Language use and attitudes of the British-born Pakistani community in Manchester

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Declaration

I have read and understood the University of Manchester guidelines on plagiarism and declare that this dissertation is all my own work except where I indicate otherwise by proper use of quotes and references.

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List of abbreviations

CL	Community language
HL	Heritage Language
LM	Language Maintenance
LS	Language Shift
LPP	Language policy and planning
LOTE	Languages other than English
MCC	Manchester City Council
NHS	National Health Service
2nd Gen	2nd Generation
3rd Gen	3rd Generation

Abstract

This study explores the language use and attitudes of British-born Pakistanis in Manchester in order to understand how the migration process has affected the maintenance of their HL(s). The study aims to answer the following questions: (1) Which languages are spoken in the Pakistani community, and what support and opportunities are there to maintain and develop these in Manchester? (2) To what extent are HL(s) being maintained by the British-born generation, and do they have a distinctive role to play? (3) What are speaker's attitudes towards the HLs and their future maintenance?

The findings show that there is a significant level of support and opportunities to use and access resources in the HL(s) (particularly Urdu) across Manchester. However, while the HL has been maintained across three generations, competence differs, and the languages have different functions for speakers depending on the generation they belong to. The dominant and preferred language for communication is English. Furthermore there is shift toward English and Arabic in the religious domain, and changing patterns of attitudes toward the cultural and religious significance of the HL. Nevertheless, the HL has remained an important part of British-born Pakistanis' linguistic repertoire, as it fulfils functions that English and other languages cannot fulfill, whether they are communicative or solely symbolic.

1. Introduction

Manchester is an increasingly multicultural and multilingual city that has been subject to large waves of immigrants coming from different parts of the world, bringing with them their values and more specific to this study, their languages. Whether or not these will continue to be passed on to the next generation depends on the commitment to language maintenance. Clyne (2003:31), in his studies on immigrant languages in Australia, found that such commitment varied within different communities depending on a number of factors which will be discussed later on.

There have been several linguists concerned with the language use and attitudes of different immigrant communities. (Clyne 1991, Clyne & Kipp 1999, Fishman 1965, Gal 1979, Kloss 1966, Smolicz 1999 and Bourdieu 1982), and in the case of Manchester, there have been studies on urban multilingualism and related topics such as code switching, language maintenance and language shift. Othman (2006) for example investigated language choice of Arab English bilinguals and Lo's (2007) study analysed code switching patterns of the Chinese community.

With Pakistanis making up 5.9% of the city's population (23,500 according to Neighbourhood Statistics), they are the largest and probably most well established immigrant community in Manchester, yet the issue of language use has not been addressed. A study carried out by Werbner (1990) provides a good insight into the overall migration process and values of this community. It does not however cover the scope of language. It is for this reason that this study aims to analyse the language use patterns and attitudes of this particular community, which will provide an indication of whether life in the immigrant context of Manchester has affected the maintenance of the community's HL.This will be achieved by finding answers to the following questions:

1) Which languages are spoken in the Pakistani community, and what support and opportunities are there in Manchester to maintain and develop these?
2) To what extent are the HLs being maintained, and do they have a distinctive role to play?
3) What are speakers' attitudes towards the HL(s) and their future maintenance?

Before moving on to those questions, some terminology will be defined, followed by background on the Pakistani community and their languages, as well as a review of literature and topics related to the language use and attitudes of immigrant communities.

The study will take a predominantly qualitative approach opposed to a quantitative one, as this will help to attain a more valuable and detailed insight into the reality of HL maintenance within the Pakistani community in Manchester.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Terminology

There seems to be no fixed term for the languages spoken by a community in an immigrant context. However throughout this study I will be referring to the languages spoken in the Pakistani community as 'heritage languages' (HLs) or 'community languages' (CLs) rather than labelling them as 'immigrant'or 'minority languages'. This is because the languages spoken in the bilingual Pakistani community are not used by immigrants only, nor are they necessarily spoken by a 'minority', especially in those areas with a high Pakistani population. Linguists like Clyne (1991) and Lamb (2001) for example also prefer the term CL, opposed to Extra & Yagmur (2004), who refer to 'immigrant minority languages' in their writing.

It is important to point out however, that I will be using both terms CL and HL interchangeably, despite the concept of 'heritage languages' also having been at the receiving end of criticism by some academics (i.e. Lamb, 2001:5) who believe that the term implies that the languages belong to the past, and therefore prefer to use 'community languages' (i.e. Clyne, 1991:3 & Lamb 2001:5). For the context of this study however both terms are suitable, especially since the languages used in the Pakistani community are not limited to Urdu or Punjabi, but also include English.

2.2 Background of the Pakistani community in Manchester and their languages

Pakistan is a multilingual country with over 24 languages and dialects being spoken (Mansoor 2004:334). The country is divided into four provinces, Punjab being the largest, followed by the Sindh, Balochistan and Peshawar (Akhtar 1989:8, cited in Mansoor 2004:53). Each province has its own language i.e. Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi and Pashto (Khan 1991:130).The official language of Pakistan and the one which the government has promoted since the county's independence in 1947 is Urdu (Ayres, 2009). The former colonial language, English, also holds official status in Pakistan (Mansoor 2004:57). 96% of the country's population is Muslim (Pew Research Centre 2009*)*, and as a result there exists a strong affiliation with Arabic, which is the language of the Islamic holy book, the Quran, and the language of the five daily prayers. Finally, it is important to point out that Hindi and Urdu are mutually intelligible, though some people consider them entirely different languages due to the socio-political and religious differences between Hindus and Muslims. However Pakistanis are often in contact with Hindi especially due to the popularity of the Bollywood film and music industry.

The UK census (2001) shows that Pakistanis in Manchester are the largest ethnic minority group. However it does not provide any information on the use of HLs. A better indication of language use therefore may be the report produced by Manchester City Council's Diversity & Inclusion Team (2005, mentioned in Donakey 2007:28) which shows that there are a total of 129 languages spoken in Manchester schools with Urdu and Punjabi respectively being at the top of the list. This shows a dominance of Urdu and Punjabi within the Pakistani community, as those who migrated to Manchester came predominantly from East Punjab (Werbner 1990:17).

2.3 Language maintenance vs. Language shift

Language maintenance (LM) and language shift (LS) are the topics which most freqently emerged in discussions about language use of bilingual communities in immigrant contexts (i.e. Clyne & Kipp 1999, Gal 1979, Khan 1991, Othman 2006, Sridhar 1997) LS is the result of speakers replacing their HL with another, often the

language spoken by the majority in the host country. This may be due to the limitations of the functions of their own language, which causes them to adopt the language of the host country. This can eventually lead to complete abandonment of the HL. LM on the other hand refers to the continued use of the HL, as the HL has role attributes or functions different to those of the majority language. This would be a state of 'stable bilingualism', which Ferguson refers to as Diglossia: 'two languages existing side by side and each have a definite role to play.' (Ferguson, 1959:65)

The process of LS has been widely researched, resulting in a huge amount of literature one could consult. Linguists like Clyne (1991), Edwards (1992), Fishman (1965), Gal (1979), Kloss (1966), Smolicz (1979, 1981) and Bourdieu (1982) have developed models, which identify factors that may promote LM or cause LS. These may be relevant to a number of different contexts and multilingual landscapes i.e. Wales, where Welsh, the indigenous language coexists with English. However the scale of this study does not allow a description of all of these, and therefore will focus only on those factors which have been deemed relevant to LM in an immigrant context. Clyne & Kipp (1999:36-50), in their study on Arabic, Chinese and Spanish in Australia, a country which like the UK, is also home to an increasing number of immigrant communities, identified the most influential factors promoting LM. These are listed below and will be discussed in relation to the Pakistani community in Manchester:

- **The educational level of the immigrant**. This can determine the likelihood of the individual adapting to the host country and language. A lower level of education may lead to isolation from the dominant group and therefore results in LM. Most of those who migrated to Britain were predominantly from rural areas in East Punjab (Werbner 1990:17) and had not received a high level of education prior to their arrival. This indicates a high likelyhood of LM, at least within the 1st generation of Pakistani immigrants.

- **Pre-migration experience.** This is concerned with the level of contact speakers had with English prior to leaving their home country. A history of high contact suggests higher likelihood of using English in the household and community

after migration in comparison to people who have had no previous contact with the language. Since English is one of the official languages of Pakistan, it is widespread among the elite. However as mentioned earlier, most of the immigrants would not have been educated to a high level, and therefore their exposure to the English language prior to their arrival would have been minimal.

- **Numerical strength and institutional support for CLs.** It is considered easier for larger groups of immigrants with numerical strength to raise the finances required for the establishment of institutions in the form of schools and mosques for example, which can promote HL maintenance. In addition, groups that form a larger demographic increase the likelihood of receiving more support from the local authorities (Donakey, 2007:52). Since Pakistanis make up the largest immigrant community in Manchester, languages spoken in this community should have a high likelihood of survival.

- **Cultural and religious distance from the dominant group.** Cultural similarity with the dominant group makes the prevention of LS more difficult. Clyne & Kipp (1999:39) found that speakers of Spanish were more likely to adapt to Australian life culturally and linguistically in comparison to Arabs. The reason is due to the difference in cultural heritage and religious beliefs of the Arabs and the commonality of the Spanish and Western cultural heritage of Australians. Thus the apparent cultural differences between the Pakistani population (of which 96% is Muslim) and the indigenous communities within Manchester should be a crucial factor for LM.

- **Inter-ethnic differences.** These are the sociocultural characteristics of the community which may promote LM and refers to the more symbolic function of language. Smolicz's core value theory model (1979 & 1981, mentioned in Clyne & Kipp 1999:42) tries to encaptulate the different sociocultural characterists which may positively or negatively affect LM. He explains that language is a cultural core value for some groups (ie. the Greeks and Poles), who are consequently more likely to maintain their language in an immigrant context. He

found, however, that other groups (ie. the Dutch) rapidly loose their language in the same context, since 'it is not vital to the maintenance of their ethnicity' (Smolicz, cited in Clyne & Kipp, 1999:42). He concludes that to some groups, some values are more vital than language. Furthermore Clyne & Kipp (1999:42) found core values may vary across generations, which means that while the first generation may consider language a key component of their identity, British-born generations may not share the same values. Attitudes regarding this can then have an affect on their language use and future maintenance.

- **The economic value of the language.** Clyne & Kipp (1999:43) considered Bourdieu's (1982) 'marketplace' model to be a crucial factor for LM. The model predicts that languages will be maintained for as long as they are socioeconomically useful. In their study on Australia, not all languages spoken in the Chinese community were given equal status and this caused a rapid shift to Mandarin in the second generation. Since the economical value of the languages spoken in the Pakistani community may also be higher for one (i.e. the national language; Urdu) than for others (i.e. Punjabi) it will be interesting whether this has affected the language use and attitudes of the community.

Fishman (1964, mentioned in Matras, 2009:50) predicts that the process of LS in an immigrant context is complete over three generations, however because of factors which slow down the rate of LS, such as those listed above, this may not be true for all communities. Clyne (2003:28) for example states that in the case of German language enclaves in Australia dating back to the mid-nineteenth century, 'the language was frequently maintained for three, four and even five generations'. Based on some of the factors that promote LM, it appears that the Pakistani community in Manchester would also be able to maintain their HL(s) up to at least three generations.

2.4 Language planning and policy (LPP) for speakers of community languages in the UK

As discussed earlier, institutional support for speakers of CLs is a form of protection from the loss of the HL. According to Skutnabb-Kangas 'there should be no need to debate the right to maintain and develop one's mother tongue. It is a self-evident, fundamental, basic linguistic right' (cited in Extra & Yagmur, 2004: 73). There are, however, countries in which linguistic diversity may cease to be a self-evident, fundamental right, but is actually viewed as a threat to social cohesion and national unity (Extra & Yagmur 2004:74). This is evidenced in the hierarchy of importance given to regional indigenous languages in Europe as opposed to immigrant community languages. Extra & Yagmur (2004:86) in their discussion of urban multilingualism in Europe identified the exclusion of immigrant languages from the the 'Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities', which reinforces this notion.

Regarding the UK, reports on language planning for CLs spoken in immigrant communities have been primarily concerned with the issue of education (see The Swan Report, 1985 and The Education Reform Act, 1988), but not regarding other forms of language support. Research on LPP in Manchester by Donakey (2007, cited in Matras 2009:56), revealed that 'there is no central planning of resources, nor a centralised procedure of identifying the languages in which services are being offered, and the production or acquisition of materials in immigrant languages depends on the initiative of low ranking officials, inspired by direct requests made to them by members of the public.' Spolsky explains that 'the most difficult policies to locate, describe and understand are those in countries which do not have a single explicit document' (2004:13). The absence of a national language policy in the form of an explicit document outlining the support that should be provided for CLs spoken in the UK, and more specifically Manchester, means that in order to understand the support and opportunities that exist for speakers of HL(s) in the Pakistani community, one has to look for 'implicit lines of language practices' (Spolsky, 2004:13). This may include the availability of multilingual services, language classes and HL resources i.e. media and literature. The level of institutional support speakers of HLs receive can then be seen as

an indicator of the status of the languages and promotion of LM.Therefore an investigation of such opportunities and resources available to speakers of HLs in the Pakistani community will be crucial for the context of this study.

2.5 Linguistic identity issues

Edwards (1985:85) claims that 'language planning cannot achieve much when competing against the urbanisation, modernisation and mobility of mainstream society'. Thus factors other than institutional support for HLs discussed at the beginning of this paper remain equally as important for the process of LM in the immigrant community. The identity factor, which explains that a language may be vital to the maintenance of some community's identity, was already touched upon when refering to the immigrant community's core values.

According to Edwards (1985:46) linguistic identity issues 'become most pressing as a result of group contact'. This indicates that a group's linguistic identity can be affected by exposure to another language. The relationship between language and identity frequently emerges in the discussion of urban multilingualism (see Blackledge & Creese 2010, Edwards 1985 & 2009, Fishman 1989, Myhill 1999 & Pavlenko 2004). According to Myhill (1999:1) 'the fate of many minority languages is likely to be determined to a large extent by ideology.' Fasold (1984:240) also believes that 'LS will occur only if, and to the extent that a community desires to give up its identity as an identifiable sociocultural group in favour of an identity of some other community' (i.e. the mainstream society). This was apparent in Gal's (1979) study on the community of Oberwart for example, where the shift from Hungarian to German was largely due to people's desire not to be associated with peasant status.

Fasold explains that it is probably impossible to predict at what point a community decides to give up their identity and language, and that it would be dangerous to make future predictions about this as there is 'no guarantee that their sense of identity would not reverse itself'. Edwards (2004:79) further clarifies this point, explaining that people may reject their identity during adolescence but search for it again later on in life. This

may include reconnecting with the HL(s). It is for this reason that I will not be investigating the language use and attitudes of British-born generations who are under the age of 18. The complete methodology will be layed out in the next chapter.

3. Methodology

The method of this study consists of two parts:

- Investigation of what support and opportunities are available in Manchester for HLs spoken in the Pakistani community
- Interviews (supplemented by particiapant observation) with selected second generation (2nd Gen) and third generation (3rd Gen) subjects.

3.1 Investigation of support and opportunities in Manchester for speakers of HLs spoken in the Pakistani community

Since the institutional support languages receive may affect their maintenance in the community, it was important to find out what support and opportunities exist in Manchester for Pakistanis to make use of their HL(s). This was done by visiting the areas in Manchester with the highest Pakistani population. Based on the 2001 Census, Longsight with 2 3.7% of the population being of Pakistani meets this criterion (Venner 2010:22). However Werbner (1990) points out that there are high numbers of Pakistanis in other areas of Manchester like Cheetham Hill, Whalley Range and Rusholme, and furthermore makes it clear, that the Pakistani community, instead of being concentrated within a so-called 'ghetto', 'actually focuses around key institutional locations-of 'worship, education, shopping and commerce' (1990:36). Support and opportunities for CLs existing within the range of such establishments therefore will also be taken into consideration, rather than limiting this aspect of the research to a specific demographical ward in Manchester (i.e. Longsight). The research was carried out by making notes of anything that promotes or supports HL use in addition to evidence of

support found on the internet and reference to some recent studies regarding CLs and LPP in Manchester.

3.2 Interviews (and participant observation)

In depth interviews were carried out with selected 2nd and 3rd Gen Pakistanis. Understanding the language use and attitudes of 2nd and 3rd Gen speakers is crucial when it comes to LM, as Fishman (1964) predicts that the process of language shift in an immigrant context is complete over three generations. That the 1st Gen is most likely to maintain and have a strong attachment to their HL is self-explanatory and not necessarily a reliable indicator for future maintenance. The HL use of the 2nd and 3rd Gen is a more accurate measure of maintenance in the community (Sridhar 1997:274).

An equal number of 2nd and 3rd Gen Pakistanis participated in this study. It was a requirement for them to be residents of Manchester, and be over the age of 18 for reasons discussed earlier (cf. section 2.5). To ensure equal representation of both genders, an equal number of males and females were interviewed (see table 1 for further description of participants). All interviews were pre-arranged at a convenient time and place. This allowed for interviews to be carried out in a relaxed and informal environment. All interviews were recorded using an Apple iPhone 4 and were later transcribed for analysis and comparison. Prior to the interview, subjects were provided with an information and consent sheet. This was designed in line with the 'Recommendations for good practice in Applied Linguistics student projects' (by the British Association for Applied Linguistics). The interviews were carried out in English, as that was the preferred language of all 14 subjects.

The subjects were known to the interviewer either personally or through a friend, which provided opportunities for supplementary participant observation of their language use not only in their home, but also during shopping and visits to the mosque. Two 2nd Gen and two 3rd Gen subjects were selected from the fourteen participants for supplementary participant observation. Each of the subjects selected, was observed for a total of eight

hours in the course of one day. This allowed the language use observed to be compared to the answers they gave in their interviews.

Blackledge & Creese (2010) discuss the insider/outside debate, which questions whether the interviewer should or should not share the language and culture of the researched group. They explain that both insiders and outsiders would have advantages, as the first would 'be able to use their intimate knowledge of contexts in order to gain access and make insightful observations' , while the latter would be' likely to be perceived as 'neutral' and can stand apart from the politics of the local' (2010:87). The mixed ethnic and cultural background of the interviewer of this study, giving her both the status of an insider as well as that of an outsider was therefore considered a bonus.

The interviews were semi-structured, with mostly open questions to obtain as much detailed information as possible. In the first part, subjects' linguistic repertoires in terms of language competence were established to understand the range of languages they could speak and to what extent. This was done based on the technique of *self-reports,* during which the subjects are simply asked how well they can speak the HL(s). Options provided were 'hardly at all' or 'not so good', 'moderately well' and 'native' or 'near native' competence. Subjects were also asked if they had literacy skills in the languages they mentioned. This method may not be as accurate as language tests would have been, however, language tests on all of the subjects would have been impractical for the interviewer. Furthermore academics such as Gal (1979) have also used self reports in their study and subjects' own evaluation of their skills was confirmed with observation of their interaction with others during the participant observation.

The next section explored the language use of subjects in different contexts in order to understand what role the HL plays in their lifes. Based on Fishman's theory of domains (1965) these contexts are divided into Home, Work, Friends, Shopping and Religion. However since the 1960's, as a result of globalisation, the contexts in which subjects may be exposed to languages has increased, and this has been addressed by adding the domain of media and computer mediated communication (CMC).

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In the third section, subjects' attitudes were explored by asking questions about their language preference, importance of the HL to their identity, benefits of speaking these languages and attitudes about future HL maintenance.

Finally, five short questions were designed based on Milroy's Social Network Theory (1980 & 1987) in order to give subjects a social network score (of 1-5), which indicates how integrated into the community they are and how much contact they have with other Pakistanis. Milroy in his Belfast study found that those individuals with a higher social network score demonstrated a higher use of the particular language feature he was studying. If his theory applies to the bilingual Pakistani subjects, a high social network score (of 4 or 5), which is an indication of a dense, multiplex network of contact with other Pakistanis should facilitate HL maintenance. A low social network score (of 1 or 2) on the other hand should indicate LS.

Table 1: The following table gives some information about the participants of this study.

Participant No.	Generation	Age	Gender	Social Network Score
P1	2nd	32	Male	3
P2	2nd	25	Male	5
P3	2nd	29	Male	5
P4	2nd	30	Male	5
P5	2nd	27	Female	5
P6	2nd	26	Female	4
P7	2nd	32	Female	4
P8	3rd	24	Male	1
P9	3rd	22	Male	5

P10	3rd	20	Male	5
P11	3rd	19	Male	4
P12	3rd	23	Female	1
P13	3rd	21	Female	5
P14	3rd	24	Female	1

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Support for HLs spoken in the Pakistani community in Manchester

There is both public and private support for speakers of CLs in the Pakistani community in Manchester.

The Manchester City Council (MCC) provides bilingual link workers who can give advice in languages including Urdu and Punjabi, as well as the M-four interpreting and translation services which are available for both, Urdu and Punjabi. MCC also provides translated materials in the form of leaflets and documents (however I was advised by the MCC communications department that due to budget and problems with the script on the website, this is now only available upon request, in which case a printed translation can be sent to the individual's home). The police and courts also provide translation and interpreting services (free of charge) when necessary in both Urdu and Punjabi using M-four translations and Language Line (a telephone interpreting service), which is also used in other areas of the public sector such as the prison service (Donakey 2007:48), and the National Health Service (NHS). According to the NHS website some services like the Stop Smoking Service (2010) is even in Urdu. Some health care centers, like the Robert Darbishire Practice in Rusholme provides multilingual check in machines which are accessible in Urdu.

There are several secondary schools such as Abraham Moss High School, Levenshulme High School and Parrswood High School, which give pupils the opportunity to attend

Urdu language classes and validate their skills with a GCSE. Children who go to schools where Urdu is not taught can also take the Urdu GCSE and A-level (Manchester City Council, mentioned in Donakey, 2007:45). Specialist language education in the form of language tuition and additional help by speech and language therapists (who are provided by the Manchester National Health Service Primary Care Trust) is also available for children who struggle with 'the acquisition, development or production of a mother tongue or second language.' (Donakey, 2007:46)

There are coordinators of the Asian Library Services who are responsible for promoting and developing services for the Asian communities in Manchester. They provide books, CDs and DVDs in Urdu and Hindi. City Library, Longsight, Crumpsall, Withington, Chorlton, Levenshulme, Fallowfield, and Burnage Libraries all hold Urdu collections. Some of the libraries also provide Urdu newspapers such as the *Daily Jang*. Venner's (2010:30) study on CLs in Longsight actually showed that the largest section providing CL literature in Longsight library is dedicated to Urdu.

In addition to the services provided by the public sector, the Pakistani community has the freedom to use whatever language they wish in domains beyond the home. This is most evident in areas like in Rusholme, Longsight and Cheetham Hill, where a lot of Pakistani dominated shops and businesses are located. Urdu signs and posters are commonly used to advertise products and services. The establishments range from restaurants, takeaways, grocery shops and butchers to clothes and jewellery shops, beauty salons and barbers. Most of the businesses, including the PIA travel agent, KHAN property management services and the Islamic Bank of Britain have multilingual staff who can offer their services in Urdu and Punjabi. The Pakistani Resource Centre (which was set up in 1966) leads projects dealing with a variety of issues such as domestic violence and mental health in the Pakistani community. One of the caseworkers explained, that the staff members are fluent in English, Urdu and Punjabi. Interestingly, she said that this makes their services accessible not only to the Pakistani community, but other South Asian groups like Bangladeshis and Gujaratis, who can speak Urdu. She also said that the people accessing their services in Urdu or Punjabi are only 1st Gen speakers who have limited English skills or are simply more comfortable in their mother tongue, while the service users who are younger and presumably 2nd Gen always speak in English

There are private schools set up by members of the community (mosques in the case of the Pakistani community) which provide educational support for the CL. An example of this is the Manchester Central Mosque and Islamic Cultural Centre, which is situated in Victoria Park just behind the bustling highway of Wilmslow Road. In addition to teaching Urdu, it also provides a place of worship, where Arabic is used for the prayer itself, but speeches and other forms of communication are carried out in Urdu and Punjabi.

HL resources are easily accessible. Urdu books, magazines and newspapers are sold in shops such as *Rolex Books* and many of the Pakistani owned newsagents. Interestingly, magazines such as *Asiana* which are more commonly read by the youth are predominantly in English. Shops selling DVDs and CDs are also available, and the *Odeon* cinema in the Trafford centre actually shows Bollywood films which are usually in Hindi, but also include English and Punjabi (especially in the comedy genre). Satellite TV further provides opportunities for exposure to Urdu, Punjabi and Hindi with channels such as PTV (Pakistan Television Corporation), ARY Digital and Star Plus. Furthermore Asian Sound Radio is the North West's 24 hour station which broadcasts in English, Urdu, Punjabi, Bengali and Gujarati.

The above findings show that although there is no explicit document outlining the language policies for CLs in the UK, there is evidence of both 'promotion' and 'tolerance' oriented rights (as Kloss, 1971:259 refers to the support provided for CLs by a) the authorities at local or national level, and b) the members of the communty themselves) for HLs spoken in the Pakistani community. It is of interest to point out, that although some services are available for languages such as Pashto and Baluchi, they were not as prominent as Punjabi, and more specifically Urdu. This reflects the status of these languages and the background of the Pakistani community in Manchester (cf. section 2.2). Venner (2010) actually found that Urdu was the most dominant compared to other CLs in terms of the level of support it received in Manchester's most highly Pakistani populated ward, which indicates that the support provided is determined by the size of the community. Since the Pakistani community in Manchester is the largest, various opportunities exist to maintain and develop the HL. This shows the significance of the numerical strength factor in the promotion of LM, which has led

to a significant amount of institutional support through which speakers can maintain and develop the HL.

4.2 Results from Interviews with 2nd and 3rd Gen Pakistanis in   Manchester and participant observation

4.2.1 Heritage language competence

Table 2: HL competence by generation (in percentages)

Generation	Native/near native		Moderately well		Not so good/ Hardly at all	
	Urdu	Punjabi	Urdu	Punjabi	Urdu	Punjabi
2nd	43	29	29	29	29	43
3rd	0	0	29	0	71	43

All of the 2nd Gen subjects have maintained spoken fluency in both Urdu and Punjabi. Most of them can speak at least one of the HL(s) at native or near native level, however they were considerably more fluent in Urdu than Punjabi. All of the subjects learnt the HL at home, with the exception of two individuals who received supplementary tuition of Urdu at mosques. Only two of the subjects can read and write Urdu, the others have no literacy skills in either language, although the majority can read and write Quranic Arabic.

While none of the 3rd Gen subjects were native speakers of Urdu or Punjabi, they still possessed varying levels of fluency in the language/s. This was the case with Urdu rather than Punjabi (which the subjects could partially understand, but not speak). All of the 3rd Gen subjects acquired their HL skills resulting from contact with non-English speaking relatives, although one individual also took an Urdu GCSE at school. Again, most of the subjects did not have any literacy skills in Urdu, however they could read and write Quranic Arabic. Furthermore one of the subjects can speak some Arabic and two others were fluent in another European language.

The results show that all of the Pakistani bilinguals have maintained at least some level of fluency in the HL, although the 3rd Gen in particular possesses limited competence.Written literacy in the HL is not common amongst British born Pakistanis, although a small minority, even one belonging to the 3rd Gen have been able to acquire these by taking an Urdu GCSE or by having received supplementary tuition at mosques. Clyne (2003:46) emphasises the importance of literacy skills, which can be one of the factors leading to LS, as it decreases the market value and makes some HL resources inaccessible. He further stresses that not being able to read and write leads to low self-esteem regarding the individual's own perception of their competence. The absence of literacy skills in British-born Pakistanis may therefore be an indication of future LS. However the fact that support for the education and maintenance of the HL (at least for Urdu) is available in the city of Manchester (see section 4.1), shows that this possibility of LS is not due to a lack of institutional support.

The higher level of competence in Urdu suggests that this HL is more resilient to LS in comparison to Punjabi. All speakers who were considerably less fluent in Punjabi can understand the language due to their parents and other family members speaking it, but they themselves cannot speak it, because their parents discourage the use of Punjabi and switch to Urdu when communicating with them. This was observed several times and occurs due to the diglossic situation in Pakistan, where Urdu is considered the more prestigious language (the high variety) taught in schools and mosques, while the status of Punjabi (the low variety) is generally limited to that of a spoken language. Dabene and Moore (1995:24) explain that even when it comes to Muslim Punjabis,'Urdu marks membership and faithfulness to the Pakistani Muslim community'. This seems to be at the expense of other HLs such as Punjabi, which became more evident when discussing the importance and benefits of HLs (cf. section 4.2.5*)*

Recent research by Ayres (2009), Mansoor (2004) and Rahman (1997) shows that this problem is not only relevant to Pakistanis who migrated to Manchester, but those who still live in Pakistan, where language policies favour the use of Urdu and English, thereby causing speakers of regional languages like Punjabi to hold negative views towards their own languages and shift to Urdu.

4.2.2 Language use in the different domains

The information obtained from the interviews conformed to the language use observed during participant observation. In the **'home'** domain, the 2nd Gen predominantly speaks English (especially for those who have left their parental home, English dominates all of the conversations) English is used when speaking with all English speaking relatives, siblings, partners and children (where applicable) except when making cultural references for which there is no English equivalent. Examples of such cultural references which were made include items of food e.g. *'Roti'* or *'Nan'* which were used to refer to a specific type of bread*,* names for cultural festivals and wedding ceremonies *e.g. 'Eid' and 'Mehndi'*, items of clothing *e.g. 'Shelwar Kameez'* and other terms which cannot be expressed in English, as one subject said when talking about domestic items 'I'd say *'Lota' (...)* I mean what would you say in English?' and laughed. In this instance, she was talking about a specifically designed water container used to wash oneself after using the toilet.

A combination of the HL and English is used with the parents and non English speaking relatives (more or less depending on their English language skills). This often meant speaking predominantly English with one parent (usually the father), and predominantly Urdu/Punjabi with the other (usually the mother). Codeswitching, which is the use of two languages within the same conversation, is very common. Subjects tend to insert lexical items from English (i.e. the embedded language) when speaking in the HL, however the morphosyntactic structure remains loyal to Urdu/Punjabi (i.e. the matrix language). It is important to point out that this was also observed in the speech of the 1st Gen, indicating that codeswitching is accepted in the community and rather than threatening LM as some academics believe (i.e. Thomason & Kauffman 1988; Johanson 1999, mentioned in Clyne 2003:190), it seems to help subjects maintain the HL, despite their lack of vocabulary. This has also been observed by linguists such as Rindler-Schjerve (1998) and McConvell (1991) (mentioned in Clyne 2003:190), who believe that code switching should not necessarily be viewed as an indication of LS. Sridhar (1997:276) also found that the code-switching and code-mixing in the language of South Asian immigrants in the US was actually a contributing factor to the maintenance of the language. Similar to the subjects in this study, the 2nd Gen only had partial

competence in the HL, however code-switching which is widely accepted, and even part of the speech of the 1st Gen allows subjects to use the HL despite full mastery of it.

Lexical borrowings from Arabic are also frequent in the speech of the 2nd Gen (whether they were speaking English or Urdu/Punjabi). These borrowings range from greetings and farewells to expressions such as *Inshallah* (meaning 'God willing') and *Alhamdulillah* ('all praise is due to God'). Such lexical borrowings are motivated by the desire to identify themselves as Muslims. In some instances people even replaced the farewell expression *Khuda/Allah Hafiz,* meaning 'God protect you', commonly used in Urdu and Punjabi with *Assalaaum Alaykum* (which is the Arabic/Islamic greeting, meaning 'Peace be with you').

The 3rd Gen only speaks English at home, except when making cultural references as explained above that cannot be expressed in English. Most of them occasionally come into contact with more Urdu when non-English speaking relatives come to visit, however generally any use of Urdu is not to fulfill a communicative function with non-English speakers (as subjects' skills are not sufficient to do so), but it is rather a more symbolic expression of identity in the form of greetings and isolated phrases. Needless to say the matrix language of all conversations is English. Similarly to the 2nd Gen, the 3rd Gen frequently uses lexical borrowings from Arabic as explained above.

In the **'work/study'** domain, the 2nd Gen subjects predominantly speak English. However subjects occasionally use the HL when in contact with 1st Gen South Asian clients/customers. This was especially evident in the case of one subject, who is a self-employed interior designer. He used the HL to build rapport and a level of trust with his clients, who primarily consisted of Pakistani businesses. He considered the use of the HL as a means to identify himself with his clients. Other 2nd Gen subjects also explained that they may use the HL for this reason with 1st Gen Pakistanis, who they occasionally come across in their sphere of work i.e. teachers). Furthermore they may speak Urdu or Punjabi with colleagues if that was their first language for the purpose of making cultural references or when telling a joke. Borrowings from Arabic are also used with Muslim colleagues and customers for the same reasons as in the 'home' domain.

All of the 3rd Gen subjects on the other hand speak only or predominantly English at work. Subjects with a high social network score often come into contact with 1st Gen Pakistanis and South Asians, but due to their lack of proficiency in the HL, English remains the language of communication. Some of the 3rd Gen subjects also use Arabic, French or German while at University. Borrowings from Arabic are used with other Muslims.

In the domain of **'friendship',** the 2nd Gen only speaks English with their friends who are from various backgrounds. However with 'Asian friends' as they refer to Bangladeshis, Indian Gujuratis and Pakistanis (who may all possess varying levels of competence in Urdu) they may use Urdu/Punjabi to make cultural references as explained earlier. Borrowings from Arabic as explained earlier are used with Muslim friends. All of the 3rd Gen subjects also use only English with their friends, except when making cultural references with their South Asian friends. One of the subjects may also use some Arabic with his Arab friends and French or German with friends who speak these languages. Borrowings from Arabic are used with Muslim friends.

In the domain of **'shopping'** all 2nd Gen subjects speak predominantly English. However all of them visit shops, restaurants and other commericial establishments which are dominated by Pakistanis and therefore Urdu or Punjabi is used when greeting shopkeepers or other customers in Asian shops. More Urdu/Punjabi is used with the 1st Gen and new arrivals from Pakistan out of respect and to overcome the communication barrier that would otherwise impede the conversation. The common answer when asked how subjects had decided what language to start with was 'judgement based on the age and appearance of the addressee'. Hence, if the person looked like they were born in the UK they would always speak in English, even if they were of Pakistani origin, while they would choose Urdu/Punjabi if they felt the person had come to the UK recently, or was elderly. Pakistani dominated establishments were also frequented by 3rd Gen subjects. However they speak English in all circumstances, except when greeting the shopkeeper and refering to specific products in Urdu. The 3rd Gen generally lacks confidence in the HL, explaining that they are not comfortable using their limited skills to speak to someone they do not know. Moreover the English of shopkeepers even in

Asian shops is usually sufficient for the level of interaction that is required during a transaction (i.e. processing a payment or ordering food).

The domain of **'religion'** for all subjects primarily involved the use of Quranic Arabic and English, however contact with Urdu and Punjabi may also occur in this sphere of activity. Arabic is the language used in prayers, while English is the preferred language for the discussion of religion and Islamic education in the form of books, study circles and Islamic classes. The contact with Urdu and Punjabi, which was more evident in the 2nd Gen subjects, was due to their attendance at the local mosque, which is dominated by Pakistanis who are 1st Gen. The subjects would regularly hear speeches in a mixture of Urdu and Punjabi, however, the prayer itself is delievered in Quranic Arabic. This was disliked by many of the subjects who explained that the level of Urdu used during sermons is usually too complex for their understanding and in the words of one of the subjects 'only caters for the 1st Gen of Asian Muslims, rather than 'British Muslims' like myself.' Two further subjects said that they usually don't stay for the speeches, but leave straight after the prayer, and many explained that they prefer to go to Arab mosques where speeches are carried out in Arabic and English. A shift from Urdu/Punjabi to Arabic was also indicated by the attitudes towards other languages (see section 4.2.6) as nearly all subjects expressed a desire to understand Quranic Arabic for religious reasons. They also express this in regard to their children, explaining that for the purpose of religion they would want their children to understand Quranic Arabic, rather than Urdu or Punjabi, so that they don't face the same problems in respect to their religious practice. Interestingly, some of the 3rd Gen subjects are actually enrolled in Arabic language classes and one even studies Arabic at degree level. Nearly all of the subjects (both 2nd and 3rd Gen) frequently read the Quran in Arabic (if not English).

Fishman (1985:251, cited in Clyne & Kipp 48) explained that religious institutions can be important to LM. However this depends on how committed they are to the CL, and while the language of one group maybe fundamental for their religious practice, this may not be the case for another (Clyne & Kipp, 1999:48). Although there are several mosques dominated by Pakistanis which use the CL in their sermons and continue to teach it, the changing attitudes and language use patterns of both the 2nd and 3rd Gen reveal that Urdu or Punjabi is not fundamental to their religious practice.

In the domain of 'Media' and 'computer mediated communication' (CMC), both 2nd and 3rd Gen subjects prefer English. Subjects' exposure to the HL(s) varied considerably with a higher frequency in the 2nd Gen than the 3rd Gen. 2nd Gen subjects were more likely to watch Bollywood films. Furthermore the 2nd Gen subjects also watch Pakistani and Indian Satelite TV, however this is usually not out of choice. Rather, other members in the household would be watching channels in the HL while the subjects are in the same room. This is more relevant to those 2nd Gen subjects, who still live with their parents. In the case of the 3rd Gen subjects, due to decreased levels of influence from the 1st Gen and non-English speaking relatives, the exposure to HL channels is limited, if not non existent. When it comes to music, both 2nd and 3rd Gen subjects may listen to Hindi and Bhangra music (which is in Punjabi). A couple of subjects also listen to Asian Sound Radio. Both 2nd and 3rd Gen subjects may access music and films in the HL online, or make cultural references on social networking sites such as facebook and when talking to other South Asian friends on MSN messenger. Books, magazines and newspapers in the HL are not read by the 2nd and 3rd Gen due to their lack of literacy skills.

4.2.3 Analysis of language use: the role of the HL

Fishman (1965:101) explains that bilingualism can be universal and stable if each language is associated with a distinct domain. Although the findings show that a specific domain is not dedicated to the HL alone and English dominates the domains in most cases, subjects are commonly in contact with the HL even in the domains of work and shopping. This is due to the high number of Pakistanis and dense social networks as indicated by the generally high Social Network Score of subjects (see table 1). While this high level of contact with other speakers of HLs may have the potential to increase subjects' HL use, it is important to highlight that in situations where the addressee could speak English, use of the HL was often limited to greetings and reference to cultural terms. This is why the Social Network Score of subjects is not an indication of their language use. I predicted the higher the Social Network Score, the better the level of maintenance, however the results did not confirm this. A high network score indicating a dense social network did not necessarily reflect the individual's HL language use. In

fact, it did not even indicate a higher level of HL competence, as even 3rd Gen subjects who in all instances used English except during greetings and when making cultural references, often had high Social Network Scores and frequent contact with other Pakistanis. This is simply a reflection of the Pakistani community in Manchester, where English is widespread, and the HLs are not necessarily required for integration.

The language choices made in the different domains show that the 2nd Gen's use of the HL is fundamentally determined by the addresse's ability to speak English or their preference to use the HL. The 'home' domain rather than those of 'work' 'friendship', 'shopping', 'religion' and 'media' is where, at the very least the 2nd Gen most commonly comes into contact with the 1st Gen. Therefore this is the domain most commonly associated with the HL and is in agreement with Fishman's (1972:44, cited in Myers-Scotton 2006:78) study on the Spanish community in New York, where Spanish was used most in the home domain.

Although the HL is not strictly associated with one domain (especially in the case of the 3rd Gen), the findings indicate that it does have a destinctive role to play in the lifes of the subjects. The 2nd Gen primarily uses the HL to accommodate the 1st Gen. Howard Gile's Accommodation Theory, which was developed in the 1970s explains that people may use language to *converge* towards or *diverge* away from others (Giles & Coupland 1991:92). The 2nd Gen using the preferred language of the 1st Gen is a case of convergence, as subjects picked the language which was thought to be viewed most favourably by the listener, despite English being the personally preferred language of communication (see section 4.2.4). The Accommodation theory is based on earlier reseach on similarity attraction, which 'suggests an individual can cause others to evaluate him more favourably by reducing dissimilarities between them.' (Giles & Powesland 1975:233) Subjects also explained that they used the HL 'out of respect', which further indicates the want of social approval. Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory embhasises this desire to be approved of and liked by others with the concept of *positive face*, which can be maintained by the different linguistic options which every language provides (Spencer-Oatey, 2000:21) . In the the case of the 2nd Gen, the choice to use the HL is one of the options that enables them to maintain their positive face during their interaction with the 1st Gen.

The use of the HL especially when it comes to establishing common ground at the beginning of a conversation with greetings and other isolated phrases can also be seen as language style resulting from audience design as Bell (1997:240) refers to it. People may simply change the way they normally talk depending on their audience. So if the audience includes other South Asian speakers or Muslims, subjects may change their speech style accordingly by flagging their identity when making cultural refernces in the HL or using lexical borrowings from Arabic.

This latter explanation of the role of the HL is also the one which applies to the 3rd Gen. The subjects may not possess sufficient skills to carry out lengthy conversations in the HL, however their understanding and knowledge is sufficient in order to establish common ground and flag their identity. It is also a case of accommodating speakers, as these choices are (often unconciously) made to reduce dissimilarities (ie. using the islamic greeting with other Muslims in the community or using specific terms in Urdu with other South Asians can be seen as an expression of solidarity, but at other times it is simply the need to refer to something by borrowing the lexical item from the HL which become the default expression in situations where there is no English equivalent).

Although the role of the HL as explained above is being used to fill 'gaps' and 'accommodate' to social expectations, it is also in agreement with the view that the use of the HL is 'an attempt by speakers to make optimal use of the full range of expressive structures within the linguistic repertoire that is at their disposal' (Matras 2007, Matras & Sakel 2007, Matras forthc, cited in the UNESCO International Conference Report, 2008:72).

4.2.4 The preferred language

When subjects are given a choice (i.e. the addressee can speak both English and the HL), the preferred language for both generations is English. 2nd Gen subjects prefer this language because 'they are more fluent in English' and 'it is the more natural choice'. For the 3rd Gen in all cases, English is their 'mother tongue' and they have limited competence in Urdu. This was evident during all of the observation in the community. Several Pakistani dominated establishments were visited where the HL could have been

used, however subject used English for the purpose of communication. Nevertheless there was evidence of cultural awareness when making cultural references and greeting others.

4.2.5 The importance and benefits of the HL(s)

All subjects consider the HL important, however the 2nd Gen considered it much more important to them personally due to communication with the 1st Gen. The 3rd Gen considers a basic understanding of Urdu to be of importance for their interaction with the wider community.

Most 2nd Gen subjects believed that there are benefits of knowing Urdu or Punjabi, however they were usually limited to the communication with the 1st Gen. Regarding Urdu, communication with other South Asians (Gujaratis who are often fluent in Urdu and Hindi speakers) was also considered an advantage. Another benefit of knowing Urdu was the ability to communicate when visiting Pakistan as most of the 2nd Gen subjects visit the country regularly. However subjects did not consider the HL a crucial componant of their identity, as they prefer to class themselves as 'British Muslims' or 'Asian/British Muslims' rather than Pakistanis.

Punjabi is considered less beneficial by all subjects.There was only one 2nd Gen subject who explained that 'understanding Punjabi jokes, which cannot be expressed in the Urdu language' is of benefit to him.While this favourable comment agrees with Edward's statement of 'all varieties of language, whether they are considered prestigious or not, having the capability to carry identity' (1985:22), in comparison to Urdu even this individual still believed that knowing Urdu is more beneficial. Other 2nd Gen subjects perceive Punjabi to be 'impolite' and 'ill-mannered' and believe that there are no benefits of knowing this language. This included participants who grew up in households, in which their parents spoke to each other in Punjabi, but made the decision to speak to their children in Urdu only. When questioning the subjects further about this, they explained that Urdu is the language of educated people in Pakistan, and therefore speaking a language other than Urdu has no benefits, but rather negative

connotations, and that is what their parents try to reinforce by not speaking to their children in Punjabi.

While the 3rd Gen subjects also considered Urdu to be more beneficial, none of them thought of Punjabi as 'impolite' or a 'language of illiterate people' as opposed to the 2nd Gen. Instead the common answer was that speakers did not feel that there is a difference between Urdu and Punjabi, but assumed that Urdu is spoken more. Subjects generally took longer when responding in comparison to the 2nd Gen subjects, indicating that they may never have thought about this. One of the subjects started his response with 'Surely there are benefits of speaking both of these languages, what they are though (...) that's a difficult question.' No 3rd Gen subject considered communication in Pakistan to be a benefit, which is a reflection of the amount of 3rd Gen subjects actually having travelled to their parent's country of origin (most of them have never visited Pakistan, and said they probably never will as most of their relatives live in the UK and they have no contact with anyone else in Pakistan).

Even 3rd Gen subjects who had a high Social Network Score, explained that if they had better language skills in the HL it would be beneficial to them, as they come across people of South Asian origin who cannot speak English well regularly. While they acknowledged this possible benefit, they all felt that this is not a good enough reason to improve their knowledge of the HL, as all of the people they know and care about can speak English, while the non-English speaking members of the Pakistani community surround themselves with other non-English speakers and are therefore not the type of people they would be in regular contact with. One subject, who has a very minimal understanding of Urdu, but a high Social Network Score, mentioned that a benefit of knowing the HL better would be to understand the sermons at his local Pakistani mosque. However he does not use this as a motivation to improve his HL skills. Instead, as discussed in the section on language use in the religious domain, he prefers to attend Arab mosques, where Arabic and English is used. Another 3rd Gen subject, who is an Arabic and German language student, explained that the HL may be useful to him in relation to his future career. When further questioned about this, he revealed that this is not a motivation for him to improve his language skills, as he would rather invest his time perfecting his knowledge of Arabic and German instead.

4.2.6 Desirable languages

When asked what languages the 2nd Gen subjects would like to be able to speak fluently, (classical) Arabic was the most popular choice. This was due to religious reasons. Most subjects also mentioned a European language or Chinese either out of interest and regular travel to the respective country or for business related reasons. Two of the subjects said they would like to be more fluent in Urdu/Punjabi to be able to communicate better with non-English speaking family members, however the majority felt that a basic knowledge of the HL(s) is sufficient in order to successfully communicate and 'build a level' of trust with non-English speaking Pakistanis.

The most popular choice among 3rd Gen subjects was again Arabic for the same reasons. The difference is that as mentioned earlier three of the subjects were actually learning (classical/modern standard) Arabic. Other languages mentioned were again European languages and Chinese out of interest, travel to the country or for career related purposes. None of the subjects said they would like to be able to speak Urdu/Punjabi fluently.

4.2.7 Desirable languages for children and future maintenance

Only three 2nd Gen subjects thought their children should possess fluency in Urdu/Punjabi for communication with their own parents who lack English skills, however the majority said a basic understanding of Urdu would suffice. More importance is placed on learning Arabic by sending them to supplementary schools. When asked about doing the same for Urdu, they explained that they would expect their children to be able to pick up the basic knowledge from interaction with non-English speaking family members and that formal education is not required. Some subjects added that it would be nice if their children could also speak a European language.

Only two of the 3rd Gen subjects said it would be good for their children to possess some knowledge of Urdu, but the majority said they would want their children to be able to speak languages such as Arabic and European languages like French, as they would be more useful for them on a personal level in the religious and work domain.

Subjects commonly gave reasons similar to one of the subjects who explained 'knowing Urdu may be important to me for communication with my grandparents, however that will not be the case for my children, as both of my parents are fluent in English. They were both born in this country, and the amount of times Urdu speaking relatives would feature in mine, or my children's lifes is negligible'

4.3 The 'marketplace' value of languages

The findings confirm the significance of Bourdieu's (1982, cited in Clyne & Kipp 1939:42) 'marketplace' value model, which was mentioned at the beginning of this paper as one of the possible promoting factors for LM. Its influence is evident firstly in the dominance of Urdu over Punjabi (due to the cultural and economical importance of Urdu). This is similar to the rapid shift from Cantonese (which is perceived to have low market value) to Mandarin in Australia's Chinese community (Clyne & Kipp 1939:328). In the Pakistani community, Urdu due to its more prestigious status (in both the national and religious sense) is the language which is being encouraged by the 1st and therefore 2nd Gen. However even Urdu in comparison to other languages (particularly European languages) is considered less beneficial as subjects believed that in today's globalised world Arabic, Chinese and European languages like French and German for example are considered much more powerful skills in comparison to being able to speak Urdu or Punjabi. This is reflected in the subjects' lack of motivation to improve their skills, even though support and opportunities for HL learning exist (cf. Section 4.1). Only one of the subjects, who works with a high number of Pakistani customers recognises that his ability to speak Urdu is a 'source of symbolic power' as Myers-Scotton (2006:114) refers to it, explaining that he uses it 'with the 1st Gen to build a level of trust and rapport.' For the majority however this kind of benefit is limited to general social interaction with the 1st Gen, and not recognised as a personal asset.

4.4 Changing attitudes about language and religion

The analysis of the religious domain in the Pakistani community shed light on some interesting patterns of language use. Religious distance from the mainstream was one of the most influential factors promoting LM of the religiously prestigious Arabic language in the Arab immigrant community of Australia (cf. section 2.3). The influence of religion on LM can also be noted in the case of German and Japanese immigrant communities in Brazil, where the communities were shifting to Portugese, however the continued use of German and Japanese in the religious institutions of the Christians and Buddhists alike meant that they were able to maintain knowledge of their HL (Ferguson, 1996:43).

In the past, the spread of religion often lead to the spread of a particular language. Arabic for example became a world language following the expansion of the Muslim empire from Asia to the Atlantic in the seventh and eighth centuries (Edwards, 2009:101). Since Pakistan was founded primarily on the basis of religion, this is reflected even in the corpus planning and development of the Urdu language (Ayres, 2009:41), which became a symbol of the country's national identity (Ayres, 2009:5). In addition to this, Arabic is taught for the purpose of Quranic text recitation and memorization. However it is not learnt as a 'living language'. The Arabic sounds are memorized and the meaning is transmitted using Urdu (Ayres, 2009:41). While this may be the most practical method for people in Pakistan as well as the 1st Gen of the Pakistani community in Manchester, this practice is one which does not satisfy British born generations, who may not have a sufficient understanding of Urdu in order to comprehend religious explanations in the HL, let alone access written materials. This explains subjects' shift to English in this domain as well as their desire to actually understand the Arabic language, and put emphasis on this, at least when it comes to their own children's religious education, which is considered more important than official education in Urdu. Furthermore this observation confirms Ferguson's claim of LM being ensured to the greatest extent 'for languages of sacred text.' (1996:64), followed by 'the language of public ritual and explanation of the texts.'

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In the case of the British born Pakistani Gen, greater emphasis is placed on Arabic, and (at least the 2nd Gen, whether they are for or against it) do come into contact with the HL in Pakistani dominated mosques which continue to be loyal to the HL(s) by promoting their use through sermons.

4.5 Cultural significance of the HL

The findings indicate that the importance of LM in the Pakistani community is not necessarily driven by ethnic identity, but rather factors such as the need to communicate with the 1st Gen. The domain analysis showed that 2nd and 3rd Gen speakers, though to varying degrees, depending on their competence, do use the HL to flag their identity when it serves a purpose i.e. to accommodate others, build rapport, establishing common ground etc. This meant that a higher demand of the HL is required for the 2nd Gen, who are in close contact with the 1st Gen, however the 3rd Gen requires only a limited knowledge of the HL due to the more distant relationship with the 1st Gen and the ability and preference of the 2nd Gen to speak English. This is similar to Dabene & Moore (1995:25-38)'s study on Algerian immigrants in France, which also noted that women in the community aquiring limited skills of the host language (due to them spending their time at home or within the tight knit community) would force the rest of the family to use the HL when speaking with them. Sridhar (1997:257-276) in his analysis of South Asian languages in the immigrant community of New York found that South Asian speakers may only have partial competence in the HL, nevertheless they maintain high awareness and understanding of their cultural norms that can be seen in their interaction with other Asians, in spite of their integration into the mainstream society. The kind of symbolic use of the language in greetings for example was also apparent in the interaction of the 3rd Gen subjects, indicating that even they have been able to maintain their cultural awareness, however without the possession of complete competence in the HL.

Khan (1997:132) stressed 'the importance of Urdu in defining the religious, cultural and national identity of its speakers', however this maybe more relevant to the 1st Gen, at least in terms of religion, as the 2nd and 3rd Gen subjects do not consider Urdu/Punjabi

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as important as Arabic and even English when it comes to their Islamic practices and Muslim identity or that of their children. Clyne and Kipp's findings showed that 'under 35's attach a lower value to ethnic identity and consider language to be less crucial or important as a carrier of that identity' (1991:327). Myers-Scotton (2006:102) also believes that while language may be the most obvious symbol of an ethnic group, HL maintenance 'as a necessary ethnic symbol may not hold much attraction', giving the example of 2nd Gen Latinos in the US, who are culturally different from the Americans, and still consider themselves 'Latinos', yet this does not extend to the maintenance of their HL, as they prefer to carry out their activities in English. This is similar to the claims made by Pakistani subjects in this study, where they have a preference to conduct their activities outside of the HL (ie. media domain).

4.6 Language shift in progress

At the beginning of this paper, some of the promoting factors of LM in an immigrant context were discussed. The results showed that many of these apply to the Pakistani community in Manchester and exist in the form of institutional support for the CLs, their cultural and religious separation from the mainstream society and their numerical strength. These factors have certainly increased subjects' exposure to the HLs beyond the home domain, however as Fishman (1985, mentioned in Clyne & Kipp 1999:47) stresses, 'LM cannot be achieved by language planning and policies, if it is not achieved in the home or within the local community domains as well.' Factors such as the low level of competence in the HL, the low perceived economic value of the HLs spoken in the Pakistani community and the preference for English may be seen as an indication of LS, particularly when considering the changing patterns of language use and attitudes of the 3rd Gen.

It appears that the changing patterns of language use and attitudes are not due to a lack of support for CLs, but rather due to the personal language preferences of British-born Pakistanis, who tend to be more comfortable in English. However it is important to note that the preference for English, the addition of Arabic in the more functional sense to an individual's linguistic repertoire for the need of religious education or the acquisition of

another European language, does not need to be viewed as a threat or the abandonment of the original identity. It is merely a reflection of the individual's multiple identities, which allow speakers to choose the best suited language for the different domains and situations they may find themselves in. Edwards also refrains from labelling such a situation as a case of LS, explaining that 'it is more reasonable to consider group and individual identity *altering* in the face of changing social (and linguistic) environments, than it is to see the abandonment of original or static positions as decay or loss'. (1985:86)

The changing patterns of language use and addition of other languages should be described as a re-design of the linguistic repertoires, where each language has a particular function, rather than LS. Although the issue is slightly more complicated with HLs such as Punjabi, Urdu is still held highly, and considered important, even for 3rd Gen speakers where the use of the HL may be solely symbolic, and is achieved with the most basic knowledge, is still a part of their linguistic repertoire, which fulfills functions which other languages cannot.

4.7 Limitations of methodology and results

As for reasons outlined earlier, subjects had to be over the age of 18 in order to participate in this study. This decision limited the number of potential 3rd Gen subjects, as they were usually under the age of 18. Consequently, the sample of this study was quite small, and therefore, generalisations based on the results have limitations. Nevertheless the qualitative approach revealed a number of interesting observations, which could not have been as effectively explored using methods other than interviews and supplementary participant observation. Due to the time required for this method, a larger sample would have been difficult.

Another difficulty during the selection process of participants was that of representativeness. This is due to the widespread practice of British-born Pakistanis marrying Pakistani-born spouses resulting in children who have one parent who is 1st Gen and another who is 2nd Gen. This lead to confusion as to whether the child should

be classed 2nd or 3rd Gen. For this reason including such individuals would have been difficult, as it was suspected that their language use and attitudes may share similarities with the 2nd and 3rd Gen.

5. Conclusion

This study explored the language use and attitudes of British-born Pakistanis in order to understand how the migration process has affected their language use and attitudes. The study showed that the Pakistani community in Manchester lives in a city which not only tolerates the use of other languages, but also provides support and opportunities for their maintainance and development. Due to the support the HL receives and the opportunities there are for HL use through media and contact with the high number of non-English speaking Pakistanis, subjects are frequently exposed to their HL even beyond the home domain.

British-born Pakistanis have been able to maintain their HL up to three generations (although to varying levels of competence). However English dominates the lifes of the younger generations, and is the preferred language for communication. Negative attitudes displayed toward Punjabi opposed to Urdu have an effect on the maintenance of the language. Attitudes toward languages show greater attention being placed on languages which are perceived of higher importance- economically or religiously. This indicates that language planning and policies can help the maintenance of languages in immigrant contexts, however they cannot ensure complete LM within the wider community, as this depends on the speakers themselves; their attitudes and the choices they make in regard to what language to use and what material to access.

Changing attitudes in conjunction with a low level of competence, particularly among the 3rd Gen may indicate LS being in process, however it is important to remember that the HL nevertheless has remained an important part of subjects' linguistic repertoires, as it fulfils functions in their everyday lifes that English and other languages cannot fulfill, whether they are communicative or solely symbolic.

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Appendix

Interview questions for selected 2nd and 3rd generation Pakistanis

1. **Name:**

2. **Gender:** ☐ **Male** ☐ **Female**

3. **What language/s do you speak, and what is your fluency in them?**

   Fluency Scale: 1 – Hardly at all/Not so good
   3 – Moderately well
   5 – Native/Near-Native

   ☐ English

   ☐ Urdu   ☐ Punjabi   ☐ Pashto   ☐ Kashmiri   ☐ Hindi   ☐ Guajarati
   ☐ Arabic   ☐ Bengali   ☐ Farsi   ☐ Other_____

   Is this the same for Oral and written fluency? (Also find out if subjects can read Quranic

   Arabic)

4. **Domain analysis:**

   (A) Home:
   1   What language do you use when talking to your parents?
   2   What language do you use when talking to your siblings?
   3   Other relatives?
   4   If subject has moved out of parental home, then also asked: what language do you use with your partner and children?
   5   If more than one language is used, what language do you use predominantly and how do you decide when to switch to the other?

   (B) Work/Uni:
   1   What language do you use?
   2   What language do you use with customers/colleagues who speak the HL?

   (C) Friends
   1   Do you have a lot of friends who can speak the HL?
   2   What language do you use with your friends?

   (D) Shopping:
   1   Do you go to Asian (or specifically Pakistani) shops (ie. grocery shops/ butchers/ clothes shops, electrical shops etc?)
   2   What language do you use when you go shopping at such locations?

(E) Religious practice/activities:
1 What language do you use during religious practice/activities?
2 Do you go to mosque regularly? What language is used at the mosque?

(F) Media:
1 Do you watch Films/TV programs in the HL? How often (never, rarely, occasionally or frequently?
2 Do you prefer watching films/TV programs in the HL or English?
3 Do you listen to music in the HL?
4 Do you read books/magazines/newspapers in the HL?
5 Do you listen to the radio in the HL?
6 Do you use the HL online or access HL material online?

5. **What language do you personally prefer when speaking to other Pakistanis?** (Subjects are also asked to explain their answer)

English   Urdu   Other (please specify)_____

6. **Are there benefits of being able to speak Urdu (and/or another heritage language) to you personally? What are they?** (Communication with family/other Pakistanis/other Asians/when travel to Pakistan/career related benefits etc?)

7. **How important is the HL to you?** (Subjects are also asked to explain their answers)

Urdu:
Very Important   Important   Not Important

Other heritage language: (specify)
Very important   Important   Not Important

8. **What other languages would you like to be able to speak, and why?**

9. **What languages would you want your children to be able to speak, and why?
    How would you/are you enforcing that?**

Finally, which of the following conditions applies to you?

☐ Living in an area, highly populated by Pakistanis

☐ Having substantial ties of kinship with other Pakistanis (more than one household, in addition to

own nuclear family)

☐ Working at a place/studying in a class with at least two other Pakistanis

☐ Working at a place/studying in a class with at least two other Pakistanis of same gender

☐ Voluntary association with Pakistani work/class mates in leisure time (this question applies only

if conditions three and four are satisfied)