

Mapping Community Language Skills: The School Language Survey in Manchester



Authors:

Alex Robertson, Deepthi Gopal, Marie Wright, Yaron Matras, Charlotte Jones

In collaboration with: Ateeka Ahmed, Mizuki Arai, Melissa Bottomley, Finn Cotton, Frederikke Dixon, Estrella Gallardo Osuna, María Eugenia Gutiérrez Rodríguez, Philippa Hughes, Emma Louise Kelly, Julie Lesouef, Maria Miranda Arenas, Tasneem Patel, Miriam Schulte, Jenny Toner, Lillian Wilde.

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures, University of Manchester

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Appendix: School Language Survey

Executive summary

531 children with 'English as an Additional Language' were surveyed in two primary and two secondary schools in the Gorton/Levenshulme, Rusholme/Moss Side, and Crumpsall/Cheetham areas of Manchester. A total of 48 languages were identified, 10 of which had more than 10 speakers each. The most common home languages were Urdu, Somali, Arabic, Bengali, Panjabi and Romani.

The study demonstrates that proficiency can be tested through short elicitation of individual acts of speech, without audio recording and without knowledge of the target language on the part of the interviewers.

The ability to speak multiple home languages has no significant effect on a child's performance in English. The study found a strong correlation between high proficiency levels in the home language and high proficiency of English. Maintenance of home or ethnic minority languages does not hinder the acquisition of English and so it cannot be anticipated to have any negative effect on attainment levels. Knowing multiple home languages also correlates with higher proficiency in those languages.

The survey shows a high degree of maintenance of home languages: 80% of all surveyed children reported that they used languages other than English with their mothers, 75% reported some use with their fathers, and 46% did so with their siblings. In different communities, different factors support the maintenance of home languages. Being read to at home encourages active reading, and active reading in turn supports writing skills. Speaking the language at home to both parents and in particular to mothers has a positive effect on home language proficiency, as does exposure to media and literacy in the language and participation in activities of supplementary schools and language clubs. 21% of children attend supplementary schools in their home language. Supplementary schools are relevant in particular for Arabic (which is also taught as a language of religion, not just as home language), Somali, South Asian languages, Albanian and Polish, but are absent for Romani, Czech, Pashto, Yoruba and Swahili.

On the whole, staff members are supportive of community languages and often engage pupils in discussions about their diverse language heritage. Issues in identifying home languages arise in particular in connection with regional and minority languages. Pupils often under-report or mislabel their languages, indicating the importance of focused discussion and elicitation of language samples as well as of raising general awareness of such languages.

A reliable method to collect data on languages can help support provisions of English as an additional language for particular target groups. For 'global' languages and languages that are of particular relevance to current economic development and expansion of the local economy to global markets – Arabic, Polish, Czech, Russian, Romanian, Portuguese, Spanish, Chinese, and others – the method piloted in this study can help map the language skills of the young generation and thereby help prepare the next generation work-force in the Manchester area. For smaller languages for which there is a shortage of community-based teaching staff, the method can help identify the potential for teaching staff, interpreters and mediators among the young generation.

Key findings

- 48 different languages were recorded among 531 pupils in two primary and two secondary schools in the Rusholme/Moss Side, Gorton/Levenshulme, and Crumpsall/Cheetham areas of Manchester. The most common languages were Urdu, Somali, Arabic, Bengali, Panjabi and Romani.
- 80% of all surveyed children reported that they used languages other than English with their mothers, 75% reported some use with their fathers, and 46% did so with their siblings.
- Urdu and Panjabi were the least likely of the larger languages to be spoken with a sibling – 34% and 21% respectively, indicating a trend toward a shift to English in the family context. All children reporting any use of Romani, Romanian, Czech, and Polish spoke these languages with their siblings consistently.
- 46% of children reported watching television in their home language, 33.7% are read to and 24.3% actively read in the language; 23.4% report watching films in their home language and 21.2% attend language supplementary schools. 79.9% of children who read in a home language were also able to write in it.
- High exposure to media (television and film) in the home language was found among speakers of Arabic, Romanian (often as a second home language), Polish, Czech, and Albanian. 58.0% of all Arabic-speaking respondents attended a supplementary school.
- The overall average proficiency score in Home Language 1 was 10.3 (from a maximum score of 12), confirming that proficiency levels were generally high. Languages for which the average proficiency score was comparatively low include Urdu, Panjabi, Yoruba and Swahili. Speakers of Czech and Polish have noticeably above-average scores.
- Use of the home language with parents and siblings correlates with higher proficiency scores. Children who are read to in their home language have a higher average proficiency.
- While school records for European languages such as Spanish, French and German tend to show a high degree of accuracy, the percentage of disagreement between our survey and school data is comparatively high for Romanian, Panjabi, Yoruba, Swahili and Bravanese.

- For 70.6% of 531 pupils, Home Language 1 matched their school's recorded data. For a further 3.8%, Home Language 2 was also identical to the school's recorded data. For the remaining group, neither Home Language 1 nor 2 agreed with the school's existing record.
- Proficiency in English is generally higher than proficiency in the home language. Children who speak additional languages but who were born and raised in the UK tend to perform only marginally better on tests of English proficiency than those who were born or have resided in other countries.
- All children who arrived in the UK aged two or three achieved the maximum proficiency score of 12. Among each group who arrived in the UK at an age younger than six, over 90% of respondents obtained the top score for fluency in English. There is little meaningful difference by age in either English or Home Language 1 proficiency.
- 76% of surveyed pupils use two or more languages other than English with close family members on a regular basis. The ability to speak multiple home languages has no significant effect on a child's performance in English. Average proficiency scores for each additional home language increase with the number of total languages spoken by respondents.

PART I: BACKGROUND

Research on home languages in schools

In a study on ethnic diversity in Bradford, Simpson (1997) flags the positive potential of what he calls “ethnic and race demography” to support race relations and improve the understanding of both local and national government. Regular data collection can play an important role, Simpson argues, in helping authorities plan provisions to ensure that the entire population participates in services. In the absence of funding for specialised research into the demographics of ethnic background, however, researchers must rely on secondary sources of data. One of those is the School Census, which records the “first language” of pupils who are known or assumed to use a language other than English at home. Simpson reports how during the 1980s and 1990s, the number of bilingual children in Bradford grew steadily, showing a diversity of over 100 languages. The school language data offered an opportunity to assess continuing immigration trends as well as the pace of social inclusion of the earlier generation of immigrants. It could thus serve as a tool for population forecasts that could inform policy responses in the area of race equal opportunities.

More recent studies have taken a variety of approaches to the topic of pupils’ first or home languages. The subject has firstly been examined through the lens of language vitality. Extra and Yağmur (2011), for example, detail the Multilingual Cities Project, a cross-national study which established a language vitality index and analysed language usage according to both age group and generation. Similarly, Dyers (2008) assesses language vitality across several domains, paying careful attention to language usage in the family sphere and attitudes towards home languages. Both factors can shape and indicate the future of a language within a certain youth community; in Dyers' case, Afrikaans in a South-African township. In addition to a sociolinguistic approach to language vitality, the utility of examining home languages in the school context has been viewed from a demographic and an economic perspective. Extra and Yağmur highlight the value of using home language data to outline the diversity of a school, in light of permanent or long-term settlement of migrants and thus the erosion in meaningfulness of nationality or birth country data. Economic advantages are also flagged, with home languages underlined as a powerful resource to be nurtured in schools. Basu (2011) argues that the treatment of multilingualism in publicly funded schools reflects a wider governmental stance

towards social cohesion in multicultural societies, and analyses the situation in Toronto with this concept at the forefront.

Another major focus of recent research is illuminating home languages in relation to majority language acquisition and attainment at school. Puskás (2012) examines actual language practices within schools in Sweden, including the provision of instruction in a home language and teaching of Swedish as a second language. Latomaa and Suni (2011) traced a similar path in Finnish schools, and both studies pay attention to attitudes towards and actual uptake of these practices. Considering the Arizona Home Language Survey, Goldenberg and Rutherford-Quach (2012) examine how home language data allows – and, due to flawed methods of data collection, often prevents – access to majority language support. However, home languages hold strong potential to affect attainment in a wider sense than simply acquiring a mainstream language. Kenner et al. (2008) analyse multilingual learning for children who are already proficient in English, but whose conceptual understanding and cognition, as well as cultural awareness, would be enriched by linguistic diversity in the classroom. Culture and identity are issues equally raised by Dyers (2008), who investigates home languages in relation to social inclusion and attitudes among high school pupils. According to Gogolin (2002), educational practice used to assume children of migrants would assimilate to the majority language and thus renounce parts of their heritage; however, it is now increasingly recognised that home languages need not be lost and can be used alongside mainstream languages.

The methodology used to examine home languages in schools has also seen considerable variation. Latomaa and Suni (2011) and Puskás (2012) interviewed teachers, using web questionnaires and face-to-face discussion respectively, in an attempt to cut through distanced, governmental policy and gain an impression of how languages actually shape the daily learning environment. Evans and Hornberger (2005) stress the prominent role of the teacher in the interpretation of language policy in American schools. Kenner et al. (2008) similarly engaged in discussion with teachers, but widened their participant pool to include the children themselves: while it is advantageous to consult teachers as true daily practitioners of language policy, it is important not to neglect the child's own self-reported viewpoint on home languages for a more accurate picture.

Several studies have incorporated research conducted in direct contact with schoolchildren: Among these, Extra and Yağmur (2011) used a cross-national, digitally processed questionnaire, which was presented in printed form for pupils to complete. This style of data processing allowed for a large-scale study, investigating

a range of domains where home languages are used and permitting international comparisons. Results from Brussels, Gothenburg, The Hague, Hamburg, Lyon and Madrid were collected, with a sample size of over 160,000 pupils. However, while handwriting samples were also computed, a level of uniformity was required in responses, which may have failed to capture additional, illuminating details regarding a child's linguistic profile: attitudes to home languages from a particular family member and the reasoning behind this, precise situations in which the language may be used or forbidden and a range of other personalised information may be withheld. Dyers (2008), in contrast, conducted a smaller-scale study, which involved only high school students in a South African township named Wesbank, Greater Cape Town, who typically used a far smaller range of languages. Though restrictive in terms of drawing wider conclusions due to the specificity of the demographic and distinctive identity issues within the area, the method combined elements of interview, discussion, observation and questionnaire response which allows for a more detailed impression of home language usage.

The discussion of home languages in schools often involves a degree of language testing. The practicalities and intricate considerations of testing language ability have been treated by Schoonen (2011), who stresses that all aspects of a task on a language proficiency test affect how the respondent answers, and thus also the degree of variation in responses. As such, elements such as wording of questions and prompts must be carefully planned in advance due to their inevitable influence on results. The issue of fairness in language testing is raised by Xi (2010) who pinpoints evaluation as one area in which unfairness leads to score differences. An unjust evaluation of proficiency may stem from inconsistent administration of the test, lack of accommodation to a wide range of test-takers, an inappropriate response format and bias on the part of those rating the scores, among other factors.

Through these studies it becomes clear that the issue of home languages in schools must be treated in an exploratory way; that is to say, it is a complex issue, which demands more than a single question. Goldenberg and Rutherford-Quach (2012) highlight this very point in their study of official home language data collection in Arizona, and the narrowing of the questionnaire to posing only the following question: "What is the primary language of the student?" As the response directly determines which children are selected for majority language support, they investigated the danger of oversimplification, and found startling discrepancies, due to insufficient data, between those pupils who should have been offered help, and the smaller number who actually were considered.

The potential for under-reporting home languages is likely to have increased in the above-mentioned case, as fewer questions were posed to parents. This issue has also emerged in the results of Latomaa and Suni (2011), who found that a pre-set form often resulted in insufficient data on pupils' language profiles, as parents under-reported multilingualism in favour of the mainstream language and its inherent prestige. They conclude that languages should be more audible and visible in the school domain, and should be promoted as a resource. Such encouragement is similarly found in the conclusion presented by Extra and Yağmur (2011), who described how a home and mainstream language could co-exist without damaging proficiency in either language. In fact, between one third and over a half of all studied children used a language alongside or other than the mainstream, majority language at home. Dyers (2008) also concluded that a heritage language can be maintained despite the presence of a higher-status language used for mainstream communication; home languages with a lower perceived status can indeed be powerful identity markers within diverse school networks. Park et al. (2012) note that immigrant parents often make educationally-motivated decisions to neglect home languages in favour of seemingly more useful mainstream languages, and advise that linguistic skills should be overtly encouraged as an academic opportunity rather than a hindrance. Furthermore, parental behaviour is reported by Park et al., to change reciprocally, depending on the child's home language competence; they may be spurred on in their maintenance efforts when the child displays some proficiency in the language, leading us to consider the role of schools in promoting this aptitude.

Several studies analyse the respective governmental position or authoritative stance on multilingualism in schools within their results, and offer both a critique and a level of recommendation. Puskás (2012) found that a drive for multilingualism is sometimes realised as a restricted path towards monolingualism, with home language instruction offered only as a step towards the end goal of improving mainstream language skills. Kenner et al. (2008) advises against this practice: children studied were found to be instinctively wary of speaking a home language in an institutional context, and so their fluency never expanded to include academic vocabulary. However, when children engaged in a multilingual learning environment, their confidence and cognitive ability appeared to develop and they benefited from a deeper understanding of everyday school tasks.

Having considered these cases, it seems evident that home languages must be studied not only as a means by which to analyse language vitality, but also in the school context itself as they influence and shape educational practice. The root of knowledge of schoolchildren's home languages is inevitably a form of data

collection, which must be adequately expansive in order to avoid neglecting crucial information. Our research has therefore focused on this root, both as an investigation into the maintenance of linguistic diversity in Manchester and as an initial exploration of a more detailed alternative for home language data collection in UK schools.

In the studies discussed above, there is some variation in the terminology used to refer to languages other than the majority language of the particular country. For example, Park et al. (2012) use "heritage language", while Extra and Yağmur (2011) refer to "minority languages" and Latomaa and Suni (2011) discuss "immigrant languages" and "first" and "second languages". Kenner et al. (2008), Dyers (2008) and Puskás (2012) opt for the phrase "mother tongue". Dyers also refers to "home language", as do Gogolin (2002) and Goldenberg and Rutherford-Quach (2012). In our study, and for the remainder of this paper, we chose to use the term 'home language' to refer to languages other than English used in the homes of the children we surveyed. This avoids, for example, the ambiguity of "mother tongue", the implied chronological order of "first language", the assumed hierarchical position of either "main language" or "primary language", and the connotation of incomplete acquisition that is sometimes associated with "heritage language" as a label.

The problem

Our study took place in Manchester, where over 150 languages are spoken. The city's rich linguistic tapestry has been woven by generations of immigrants who began to arrive in the second half of the nineteenth century. Migrant workers, EU citizens and refugees are among the numerous groups who have firmly ingrained a range of global, national, regional and non-territorial languages into Manchester's cultural identity. In our research, we focused on schools in the areas of Crumpsall, Gorton and Rusholme, which reflect geographical variation in concentration of home languages. In Crumpsall, there is a high concentration of some South Asian languages such as Panjabi, Pahari/Mirpuri/Potwari and Urdu, as well as Albanian and Persian. In Gorton, there is strong representation of Lingala, Pashto, Polish, Portuguese, Romani and Yoruba, alongside Akan/Twi and Wolof-speaking clusters. Rusholme is home to a number of different languages, with a notable Bengali-speaking population.

Approximately 40% of all schoolchildren in Manchester are thought to be multilingual, and around 1,500 pupils enter into the city's schools as new arrivals every year. Local education authorities are one of innumerable services that must

consider their response to language diversity. On the whole, local agencies and service providers take a responsive approach, with pragmatic allocation of resources: needs are assessed through monitoring demand, allowing a certain flexibility in reacting to the city's ever-changing linguistic profile. Manchester has no over-arching language policy framework, and provisions are organised on a de-centralised basis. However, though individual community languages lack official regulation in terms of provision, they are undoubtedly part of the institutional policy of local services. Further information on Manchester's language diversity is available in *Multilingual Manchester: A Digest* (2013).

Schools across Manchester provide information on individual pupil demographics. The collation of this information constitutes the School Census, which includes information regarding their “home” (and sometimes “first”) languages. According to the data collection criteria, a language is recorded for a child if it is used at all within their home, even if their first or primary language is English. However, there are some potential problems with the accuracy of data resulting from the School Census, primarily stemming from the fact that the school itself is responsible for identifying languages. The list provided to schools contains over 200 languages. The task of identifying the first or home languages of pupils is usually delegated to school administrators, who often rely on school records about country of birth and age of arrival in the UK. That schools face difficulties in accurately recording home languages in this way was first communicated to the Multilingual Manchester team by the staff at Gorton Mount Primary Academy, who in 2012 highlighted the need for a more reliable method to collect data on languages.

An initial discussion established that the existing practice around the School Census often leads to instances of mislabelling or under-reporting of languages. In addition, there is no account for proficiency variation and the pre-set form restricts the number of possible entries per pupil, making no consideration for multilingual households. With the aim of providing more accurate and more meaningful data on language usage of schoolchildren in Manchester, we designed a pilot study hereby known as the School Language Survey (SLS), which involves one-on-one interviews with pupils. This survey carries an in-built consideration of multilingualism and proficiency, while the very act of surveying the children themselves reduces issues of reporting on their behalf.

In addition to the practicalities of accurate data collection, our survey aims to encourage children to reflect on their home languages in a more positive light. At present, home languages are recorded with the primary aim of anticipating problems in English proficiency, leading to a level of stigma associated with linguistic

diversity. Our method seeks to eliminate this negative approach and engage children with the idea that home languages are valuable skills, increasing their self-confidence and promoting multilingualism.

The setting

The research focused on children who were flagged as speaking home languages other than English. Contact was initially made with schools that were identified as having a relatively high percentage of pupils with English as an Additional Language (EAL). These schools displayed a high level of commitment to the issue of home languages and to gaining a firmer grasp of their own pupils' linguistic profiles. The purpose of the pilot was explained, and four institutions were selected who were particularly eager to engage in the research: Two primary schools – Heald Place Primary School, Gorton Mount Primary Academy; and two secondary schools – Cedar Mount Academy and Abraham Moss High School.

Heald Place Primary School is located in Rusholme, South Manchester, at a distance of around two miles from Manchester city centre, and caters to pupils aged three to eleven. Within this bracket, we surveyed children in years 3 to 6, aged between seven and eleven. After discussion with the school, we agreed these pupils were old enough to provide comprehensive answers to our pilot survey. It became apparent that time restrictions would further limit our data collection, and so efforts concentrated on years 4, 5 and 6, while only a small sample was collected from year 3. According to the Department for Education statistics (2013), 94.0% of the school's population speaks English as an additional language. The school's most recent Ofsted (Office for Standards in Education) report (2007) names Somali, Urdu and Bengali as the most common home languages among pupils, and flags the fact that almost all children are from minority ethnic backgrounds. In total, we surveyed 185 children in Heald Place Primary.

Gorton Mount Primary Academy, formerly known as Gorton Mount Primary School, is situated around four miles outside of the city centre in Gorton, East Manchester, and also teaches pupils aged three to eleven. A similar approach was taken, in that years 3, 4, 5 and 6 were involved in interviews. The Department for Education figures (2013) indicate 61.6% of pupils speak English as an additional language, and Ofsted statistics (2011) highlight that 70% of pupils are from minority ethnic backgrounds. 93 interviews were conducted, in total, at Gorton Mount Primary Academy.

Cedar Mount Academy, formerly known as Cedar Mount High School, is also located in Gorton, East Manchester. The age range of pupils is 11 to 16, and our pilot in this school focused on children in year 7, aged 11 to 12. As our time restraints limited us to data collection from one year group, we selected year 7 in agreement with teachers, who advised that other year groups were more occupied at that specific time. This year group also followed on neatly from our year 6 participants in the primary schools: should we have neglected younger secondary schools pupils and surveyed year 10 or 11, for example, we may have encountered differences in attitude and openness to the survey. Our study was not hinged on age comparison, and so year 7 allowed a comparison between primary and secondary schools at the same time as a cohesive larger pool of respondents. The Department for Education data (2013) states that 41.6% of children attending this school have English as an additional language, and Ofsted reports (2013) that the proportion of children from minority ethnic backgrounds is well above the national average. During our time spent at Cedar Mount Academy, we surveyed 44 children.

Abraham Moss High School accommodates pupils aged 11 to 16, and is found in Crumpsall, roughly three miles north of Manchester city centre. Using the same approach as described for Cedar Mount Academy, we interviewed only year 7 pupils in this portion of the survey. The larger year groups at secondary schools, however, allowed for this group of respondents, and those at Cedar Mount, to be representative of a wide range of pupils. Data published by the Department for Education (2013) shows that 80.1% of pupils at Abraham Moss speak English as an additional language. Ofsted figures (2011) further elaborate, revealing that children speak over 50 different home languages and originate from 59 countries, with the proportion of pupils hailing from minority ethnic backgrounds standing well above the national average. 209 interviews were conducted in Abraham Moss High School.

The method

After discussions to identify appropriate settings and classes, excluding those who were too young or occupied with exams for example, some schools chose to inform parents through circulating a letter and providing the opportunity to opt out. Other schools chose to discuss this more informally with parents, as the survey is designed to avoid the need for parental consent through the absence of audio recording. Lists of all participating pupils, their classes and their recorded home languages were then shared with us, to ensure interviews could be arranged with as little disruption as possible once we were working within the schools. Personal data were stored in a

secure location, and were only accessible to few members of the research team, and only during an initial stage of the data collection. Participating staff underwent training in research ethics. Personal data of respondents were anonymised before being entered into a database for comparison and evaluation, and electronic data were secured by encryption.

Initial training and supervision of staff was provided by a qualified teacher and experienced EAL coordinator, who also managed Multilingual Manchester projects and thus had a profound understanding of both the schools' considerations and the research objectives. After thorough training, two recent graduates of The University of Manchester were responsible for undertaking and guiding the majority of the practical interviewing process, with support from both a fellow graduate and a number of undergraduate students. All participants became familiar with the aims of the study, as well as anticipated areas requiring further explanation or care to elicit accurate data, before they were introduced into the school environment. Moreover, all staff members were subject to Criminal Records Bureau checks in order to work directly with the children, in compliance with UK legislation. The wellbeing of the surveyed children was of utmost importance, and was to take constant priority throughout the interviews: pupils were escorted by staff through the school building, for example, and were treated with sensitivity and respect if they were uncomfortable answering questions.

The SLS was ideally conducted with minimal interference to teachers' lessons, whilst simultaneously striving to provide a stress-free environment for the child. Most often, this meant interviewing the child in the corridors outside their classroom, rather than within their class where peers could overhear, or in a separate room, which might have resulted in a lengthier, more disruptive process. Another logistical issue was the treatment of children who cannot understand the interviewer or, indeed, the questions. As a solution, another child who was proficient in the same home language, yet more so in English, was typically asked to interpret during the exchange.

The survey opens with questions relating to biographical details, including countries in which the child has previously lived, in order to later analyse whether having resided outside of the UK affects home language vitality or English proficiency (see Appendix). Next, the child was asked which language(s) they speak, in turn, to their mother, father, grandparents, other adults and siblings. The child was asked to name the language in which these family members respond to and address the child. This distinction between the child speaking and being spoken to is important to make: by contrasting these responses, it is possible to gauge code-switching within the home

and to determine which languages the child can understand compared to those they can produce.

The following questions pertained to the child's exposure to media and extra-curricular activities. The rationale behind exploring these domains is largely based on the fact that they constitute a way in which children can actively maintain their heritage languages. This data can provide an insight into language vitality and the methods by which languages can be maintained – or, indeed, reflect areas in which English is dominant. The child was asked in which languages they read, are read to, watch TV and watch films. In addition, details were recorded relating to their clubs, any supplementary schools and holidays abroad, with the latter revealing a picture of possible exposure to the home language in a monolingual environment. The child was then requested to provide a writing sample for any home or additional languages in which they self-declared as being literate. The child was asked to write a sentence, phrase or word; they were encouraged to perform to their maximum capability, but pupils who could only recall letters of the alphabet were still praised for their contribution. The interviewer then asked for and noted an English translation, in the child's own words.

The SLS proceeds with a proficiency test, carried out in each language that the pupil has reported speaking, understanding, or using in some capacity in their previous answers. The test is based on the pupils' degree of fluency or hesitance when responding to a series of tasks arranged on a continuum of complexity. The aim of these exercises was to elicit increasingly more complex language from the child, including a range of tenses and sentences in addition to everyday, functional vocabulary. The method allowed us to assess fluency while avoiding the logistical difficulty of finding interviewers who speak every language that may be encountered, making the survey more easily adaptable for use by a wider range of staff.

The questions began with the task that we anticipated would be easiest, namely identifying body parts, which not only elicited single words but was grounded in a concrete speech situation, with the interviewer pointing at suggested body parts. This was designed to ease the child's concerns and helped focus on the immediate situation. The following elicitation of numbers from one to ten was introduced to prompt similarly practical vocabulary but test the child's ability to use the language without visual prompts. Moreover, it was anticipated that numbers would constitute a fixed cluster which requires learning and memorising, but which can be activated as a single routine. Asking the pupil to then name and describe family members posed yet more of a challenge, as the response required a degree of abstraction to

recall an individual and assign them the relevant reference terms. Subsequently, eliciting a morning routine description encouraged the child to draw on knowledge of tenses and to present a sequence of events and thus draw on clause chaining and connectivity devices, resulting in more complex sentences. These responses were also elicited in English – often by asking the interviewee to clarify the English meaning of their phrase – to simultaneously test English proficiency. The interviewer could exercise flexibility when the child seemed unsure of the task, and the questions could be reworded to avoid simple miscomprehension; for example, "can you tell me about your morning routine?", "can you tell me what you did this morning before you came to school?" or "can you tell me what you did after you got out of bed today?".

The child's responses were evaluated by the interviewer and points were assigned to indicate the perceived degree of fluency, ranging from the lowest score of 1 point to the highest of 3 points. The possible categories in which to class the child's response were 'immediately and fluently', 'slowly and hesitantly' and 'not at all', corresponding to 3, 2 and 1 point(s) respectively. After completing this proficiency test in every language reported by the pupil, their scores for each language were totalled and recorded. After having completed four tasks, the maximum proficiency score in a particular language is twelve, and the lowest is four. Languages receiving a grade of four were anticipated to be understood but not produced, or read but not spoken; Arabic, for example, may be part of a child's language profile for liturgical usage, but may not be a language that they can necessarily produce. The specific format of the proficiency test is reproduced in Figure 1 below.

HOME LANGUAGE 1:	IMMEDIATELY & FLUENTLY	SLOWLY & HESITANTLY	NOT AT ALL	COMMENTS
Can child name body parts?				
Can child count from 1-10?				
Can child describe members of their family, how old they are, how they dress and what they like to do?				
Can child describe their normal daily routine, from when get they up?				

Figure 1: Proficiency test used in pilot SLS

Although the recorded response is based on an individual interviewer's impressions, objectivity was ensured by sufficiently training staff to treat responses in a uniform fashion and to confidently assess their fluency. Audio recording would, in principle, allow speakers of the language to assess performances off-site, but this would require parental permission. By proceeding with our system of proficiency testing, we avoided an additional level of administration, which allowed us to complete a more rapid collection of a representative pool of respondents from each school. This also enabled us to survey the maximum number of children in the time available, without being restricted by parents opting out due to concerns over the storage of personal voice recordings of their children.

It is important to note that throughout the survey interviewers were free to elicit and record additional details that may enlighten data analysis. For example, a child may have shared biographical details of their parents, the attitudes towards languages in their individual homes, and further details regarding their language use. During the proficiency tests especially, interviewers were actively encouraged to note examples of the child's responses for verification after the interview; pupils were often happy to repeat, enunciate and expand upon their answers. Those speaking unnamed or potentially mislabelled languages were asked to produce additional, easily verifiable vocabulary such as greetings and concrete nouns, which we could then use off-site to try to identify the language.

Once the surveys in this pilot were completed, the data was inputted into spreadsheets for analysis. With a sample size of 531 surveyed children, this could be undertaken as a manual process. Although fairly lengthy, this method allowed for adequate consideration of each child's responses and further verification where necessary. In addition, qualitative data was also inputted to gain a deeper understanding of any impressions resulting from quantitative analysis.

PART II: RESULTS

Languages and their distribution

The full list of reported home languages, in which proficiency tests were completed, by individual schools is displayed in Figure 2 below. This data allows us to examine, before finer data analysis, which languages were represented in different schools, and therefore the extent to which reported home languages corresponded to the languages reported for the respective areas of Manchester.

Home language 1	Total tested	Abraham Moss	Cedar Mount	Gorton Mount	Heald Place
Urdu	168	95	3	26	44
Somali	60	9	3	4	44
Arabic	50	21	1	0	28
Bengali	48	2	1	11	34
Panjabi	33	29	1	0	3
Romani	28	1	7	20	0
Czech	13	6	7	0	0
Romanian	11	2	2	2	5
Pashto	11	3	0	5	3
Polish	11	5	4	1	1
Yoruba	10	1	5	4	0
Swahili	8	1	0	2	5
Albanian	7	7	0	0	0
Bravanese	6	0	0	0	6
Portuguese	6	2	2	2	0
Spanish	5	3	0	1	1
German	5	1	0	1	3
French	4	4	0	0	0
Italian	4	1	2	0	1
Farsi	4	4	0	0	0
Russian	3	0	2	1	0
Kurdish	3	0	0	1	2
Turkish	2	0	0	2	0
Twi	2	0	1	1	0
Mirpuri	2	2	0	0	0
"Nigerian"	2	0	0	2	0

Home language 1	Total tested	Abraham Moss	Cedar Mount	Gorton Mount	Heald Place
Latvian	2	1	0	0	1
Vietnamese	2	0	1	1	0
Chinese	1	0	0	0	1
Lithuanian	1	1	0	0	0
Gujarati	1	1	0	0	0
Hindi	1	0	0	0	1
Sindhi	1	0	0	0	1
Balochi	1	1	0	0	0
Kutchi	1	1	0	0	0
Hungarian	1	0	1	0	0
Bosnian	1	0	0	0	1
Malay	1	1	0	0	0
Chichewa	1	0	0	1	0
Afrikaans	1	0	0	1	0
Tamil	1	0	0	1	0
Berber	1	1	0	0	0
Lingala	1	1	0	0	0
Oromo	1	0	1	0	0
"Muslaman"	1	0	0	1	0
Suudi	1	0	0	1	0
Amharic	1	0	0	1	0
Slovak	1	1	0	0	0
Ga	1	0	0	1	0
Cantonese	1	1	0	0	0

Figure 2: Number of children reporting home language 1, by school

Both Cedar Mount and Gorton Mount draw from the Gorton area, and the local demographics are reflected in the large numbers of children speaking Romani. Heald Place's catchment area covers Rusholme and Moss Side, which have large populations speaking languages such as Urdu, Somali, Arabic and Bengali: the majority of Somali-speaking and Bengali-speaking children were from this school, as well as all children whose home language was Bravanese. Abraham Moss covers Crumpsall and Cheetham. The 2011 Census counts suggest that most of Manchester's Albanian speakers live in this area, and this was also suggested by our data. The tendency for Somali, Arabic, and Swahili to group together was seen, with significant groups of speakers attending Heald Place (slightly over half of all surveyed Arabic speakers). The small number of students speaking Mirpuri attended Abraham Moss, where the vast majority of Panjabi-speaking respondents were also found. Multilingual Manchester: A Digest (2013) reported the trend for Mirpuri speakers to

reside in close proximity to a wider Panjabi-speaking community, and this is reflected in the present study.

Children responded independently to questions in the SLS, without parental or teacher influence, and so we can view the results as a self-reported profile of the usage of home languages (hereby referring to languages other than English). A principal aim of the SLS was to fill a gap by recording the domain distribution of languages, thus allowing us to evaluate the actual role that languages play in the children's daily lives, to assess language attitudes, to link linguistic repertoires to proficiency and to obtain a measure of language vitality and so also of the language skills of pupils in Manchester schools. 44% of the children surveyed reported that they spoke some English with their mother, while 46% reported using some English with their father. In comparison, 79% of children reported speaking some amount of English with their siblings. It appears that, although English does have a role in communicating with parents some of the time, children who are flagged as speakers of additional languages will often use English with their siblings, showing a generational shift towards speaking more English in the home.

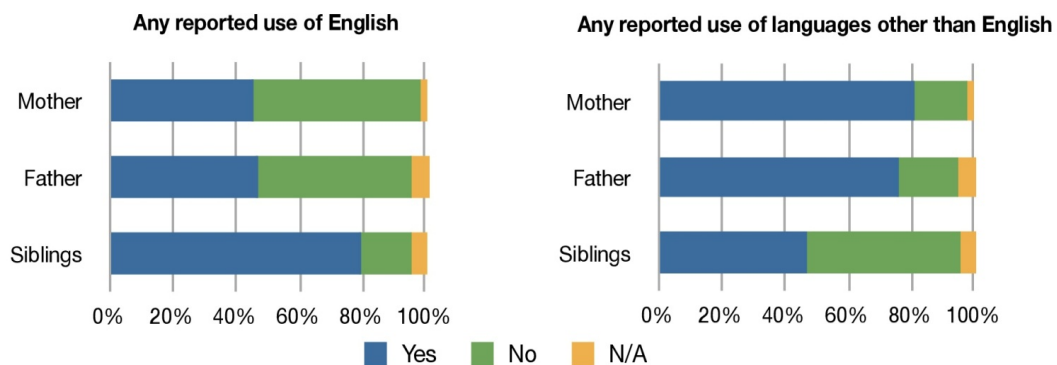


Figure 3: Percentage of children reporting use of English and of languages other than English with mother, father and siblings

However, this does not mean that pupils are necessarily losing their home languages. 80% of all surveyed children reported that they used languages other than English with their mothers, 75% reported some use with their fathers, and 46% did so with their siblings. This seems to indicate that children are largely still using home languages despite a tendency to also use English with siblings. While 79% reported using English with their siblings, the total who reported using the home language with their brothers and sisters was not just 21% but rather 46%. This indicates that there is an overlap and that children can and do use several languages to converse in the home (Figure 3).

Urdu is the most frequently cited home language among the surveyed children. However, it is interesting to note that there are significant differences in family member distribution: seemingly supporting the generational shift towards speaking more English with siblings, only 53 pupils reported using Urdu with their siblings, compared to 135 who used it with their mother and 129 with their father. Certainly in comparison with some other languages, Urdu seems to be undergoing a more noticeable generational shift among the children in our study. A much higher proportion of Arabic and Romani-speaking children cited home language usage with their siblings as well as usage with parents.

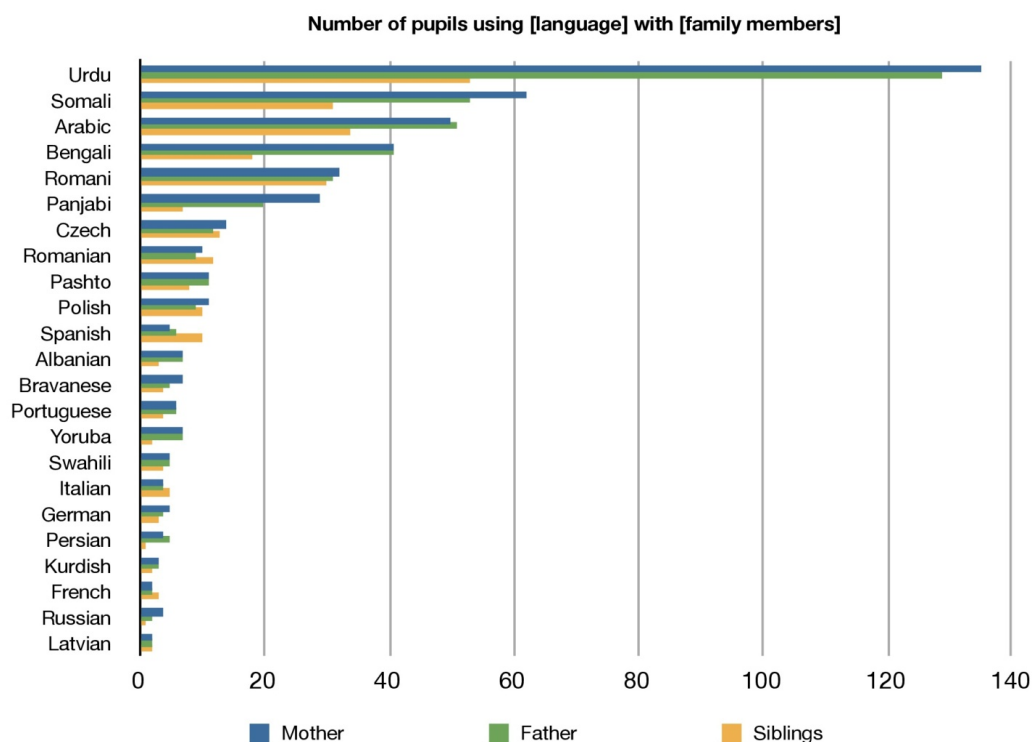


Figure 4: Numbers of pupils who report using a home language with mother, father and siblings, by language

The use of most home languages with siblings was generally lower than with either parent. Urdu and Panjabi were the least likely of the larger languages to be spoken with a sibling – 34% and 21% respectively. 38% of Bengali speakers, 50% of Somali speakers, and 74% of Pashto speakers spoke these home languages with siblings. All children reporting any use of Romani, Romanian, Czech, and Polish spoke these languages with their siblings consistently – this group was also seen to have arrived in the UK much more recently on average. Spanish and Italian were both spoken more frequently with siblings than with either parent – only 6 children reported use of Spanish with any parent, but 10 reported some use with siblings. The data suggest

that these children typically reported use of other home languages, largely Urdu, and had lived in other European countries prior to arrival in the UK; the secondary languages acquired were then maintained with the siblings, but not with the parents.

A number of children who spoke Romani with other family members reported speaking Romanian with siblings. However, this may well be an instance of mislabelling, a subject to which we shall return in the discussion of language profiles for Romani and Romanian, and in the later discussion of labelling issues. The presence of multiple languages in the repertoire of some children testifies in these cases to a history of repeated migrations, and in some cases to an origin in a minority language community abroad, or often both. The children's preference for the majority language of a country in which the family resided previously is motivated in a way that is similar to the choice of English as the preferred language among siblings in the UK. It is interesting, however, that children who adopted the majority language of their previous countries of residence may still choose to converse in this language after moving to the UK. Children are arguably more likely to have originally adopted these languages more quickly than an older generation, being submerged in the same educational system or having to communicate with majority language-speaking peers on a more regular basis, and they therefore use them among themselves rather than with their parents. Topics of conversation between siblings – school, friends, popular culture – may also trigger the use of vocabulary from the majority language of the country.

We found sporadic and statistically insignificant differences between the reported usage of home languages when speaking to varying family members, and the languages in which these interlocutors replied. We therefore decided to concentrate our analysis on the child's use of language to parents, rather than the parents' choice of language when addressing their children. In Figure 4, as an example, the counts refer to the number of children who report speaking a language to their parents or siblings, rather than parents or siblings speaking the language to them. Through additional comments, we have learned that some children describe differences in usage in specific situations. For example, a child may report that their father uses a particular language on the phone but a different one in face-to-face conversation, or that a parent uses the home language only during play with the child. Such differences tended to be particular in nature, and did not reveal any wider trends.

In addition to the cross-generation aspect there are noteworthy differences between the language choices with mothers and with fathers. There is a slight

tendency for home languages to be used more with the mother, with 80% of pupils reporting that a language other than English is spoken with their mother and 75% reporting its use with their father. Additional comments provided by some children indicated that their mother could not speak English, perhaps due to a different professional or educational experience in a country of origin, or that their father encouraged English usage more. However, there were also instances where fathers reportedly enforce home language conversation.

A number of children reported exclusive use of the home language with just one parent (Figure 5). The slightly more widespread use of the home language with the mother correlates for a number of languages with higher numbers of exclusive use of the language with the mother. Differences stand out mainly for Somali, Panjabi, and Urdu, though for all these languages some children also reported exclusive use with the father. For Panjabi, more children reported using the language exclusively with the mother than with both parents. Only for Arabic we find a reverse pattern, with exclusive use with the father slightly outnumbering that with the mother.

	Children reporting [language] with either parent	Language is used only with mother	Language is used only with father	Language is used with both parents
Urdu	154	25	18	111
Somali	62	10	2	50
Arabic	57	5	7	45
Bengali	48	7	7	34
Panjabi	35	15	6	14
Romani	31	1	0	30
Czech	13	3	0	10
Pashto	11	1	1	9
Polish	11	2	0	9
Romanian	10	1	0	9

Figure 5: Language use exclusively with mother, exclusively with father, and with both parents, by language

Supporting the more generalised trend for higher reported usage with mothers, there is a tendency, in the ten most frequently cited languages, for exclusive usage with the mother to also be slightly more prevalent than exclusive usage with the father. In the case of Panjabi, as clearly illustrated in Figure 6, home language usage with only the mother is significantly higher than in other languages: in fact, 43% of children reporting any use of Panjabi within the home spoke it exclusively with their

mothers. All of these children spoke only English with their fathers. One possible reason, among others, is that in home countries and potentially even in the UK, the fathers in these families may be traditionally more likely to inhabit work-based, educational and thus institutional domains. In the UK especially, Urdu or English would be the lingua franca in these situations, with Panjabi reserved for more familial or other intimate contexts. As such, Panjabi may be used in communication between mother and child, and even mother and father, but the father may see more career-orientated or educative value in using English (or, in a wider pool of respondents, possibly Urdu) with the child.

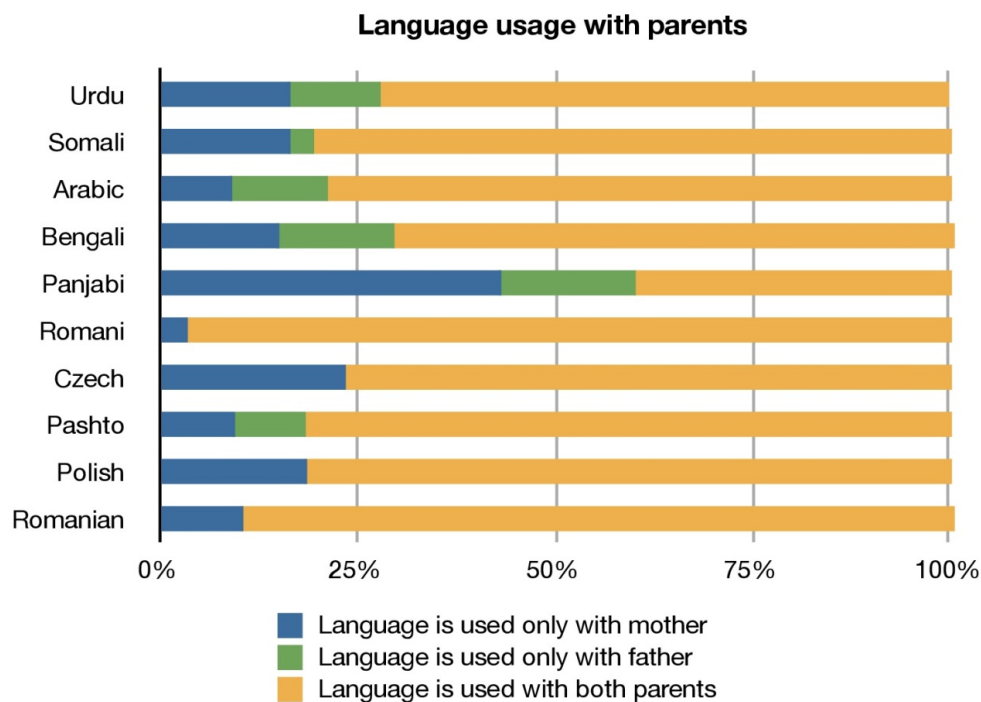


Figure 6: Language usage exclusively with mother, exclusively with father, and with both parents, by language

Differences in language choice with individual parents illustrate that home languages are not necessarily a uniform family feature, but part of a multilingual family repertoire of which family members may avail themselves in a variety of ways. In fact, 76% of surveyed pupils use two or more languages other than English with close family members on a regular basis. This finding questions the concept behind labels such as “first”, “primary”, or “heritage” language and emphasises how the majority of children experience multilingualism as a dynamic situation where different languages form part of a complex repertoire and may be selected for different functions and purposes. Confronted with the reality of home multilingualism, not just in one home language in addition to English, but potentially

several, we proceeded to use the same label – “home language” – also for other languages other than English that children reported using in the family or ethnic community domain, assigning them numbers – “home language 2” and so on – for the purposes of distinction. Figure 7 lists the links that were reported between two distinct home languages other than English. Where more than one home language was reported, we list the one that was reported most frequently.

	Number of pupils	Number of pupils with home language 2	Percentage of pupils with home language 2	Most frequently reported home language 2	Number of pupils speaking [most frequent home language 2]	Most frequent home language 2 as a percentage of all home language 2
Urdu	168	71	42%	Arabic	34	48%
Somali	60	40	67%	Arabic	32	80%
Arabic	50	10	20%	Bosnian	2	20%
Bengali	48	17	35%	Arabic	15	88%
Panjabi	33	18	55%	Urdu	17	94%
Romani	28	27	96%	Romanian	26	96%
Czech	13	0	0%			
Romanian	11	3	27%	Romani	2	67%
Pashto	11	4	36%	Urdu	3	75%
Polish	11	0	0%			
Yoruba	10	0	0%			
Swahili	8	5	63%	Arabic	3	60%
Albanian	7	0	0%			
Bravanese	6	3	50%	Arabic	3	100%
Portuguese	6	4	67%	Spanish	4	100%
Spanish	5	4	80%	Urdu	2	50%

Figure 7: Number of children reporting a home language 2, by home language 1

From Figure 7 it is evident that Arabic is the most widely spoken home language 2, and correlates with Urdu, Somali, Bengali, Swahili and Bravanese. Speakers of these languages are typically Muslims, and the vast majority of children who cite Arabic as their home language 2 attend a mosque-affiliated supplementary school.

Romani speakers report high levels of an additional language, with Romanian constituting the home language 2 in almost all of these cases. In addition, two children reporting Romanian as their home language 1 stated that Romani was their

home language 2. Some pupils stated Romanian first, possibly as they believed it was a more acceptable or legitimate answer in an institutional context, before gentle questioning revealed that Romani was indeed their primary home language. We must assume that several of the children who named Romanian as their home language, and denied any knowledge of Romani, were indeed Romani speakers. This impression was further solidified through discussion with EAL support staff at some schools, who were able to confirm through personal knowledge of the children in question that Romani was their most frequently used home language. As our study is based on self-reported usage, we have recorded some such children as Romanian home language 1 speakers, but we expect that some of these pupils may have under-reported Romani and over-reported Romanian. We return to the issues of identifying Romani and Romanian below.

Literacy, media and supplementary education

The surveyed pupils reported exposure to media and attending extra-curricular supplementary schools in a range of home languages, with varying frequency according to specific language. The distribution can be seen in Figure 8. For each language reported as home language 1, we indicate the percentage of respondents who reported exposure to a given medium in that language.

Noticeably high and low degrees of exposure to media are marked in green and pink respectively. We see quite clearly that for languages such as Arabic, Czech, Polish, and Romanian, children report very high rates of media engagement in the language, indicating the relatively abundant availability of media. For languages such as Romani, Yoruba, and Pashto, percentages are considerably lower. Media in regional and minority languages or non-territorial languages such as Romani are usually rare in comparison with productions or publications in national and global languages such as Arabic and Polish.

Closer analysis of the data reveals some exposure to media in languages that are not the child's home language. Among these instances, we find Hindi films watched by Bengali, Panjabi, Romani and Urdu speakers, Spanish among Romani speakers, and Arabic among Somali speakers. These examples may in some cases indicate cross-community contact, migration history, or other ties with particular nations or religions. For the Somali speakers who are exposed to written and other media in Arabic, for example, there is both a connection to Islam and former residence in Arab countries prior to immigration to Britain.

	Number of children	Television in language	Reading in language	Being read to in language	Films in language	Clubs or supplementary schools
Overall	531	45.9%	25.2%	33.5%	23.4%	21.2%
Urdu	168	40.5%	20.8%	25.6%	29.8%	25.0%
Somali	60	21.7%	13.3%	28.3%	8.3%	26.7%
Arabic	50	78.0%	46.0%	58.0%	30.0%	58.0%
Bengali	48	31.3%	12.5%	31.3%	10.4%	25.0%
Panjabi	33	33.3%	9.1%	24.2%	24.2%	27.3%
Romani	28	3.6%	14.3%	3.6%	3.6%	3.6%
Czech	13	76.9%	38.5%	61.5%	61.5%	0.0%
Pashto	11	18.2%	9.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Polish	11	90.9%	63.6%	72.7%	54.5%	18.2%
Romanian	11	100.0%	63.6%	63.6%	45.5%	9.1%
Yoruba	10	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%
Swahili	8	0.0%	14.3%	42.9%	0.0%	0.0%
Albanian	7	71.4%	42.9%	28.6%	0.0%	28.6%
Bravanese	6	16.7%	16.7%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Portuguese	6	66.7%	33.3%	66.7%	16.7%	0.0%

Figure 8: Exposure to literacy, media, and supplementary education in home language

Supplementary schools are community-based institutions that teach classes outside the mainstream education curriculum, often with a particular focus on language and culture. In Figure 8, the responses for all extra-curricular clubs or schools are combined. The vast majority pertained to supplementary schools, with only 3 students describing an after-school sports club at which they use a home language. From this table, it is evident that attendance at a supplementary school is particularly common among speakers of Arabic, with 58% of Arabic-speaking children attending, over double the overall average of 21.2% for all surveyed pupils. Other languages for which supplementary school participation is also frequently cited include Albanian, Panjabi and Somali.

Figure 9 shows the overall totals for supplementary school attendance, including overlap, as more than one language may be taught in this setting. 247 children reported attending some form of supplementary class or school. When we include overlap between languages, Arabic remains the most commonly reported language of instruction in this domain. Many children reported attending supplementary schools in Arabic alongside Bravanese, English, Kurdish and Urdu, for example. A large proportion of supplementary schools were reportedly mosque-affiliated. For

example, Arabic is taught for liturgical purposes, as the language of the Qur'an, as well as in its role as a home language for some pupils.

	Child attends supplementary school <i>partially</i> in language	Child attends supplementary school <i>exclusively</i> in language
Arabic	60	45
Urdu	58	27
Somali	17	7
Panjabi	14	3
Bengali	12	6
Albanian	2	2
Farsi	2	2
Pashto	1	1
Polish	1	1
Kurdish	1	0
Bravanese	1	0

Figure 9: Attendance in supplementary schools

Children reported whether they read in a home language and were read to in a home language. They were also asked whether they could write in their home language, and if they could, they were asked to provide a short writing sample. These responses can be analysed and compared to gauge literacy levels in a home language. As can be seen in Figure 10, 50.9% of children were able to write in their home language. 39.5% of children who reported an ability to write also read in their home language, and 46.2% of the same group said that someone else read to them in their home language. Of the 49.1% who do not write, only 10.3% read in their home language and 20.3% are read to. Thus, while being able to write in a home language does not necessarily suggest that the child will also read in the language, the proportion of children who cannot write and report reading, either active or passive, is noticeably smaller.

The ability to write indicates, in our study, the capacity to produce the particular script of a home language in order to give a short writing sample. Writing ability may not be sufficiently developed to allow for full recognition and comprehension of sentences in this script. This possibly explains why the children who reported being able to write did not all engage with books and reading. A child's writing sample, for example, may comprise just one single word that has been memorised. Reading in a wider sense would thus require different skills. However, it seems that not being

able to write at all correlates with relatively low reported levels of reading and being read to. It is possible that writing is a skill that is taught at supplementary schools most often, or else is acquired after having experienced formal education in the home language. Some degree of writing skill indicates to us that parents have an encouraging stance towards the maintenance of home languages, or else that they have resided in a different country relatively recently. Both factors may influence the language in which these parents read to their child, or the language of the books that are brought into the household.

	<i>[Percentage of sample]</i>	Does child read?	Is child read to?
Child <i>can</i> write.	50.9%	39.5%	46.2%
Child <i>cannot</i> write.	49.1%	10.3%	20.3%

Figure 10: Percentage of all respondents who reported reading skills, and passive exposure to reading, in relation to writing

The relationship between reading, being read to and writing is further explored by comparing the percentage of the total number of respondents who read, and the proportions of each of these groups who can write, and who are read to, as illustrated in Figure 11. The percentage of all respondents who report reading in their home language is 25.2% – significantly lower than the overall total of 50.9% who reported writing (cf. Figure 10). It appears that children often have the ability to write in their home language when prompted, yet they do not usually read in it (and, indeed, most likely do not write in it, either, but do still possess the ability to write). As discussed, this could be due to the fact that some written responses constitute a formulaic reproduction of a memorised phrase. It is also possible that some children simply do not engage with written media out of preference rather than inability.

There is a positive correlation between active reading and the ability to write: 79.9% of children who read in a home language were also able to write in it, compared to 41.1% of those who do not read in their home language (Figure 11). There is also a positive link between active reading and passive reading (being read to). 51.8% of children who read in their home language also report being read to in this language, compared to only 27.3% of the pupils who do not read. While reading a home language does not guarantee that a child will be able to write in it, in a similar way that writing in this language does not indicate a child will necessarily read in it, it is nevertheless clear that reading supports writing, and that being read to in turn supports the ability to read actively.

	[Percentage of sample]	Can child write?	Is child read to?
Child <i>does</i> read.	25.2%	79.9%	51.8%
Child <i>does not</i> read.	74.8%	41.1%	27.3%

Figure 11: Percentage of all respondents who reported writing skills, and passive exposure to reading, in relation to active reading

Further evidence for the positive effect of parental reading on the children's active reading can be found in Figure 12. 33.5% of all surveyed children state that they are, or have previously been, read to in a home language. This is slightly higher than the 25.2% of all participants who reported reading. Of the children who are being read to, a higher proportion – 38.9% – reported active reading than the proportion of all respondents who reported active reading (25.2%). By contrast, only 18.2% of the children who are not read to reported active reading. Of those pupils who reported being read to, 70.3% could demonstrate writing ability, compared to only 41.1% of those children who were not read to. This suggests once again that exposure to parental reading (i.e. being read to) serves as a motivating factor to engage both in active reading and in writing. Nonetheless, the fact that 66.5% of all children state that they are not read to indicates that written media are not one of the primary ways in which parents or other family members actively maintain home languages in a household.

	[Percentage of sample]	Can child write?	Does child read?
Child <i>is</i> read to.	33.5%	70.3%	38.9%
Child <i>is not</i> read to.	66.5%	41.1%	18.2%

Figure 12: Percentage of all respondents who reported writing skills, and active reading, in relation to passive reading

Figure 13 details reporting on reading books, being read books, and writing ability, by individual language. There is a degree of overlap as children were sometimes literate in a number of different home languages. As above, more children report being read to in comparison with active reading. This pattern is particularly evident in some languages, such as Somali, Bengali and Panjabi. Spanish is one of the few languages in which more children reported reading than being read to. Most children who reported use of Spanish also used Urdu at home, and had lived in Spain before moving to Britain. There is no evidence that the parents of these children make any active effort to maintain the children's use of Spanish. The children, however, may have entered the Spanish education system and formed stronger ties to the language, and thus they maintain their literacy skills despite the absence of parental support.

While some languages, such as Urdu and Arabic, are strongly represented in writing ability, it must be considered that these languages have a relatively long-standing literary tradition and, especially in the case of Arabic, a liturgical function. It is perhaps more surprising to note the writing ability of pupils who demonstrated some degree of literacy in languages such as Somali, Romani, Bravanese and Yoruba. It is unlikely that these children have received formal instruction to write in these languages, and the fact that they report writing skills in these languages is therefore a testimony to the vitality and creativity of linguistic skills among the surveyed children, which allowed for spontaneous production of written samples.

	Reading books	Being read books	Writing
Urdu	33	44	86
Arabic	38	34	52
Somali	5	12	21
Czech	5	9	13
Romanian	9	11	12
Bengali	4	15	11
Polish	7	8	10
Spanish	8	4	8
Romani	4	1	7
Portuguese	3	4	6
Albanian	3	2	6
Yoruba	0	0	6
German	2	4	5
Bravanese	1	3	5
Swahili	1	2	5
French	4	3	4
Italian	3	2	4
Pashto	0	0	3
Kurdish	1	1	2
Chinese	1	1	2
Slovak	0	1	2
Farsi	0	1	2
Lithuanian	0	0	2
Panjabi	0	7	1
Latvian	0	3	1
Bosnian	1	1	1
Sindhi	0	1	1
Hungarian	0	1	1
Ga	1	0	1
Hindi	1	0	1
Lingala	1	0	1
Twi	0	0	1

	Reading books	Being read books	Writing
Malay	0	0	1
Afrikaans	0	0	1
Berber	0	0	1
Oromo	0	0	1
Russian	1	2	0
Vietnamese	1	1	0
Cantonese	1	1	0
Amharic	0	1	0
Turkish	1	0	0

Figure 13: Numbers of children reporting reading, being read to, and writing, by language

As discussed above, children were asked to produce a writing sample in which they were encouraged to perform to the maximum of their ability: they were instructed to write a sentence, if this was possible. Due to a child's relative freedom to write whatever they wished, the children did not always give a clear indication of their level of writing abilities. Respondents may have chosen to write only their name due to nervousness or shyness, but in actuality they may have been capable of writing full phrases in the language. Our results have shown that 50.9% of pupils identified as speaking languages other than English can also write in a home language. However, after analysing the writing samples produced by the pupils, we can now also comment qualitatively and present an impression of what children chose and were able to write.

The numbers in Figure 13 pertain to the child's ability to write in their home language 1. Children cited Arabic most frequently as an additional language in which they could write. Most of these children reported attendance at a mosque-affiliated supplementary school. Other examples include Romani speakers who could write in Romanian and Panjabi speakers who were able to write in Urdu. Popular writing examples included: "hello", "my name is [name]", the child's name, "I am [age] years old" and occasionally, "how are you?" There were also a few miscellaneous words, such as "Allah", "Pakistan" and some fruits, such as "mango" and "pomegranate". It is possible that these words were selected as they are commonly used in literacy practice.

Some of the most prominently represented home languages in the sample are written using non-Roman scripts. While most writers of Arabic wrote Standard Modern Arabic, some used dialectal Arabic. Writing samples in Urdu were usually of the type "my name is (name)", however there were instances of more unusual written phrases, such as "how're you, kid?" Arabic phrases were often more complex and children used more unusual vocabulary. Children who could write in

Arabic generally seemed more confident producing the script compared with children who could write in Urdu, who produced their script with less ease. This would suggest that children who wrote in Arabic have a higher competency in writing than those writing in Urdu. However, a number of Arabic samples did suggest that some children have low abilities in the written form. Some pupils provided rather simple writing samples, such as letters of the alphabet, their own name, or “Allah”. When these children reported attendance at a supplementary school, it tended to be linked to a mosque rather than a school specifically for Arabic.

A small number of children wrote Urdu in Roman script rather than Persian-Arabic. Examples include “yaar” meaning “friend”. This was, however, fairly uncommon. Other non-Roman script writing samples include Bengali, in which children nearly always wrote alphabet letters as their sample, with only a small proportion of children writing their name. There were also writing samples in the respective scripts of Chinese, Hindi, Kurdish, Panjabi, Pashto and Sindhi.

It is not always possible to make a precise assessment of children's writing ability. There is a remarkable discrepancy between a fluently written sentence in a non-Roman script, and just a single word or letter. As described above, the words and phrases that the children produced most frequently as writing samples were items that may be encountered on a regular basis by the child, or they may be part of a small set of memorised vocabulary that the child is able to produce despite having only limited writing skills. An indicator was the fact that in a number of interviews, the child could write a word but was unable to translate it; they had evidently memorised the form, but not the meaning.

Proficiency across tasks

For the proficiency test we anticipated a hierarchy of scores based on the assumption that the naming of body parts would constitute the easiest task, followed by the numbers task, the family description and culminating in the hardest task of describing a daily routine. Our results show the following average proficiency scores, on a scale of 1-3, for each of the tasks in home language 1 (Figure 14): body parts – 2.60; numbers – 2.74; family description – 2.50; daily routine description – 2.52. The hierarchy was thus largely maintained, with a fairly clear distinction between ability to retrieve answers to the two easier tasks and those that were anticipated to pose more difficulty. However, the numbers task produced a higher average score than the body parts task. Family members and daily routine differ by

only a small degree, with daily routine showing a marginally higher average proficiency score. Upon further scrutiny of the data, however, it can be stated that the distribution for daily routine is slightly more bimodal: fewer pupils had the intermediate score of 2, and instead scored either 1 or 3, suggesting the difficulty level was subtly differentiated enough to distinguish those with a more developed proficiency level.

Task/Score	1	2	3
Body parts	63	86	382
Numbers 1–10	46	45	440
Family description	93	77	357
Daily routine	97	57	373

Figure 14: Number of children receiving each possible proficiency score (1, 2, 3) in home language 1, by language task

Drawing on the data in Figure 14, Figure 15 illustrates clearly that performance was strongest for the numbers task, with the largest number of children scoring 3 in this area. This suggests that children found it easier to produce the routine sequence of counting than to recall individual lexical items for body parts. This difference, however, could be due in part to the sequence of the tasks during the interview. We cannot exclude that some children required time to adjust to speaking their home language in the school context, and that they only responded in a more confident manner to the second question, after experiencing some disorientation in connection with the first question. The daily routine description shows the largest number of children scoring 1, the weakest performance. This confirms the anticipated hierarchy of difficulty. However, the number of children who achieved a maximum score of 3 for this task was higher than those who scored the maximum points for the task of naming and describing family members. Among the pair of tasks anticipated to be the more difficult, the daily routine rather than the description of family members appeared to be easier.

As is evident from Figure 15, the number of children gaining the maximum score of 3 far surpassed the numbers achieving scores of 1 or 2 regardless of task, indicating that children in our survey were largely proficient in their most frequently used home language.

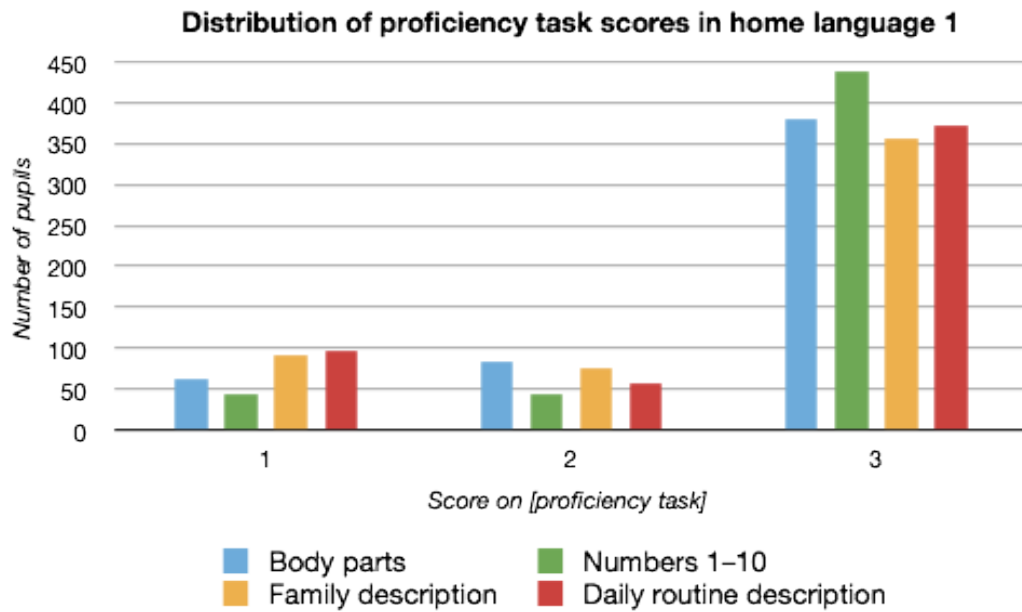


Figure 15: Number of children receiving each possible proficiency score (1, 2, 3) in home language 1, with scores distributed according to language task

The overall average proficiency score for all surveyed children in home language 1 was 10.3, confirming that proficiency levels were generally high. Figure 16 shows the distribution of proficiency scores, overall and by task, across languages, for the top 15 languages reported in the survey.

	Number of children	Overall	Body parts	Numbers	Family	Daily routine
Urdu	168	9.85	2.43	2.79	2.35	2.37
Somali	60	10.58	2.72	2.72	2.57	2.58
Arabic	50	11.42	2.82	2.96	2.84	2.80
Bengali	48	10.29	2.60	2.58	2.50	2.60
Panjabi	33	9.48	2.48	2.55	2.24	2.21
Romani	28	11.46	2.96	3	2.92	2.92
Czech	13	12	3	3	3	3
Pashto	11	9.91	2.64	2.64	2.18	2.45
Polish	11	12	3	3	3	3
Romanian	11	11.27	3	3	2.55	2.72
Yoruba	10	6.67	1.89	1.56	1.56	1.67
Swahili	8	8.67	2.17	2.5	2	2
Albanian	7	10.43	2.43	2.71	2.57	2.57
Bravanese	6	11.33	2.83	2.50	3	3
Portuguese	6	11	2.83	3	2.50	2.67

Figure 16: Average proficiency scores in home language 1, overall and by language task, for the top 15 languages

Languages for which the average proficiency score was comparatively low include Urdu, Panjabi, Yoruba and Swahili. Whilst Urdu represents a far larger pool of respondents, which increases the likelihood of variation in the sample, the latter three languages represent a much smaller group of pupils. For these groups it is perhaps the case that the language is maintained as a marker of identity or heritage rather than as a fully functional means of communication. Scores by task for these languages show no single area of weakness pertaining to a specific language task, but a generally lower proficiency.

Across tasks, proficiency scores in each home language generally mirror the trends found in the overall average scores for each question: scores for the numbers task tend to be higher than for body parts, and daily routine is usually slightly higher than family description, while proficiency is still generally higher in the first two tasks compared to the latter two. There are, however, some exceptions to these observed patterns. For speakers of Bengali, Yoruba and Bravanese, for example, numerals show lower proficiency scores in comparison to body parts. In the case of Bravanese, this task receives the lowest average score, yet proficiency in the seemingly more complex tasks of describing family and daily routine both receive the maximum score of 3. Upon closer investigation, we find that there is only one child who was assigned an unusual score of 1 in this task, and this child scored 3 on all other tasks. Aside from the child's father teaching them Arabic, there are no additional details from the child's background that might explain this occurrence. Potentially, the score represents a simple lapse of concentration on the part of the child in question.

Conversely, speakers of Czech and Polish have noticeably above-average scores across all tasks. Further examination reveals that most of these children arrived in the UK aged eight or above, which, considering the year groups in question, means a maximum of three to four years before this study. Their proficiency is thus inevitably bolstered by recent residence in a monolingual environment where the home language is spoken, and in all likelihood also by experience of education in this language.

Proficiency by school and age groups

In addition to analysing proficiency by specific home language, it is useful to examine the scores for each school to determine whether there were any noticeable differences from establishment to establishment. Figures 17 and 18 show average proficiency scores in English and home languages 1 and 2 respectively, by school.

They show that there is no significant difference in English proficiency between schools. The lowest score, in Cedar Mount, can be attributed to a relatively high proportion of children who were fairly recent arrivals: the average age of arrival in the UK among the children interviewed at Cedar Mount was 7.29 years, while at Abraham Moss, Gorton Mount and Heald Place the average ages stand at 6.47, 5.95 and 4.41 years respectively. As the sample size for Cedar Mount is also the smallest, this average proficiency score will be particularly sensitive to any significantly lower English scores of individual pupils.

School	Number of students	English average	Home language 1 average	Home language 1 – body parts	Home language 1 – numbers	Home language 1 – family	Home language 1 – daily routine
Abraham Moss	209	11.86	10.53	2.63	2.81	2.57	2.53
Cedar Mount	44	11.07	10.82	2.8	2.68	2.73	2.64
Gorton Mount	93	11.51	9.91	2.53	2.68	2.39	2.53
Heald Place	185	11.92	10.17	2.56	2.71	2.42	2.49

Figure 17: Average English and home language 1 proficiency scores by school and task

School	Number of children reporting a (third) language	Home language 2 average	Home language 2 – body parts	Home language 2 – numbers	Home language 2 – family	Home language 2 – daily routine
Abraham Moss	87	7.41	1.83	2.03	1.8	1.77
Cedar Mount	18	10	2.5	2.89	2.39	2.44
Gorton Mount	44	8.05	1.98	2.27	1.95	1.93
Heald Place	77	5.7	1.26	1.69	1.4	1.34

Figure 18: Average home language 2 proficiency scores by school and task

With regard to home language 1, the only notable difference in proficiency emerges from the Gorton Mount data, with the average of 9.91 falling below the overall average of 10.3. This is particularly surprising as there was a sizeable Romani-speaking population within this sample, and as shown in the breakdown of proficiency by languages, Romani was above average at 11.46. However, it must be

considered that the survey was debuted in this school and, as such, the method was being refined in direct response to these children. Several qualitative comments by the fieldworkers describe children who were too shy to fully engage with the proficiency test, and interviewers were evidently still developing techniques to coax the most accurate responses from these pupils. This is particularly relevant to the Romani speakers, as their language is used almost exclusively within their community and the resulting barriers to open discussion were most difficult to overcome. As the study progressed, this became less of a challenge, but for these first children it is possible that their actual level of proficiency was higher than recorded.

For home language 2, proficiency is highest in Cedar Mount, which may tally with the previous discussion of a large number of children who have recently settled in the UK. In comparison with pupils who have lived in this country for a longer period of time, those who are new arrivals are more likely to have lived in a third country and are therefore more likely to speak a third language to a higher standard.

Figures 19 and 20 show the breakdown of proficiency scores by age of children surveyed, with year group acting as an indicator of this age. Those in year 3 are between the ages of seven and eight years old, year 4 are between eight and nine, year 5 are between nine and ten, year 6 are between ten and eleven, and year 7 are between eleven and twelve years old. From the data in Figure 19 we can conclude that there is little meaningful difference by age in either English or home language 1 proficiency. In year 7 in particular, the sample size is far larger than year 3 and 4, for example, and so we must be cautious about stating significant differences. Children in year 6 and year 7 do show marginally higher average proficiency scores in their home language, and this may be due to the likelihood that they have had more prolonged exposure to the language through media, trips abroad, contact with extended family and supplementary schools. For home language 2, Figure 20 again shows a slight increase with age: older children reporting a third language are more likely to have lived longer in a third country before moving to the UK, and so retain more of the additional language.

Year group	Number of students	English average	Home language 1 average	Home language 1 – body parts	Home language 1 – numbers	Home language 1 – family	Home language 1 – daily routine
3	42	11.74	9.38	2.38	2.57	2.12	2.41
4	69	11.8	9.52	2.3	2.61	2.31	2.38
5	88	11.73	10.4	2.68	2.81	2.47	2.56
6	79	11.85	10.61	2.7	2.72	2.59	2.61
7	251	11.77	10.57	2.66	2.79	2.59	2.54

Figure 19: Average proficiency scores for English and home language 1, by age of children and task

Year group	Number of children reporting a (third) language	Home language 2 average	Home language 2 – body parts	Home language 2 – numbers	Home language 2 – family	Home language 2 – daily routine
3	16	5.19	1.38	1.63	1.13	1.2
4	25	6.48	1.48	1.84	1.6	1.56
5	45	6.13	1.49	1.76	1.47	1.4
6	35	7.77	1.66	2.26	1.97	1.89
7	105	7.86	1.94	2.18	1.9	1.87

Figure 20: Average proficiency scores for home language 2, by age of children and task

Proficiency and patterns of language use

Home languages, in our study, refer to languages other than English that are used in the home, with home language 1 denoting the most frequently used or cited language when a child reports their linguistic repertoire during an interview. Figure 21 shows links between proficiency scores and active use of home language 1 with parents. The overall proficiency scores show that children actively using their home language with parents score significantly higher, with an average of 10.64, compared to pupils who do not, who achieved an average proficiency of 7.29. This confirms the expectation that engaging with parents in home languages has a positive influence on how well these languages are spoken. It is interesting to note that, irrespective of family usage patterns and overall proficiency scores, scores for the more ‘simplex’ tasks (body parts and numbers) are consistently higher than those for the more

‘complex’ tasks (family members and daily routine). In fact, those who reported not using their home language with parents scored particularly high on the ‘simplex’ tasks in comparison to their average scores on the ‘complex’ tasks. As discussed above, there is variation between the scores for family members and daily routine, and the two tasks do occupy consistent relative positions on the complexity scale among all children surveyed. The score for daily routine is higher with children who use their home language with their parents. For those pupils who do not, the score for family description shows higher proficiency, as originally expected in the hierarchy of difficulty.

	Number of children	Overall	Body parts	Numbers 1-10	Family	Daily routine
Home language 1 not used by child with parents	51	7.29	1.80	2.37	1.61	1.55
Home language 1 used by child with parents	480	10.64	2.69	2.78	2.60	2.63

Figure 21: Average proficiency scores, overall and by task, and use of home language 1 with parents

Figure 22 examines proficiency in relation to differentiated usage patterns with the mother, father, or both parents. The figures confirm that pupils who use their home language with both parents score highest on the proficiency test, averaging 10.83 in comparison with an average score of 10.33 for those who use the language only with the mother, and 9.41 for those who use it only with the father. Parental usage patterns thus form a continuum, on which we assume proficiency must be linked to motivation and opportunity: Consistent use with both parents can be presumed to have a strong impact on both motivation and opportunity to use the language in a variety of contexts and possibly also with a range of additional interlocutors. By and large, mothers provide a stronger incentive and possibly also more frequent opportunities to use the language in the home context than fathers. Frequency of use, facilitated by motivation and opportunity, impact on the ability to score high on the task.

Proficiency scores across tasks are similar when comparing usage with individual parents to use with both parents. Again, the numerals task shows the highest scores. This is particularly marked among those children who use their home language

exclusively with their fathers: on average, they scored 2.59 on this task, compared to 2.28 on body parts. Among pupils who used their language exclusively with their mothers, the difference was less pronounced, with scores of 2.66 and 2.60 respectively. Scores for daily routine descriptions were consistently higher than family member descriptions.

	Number of children	Overall	Body parts	Numbers 1-10	Family	Daily routine
Home language 1 used <i>only</i> with mother	70	10.33	2.60	2.66	2.51	2.56
Home language 1 used <i>only</i> with father	39	9.41	2.28	2.59	2.21	2.33
Home language 1 used with both parents	371	10.83	2.74	2.82	2.65	2.67

Figure 22: Average proficiency scores, overall and by task, and use of home language 1 with mother, father and both parents

Use of the home language with siblings correlates with higher proficiency scores. Figure 23 shows that those children who report using their home language with brothers and sisters score, on average, 11.21 on the proficiency test, compared to the average score of 9.57 for those who do not. There are several possible explanations for this. As with the case of parents, children who converse with their siblings in their home language may be generally more confident in this language and therefore more likely to show confidence when confronted within an unusual context such as the language proficiency task. Use with siblings may also indicate a more expansive knowledge of vocabulary to cover peer-appropriate topics such as popular culture. Furthermore, the very fact that children use their home language with their brothers and sisters may suggest that they experience more explicit encouragement from their parents to use the language, or have potentially spent time in a country that constitutes a monolingual home language environment.

	Number of children	Overall	Body parts	Numbers 1-10	Family	Daily routine
Home language 1 not used by child with siblings	288	9.57	2.41	2.62	2.28	2.28
Home language 1 used by child with siblings	243	11.21	2.83	2.88	2.76	2.81

Figure 23: Average proficiency scores, overall and by task, and use of home language 1 with siblings

Exposure to media in the home language is a potential factor that supports home language proficiency. Written media are arguably the most removed from oral production of the language, however, their presence in the home and the act of reading to a child can indicate a positive attitude towards the home language in the household, which in turn may influence overall proficiency and encourage wider development. From the data in Figure 24, which separates scores according to children who read and who do not read, it is evident that reading in home language 1 correlates with higher proficiency.

	Number of children	Overall	Body parts	Numbers 1-10	Family	Daily routine
Child reports reading in home language 1	129	11.16	2.78	2.91	2.72	2.75
Child does not report reading in home language 1	374	10.08	2.55	2.70	2.44	2.46

Figure 24: Average proficiency scores, overall and by task, and self-reported reading in home language 1

In relation to passive reading (being read to by family members), Figure 25 shows that children who are read to in their home language have a higher average proficiency than those who do not benefit from this experience, with overall scores of 10.89 and 9.84 respectively. Like active reading, being read to in a home language seems to promote more fluent oral ability in the language.

	Number of children	Overall	Body parts	Numbers 1-10	Family	Daily routine
Child is read to in home language 1	179	10.89	2.72	2.85	2.66	2.68
Child is not read to in home language 1	170	9.84	2.47	2.65	2.34	2.38

Figure 25: Average proficiency scores, overall and by task, and passive reading in home language 1

Further analysis of data pertaining to written media reveals a crossover group of 68 children who report both reading and being read to in their home language 1. The overall average proficiency for this group was 11.41, suggesting that the two aspects of reading have a positive influence on oral competence, and the combination of both factors has a synergistic effect on language proficiency.

Figure 26 displays the profiles of Individual languages in relation to proficiency and exposure to media. Languages in which exposure to a given medium is relatively high are coded in green, while low rates of reported exposure are signalled in pink. In relation to the sample's average overall proficiency of 10.3, some languages can be flagged as having significantly higher average scores: These include Arabic, Czech, Polish, Romani, Romanian and Bravanese. It seems that for Arabic, Czech, Polish and Romanian, these elevated proficiency scores correspond to high exposure to written media, television, film and supplementary schools. The correlation indicates that literacy, media and institutions have a key role in the maintenance of these home languages. Romani and Bravanese speakers, however, achieved similarly high proficiency scores despite a lack of formal institutions or media provision in these languages. This suggests that, for these languages, vitality and fluency are possible without a focus on literacy and institutional support, and that their maintenance is facilitated through oral usage at home.

Conversely, lower proficiency scores are found for Pashto, Yoruba and Swahili, corresponding to a lack of engagement with media and institutions outside the home. It seems that low rates of exposure to media in these home languages have an adverse effect on the level of fluency of the young generation and thus are more problematic in terms of vitality and the maintenance of these languages. In the case of Panjabi, we also find a low proficiency level in comparison with the overall sample average, despite the fact that exposure to media and supplementary schools is relatively common. Panjabi-speaking children, in contrast to speakers of Pashto,

Yoruba or Swahili, tend to have more experience of home language literacy and institutional support, with a slightly above-average attendance rate of 27.3% at supplementary schools, for example. However, these factors appear to be insufficient in promoting the maintenance of the language, as reflected in the below-average proficiency level.

	Number of children	Overall proficiency score	Television?	Reading in language?	Being read to in language?	Films?	Clubs or supplementary schools?
Overall	531	10.3	45.9%	24.3%	33.7%	23.4%	21.2%
Urdu	168	9.85	40.5%	20.8%	25.6%	29.8%	25.0%
Somali	60	10.58	21.7%	13.3%	28.3%	8.3%	26.7%
Arabic	50	11.42	78.0%	46.0%	58.0%	30.0%	58.0%
Bengali	48	10.29	31.3%	12.5%	31.3%	10.4%	25.0%
Panjabi	33	9.48	33.3%	9.1%	24.2%	24.2%	27.3%
Romani	28	11.46	3.6%	14.3%	3.6%	3.6%	3.6%
Czech	13	12	76.9%	38.5%	61.5%	61.5%	0.0%
Pashto	11	9.91	18.2%	9.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Polish	11	12	90.9%	63.6%	72.7%	54.5%	18.2%
Romanian	11	11.27	100.0%	63.6%	63.6%	45.5%	9.1%
Yoruba	10	6.67	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%
Swahili	8	8.67	0.0%	14.3%	42.9%	0.0%	0.0%
Albanian	7	10.43	71.4%	42.9%	28.6%	0.0%	28.6%
Bravanese	6	11.33	16.7%	16.7%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Portuguese	6	11	66.7%	33.3%	66.7%	16.7%	0.0%

Figure 26: Overall proficiency score and exposure to media in the home language, by language

A tentative link can be established between proficiency and supplementary school attendance for the 113 children who reported attending a school with some teaching component in their home language 1. These children had an overall average proficiency score of 10.88 in this language, compared to a score of 10.17 for children who did not experience supplementary schooling in their home language 1. Exposure to literacy can also correlate with oral proficiency scores. For the 529 children for whom information on exposure to literacy is available, 278 are recorded as able to write in a home language. Among those, the average spoken proficiency score for home language 1 was 11.1. Furthermore, 118 of these children could speak an additional language (home language 2), for which the average score was 7.9. In comparison, 251 children were not able to write in any language other than English, and these children show an average proficiency score of 9.5 for their spoken home language 1. Among this group, 107 pupils reported a home language 2, for which they achieved an average proficiency of 6.3. Thus, children who could write in a home language performed significantly better on tests of oral proficiency, in both home languages 1 and 2. This suggests that literacy has a positive effect on spoken fluency. This influence may be circumstantial, in that writing competency may have been acquired at supplementary schools, in an education system abroad where the home language is used for instruction, or through parental efforts to maintain the language, all of which would simultaneously involve the development of oral skills through regular usage. It is also possible that the link has to do with the acquisition of stronger metalinguistic, phonological and syntactic awareness among those children who are exposed to literacy in their home language.

Issues in identifying languages

One of the aims of the study was to explore a more accurate and meaningful alternative to the established language data collection methods in schools, one that would give consideration to multilingual repertoires, the distribution of languages in usage domains, and proficiency. An indication of the advantages of the method is provided by a comparison of the results of our survey with the records held by schools on the home languages of individual pupils whom we interviewed (Figures 27 and 28). For 70.6% of 531 pupils, home language 1 matched their school's recorded data. For a further 3.8%, home language 2 was also identical to the school's recorded data. For the remaining group, neither home language 1 nor 2 agreed with the previous record.

Home language 1 (our data)	Number of pupils total	Agrees with school records	Disagrees with school records	Percentage disagreement
Urdu	168	132	36	21%
Somali	60	55	5	8%
Arabic	50	43	7	14%
Bengali	48	48	0	0%
Panjabi	33	19	14	42%
Romani	28	25	3	11%
Czech	13	7	6	46%
Romanian	11	1	10	91%
Pashto	11	8	3	27%
Polish	11	9	2	18%
Yoruba	10	6	4	40%
Swahili	8	2	6	75%
Albanian	7	7	0	0%
Bravanese	6	0	6	100%
Portuguese	6	6	0	0%
Spanish	5	5	0	0%
German	5	5	0	0%
French	4	4	0	0%
Italian	4	3	1	25%
Farsi	4	4	0	0%
Russian	3	1	2	67%
Kurdish	3	3	0	0%
Turkish	2	1	1	50%
Twi	2	1	1	50%

Figure 27: Agreement between home language 1 identified in the survey, and existing school records, by language

From the data in Figure 27, it seems evident that schools have difficulties identifying some languages more than others. While records for European languages such as Spanish, French and German tend to show a high degree of accuracy, the percentage of disagreement between our survey and school data is comparatively high for Romanian, Panjabi, Yoruba, Swahili and Bravanese. The case of Romanian is unique, as this is likely to be due to children under-reporting Romani and instead opting to cite or mistakenly refer to Romanian in our study, rather than reflect inaccuracies in school records. For Panjabi, the vast majority of children who showed disagreement with school records were previously recorded as Urdu speakers. All Bravanese speakers were recorded as speaking Somali in school data, as were five of the six Swahili speakers whose language was recorded differently on existing records, with one child's home language recorded as English. This indicates that difficulties exist

especially in identifying smaller, regional languages such as Bravanese, and other languages that are typically spoken in multilingual households, such as Panjabi. The home language of several children found in our survey to speak Yoruba had been recorded by the schools as English.

Figure 28 provides an overview of the same data following the languages recorded by the schools. We can see that for a number of children, schools lacked records of a home language other than English. Most of these were found to speak Urdu; other languages found among this group included Afrikaans, Arabic, Czech, Kutchi, Panjabi, Pashto, Slovak, Somali, Swahili, Turkish and Yoruba.

Language recorded by school	Number of pupils total	Agrees with home language 1	Agrees with home language 2	% agreeing with neither
Urdu	147	130	7	7%
Somali	70	55	2	19%
Bengali	49	48	0	2%
Arabic	45	43	2	0%
English	37	0	0	100%
Panjabi	33	18	5	30%
Romani	29	20	1	28%
Pashto	9	8	1	0%
Albanian	7	7	0	0%
Polish	7	7	0	0%
German	5	5	0	0%
Spanish	5	5	0	0%
Yoruba	5	3	0	40%
French	4	4	0	0%
Farsi	4	4	0	0%
Portuguese	4	4	0	0%
Kurdish	3	3	0	0%
Russian	2	1	0	50%
Italian	2	1	1	0%
Twi	2	1	0	50%
Chinese	2	1	0	50%

Figure 28: Agreement between home language 1 identified in school records, and that identified in the survey, by language

Labelling languages was a relevant issue in the School Census, since even if parents are consulted, they may not always be familiar with the English names for their home language and may instead provide an endonym (self-appellation) that the school is unable to interpret. A lack of general public awareness and the absence of easily accessible information especially on some regional and minority languages may lead to mislabelling of home languages, evident in the cases of Bravanese and

Romani. The problem was also encountered in our study. Pupils sometimes identified their home language as, for example, “Muslim”, “Pakistani” or “Nigerian”. Through subsequent questioning, these languages could often be specified or sample words could be written for later verification, and our research staff had been trained to elicit as much detail as possible in these situations. Occasionally, however, the child could not produce the language and no such sample could be collected. Nonetheless, issues of absence of verification such as these occurred rarely enough to avoid posing a significant problem in the processing of the results. Languages for which pupils provided the name of an actually existing, different language, required more careful attention. Urdu and Panjabi are a good example, as children often confused the two names, most likely due to the fact that the two languages are sometimes used interchangeably in the family context. Interviewers were advised to elicit words with particular sound differences in the two languages in order to establish whether the child was correctly labelling their language.

The perceived status of some languages was closely related to labelling. Some children appeared to have intentionally mislabelled a language and would only admit to speaking additional languages after careful persuasion and encouragement from staff. In some cases, however, the correct identification of the language could not be elicited despite confirmation from EAL staff in the school that the child could speak the language. Romani is a pertinent example of a language in which pupils were sometimes unwilling to volunteer proficiency or to even cite it as part of their linguistic profile. In the same vein as the mislabelling of Urdu and Panjabi, interviewers came to anticipate confusion – whether intentional or not – between Romani and Romanian, in particular, and to elicit additional supporting information accordingly. This highlights the potential issue of visibility and acceptance of home languages within the school context: Romani is less likely to be spoken in an institutional environment and is instead reserved for communication within the family and tight-knit community. For this reason, Romani may not be flagged or celebrated as much within schools, and pupils may feel instinctively wary of revealing their use of this language.

Sometimes, children would seemingly intentionally flag Romanian, despite grasping the difference between Romani and Romanian, possibly due to its more authoritative status as a language. For example, one child was asked whether she recognised the numbers from one to ten in Romani, but after showing facial signs of recognition, she strongly denied any association with the language in her home. After consultation with a Romanian-speaking EAL support worker, the school remained confident that the child and her parents did indeed speak Romani in addition to Romanian. To respond to this issue, interviewers grouped several

Romani-speaking children together and initiated a casual conversation regarding language, displaying overt encouragement when any child revealed their multilingualism and creating a competitive atmosphere so that the child who spoke the most languages was given the most outward praise. The pupil who had previously refused to link herself to Romani seemed reassured by her peers openly admitting their own use of the language, and strived to join in the competition. After this reassurance, members of the research team were able to re-interview the child on an individual basis and glean more accurate information on her use of Romani in the home.

Some children, on the other hand, did not appear to distinguish between the two language names, and rather than try to conceal their multilingualism, simply used one label with completely transparent intentions. For example, a small number of children described watching TV and films in Romani, as well as being read to from Romani language books. These assertions must be treated with caution, due to the scarcity of Romani language productions and, especially in relation to reading, high levels of illiteracy and no practical accessibility of printed media among the Romani community living in Manchester. It appears that the label referred in actual fact to Romanian, not Romani. For others, the label Romanian was applied with equal honesty but similar inaccuracies. The proficiency test was particularly revealing, as children were asked to speak in Romanian but responded with Romani numerals. It should be considered that these pupils quite possibly were not even aware of the existence of the label 'Romani' as an exonym, or even that Romani could be considered a legitimate home language, precisely due to the fact that its use is limited to the family and the community and receives little or no public or institutional acknowledgement. The complexity of issues surrounding the labelling of Romani and Romanian, amongst other languages, has a potential impact on the accuracy of the results. However, as members of the research team were aware of these issues from the outset, the inaccuracies have been minimised through the process of recording additional information for further verification and engaging with children in a way that cast a positive light on their languages. Moreover, some Romani-speaking pupils provided fascinating evidence of spontaneous writing in their home language, despite little to no home literacy. Far from being problematic, interviews with these children were highly valuable and revealing, and they transcended labelling issues.

Home language use on school grounds

EAL co-ordinators from the schools involved in the pilot were interviewed to provide an overview of how home languages are treated in the educational domain, by both staff and pupils. Topics that were raised included how visible and audible home languages are in the school, whether pupils and staff are encouraged or even permitted to speak home languages in the classroom, and the provisions available for English language support.

Encouragement for home languages from a staff standpoint was reported to be high. In both primary and secondary schools, pupils were said to be largely free to converse in home languages within group work situations if this enhanced their grasp of topics and promoted a deeper understanding of the subject matter. Staff members were equally permitted and often encouraged to use home languages themselves if this helped children advance their comprehension. At Heald Place Primary School, for example, 27 languages are spoken by staff members, and at Abraham Moss High School, EAL support workers are hired specifically for their language skills while several teachers also happen to speak languages other than English. Among those hired in EAL support roles at Abraham Moss we found speakers of Arabic, Czech, Panjabi, Romanian, Somali and Urdu, and teachers at the other schools are reported to speak French, German, Kurdish, Panjabi, Russian, Somali, Urdu and Yoruba, and possibly more.

Home languages do, to some extent, influence the learning experience of the majority of pupils in the schools. Staff made several references to tailored curricula and to incorporating linguistic and cultural diversity as a topic for study. Drama, art and music are cited as particular areas where home languages and cultural heritage are often explored, and teachers take into account the diverse make-up of the school to best mould these lessons. On the whole, multilingualism is celebrated in the participating schools and languages are both visible and audible in the educational domain. In Abraham Moss, there were a number of display boards based entirely on community languages. One such board focused on Romani and presented several successful figures in the fields of sport, politics, the arts and more who are of Roma descent and known to speak some Romani. This type of overt support may be crucial to young, multilingual generations, particularly in the case of lesser-known languages. At the same time, encouraging children to become educated and to maintain their home or heritage language allows them to keep close links with their community while simultaneously developing their leadership potential. Within this group, we find a possible future supply of teachers and

mediators, for example, who can spark similar aspirations among the next generation.

In relation to EAL provisions, it appears that schools generally group students according to ability rather than by language clusters. This is a practical arrangement, which allows new arrivals, for example, to receive a general induction into academic English, while more advanced learners can be introduced to more complex terminology. However, teachers cited awareness of common errors in learners hailing from certain linguistic backgrounds and reported that this was considered in the delivery of EAL lessons. Information on home languages is thus drawn on in this way to support provisions for English language learning, and this emphasises the importance of the accuracy of this information and the need to have a reliable method of data collection on home languages.

When describing any potential barriers that home languages pose within the school context, school staff suggested that communication with parents was sometimes hindered by linguistic differences but that measures were in place to tackle this. Schools draw on multilingual staff, friends of the parent, or occasionally on children themselves to interpret informally, and formally qualified interpreters can be engaged if required. At Abraham Moss, there are reportedly a high number of parents who are not proficient in English, and, impressionistically, staff indicated that mothers, rather than fathers, were more likely to face such language barriers. This impression is in line with our results, which show that home language usage is more frequently reported with mothers than fathers.

Proficiency in home languages and English

The interplay of home languages with English, or indeed with other home languages, is an issue often shrouded by misconception and assumption: one sometimes finds the presumption that a child cannot achieve full proficiency in two or more languages and that diversity in their linguistic repertoire must have a damaging, limiting effect. However, our results provide evidence to the contrary. Firstly, in regard to English proficiency, the ability to speak multiple home languages has no significant effect on a child's performance in English (Figure 29). Although there is a very slight decrease in score from 11.77 to 11.5 when comparing those children who speak one additional language to those who speak four or more, only 43 children scored below the maximum score of 12 on the English proficiency test, and even their average of 11.5 still falls just 0.5 points short of the top score.

Furthermore, our results show that average proficiency scores for each additional home language increase with the number of total languages spoken by respondents. Average proficiency scores in home language 1 rose from 9.93 for children who spoke one home language to 11.33 for those who reported speaking four or more. Similarly, average scores in home language 2 showed an increase from 6.8 to 8.5 among children who spoke two and four or more languages respectively. The increase is particularly pronounced in the case of home language 3, where those speaking three additional languages scored 5.56 while those reporting four or more achieved an average of 10.16. This repeated trend indicates quite clearly that, rather than being an obstruction to fluency in English or existing languages, linguistic diversity can actually have a positive influence on proficiency. The more additional home languages that a child can speak, the more they appear to speak these languages to a higher standard.

	Number of children	Average proficiency score in English	Average proficiency score in home language 1	Average proficiency score in home language 2	Average proficiency score in home language 3	Average proficiency score in home language 4
Exactly 1 language other than English	298	11.77	9.93	–	–	–
Exactly 2 languages other than English	183	11.74	10.82	6.8	–	–
Exactly 3 languages other than English	44	11.68	10.7	8.8	5.56	–
4 or more languages other than English	6	11.5	11.33	8.5	10.16	8.5

Figure 29: Average proficiency scores for English and home languages 1, 2, 3 and 4, by number of languages spoken

Country of birth or previous residence outside of the UK is another factor that may influence English proficiency among the surveyed children. Although some children could not recall this information, we obtained both details on country of birth or

previous residence, and English proficiency scores, from 526 pupils. Of these children, 256 reported that they previously lived or were born abroad; among this group, the average English proficiency score was 11.71. On the other hand, 260 children had never lived outside of the UK; this group scored an average of 11.82 on the same test. This difference indicates that children who speak additional languages but who were born and raised only in the UK tend to perform only marginally better on tests of English proficiency than those who have resided out of the country. However, it must be emphasised that the average scores are a result of the test scores of a minority of children – 43 pupils – who scored less than the maximum proficiency score. Any differences between the two groups must therefore indeed be considered marginal.

Figure 30 displays the connections between country of birth for the most reported languages, and home language proficiency, in order to assess the extent to which residence outside of the UK affects spoken fluency in languages other than English. Uncertainty regarding the circumstances of the early years of some children limited the amount of information that could be collected in this area. However, the results still allowed for some comparison between languages. Of those children in the survey who reported speaking Urdu and Panjabi and who could state their country of birth, a large proportion were born in the UK. For Urdu, this constituted 74 of 104 children, or 71%, while the proportion was even greater among Panjabi speakers, where 28 out of 30 children, or 93%, reported having been born in the UK. Conversely, the opposite trend was evident for some languages where speakers largely reported having been born abroad: 100% of the pupils who reported speaking Somali, Polish, Romanian and Yoruba, for whom birth place information was available, were born outside of the UK. For Romani speakers, this percentage is 89% and among children who named Czech as their home language, 92% were born abroad. These patterns reflect immigration patterns to Manchester: longstanding Urdu and Panjabi-speaking communities exist in the city, while the past decade has seen an expansion of the European Union and the subsequent arrival of migrants speaking eastern European languages, as well as other immigration trends.

	Born in the UK	Born outside the UK	Unknown	Overall average proficiency score for indicated language (overall average: 10.3)
Urdu	74	30	66	9.85
Somali	0	23	37	10.58
Arabic	8	13	29	11.42
Bengali	1	3	44	10.29
Panjabi	28	2	3	9.48

	Born in the UK	Born outside the UK	Unknown	Overall average proficiency score for indicated language (overall average: 10.3)
Romani	1	8	19	11.46
Czech	1	12	0	12
Pashto	1	3	7	9.91
Polish	0	9	2	12
Romanian	0	6	5	11.27
Yoruba	0	6	4	6.67

Figure 30: Place of birth and overall proficiency, by language

Speakers of Urdu and Panjabi were largely born in the UK and show a slightly lower overall proficiency – 9.85 and 9.48, respectively – than the average for all respondents across all languages, which is 10.3. Children who reported speaking Somali, Romanian, Romani, Polish and Czech – languages for which the majority of respondents were born outside of the UK – generally achieved higher than average home language 1 proficiency scores. As these languages reflect relatively recent immigration trends, these pupils are likely to have had more recent and prolonged contact with a monolingual home language environment, and potentially also experienced mainstream education in their home language. Yoruba speakers, however, score significantly lower than average on the proficiency test, despite the fact that respondents were largely born outside of the UK. It appears that country of birth cannot be used as a steadfast indicator of proficiency, and that patterns of migration may be more relevant to some languages than to others. Different patterns also appear in relation to the specific country of birth. Thus, 100% of the children who reported Poland as their birthplace spoke Polish as their home language 1. Similarly, 100% of those born in Libya reported Arabic as their home language 1, and 100% of pupils born in the Czech Republic named Czech. However, a proportion of children who reported speaking Somali and Arabic were born in the Netherlands. Among children born in Italy, roughly 20% reported that they spoke Romanian.

Age of arrival in the UK also produces a somewhat varied picture. However, there are some general trends. Children who arrived in the UK at a younger age (between the ages of one and four) are more likely to show lower proficiency in home language 1 (Figure 31): for each of these age groups, more than 25% of pupils show scores of less than 10, slightly below the overall average of 10.3. Within this same group of children, we also find the lowest proportion of children with the maximum proficiency score of 12. At the other end of the spectrum, among children who reported their age of arrival as eight, ten or eleven, we find the largest percentages

of pupils who achieved the highest proficiency score: in each case, over 80% of children show a score of 12. The group who arrived in the UK aged nine is an exception. On the whole, however, it seems that children who arrived in the UK at a younger age tend to be less proficient in their home language 1. Pupils who arrived at an older age perform slightly better in tests of spoken proficiency. They are likely to have had longer exposure to their home language in a previous country of residence, and in some cases they will have been educated in home language 1.

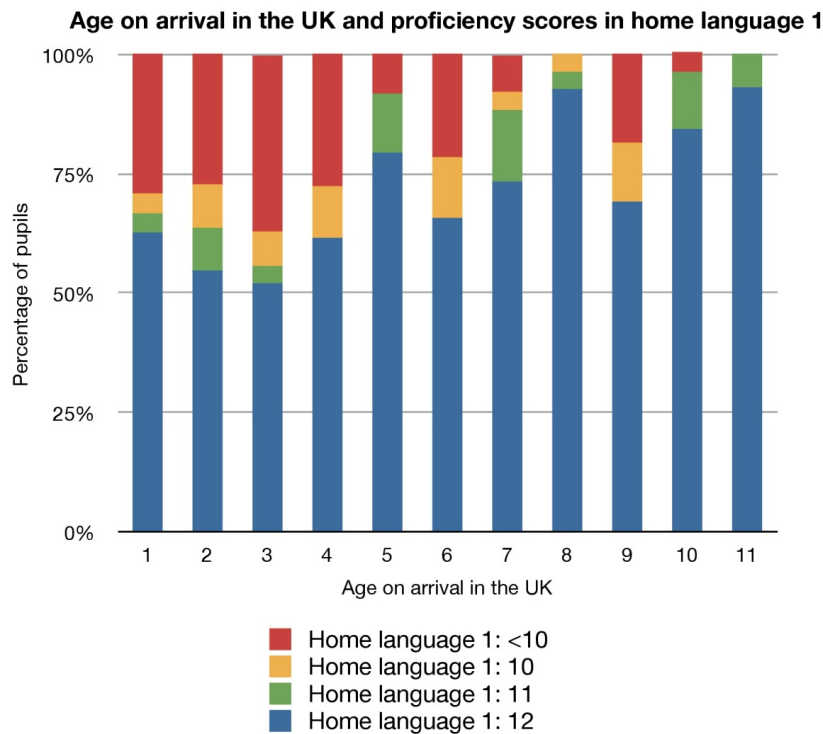


Figure 31: Percentage of pupils who scored 12, 11, 10 or less than 10 on the home language 1 proficiency test, by age of arrival in the UK

There is also some correlation between age of arrival in the UK and English proficiency (Figure 32). All children who arrived in the UK aged two or three achieved the maximum proficiency score of 12. In fact, among each group who arrived in the UK at an age younger than six, over 90% of respondents obtained the top score for fluency in English. By contrast, of the children who arrived in the UK aged seven or above, each group showed a lower proportion of scores of 12 for English proficiency. For the groups of pupils who were nine, ten or eleven on arrival, this figure fell quite drastically and fewer than 70% in each case achieved the maximum score. For this same range of ages we also find the highest percentages of children who scored less than 10 on the English proficiency test. These results suggest that there is a weak negative correlation between proficiency in English and

age of arrival in the UK, with a tendency for children who were older on arrival to perform lower on the English proficiency test. Later age arrivals are likely to have had fewer opportunities to speak English with native speakers or in any monolingual English environment, especially in the crucial pre-school age.

However, the fact that only 43 children in total scored below the maximum of 12 for English proficiency indicates that children identified as speaking an additional language are also, to a large extent, fluent in English. The majority of children who scored below this top proficiency score arrived in the UK between the ages of nine and eleven. As the age range of the children interviewed reached a maximum of eleven years old, this suggests that these children were fairly recent arrivals, and thus may still be in the process of developing their English language skills. Moreover, all 43 children who scored less than the maximum on the English proficiency test scored 12 in at least one other language. In these cases, Romani was the language in which the highest number of pupils showed full proficiency, closely followed by Urdu.

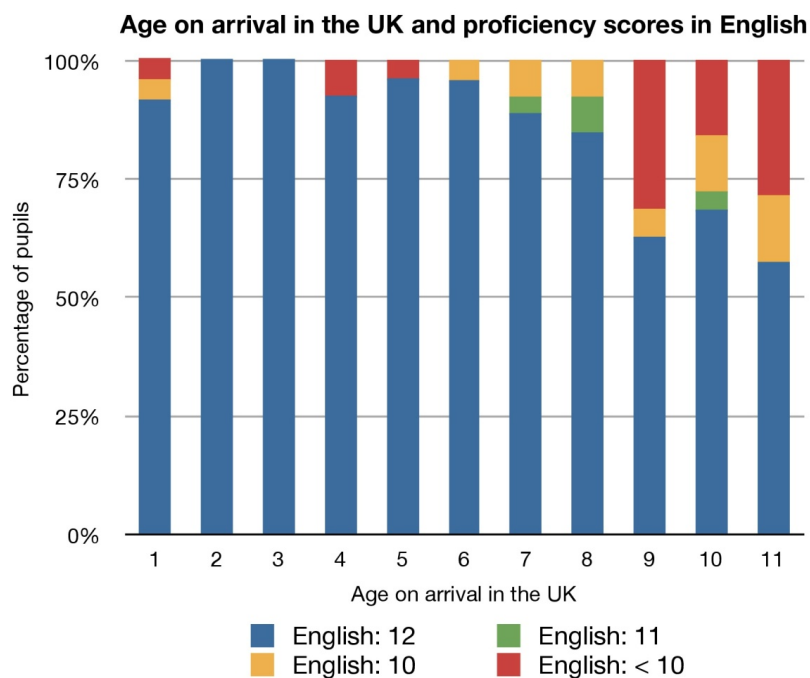


Figure 32: Percentage of pupils who scored 12, 11, 10 or less than 10 on the English proficiency test, by age of arrival in the UK

PART III: SELECTED LANGUAGE PROFILES

Urdu

Urdu was by far the most frequently reported home language 1; that is to say, the home language other than English generally used most often, and with the widest range of family members. Urdu was reported as the home language 1 of 168 children, or 31.6% of all respondents. This is fitting with other data sources cited in *Multilingual Manchester: A Digest* (2013), including Central Manchester University Hospitals interpreter requests for 2012, M-four (at Manchester City Council) interpreter requests for 2012 to 2013, citywide library stock records for 2013, the School Census for 2013 and the national Census for 2011: in all of these sources, Urdu was the most cited or requested language in Manchester, often by a considerable amount. In the 2011 Census data for Manchester, 13,095 people reported speaking Urdu, while in the 2013 School Census, 6,497 pupils were recorded as speaking this language. The data pertaining to Central Manchester University Hospitals is less relevant to Abraham Moss High School as this school is situated outside of the hospital's immediate catchment area. However, the majority of Urdu speakers were indeed surveyed in Abraham Moss – 95 children, or 56.5% of the total pupils who name Urdu as their home language – showing the widespread usage of this language in the city. Urdu was at the same time the top reported language within Abraham Moss; it shared the highest position with Somali in Heald Place, and was highest in Gorton Mount, closely followed by Romani.

In terms of distribution of use, Urdu was mainly spoken with both parents, though 25 children reported using it exclusively with their mother and 18 did so exclusively with their father. Thus if there was to be usage with just one parent, Urdu was more likely to be used with the mothers of the surveyed children. 53 pupils reported using Urdu with their siblings, comprising 31.5% of all those who used Urdu as their home language. This relatively low proportion in comparison to parental usage indicates that the younger generation of Urdu-speaking background may be undergoing a shift, as the language is less frequently used among the younger age group. The average proficiency score for Urdu was 9.85 (slightly lower than the average for all respondents, which was 10.3). Of those children who reported speaking Urdu as their home language, 74 were born in the UK and 30 were born abroad, with 66 unsure of their country of birth: on the whole, it seems that the Urdu-speaking children we surveyed were largely born in the UK. Children whose home language

was Urdu tended to watch television, to be read to and to read actively in this language to a lesser extent than the average child in the survey, although the proportion of children who watched Urdu language films and attended supplementary schools was slightly above average. 86 children provided a writing sample in Urdu, although these were generally simplistic in content and pupils often produced their script with hesitancy. There are some labelling issues surrounding Urdu, notably a lack of distinction between Urdu and Panjabi. This was found both in interaction with the children and in the official school data.

Somali

60 children stated that Somali was their home language, making it the second most commonly reported language, used by 11.3% of all respondents. In other data sources, Somali tends to occupy a lower ranking, coming eighth in library stock records for Manchester, for instance. However, in the 2013 School Census it appeared as the third most popular home language, reported for 2,095 children. In the 2011 Census, the number of people who chose to report Somali in Manchester stood at 2,958. At Heald Place Primary School, Somali and Urdu share the position of the most frequently reported language, while in other schools the proportion of speakers is smaller. Of those children reporting use of Somali, 50 reported using it with both parents, while ten said they used it exclusively with their mother and two did so exclusively with their father. It appears that, among the children in our survey, Somali is used most commonly with both parents, but exclusive usage with mothers is more likely than with fathers. 31 respondents or 62% of all children speaking the language speak Somali with their siblings. The average proficiency score in Somali was 10.58, which ranks slightly higher than the overall average of 10.3. When asked to state their birthplace, 23 children stated that they were born outside of the UK and the data was unobtainable for 37 pupils: no Somali-speaking children reported with certainty that they were born in the UK. The proportion of children reporting exposure to television, reading, and films in their home language was significantly below average, and the proportion of children who are read to by a family member was slightly below average. However, the responses show that the proportion of Somali speakers who attend supplementary schools in their home language is above the overall average for participants. 21 pupils, or 35% of those who speak it as their home language, gave a writing sample in Somali. With regard to labelling issues, there was a lack of distinction between Somali and Bravanese in school records, with the latter being consistently labelled as Somali.

Arabic

Arabic was the home language of 50 children, making it the third most common language, spoken by 9.4% of the whole pool of respondents. In the hospitals and M-four data, as well as in the 2011 Census and the School Census for 2013, Arabic occupies similarly high positions, with 7,037 and 2,448 speakers in Manchester respectively for these latter two sources. There were a high number of Arabic speakers at both Abraham Moss and Heald Place, but the language is almost absent in Gorton Mount and Cedar Mount. 45 children report using Arabic with both parents, while five use it exclusively with their mother and seven only with their father, unlike the majority of other languages where exclusive paternal usage tends to be much lower. 34 pupils speak Arabic with their siblings – 75.5% of those who cite it as their home language. At 11.42, the average proficiency in Arabic is significantly higher than the average of 10.3. Eight Arabic speakers were born in the UK, while 13 were born abroad, and data was unobtainable for 29 children, showing a tendency for speakers to be born abroad. The rates at which pupils reported watching television, reading, being read to, and attending supplementary schools in Arabic were significantly above average, and reports of watching films in the home language were slightly above average. 58.0% of all Arabic-speaking respondents attended a supplementary school compared to the average of 21.2%. Comparing all languages in which supplementary schools are taught, Arabic is the most frequently reported language in classes where both *some* of the content is in a home language and in those taught exclusively in the language. 52 children demonstrated writing ability in Arabic: a proportion of these children did not speak Arabic as their home language 1, but demonstrated literacy based on attendance at supplementary Arabic schools or knowledge of the language from liturgical contexts. There were few major labelling issues, but one notable case arose in which a child was listed on school records as speaking Arabic but turned out to speak Berber. A small number of children wrote Arabic in an informal, spoken (dialectal) style when asked to produce a writing sample.

Bengali

Bengali was the fourth most frequently reported home language, cited by 48 pupils, or 9.0% of all respondents. Among other data sources, its position varies, ranking sixth in the 2011 Census for Manchester with 3,114 speakers, and fifth in the School Census with 1,374 children reported as Bengali speakers. 70.8% of all Bengali speakers were interviewed at Heald Place, with the remainder mainly coming from

Gorton Mount. At these two schools, Bengali was the third most reported language. 34 of these children stated that they use Bengali with both parents, while seven used it only with their mothers and seven others did so with their fathers. 18 pupils reported usage with their siblings – 37.5% of all Bengali speakers. The overall proficiency score is slightly higher than the average, at 10.29. Figures are largely unknown in regard to birthplace: 89.6% of Bengali speakers, or 43 children, did not provide a response when questioned on this topic. In regard to exposure to media, children showed below average rates in all areas, except attendance at supplementary schools, where rates were slightly above average. 11 children provided a Bengali writing sample – only 22.9% of those who cited it as their home language. On the whole, these samples were extremely simplistic and mainly demonstrated some knowledge of letters of the alphabet.

Panjabi

33 children reported Panjabi as their home language, ranking it fifth among the most frequently cited languages. In the 2011 Census, Panjabi also occupied the fifth highest position in Manchester with 4,719 speakers, and it is similarly ranked in other data sources. In the 2013 School Census for Manchester, 2,000 pupils were recorded as Panjabi speakers. In the library stock records for 2013, however, it does not appear in the top nine languages, which are those with over 100 resources. We assume that this is due to the large number of Muslim speakers of Panjabi, who usually use Urdu as their formal written language, while written Panjabi is common primarily among the Sikh population. Within our sample, 87.9% of Panjabi speakers come from Abraham Moss, with a small number from Heald Place, but the language was almost absent in Cedar Mount and Gorton Mount. In Abraham Moss itself, it was the second most frequently reported home language. 14 children speak Panjabi with both parents, yet interestingly, 15 speak it exclusively with their mothers and 6 do so exclusively with their fathers, while 7 pupils speak Panjabi with their siblings. This high rate of exclusive usage with mothers is exceptional among the other languages in the survey. The average proficiency for Panjabi was 9.48, falling slightly below the overall average. Children speaking Panjabi largely report having been born in the UK: 28 pupils did so, while 2 were born abroad and 3 did not provide an answer. Exposure to media is generally low, particularly for reading alone, but roughly average for watching films and slightly above average for supplementary schools. Only one child reported writing in Panjabi, placing the language in 24th place for literacy despite its position as fifth most reported spoken home language, and thus confirming the observation made above in connection with library stock

and literacy. In terms of labelling, Panjabi was often reported as Urdu, both in school data and directly in interviews with the children: even when aware of the separation of labels, pupils often struggled to explain how Panjabi differed to Urdu.

Romani

Romani is the sixth most frequently reported home language in the survey, with 28 speakers naming it as their home language. In all other referenced data sources, such as the 2011 Census and the 2013 School Census, Romani is absent from the top 20 rankings. In the former, 29 people cited Romani while in the latter, 38 pupils were recorded as Romani speakers. These two figures highlight that Romani is under-reported in official data, as more children were reported as speakers in the official School Census than the total number of individuals who cited it as their main language in the 2011 Census. The majority of Romani-speaking children were from Gorton Mount, where Romani is the second most popular language after Urdu, with the next highest number hailing from Cedar Mount, where the language shares the highest position with Czech. Almost all children use Romani with both parents: one child reported using the language only with their mother, but nobody reported using it only with their father, while 30 children use it with both parents. 30 children also speak Romani with their siblings. It is evident from this figure, and the number who report usage with both parents, which exceeds the total number of speakers, that some children use Romani in the home alongside a different home language 1. Proficiency in Romani is high in comparison to the average, with an average score of 11.46. High usage among the younger generation and this elevated proficiency may indicate that the language is maintained more than other languages, such as Urdu. Data on birthplace was largely unobtainable, with 19 children not providing a definitive answer. Of those who did respond, eight were born abroad and one was born in the UK, giving the impression that Romani-speaking children are more likely to have been born abroad. Pupils experience virtually no exposure to media in Romani. Only one child reported exposure to most forms of media including supplementary schooling. This child might have confused Romani and Romanian, a common labelling issue among a large proportion of speakers. From contacts in the Romani community and observations in Romani homes we are aware that Romani families from Romania do usually tune in to Romanian television channels. But home literacy in this community is rare, in any language, and there are no Romani language schools or institutions. It is possible, however, that the reference to after-hours activity in Romani was made in connection with a Romani youth group that operated in the Gorton area for a period of time.

Some respondents were not aware of the legitimacy of the Romani label for their home language or seemed to consider it stigmatised. As a consequence, under-reporting of Romani is highly likely in our results, alongside probable over-reporting of Romanian; for further information, see the discussion of labelling issues. Nonetheless, seven Romani speakers produced a writing sample in their home language. This was surprising, as Romani is not a standardised language in which children are generally literate, and so this can be seen as a creative, spontaneous effort.

Czech

13 speakers in the study named Czech as their home language, at seventh place in the overall rankings by number. The language ranks similarly, if not slightly lower, in other data sources and does not appear at all in the library stock list of top nine languages with over 100 resources each. In the 2011 Census, 933 speakers were recorded in Manchester, while in the 2013 School Census, 225 Czech-speaking schoolchildren were reported. Czech speakers were found only in Abraham Moss and Cedar Mount, with the latter constituting a much higher proportion of overall respondents and sharing the highest position for most frequently reported language. Most speakers spoke the language with both parents, while three did so only with their mothers and all 13 speakers stated that they spoke Czech with their siblings. Proficiency scores in Czech significantly exceeded the average for all respondents, with the maximum score of 12 as the average for this language. Considering this high proficiency in combination with all speakers using Czech with their siblings, it appears that the language shows signs of strong vitality. 12 of the 13 speakers were born abroad, while one child was born in the UK. All reported media exposure was higher than average, although no Czech speakers attended supplementary schools. All 13 speakers gave a writing sample in Czech, which was largely provided without hesitation or a need for reflection.

Pashto

Pashto was reported as a home language by 11 children, making it the eighth most popular language in the sample. In other data sources, the language typically occupies lower rankings, and does not appear in the library stock records of top nine

languages. 1,147 Pashto speakers were recorded on the 2011 Census for Manchester, and in the 2013 School Census, 358 pupils reportedly spoke this language. Pashto was reported in all schools apart from Cedar Mount, and was used generally with both parents; only one child used it exclusively with their mother, and one did so with their father. Eight pupils reported usage with their siblings, that is to say, the majority of the total number of Pashto speakers. The average proficiency was 9.91, which falls marginally below the average of 10.3 for all surveyed children. Three respondents stated that they were born abroad and one was born in the UK. Exposure to media was significantly below average or, in some areas, entirely absent, and no respondents attended supplementary schools. Only three children provided writing samples in Pashto.

Polish

11 children named Polish as their home language. Although ranked, along with Pashto, as eighth highest in this study, Polish occupied higher positions in other data sources. It was particularly frequently cited in the 2011 Census, as the third most popular language in Manchester, with 6,447 speakers. In the 2013 School Census, 865 children were recorded as Polish speakers. The majority of Polish speakers in the sample were from Abraham Moss and Cedar Mount, with only one child each at Gorton Mount and Heald Place. Nine pupils used Polish with both parents, while two used it only with their mother and none did so only with their father. Ten children converse in Polish with their siblings, constituting the vast majority of the total group, and as was the case for Czech, the average proficiency reaches the maximum of 12. No children reported being born in the UK, while nine stated that they were born abroad and two did not provide an answer. Exposure to media was significantly above average across all areas, but attendance at supplementary schools was slightly below average. Ten children provided a Polish writing sample, constituting 91% of all speakers.

Romanian

11 children reported Romanian as their home language, making it the equal eighth most popular language by number of children. However, due to the previously discussed confusion regarding Romani and Romanian as labels, it is likely that a large proportion of these pupils actually use Romani as their primary home language. Children had a tendency to over-report Romanian, possibly due to its seemingly

more legitimate, public status compared to the non-territorial minority Romani language. In the 2013 School Census, Romanian was ranked in 18th place with 172 children speaking it, but it was absent among the top 20 languages of Manchester in the 2011 Census. Further analysis of this Census data reveals that, in Manchester, 720 speakers were recorded in total. Romanian speakers reported using the language with both parents, with only one child reporting exclusive usage with their mother and none reporting exclusive use with their father. 12 children claim to use Romanian with their siblings; at one higher than the overall count of home language 1 speakers, this indicates that Romanian is sometimes used alongside other home languages. The average proficiency of 11.27 exceeds the average of 10.3 for all surveyed children. No respondents reported having been born in the UK, while six stated that they were born abroad. Romanian speakers were significantly more likely to be exposed to media than the average surveyed child, although their attendance at supplementary schools was below average. 12 children demonstrated writing ability in Romanian, which, again, is one more than the total count of speakers: children who used Romani at home often reported Romanian literacy.

Yoruba

Ten children named Yoruba as their home language. Most were found in Cedar Mount and Gorton Mount. Yoruba was present among the top twenty languages of the 2013 School Census for Manchester, with 565 pupils recorded as speakers, but was absent in the top rankings of other external data sources such as the 2011 Census. In this latter source, the number of reported speakers stood at 559. Six pupils reported using Yoruba with both parents, while others used it with other family members such as grandparents. Two children used Yoruba with their siblings, constituting only 20% of this relatively small group. The average proficiency was 6.67, which is significantly lower than the overall average of 10.3. None of the children who reported speaking Yoruba were definitely born in the UK, with six naming a foreign birthplace and four providing no definitive response. Media exposure was very low, with only two children reporting watching television and films in Yoruba, and none of the respondents attended a supplementary school in Yoruba. There were some labelling issues surrounding the language, namely, the initial reporting of the label "Nigerian" by some children, who, when questioned further, could identify their language as Yoruba. Two such children could not provide any more detailed identification though it is possible that their Nigerian language was indeed Yoruba.

Swahili

Eight children named Swahili as their home language. In other data sources, Swahili is absent from the list of top twenty languages. In the 2013 School Census, 132 pupils were recorded as speakers in Manchester, while in the 2011 Census, 674 people in the city cited this language. The Swahili speakers in our survey were largely from Heald Place, with five speakers interviewed there. Distribution among family members was relatively standard, with five children reporting using Swahili with both parents and one citing exclusive usage with their mother. In total, three speakers used Swahili with their siblings. Average proficiency was below the average for all respondents, at 8.67. Birthplace was difficult to pinpoint, as seven children did not provide an answer and only one named the UK. Children using Swahili as their home language had little or no exposure to media, though three children did report being read to in the language by a family member. There was no reported attendance at supplementary schools.

Bravanese

Six children reported Bravanese as their home language, and they were found solely at Heald Place. This home language is absent from the lists of top 20 languages in other data sources, and is not recorded at all in the 2011 Census or the 2013 School Census. Four children used this language with both parents, while two cited exclusive usage with their mother. Half of the respondents used Bravanese with their siblings, and proficiency was significantly above average at 11.33. Birthplace was not recorded for any of the six children reporting usage of Bravanese. These children experienced very little to no media exposure in their home language. There was no reported attendance at supplementary schools. Labelling issues in regard to Bravanese, as discussed, relate to the over-reporting of Somali in official school data. Children, on the other hand, tended to be aware of the correct name of their language, and variations to the label included "Brava".

PART IV: OUTLOOK

Can we test proficiency without knowing the language?

Throughout the survey, children generally responded well to individual interviews and schools were highly supportive in assisting with logistics and providing qualitative impressions. In terms of data collection and results, the pilot survey elicits more accurate and more detailed information regarding the home languages of schoolchildren in comparison with existing methods being undertaken in UK schools.

An entirely self-reported data set represents a progressive step in school data collection. This method allows for a more accurate picture of children's language skills by eliminating the burden of estimation on the part of the school administrative staff. Despite previously discussed issues related to labelling, even mislabelled languages may allow an insight into the relationship between a language and self-proclaimed identity. The method also gives an emerging impression of those languages, which may not be visible and audible in the sampled schools, perhaps representative of the wider school domain. When languages are cited with hesitancy and uncertainty, or appear to be repeatedly mislabelled, as in the examples of Panjabi or Romani, the method of proficiency testing and collating additionally transcribed vocabulary or written samples allows these issues to surface rather than being absorbed as accepted data. This highlights areas in which schools may further encourage visibility, as well as underlining points for further research and flagging the potentially unequal status of home languages in schools.

This pilot has recorded a number of languages that are otherwise missing from the records or under-reported. Through consideration of multilingual households, and an exploratory approach rather than a closed question, our method unearthed instances of language skills that would be bypassed by a single question pertaining to main or primary language. Examples include an Italian speaker who uses Amharic with certain family members, Urdu speakers who use Spanish with their siblings and a Berber speaker who had been recorded as using only Arabic. This latter example in particular highlights how revealing the method can be, as Berber is not recorded at all in the 2011 Census data for Manchester.

The method proved its reliability in granting the ability to explore intergenerational shifts in language patterns, through results categorised by family member. Although

a pilot study is not sufficient to make broad statements about language vitality, it has certainly provided indicators and areas for further research such as variation between a mother and father speaking to a child. The most obvious emerging indicator appears to be a shift towards English usage with siblings, but questions related to a range of family members and extra-curricular activities allow us to see the intersection of this potential language shift and, on the other hand, active language maintenance. The method is also valuable for gauging the extent of community-based and parental maintenance efforts. Responses pertaining to supplementary schools as well as media exposure in home languages revealed familial attitudes towards these skills without directly asking the child whether those were encouraged or not. Due to the relatively young age of the surveyed children, this question may have been answered too simplistically or caused the child to reflect about any prestige or stigma attached to their home languages, rather than responding in a plain and neutral manner.

The proficiency test successfully allowed for relatively rapid data collection and processing. Had audio recording been involved, the process might have been significantly more time-consuming: our method, for example, allowed 209 children to be surveyed in Abraham Moss in just over four days by three staff members with prior parental notice but no dependency on written consent. As discussed, the results show that the anticipated hierarchy of difficulty was, in a broad sense, preserved, with some unexpected variation between pairs of tasks. The first two tasks, eliciting body parts and numerals, seemed to yield higher proficiency scores than the following two tasks, which involved describing family and then daily routine, and the differentiation between these two pairs was evident in the vast majority of cases. However, the numbers task tended to correspond to higher scores than the body parts task, despite being anticipated as more challenging. Similarly, the daily routine description often saw higher performances than the family description, although scores for the former were more divided between 3 and 1, rather than a middle score of 2.

As a consequence, there may be some re-organisation of the proficiency task questions to be considered in future developments of the survey method. The most obvious candidate for such treatment would be the numbers task, which should arguably be placed first as children seem to cope most easily with recalling this set chain of words rather than individual items of vocabulary. On the whole, however, it seems that the test was successful in allowing interviewers to gauge proficiency without knowing every individual home language. This is vital in the collection of a large and varied sample, in a city such as Manchester where one cannot anticipate a set number of languages that may be encountered.

There are, however, potential issues to be addressed for further development of the study. The proficiency test was indeed largely successful, but proved to be the area of most inconsistency among different interviewers and provoked the most inhibited response from children. The surveyed pupils were asked to use their home languages in an entirely alien context, and this caused uncertainty and shyness. Some children became visibly frustrated when they could not recall a language that they reportedly used on a daily basis. This incapability to produce a language due to nerves, or a sense that it jarred in an educational context, had the potential to unduly alter proficiency scores and skew the resulting data, as well as distress the child. As such, the effective training of staff in not only conducting the survey, but doing so in a child-friendly manner, emerged as an important issue to address in any continuation of the study. Interviewers had to be patient, show explicit encouragement and minimise pressure on children through casual conversation. Children may have been embarrassed to speak in front of their peers: while we strived to reduce the possibility of pupils hearing another child's responses, they were still occasionally wary, which could have resulted in a proficiency score which did not accurately reflect their ability. This problem was almost eliminated in schools where children were interviewed in the corridors and distanced from each other. The imposed distance seemed to permit a more open interview and lowered barriers, which were otherwise particularly evident when giving spoken samples of a language.

In contrast, some pupils were excited to be removed from lessons to partake in the survey and gave extensive answers to questions and even embellished their responses. This could lead to inaccuracies if the interviewer did not clarify particular statements. For example, children sometimes reported that they could write in additional languages, however, when asked to demonstrate this skill, were unable to do so. Also, pupils often reported having lived abroad, however, following further questioning, interviewers found they had only visited these countries. These instances highlight the necessity of thorough clarification by the interviewer. The method was designed to elicit evidence for writing, for example, but some questions may be perceived differently in the mind of a child, or may seemingly carry an implicitly preferred answer. When this miscomprehension arose, it became evident that pupils should be posed as few closed questions as possible, to avoid the phenomenon of simply providing an answer which they believed would be the most desired or acceptable response. For example, "have you ever lived in a country other than England?" should be followed with exploratory questions such as "how long did you live there for?" and "do you remember much about that country?"

The issue of English monolingual children must be addressed for any further surveys. In this study, some schools advised us to speak with all children due to the rarity of such monolingualism, while others had selected multilingual children for us to interview. The two methods were useful to include in the pilot, as they flagged varying consequences. Firstly, if multilingual children are categorised by school staff, there is some potential for a child to have never revealed their home languages and to be mistakenly believed to be monolingual. This issue may be resolved simply through a larger-scale study, in which all children would be interviewed by default; this was arguably a necessary element only in our more concentrated sample. Some known English monolinguals were included in our survey as school staff members were conscious to prevent them from feeling excluded. This did not affect our results, as this data was removed during analysis, but their participation raised a number of points for consideration. The survey is designed to explore multilingualism and has a clear focus on identifying home language skills. However, this focus can be potentially detrimental to the morale of English monolinguals, who may feel that their language skills are not valued as highly. In schools with high rates of multilingualism especially, interviewers should be conscious that these children constitute a minority and should not be made to feel unskilled or shunned. Moreover, these interviews were repetitive and fruitless for the pupils in questions, and thus a more productive approach could be developed in the future. Once it has been firmly established that the child cannot speak any languages in addition to English, it would be a more efficient use of time to garner qualitative evidence from these children. By engaging in conversation, it may be possible to gain an impression of their attitudes to languages within their school and the role that the linguistic diversity of their environment plays for them.

Concluding remarks

The current method of recording home languages in UK schools does not fully account for multilingualism, nor does it explore the proficiency of pupils in their wealth of home languages, and so it falls short of capturing the true breadth of linguistic diversity. This issue is clearly not confined to Manchester: the limitations are recognised by research from London Metropolitan University's Institute for Policy Studies in Education, as cited by a BBC report from last year ("School records 'too crude for super-diverse UK'", by Judith Burns), which links imprecise home language data collection with an inability to track wider attainment or understand the role of multilingualism in children's education. The established system of identifying home languages in a school context is associated almost exclusively with

anticipating difficulties in learning English, and this paints these languages as somewhat stigmatised. Our survey flagged home languages as skills, rather than potential hindrances, and engaged children in reflecting and reporting on their capabilities in a positive light. In this sense, the method serves to celebrate home languages and encourages pride and self-confidence among multilingual pupils in Manchester, which would arguably be beneficial to schoolchildren nationwide.

Testing children's home language proficiency allowed us to gain an impression of how multilingualism affects fluency, and our results show that the more languages a child spoke, the more proficient they were in these languages. Not only are children able to cognitively process multiple home languages without limitations to their fluency, but it appears their proficiency may actively benefit from wider linguistic diversity. Similarly, multilingualism does not harm a child's ability to speak English, with the vast majority of respondents achieving the maximum score in this area. Those who did not score as highly were largely recent arrivals in the UK.

Our results granted us an insight into language maintenance efforts that occur in the lives of Manchester's schoolchildren, including exposure to media, trips abroad, supplementary schooling and conversing in home languages with family members. The fact that home languages were used more often with parents than siblings, and English was used more often with siblings than parents, indicates that an intergenerational language shift may be occurring. However, this varies according to individual language, with Urdu, for example, showing a greater difference in usage across generations than languages such as Arabic or Romani. Regarding exposure to media, there is even more variation according to language: for Arabic, Czech, Polish and Romanian, for instance, high levels of media exposure were reflected in higher proficiency scores. For Romani and Bravanese, however, similarly high proficiency scores do not depend on institutional or media support, and may be maintained more through oral usage at home. In this vein, lower proficiency scores can also have a two-fold relation to media and supplementary schools: Pashto, Yoruba and Swahili speakers reported little exposure to media and their fluency tended to suffer, yet Panjabi speakers, who reported more exposure to media in their home language, also achieved lower than average proficiency scores.

Analysing patterns of language usage with mothers and fathers has revealed that the surveyed children tended to use home languages slightly more with their mothers compared to their fathers. This highlights that several different languages can be, and indeed are being used within the same household, with the major figures in a child's life.

Literacy in home languages was also explored in our survey, and the results show that more children possessed the ability to write, when prompted, in their home language in comparison with the number who reported choosing to read in this language. The majority of pupils who did read or were read to in their home language could also write in it. The writing samples were not always indicative of full writing ability, but even basic literacy is a testimony to the effects of supplementary schooling and parental language maintenance efforts.

Issues related to labelling languages were fairly widespread, occurring in all schools and with a range of different languages. The most common instances of mislabelling in the previously recorded school data pertained to Panjabi, Bravanese, Romani, Romanian and Yoruba. In the case of Panjabi, there was an unclear distinction between this language and Urdu, and children themselves sometimes struggled to distinguish between the two. Similar confusion among the surveyed children was found in relation to Romani and Romanian, with an additional barrier of stigma, which appeared to prevent some children from openly admitting their fluency in Romani. Children whose home language was Yoruba tended to be recorded as English speakers, while those who spoke Bravanese were all recorded as Somali speakers. These examples of mislabelling highlight the inaccuracies that arise from estimating the languages of schoolchildren on their behalf, and flag the lack of public awareness surrounding regional and minority languages. To encourage a more accurate reflection of lesser-represented languages, institutional awareness might be increased through more extensive training of school staff.

Our method has, on the whole, proved its reliability in discovering under-reported language skills by accounting for multilingualism and exploring a child's linguistic repertoire as they report it, rather than approximating on their behalf. In addition, our survey has encouraged children to view their linguistic skills as an asset rather than a hindrance. The effects of promoting home languages in a school context arguably ripple into the wider community, particularly benefiting speakers of lesser-represented languages and more vulnerable communities. By demonstrating to these pupils that educational success need not come at the expense of maintaining their home languages and links to their cultural heritage, schools can support an upcoming generation with leadership potential as teachers and mediators.

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Appendix

SCHOOL LANGUAGE SURVEY

NAME OF SCHOOL:		
PUPIL NAME:		
DATE OF BIRTH:	YEAR GROUP:	CLASS:
ETHNICITY:	COUNTRIES PREVIOUSLY LIVED IN (IF KNOWN BY CHILD):	
NAME OF INTERVIEWER:		DATE OF SURVEY:

Question 1

1a	What language do you speak to your mother?	
1b	What language do you speak to your father?	
1c	What language do you speak to your grandmother?	
1d	What language do you speak to your grandfather?	
1e	Do you speak a different language with any other adults?	
1f	What language do you speak to your sibling(s)?	

Question 2

2a	What language does your mother speak to you?	
2b	What language does your father speak to you?	
2c	What language does your grandmother speak to you?	
2d	What language does your grandfather speak to you?	
2e	Do any other adults speak a different language to you?	
2f	What language does your sibling speak to you?	

Question 3

3a	Do you read at home? In what language(s)?	
3b	Does someone read to you at home? In what language(s)?	
3c	Do you watch TV at home? In what language(s)?	
3d	Do you go to the cinema? Which languages are the films in?	
3e	Do you go to another school in the evenings or weekend? What language(s) are you taught in?	
3f	Can you write in any of the other languages you speak? (List the languages)	
3g	When did you last go to another country?	
	What language(s) did you speak?	

Question 4

4	Can the pupil read or write in their first language? (Specify)	
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Question 5

5	Can the pupil read or write in English?	
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LANGUAGE COMPETENCE EVALUATION

NAME OF SCHOOL:		
PUPIL (GIVEN NAME):	DATE OF SURVEY:	

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH	IMMEDIATELY & FLUENTLY	SLOWLY & HESITANTLY	NOT AT ALL	COMMENTS
Can child name body parts?				
Can child count from 1-10?				
Can child describe members of their family, how old they are, how they dress and what they like to do?				
Can child describe their normal daily routine, from when get they up?				

HOME LANGUAGE 1:	IMMEDIATELY & FLUENTLY	SLOWLY & HESITANTLY	NOT AT ALL	COMMENTS
Can child name body parts?				
Can child count from 1-10?				
Can child describe members of their family, how old they are, how they dress and what they like to do?				
Can child describe their normal daily routine, from when get they up?				

YEAR GROUP OVERVIEW

NAME OF SCHOOL:							
YEAR GROUP:		CLASSES:			NUMBER OF CHILDREN SURVEYED:		
PUPIL NAME	English score	Language 2	Language 2 score	Language 3	Language 3 score	Language 4	Language 4 score