older generations, whereas English was used mostly with younger generations (even in situations where a younger interlocutor also speaks their native language.)

Although the students did not necessarily state this, it appeared that they all found English to be the more dominant language as can be noted in Appendix 18. It would seem that their native language seems to constitute their need to remain involved with their cultural background and continue their family heritage (see Appendix 4), whereas English is adopted in order for them to move ahead in a predominantly English speaking environment.

Bibliography

Eckert, Penelope. 1988. Adolescent social structure and the spread of linguistic change. *Language in Society* 17, 183-207. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fishman, A. Joshua. 1965. Who speaks what language to whom and when? *La Linguistique* 2, 67-88.

Matras, Yaron. 2009. *Language Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Appendix

Appendix 1

Please circle or tick any places/ types of communication you would use or maybe need to use your language within.

The domains: Would you use your language within these specific places?

- Home
- Place of Worship
- School/College
- Local Shop
- Supermarket
- The streets of Manchester
- In your home town on the streets, City centre etc.
- Social events with friends
- Social events with family
- Place of work

Any not stated
above.....

Participants: Would you use a specific language to speak to different people that are listed below?

- Family members
- Long lost relatives (hardly see/speak to)
- Friends (close friends in particular) or friends of friends for example.
- Teachers
- With your Manager, Co-workers etc. (if applicable)

Any not stated
above.....
.....

Forms of communication

Written: Would you write specifically in your language in a form of communication?

- Letters
- Social networking

(Facebook, Twitter, Skype etc)

Would this depend on who you are talking to? i.e. family, friends, long distance relatives you hardly speak to etc.

- Text messaging
- Email

Any not stated

above.....
.....

Types of communication in which you would consume for pleasure or even education: by this we mean would you consume a particular resource of communication as listed below within your particular language?

- Newspapers
- The Radio
- Music (download or buy)
- Television
- Books
- Audio tapes/CDs
- Internet site pages
- DVDs
- Subtitles on Television and Films

Any more please do state

.....

Can you think of anywhere else you would speak your language? Whether it is a specific place or a particular situation?

Appendix 2

Second Interview

*Before Interview starts:

Give out the acceptance form to the informant to look and fill out. Explain the form and its purpose to the informant and state the guidelines that we will abide by. Confirm their name, form and overall approval for the second interview.

*Welcome/ greeting:

Hello, thank you for taking the time to come and speak to us further from the initial meeting on the 28th March. We are very thankful for your response within the first questionnaire we gave to you in stating you would be willing to speak to us further. We found when analysing the questionnaires, yours to be very effective and appropriate in what we are looking at as part of our main aim for our project.

*State to the informant that this interview will be purely an informal chat based upon the answers given previously within the initial questionnaire. The further discussion of the answers on a face to face situation will help to achieve a developed discussion, in the hoping of finding analysis to help meet the overall hypothesis of the project. The informant needs to be reminded that he/she will not be assessed nor judged upon the answers they give within the interview.

Basically just to remind you upon our project we are undertaking at the University of Manchester, our main focus is on the attitudes upon speakers whom speak a foreign language as well as their first language. So we are just going to ask you some further questions upon the language/languages you speak, your personal opinion upon these languages and where you would speak them.

*Offer tea and biscuits before beginning the interview.

Recording:

Basically as we have stated within the form we are going to use our mobile phones to record this interview for our benefit in gaining and noting your answers fully. Can you confirm that this is ok for us to do so we can begin this interview?

*Wait for approval and start to record

Questions:

Home:

1. Where were you born?
2. How long have you lived within England? At what age did you move?
3. Did you come over to England with your family?

4. Do you go back to visit your home town? If so why would this be? To see family members? Social event or a holiday for instance?

Now we will look into your languages you speak

1. Can you tell us what languages you speak again? Which one is your native language? (first language)
2. Are they both equal within the way you speak them or do you use one in particular most?

*Within the bilingual informants, allow two separate sheets for each of their languages.

Now we want to further develop our questions from the initial questionnaire we gave to you in which we questioned the places in which you spoke your languages. We also questioned what language you would use to communicate, either through social networking or a hand written letter for example.

We're going to give you a sheet with a list of places and forms of communication you may or may not use your language within.

Now if you just want to have a browse over and maybe circle the places in which apply to yourself and then we can look into more detail the places in which you have chosen. We will give you two sheets, one for each language. This may be easier for you to explain your two languages and help separate places you may speak one and not the other if that is the case. Give sheets.

***COPY OF DOMAIN SHEET**

The domains: Would you use your language within these specific places?

- Home
- Place of Worship
- School/College
- Local Shop
- Supermarket
- The streets of Manchester
- In your home town on the streets, City centre etc.
- Social events with friends
- Social events with family

- Place of work

Any not stated above.....

Participants: Would you use a specific language to speak to different people that are listed below?

- Family members
- Long lost relatives (hardly see/speak to)
- Friends (close friends in particular) or friends of friends for example.
- Teachers
- With your Manager, Co-workers etc. (if applicable)

Any not stated above.....

Forms of communication

Written: Would you write specifically in your language in a form of communication?

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(Facebook, Twitter, Skype etc)

Would this depend on who you are talking to? i.e. family, friends, long distance relatives you hardly speak to etc.

- Text messaging
- Email

Any not stated above.....

Types of communication in which you would consume for pleasure or even education: by this we mean would you consume a particular resource of communication as listed below within your particular language?

- Newspapers
- The Radio
- Music (download or buy)
- Television

- Books
- Audio tapes/CDs
- Internet site pages
- DVDs
- Subtitles on Television and Films

Any more please do state

.....

Can you think of anywhere else you would speak your language? Whether it is a specific place or a particular situation?

Feedback with answers:

*Take the filled out sheet from the informant and browse over for a couple of seconds before moving onto the next question.

1. Why would you speak your language of..... within this particular domain?
2. Are there instances where you would use your language and English together within a sentence for example?

In areas not ticked/ circled:

1. In the domains and areas you haven't ticked or circled, why would you not use your language within this area?

*POINT OUT EXAMPLE:

For instance you didn't circle Why is this do you feel?

*Further questions we can ask upon the attitudes of their languages

1. Are you encouraged as a multilingual/bilingual speaker to execute your languages equally as English?
2. How does it make you feel having the ability of speaking another language?
3. What do you think of the older generation maintaining the language?
4. Where would you know to speak each language where?
5. What do you think of the media accessible within England to you within your first language?
6. Have you had any positive or negative experiences related to your language?
7. Are you encouraged to use this language over English in maybe a different domain/area in your life? Where exactly would this be?
8. Is there anything else you want to make clear to us about your language?

Thank you, we really appreciate the time and personal information you have shared with us today. As native English speakers and in particular me and Becki having no other knowledge or experience in a foreign language, it's been really interesting to listen and research into your languages. You have also given us lots of information and a broad scope of research for our project. If you are interested within the final piece we will leave you our email and you can get in touch with us if you are interested in reading our final report.

*give email and details if informant wants to get in touch

Appendix 3

"Well when I'm there I'll speak to any one in Swedish, like it's easier for me to speak in Swedish than it is for them to speak in English." [4: 09]

Appendix 4

"I like it, I like having, like two kind of cultures...I like it a lot because of the differences" [3:20]

Appendix 5

"When I'm at my Grandma's house... 'cause like I was raised by my Grandma so, and she's taught me to speak English like when you go to school and when you go home you speak Urdu." [6:31]

Appendix 6

"I suppose when I was a lot younger, like, I'm talking at primary school because I always used to come home and when my cousins were about we always used to you know speak English and we used to get, not sort of told off but more, you know, encouraged to speak our language when we were at home." [7:05]

Appendix 7

"But like if I was talking to my brother or sister, you know, I tend to combine all three of the languages and speak to them like that. But, like, with my mum I'd speak English a lot of the time and that's not really a problem. But, like um with my Dad I tend to speak a lot more Urdu at home...with my mum I suppose I've got more of a relationship with my Mum, like she's more like she's my Mum but she's a mate at the same time...with my Dad it's more, you know, gotta show a bit more respect towards my Dad...it's one of those things, he's like the man of the house" [16: 43]

Appendix 8

My grandma's friends...when I have, sort of, engaged in conversation with them in Urdu, what you call it, they sort of said 'ah that's really good that'...some sons and daughters don't even know how to speak our language that's really good that you have taught him Urdu at an early age, it's just one of those things, you get a pat on the back and everyone is happy." [22:13]

Appendix 9

“I think overall I do find it easier to speak English at the moment because I’ve been here for such a long time and I do tend to speak English more because I spend more time at college for example and with people who are English speaking as well, but I think it’s much harder for my Mum and for my Aunty because they were older when they moved here so they feel more comfortable speaking Polish, so when I’m with them I usually speak Polish but I feel more comfortable speaking English so I usually speak English with my cousin.” [4:04]

Appendix 10

“It makes me feel good, it gives me much more opportunities, especially if I speak English, it’s a very well known language around the world so it’s good, yeah, I like it. I feel more comfortable with it right now.” [5:05]

Appendix 11

“Not so much, maybe embarrassing ones for example if I’m in a coffee shop and I’m speaking in Polish with my Mum or something and like someone comes up to us and I just automatically start speaking in Polish to them ‘coz I’m just sort of in that Polish phase.” [8:47]

Appendix 12

“I think I did more often because she’s only been in this country for about three years and I’ve been here for eight, so I was much more confident speaking in English at this point. We had another boy who was English sat next to us, so we would try to keep it balanced. If he was there we would try to speak English.” [9:15]

Appendix 13

“In church and so on, we have the you know, the older generation who like to speak to us in Yoruba because they believe we need to know the language and so on and then we’ve got the younger generation, like slightly younger than me, that usually speak English, mainly because most of them were born here or just, they’ve grew up around so many English friends that they just speak English to anyone they speak to.” [4:45]

Appendix 14

“We speak Yoruba, but there’s a trend with like, it’s always about older people and younger people, like I’ve got cousins my age and we speak Yoruba, but with my Mum’s sisters and my Dad’s brothers, they’ve got little kids and they’re making them speak English because apparently it’s more acceptable to speak English and the schooling system in Nigeria is English anyway.” [16:23]

Appendix 15

“I think it’s a bit weird, like because I remember like from an experience when we first got here, all my Dad ever wanted me and my brother to speak was English. We did already speak English but he wanted us to like speak Mancunian type of an accent English, so he would be like ‘No Yoruba, speak English’ and then as well I used to speak Gambian and I was really good at Gambian, but because we were only forced to speak English and Yoruba sometimes but they speak it to us I totally forgot the Gambian. Like now they would be saying words and I’d just be thinking like I don’t remember all of that, and after a while they were like ‘No, speak Yoruba, speak Yoruba’ ‘coz they thought that yeah they’d forget it, and with the new kids it’s just the parents are not really bothered. You do get some parents that are bothered, like one of my mates’ Dads, he doesn’t really like it if he can’t speak it. Like you say a word wrong, he just be looking at you like ‘What the heck’ like type of thing, but yeah, it is more of yeah tryna’ get the kids to at least speak a little bit of it.” [5:13]

Appendix 16

“I think it’s a good thing to be able to know another language, I think it’s a benefit ‘coz then it lets you be able to mix with other people as well.” [6:24].

Appendix 17

“It depends who I’m around really, it’s like, if it’s just me and my friend and like, a couple of other people, we’ll speak Yoruba to each other, but mainly when we do that is either to insult them or to take the mick out of them and make them feel like really insecure about what we’re saying, and then when we say like ‘Ahh, we said something really bad about you’, they would be like ‘What’ve you said, what’ve you said?’ like something, but sometimes like it’s random ‘coz like, sometimes we’ll be speaking English and all of a sudden you start speaking Yoruba, but we don’t know why we just start speaking it and then we’ll stop speaking it and then we’ll start speaking it, but mainly when we’re speaking it and we see that people are looking at us like feeling a bit insecure that we might be saying something about them, we do try and change it to English so they know what we’re saying, but it depends how far we can take the joke really. Like with our friends we take it really far so we make them feel proper insecure, but if we’re around some English, like on the bus, we might speak it but speak it quietly or just not speak it at all.” [7:35]

Appendix 18

“It’s Westernised culture innit, so you have to, it’s a dominant language and to make it anywhere near enough in this world now you have to be able to speak English ‘coz you can’t go to America expecting to be an accountant and you can’t speak English or go to the UK expecting to be a lawyer and you don’t know how to speak English. It’s just English is the main language, you have to know it. It’s not about putting any other language aside, but as much as you know Yoruba, you have to know that English as well because it gets you somewhere in life type of thing, unless you want to stay in Nigeria by yourself.” [16:53]

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