Language Shift and Maintenance: A Case Study of a Pakistani-Scottish Family

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ABSTRACT: *This paper explored language shift and maintenance in the interactional practices of a Pakistani-Scottish family based in Scotland. The data sources involved participation of Pakistani-Scottish family's three generations, 8 members in total (5 adults and 3 children). The participant observations entailed almost 16 hours continual audiotape recordings of natural conversations in neutral settings at the subject home over the period of 3 days. In addition, four members, two of first and two from second generation were interviewed which lasted for approximately 30 minutes. The data collected through participant observations and interviews from the members of the three generations of the same family reveal that younger generation always negotiated their medium and preferred to speak in English that encouraged language shift from L1 (Punjabi/Urdu) to L2 English. However, at times the older members of the family switched from Punjabi/Urdu to English to facilitate their younger members but they also tried to maintain their L1 through code-switching practices in their interactions with each other and sometimes with younger generations. Findings of the study suggest that preference for English over mother tongue was ensured strategically to create an environment for young people to succeed in their academic careers smoothly. The issues of social integration and economic benefits of using English were regarded more important compared to their ethnolinguistic identity.*

Keywords: Interactional practices, language shift, maintenance, medium request, ethno-linguistic identity

Introduction

Language shift and language maintenance are integral aspects of language dynamics that usually ensures a constant change, development and deterioration of language(s) in question. However, the causes of language shift and ways of language maintenance vary within and across contexts. This study investigated language shift and language maintenance in process in a Pakistani-Scottish family's interactional practices in their day-to-day life. The participants for this study included the family members from first (parents), second (children) and third (grandchildren) generation.

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The detailed introduction to this study can be further divided under following headings:

Pakistani Population in the United Kingdom

Britain has the largest and most prominent Pakistani diaspora community internationally. Immigration from Pakistan to Britain began in the 1950s, when Britain welcomed migration from the former colonies to satisfy its post war labour needs. Most of these Pakistani migrants were economic migrants from Northern Punjab and the rural Mirpur District of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK), who began to migrate when Mangla Dam was under construction and the towns and its vicinity were submerged by the waters of the dam and consequently the families were displaced (Werbner, 2004). According to Anwar (1979) the Pakistani community is the most widely spread across the UK as compared to other South Asian communities; it is concentrated in some particular areas of UK: Lancashire, Yorkshire, Glasgow, West Midlands and Greater London. Greater London, as a whole has the largest Pakistani population, but at the local authority level Birmingham has the largest Pakistani population followed by Bradford and Kirklees. Since 1991 more than half of the Pakistani population is considered as the UK born Pakistanis, currently Bradford has a significant proportion of its total population (15%) identifying themselves as that of Pakistani origin in England. According to census 2001, UK has 706,539 Pakistani-based populations and the Office for National Statistics has provided population estimates for 2005-6 and speculated that the Pakistani population in UK appeared to have grown to 825,500 in the span of a few years (cited in Werbner, 2004). The current study focuses on a Pakistani-Scottish family residing in Scotland's capital city, Edinburgh for last 50 years. Scotland, a northern province in the United Kingdom is reported to have a Pakistani-ethnic population of 49,000 (Simpson, 2014).

Identity, Ethnicity and Language

Shaw (2000) reports that the Pakistanis in the UK encompass various regional, ethnic and linguistic groups which include Pathans, Punjabis, Mirpuris, Sindhis and Balochis. It is estimated that 60 per cent of the Pakistani population in UK is from the Mirpur District of Azad and Jammu Kashmir (AJK) and have settled mostly in Birmingham, Bradford, Oldham and the surrounding towns and counties. The Pakistani community in London happens to be a mixed sort comprising people from different ethnic groups.

As far as the identity of Pakistani-British is concerned it varies from one generation to the other, the elders belonging to the first generation still have a strong bond with their mother land and have a deep personal or

psychological association with Pakistan. The second generation also have a connection to Pakistan, but to a much lesser extent than their parents while the third generation of young people see themselves primarily as British and this forms a strong part of their identity. Modood et al. (1994) found that second generation Asians usually adopt hybrid/dual identities such as 'British-Pakistanis' to acknowledge and show two distinct aspects of their identity and culture orientation.

There is some difference of opinion concerning the main language spoken by Pakistanis in Britain; some researchers suggest that it is Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, which is widely spoken; while others believe that it is Punjabi in both the mainstream Punjabi and Mirpuri dialect. Edwards (2001) states that Urdu is spoken by majority of the Pakistani immigrants and its script is also used for reading and writing by first generations but young people mostly prefer to communicate in English at home, among their siblings and outside in social communities and are less reliant on Pakistani languages.

Socio-economic Status

Werbner (2004) states that the Pakistani population is one of the economically disadvantaged ethnic groups in the UK, and are more likely to be considered 'poor' under official classifications as compared to their counterparts. However, there is considerable dearth of latest statistics that can accurately or at least approximately gauge the current socio-economic status of Pakistani population. It has been observed that despite being below average on most socio-economic indicators, the Pakistani population is steadily improving its educational and labour market outcomes. It is important to note that the increasing numbers of young Pakistanis (both males and females) are successfully entering higher education and progressing in the professional fields. However, the young people, mainly from lower or lower middle class, who either leave school without any qualification or do not have parental restrictions ultimately get involved in drugs and criminal activities.

Intergenerational Dynamics and Cohesion Issues

Intergenerational difference in perceptions of identity is also a subject of focus in the studies of Jacobson (1997) and Modood et al. (1994) wherein it has been observed that second generation Pakistani-British often find themselves in conflict with their parents' ideals and their own religious and cultural practices. They consider themselves as bicultural and are ready to minimise their ethnic and religious identities as to be easily accepted as British. Pakistani immigrants who have been settled in UK for a long time seem to have embraced 'Britishness' and despite having dual nationalities and

strong links to the country of origin they regard themselves as British rather than Pakistani-British. Nevertheless, it is entirely a different perspective that how such ethnically and culturally converted people are viewed by the original inhabitants of the UK.

In a report, 'The Change Institute Department for Communities and Local Government', many respondents when asked about their integration and cohesion with British fellow men, stressed that "it is difficult for Pakistanis to move into white neighbourhoods, and cited examples of people who had done so but, due to isolation, had subsequently returned to areas with high concentrations of Pakistanis" (2009, p. 10). There has always been a feeling that, regardless of their several attempts to mingle with white communities, many Pakistanis express their despair that white communities will never be ready to accept them as their fellow citizens due to several reasons, mainly due to religious and linguistic orientations. It is interesting to note the views of young respondents involved in the study. They were found more positive about integration as they believe that people have to sacrifice and lose a part of their culture and ethnicity to merge in the new identity.

The objectives for the study are:

i)   To highlight the differences of interactional practices of the three generations of the same family

ii) To investigate the factors which facilitate/influence language shift and maintenance

iii) To trace the instances of practical usefulness of language vis-à-vis ethnolinguistic identity

We collected the data for this study using participant observations and in-depth individual interviews. Both interviews and observations were audio-recorded and supplemented with the field notes. This study focused how language shift was occurring in the family in the interactional practices of third generation and how the members of first and second generations were taking efforts for language maintenance. The language shift from bilingualism (Punjabi/Urdu-English) to monolingualism (English) was seen taking place due to academic, social and instrumental reasons. The data was collected over a period of time utilising the method of ethnographic case study.

Literature Review

Language shift is the process by which a speech community in a contact situation (i.e. consisting of bilingual speakers) gradually stops using one of its two languages in favour of the other. Language shift may be defined as the replacement of one or more languages in a community's

linguistic repertoire by a language which is socially and politically more powerful whereas the efforts taken, either by inside agents or outside institutions, to preserve the affected language/dialect is called language maintenance which mainly advocates the preservation of ethnic minority and revitalisation of immigrant languages (García, 2003). She further elaborates that the languages undergoing shift are usually progressively and gradually replaced by the dominant language which enjoys higher political economy and global currency compared to the receding language ensuing sociocultural repercussions. Hence the conscious attempts to reverse such a shift can retain and rebuild structural and functional integrity of a threatened language which serves the role of language maintenance (García, 2003).

Discussing the possible causes of language shift, Fishman (1991) argues that the language shift may be caused by both local and global factors working in favour of one particular language having an edge over other co-existing languages and dialects. One of the significant reasons of the linguistic shift is the language ideology of the given society. Furthermore, language shift in any language might be noticed on structural and functional levels. Thus, shifting languages are affected in terms of their lexical, grammatical and phonological mechanisms, while on the functional level the use and social significance of the vernacular is exchanged with that of the dominant language (Thomason, 2001).

Fasold (1984) argues that language shift is the long term collective result of two factors i) language choice of a particular language in certain domains, which used to be for the old one, and ii) desire to give up membership of an identifiable sociocultural group in favour of identity as a part of some other community associations. Many scholars (Aitchison, 1991; Denison, 1977; Dorian, 1980; Fasold, 1984; Gal, 1979) have discussed the issue of language shift and maintenance and have tried to discover why certain languages or language variants sometimes replace each other among some speakers, particularly in certain domains of linguistic behaviour under some conditions or intergroup contact.

Wei (1994) is particularly relevant to the present study owing to its approach, application and ethnographic methodology. Wei investigates bilingual language behaviours and language choice of three generations (grandparents, parents and children) of Chinese residents (58 members from ten families) of Tyneside, north-east of England, through empirical data. A major concern of this study was "to develop a coherent model which amounts for the relationship between community-level language choice patterns and code-switching strategies by individual speakers and for the relation of both to the broader societal, economic and political context" (Wei 1994, p. 2). The data was collected through macro societal and micro

interactional approaches from participant families utilising three research tools: detailed informal interviews and participant observation which have been used as the principal tool for data collection. The data was gathered using audio-video tape recordings. In addition to this, the researcher collected sufficient data using face-to-face interaction.

Findings of Wei (1994) reveal that participants who maintained a Chinese-dominant language choice pattern and those who had the least knowledge of English enjoyed strong exchange ties with other Chinese in the community, even though they had plenty of opportunities to interact with non-Chinese people; and their passive networks were entirely Chinese whereas speakers who adopted the English-dominant language choice patterns and who had a better command of English developed non-Chinese social as well as passive networks (Wei, 1994). It was concluded that the social networks affect and are affected by their members' language behaviour.

As far as the code-switching practices were concerned it was observed that the speakers of parent and grandparent generations opted for Chinese in their conversation most of the times and only occasionally switched to English to contextualize turn-allocations and repair initiators in inter-generational conversations while the members of third generation preferred to use English to contextualise dispreferred responses in conversation with the members of their parents and grandparents generations and used English all the times with the members of their own generation . They used Chinese occasionally to mark insertion sequences.

On the basis of these findings the researcher has constructed a typology of bilingualism which covers the range of language patterns observed in Tyneside Chinese community:

- o The monolingual community language speaker
- o The functionally monolingual community language speaker
- o The functionally bilingual speaker
- o The mixed bilingual speaker
- o The functionally bilingual host language speaker
- o The functionally monolingual host language speaker

Khemlani-David (1998) examines the relationship between reduced and non-use of an ethnic language and its effects on cultural and ethnic identity within a minority ethnic group, the Sindhis (originally from Southern Province of Pakistan, Sindh) of Malaysia. Three generations of Malaysian Sindhis were subjects of this study, among whom the second and third

generations are reported to have shifted from Sindhi to English while the first generation still used their L1 wherever possible. Whenever Sindhi is used it is interspersed with many words from Malay, the national language of Malaysia. It also investigates the links between the L1 and common cultural norms of the community. The data was collected through participant observations and a 73-item questionnaire. The researcher being member of the same community attended social, cultural and religious functions of the ethnic group and visited Sindhi homes in Kuala Lumpur, talked to men, women and children about their use and non-use of Sindhi and observed their attitudes towards Sindhi. The findings showed that the Sindhis of Malaysia do not appear to need a language-based identity. Their identity is rather based on their religion, customs, culture, kinship and social ties, dense and multiplex networks and awareness of the persecuted past. Sindhis of Malaysia do not consider that the salience of language is dependent on the ethnicity. However, Fishman (1989, p. 5) states, "at every stage ethnicity is linked to language". In a similar vein, William (1992, p. 215) argues, "language is the embodiment of ethnicity". Whereas Omar (1991, p. 98) discusses Malaysians who have shifted to English and states that "there is no intrinsic correlation between language and ethnicity".

Khemlani-David (1998) contends that language is merely one aspect of ethnicity and cultural distinctiveness. For Malay Sindhis language is no longer sine qua non for Sindhiness. Ethnicity can still be maintained even if a community has shifted to English. As Sindhis are so closely tied to each other and still maintain Sindhi culture, customs and religion, it is inevitable that their values and beliefs are transmitted in the new first language – English. As long as the Sindhis follow their customs, respect their culture and religion and interact with their fellow men regularly, there is no fear of their identity being lost.

In another study (Klerk, 2000) the main factors that have been identified as playing an important role in promoting language shift and highlighted the relative importance of these factors in a survey that examined the experiences and attitudes of Xhosa-speaking parents who chose to send their children to English-medium schools in Grahamstown (Eastern Cape, South Africa) after discontinuing from local vernacular medium schools. This longitudinal study, using mixed method approach involves responses to a postal questionnaire sent to all non-English parents at English-medium schools in the town, and follow-up interviews with 26 willing parents to investigate personal linguistic histories and attitudes, changes in language practices, and subjective experiences of the process of language shift. There were three main objectives of this project i) to investigate whether there is any evidence of a process of language shift taking place from Xhosa to

English, both on an individual level and on a broader societal basis, ii) to assess the linguistic and psychosocial effects on individuals who move to English-medium schools, and iii) to observe changing perceptions, language loyalty, and attitudes occurring over a period of time (Klerk, 2000). This study also assessed the relative importance of a range of variables influencing the rate of possible language shift. There are ten primary factors that have been identified in the literature, in terms of which the data from this study was analysed. These include economic factors, levels of institutional support, the educational environment, education and literacy levels, existing linguistic networks, language attitudes, language status and functions, mass media, and gender.

The overall findings show that the language shift mainly takes place due to economic and functional reasons. Ambitious parents from wealthier sectors of society actually want their children to get quality education and believe sending children to English medium schools is not less than any investment which will ensure children's better future prospects and entry in the elite class. Dua (1996) also states the same idea when argues that the choice of English by these parents is clearly related to socioeconomic and political processes, and to the distribution of knowledge and power vis-à-vis English, and this will have a significant effect on the future function, status, and development of Xhosa. The researcher concludes that the passivity and lack of establishment of social networks cause rapid language shift and speed up the processes of cultural and linguistic assimilation.

Gafaranga (2010) examines the language shift at the level of face-to-face interaction focusing on a specific interactional practice, referred to as "medium request," observed in the Rwandan community in Belgium, where language shift is taking place from Kinyarwanda-French bilingualism to French monolingualism. It was observed that younger members of the community, when in interaction with adult members, constantly request "medium-switch" from Kinyarwanda to French. The study aims to describe the practice as a specific type of language/medium negotiation, examines its various strategies, and shows how, through this interactional practice, members of the community actually facilitate language shift.

The findings of this study suggest an interesting aspect of Rwandan community in Belgium where speakers are reluctant to pursue 'follow-the-leader principle'; it is only French which is mostly preferred by children in their communications. In medium request, after the parent/adult has used Kinyarwanda, the child requests the use of French. In addition to this Gafaranga (2010, p. 264) comes up with three important facts involved in the Rwanda-French medium negotiation, "first, only children call for the switch; second, the called-for switch is unidirectional (from Kinyarwanda to French);

and third, the request to medium switch may, but need not, lead to alignment at the level of language choice". The overall findings of this study suggest that in conversations with elders, children have advantage in the sense that their language preferences prevailed most of the times. Children were always allowed to use the language of their choice, either it was medium request monolingual French medium or a Kinyarwanda-French parallel medium.

This section reviewed the relevant literature in the research area of language shift and maintenance. The available literature on this area of research has rarely focused on the context of Pakistani immigrants living in the UK. Most of the studies researched were either based on local communities in non-native contexts or within international contexts. However, this study mainly focuses the instances of language shift and maintenance in the context of Pakistani immigrants living in the UK. It was argued that the reason for language preservation and maintenance is basically the need to safeguard ethnic identity and cultural heritage of which language is the core element, however the concepts of ethnic and linguistic identities varied across different contexts discussed above. In line with same argument the current study highlights the distinctive interactional practices and the instances of language shift and maintenance of a Pakistani family residing away from home (Pakistan) whose ethno-linguistic affiliations are particularly unique. Furthermore, it was also discussed in the literature that the educational institutions, the media, ethnic language literacy, family relationships, and friendship networks could be employed to minimise the shift and encourage maintenance and language revitalization.

Based on the objectives of the study and the gap identified above, this study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the interactional practices of the Pakistani-Scottish family?

2. How does language shift and language maintenance take place in Pakistani-Scottish family's day-to-day conversation?

3. How far the elder members of the family prefer practical usefulness of language to their ethnolinguistic identity?

In order to answer the research questions, the following methodology has been designed.

Research Methodology

The previous studies on language shift and maintenance have been carried out by using a variety of quantitative and qualitative methods and approaches in different linguistic contexts. These include large and smaller-scale sociological surveys, individual and group interviews and ethnographic participant observations at micro and macro societal levels. For this study we

collected the data through two research tools: participant observations and individual in-depth interviews (See Appendix 1 for Interview Questions). The data was gathered through audio recordings and field notes. The data sources involved participation of Pakistani-Scottish family's three generations, 8 members: 5 adults and 3 children (profile of the 8 participants is given in the table below). Due to the nature of this study (being an instrumental case study) and challenges related to gaining access in other families with similar backgrounds and specifications, this study had a limited yet an in-depth focus. The methods and tools adopted in this study have been previously used in Wei (1994), Khemlani-David (1998), Klerk (2000) and Gafaranga (2010) for the similar inquiries and objectives.

The participant observations entailed almost 16 hours continual audiotape recordings of natural conversations in neutral settings at the subject home over the period of 3 days. In addition, four members, two of first and two from second generation were interviewed which lasted for approximately 30 minutes. The interviews were semi-structured which allowed detailed input of ideas on the themes relevant to the research inquiries. The researchers fully transcribed the audiotapes of natural recordings and interviews after listening to them several times. The transcriptions in *italics* mark Urdu or Punjabi code-switching while their English translation has been given the brackets [ ]. The transcribed data were then analysed qualitatively to identify major themes of the study. However, due to the word limitations, we have included only some of extracts from natural conversations recorded during participant observations and individual interviews. The chosen data extracts significantly show the language shift and some traces of maintenance in the process. The analysis and discussion of the findings is given in the next section.

Participants' Profiles (Given names are pseudonyms)

No.	Participants	Status	Age & Gender	Generation	Education	Languages Spoken	Place of Birth	Years lived in the UK
1	Mr M.S	Head of the family	68 Male	First	Primary	Panjabi/Urdu/ English	Pakistan	48
2	Mrs M.S	Mother	63 Female	First	Matriculation	Panjabi/Urdu/ English	Pakistan	45
3	Mr Shaz	Elder son	38 Male	Second	Graduation	Urdu/English	UK	38
4	Mrs Shaz	Daughter-in-law	36 Female	Second	Graduation	Urdu/English	UK	36

5	Mrs Sam	Daughter in law	35 Female	Second	Intermediate	Panjabi/Urdu/ English	Pakistan	11
6	An	Daughter of Mr & Mrs Shaz	8 Female	Third	Grade 4	English	UK	8
7	Am	Son of Mr & Mrs Shaz	5 Male	Third	Grade 1	English	UK	5
8	Sai	Daughter of Mrs Sam	3 Female	Third	Nursery	English	UK	3

Data Analysis

It has usually been a contestable issue to exactly identify and recognise the occurrence of language shift in any bi-multilingual contexts (Bills, et al., 2000; Slavik, 2001). Much of the empirical literature (see literature review section above) has investigated the language shift in process on larger samples such as in communities or in larger groups. However, this study due to its limited focus has examined language shift in a family's interactional practices.   The overall data collected for this study significantly showed language shift in its process from Punjabi/Urdu-English bilingualism to English monolingualism in the third generation children who have been provided favourable situations to use English in their day-to-day interactional practices. Additionally, there were instances of language maintenance in the talks of the elder members of the family, first and second generations. However, it was interesting to find that most of the instances of the language maintenance occurred naturally rather than as a result of any efforts taken consciously to preserve the mother tongue. The instances of language maintenance were noticed through Urdu-Punjabi code-switching and code mixing. In almost all the talks, it was seen that the members from third generation have always responded in English regardless of the situation but all the elder members of the family except Mr and Mrs Shaz, who have been observed to speak in English with each other most of the times whereas rest of the elder members of the family preferably used Punjabi-Urdu with some expression in English.

Interactional Practices across Three Generations

The interactional practices across three generations in this study were found in line with the findings of Gafaranga (2010) and Wei (1994). It was noticed that the first and second generations used L1 (Punjabi/Urdu) and L2 (English) whereas the third generation always preferred to speak in English. See extracts 1 and 2 below:

Extract 1

    Talk takes place in living room

1 Mr Shaz: Monkey Business oooo

2 Mrs Shaz: Shazzzz pleasssseee they are gonna sleep stop ittt

3 Am: Dadyyy

4 Mr Shaz: Yeah

5 Mrs Shaz: I am gonna count ten Am go go to the bed

6 Mr Shaz: okay

7 An: Mummy where is my art bag?

8 Mrs Shaz: 1 2 3 4

9 Mr Shaz: I'm gonna go

10 Mrs Shaz; Am An we'll go to L----na's tomorrow now go to sleep

11 Am: I will go to Monkey Business with Sai n daddy

12 An: Where is my art bag?

13 Mrs Shaz: What are you gonna do with it in bed?

14 An: Mummy my band

15 Mrs Shaz: jaldi jao [go quick]

Extract 2

    Talk takes place in the dining room

1 Mrs Shaz: An go get your pyjamas you'll have shower after lunch, Shaz where is Am?

2 An: I will have bath in Ami jee's [grandmother's] tub

3 Mrs Shaz: Shazzzzzzzzz ask Am to come here, send him to shower

4 An: Mummy I will have bath *Ami jee's* [grandmother's] tub

5 Mr Shaz: Am is sleeping on the sofa

6 Mrs Shaz: Did he have lunch properly?

7 Mr Shaz: I fed him *paratha* and *chawal* [fried bread and rice]

8 Mrs Shaz: An get up, shower now

9 An: Daddy I want to have bath

10 Mrs Shaz: *Koi zarorat nahen jaldi jao* [there is no need of it, go quick] have shower, quick

11 An: Daddy

12 Mrs Shaz: *Samjh mein nahen aata*? [Why don't you understand?] Go

In almost all the instances Mr and Mrs Shaz were found speaking in English with their children. Both Mr and Mrs Shaz were members of second generation who were born, brought up and got educated in the UK. They had to use English in their social and professional circles, but at home, with their parents they used both the languages English/Punjabi. However, with their children and with each other they always spoke in English. Interestingly, only in a very few instances where they were seen speaking in Urdu/Punjabi with their children and that was whenever they wanted to give them any instructions/orders or scolded them, for example see turn 15 in extract 1 and turns 10 and 12 in extract 2.

Extract 3

Talk takes place in living room

1 Mr M.S: Sai----a come here give me kissy [kiss]

2 Mrs M.S: *Saj nu call kar se, wo free ho to tuse le jae* [call Saj, she will take you if free]

3 Mr M.S: *Us da centre nahen*? [Doesn't she work today?]

4 Mrs M.S: *Poch le se, ya fir Br nu call karle* [ask her or call Br]

5 Mr M.S: *Menuu janna das baje tak hai likh le lia hai*? [I need to go around ten, have you written it?]

6 Mrs M.S: *Hai kardia se* [yes have done it]

In extract 3 above the older members of the family (first generation) were found speaking in their L1 (Punjabi) with each other but when they have to say something to their grand children they switch to English (see turn 2 above).

Medium Request and Negotiation

The preference for any particular language is referred as medium request (Gafaranga, 2010). In this study we found many instances of medium request and negotiation in younger generation's speech. Medium request was often used as polite refusal to continue conversation in English; the language younger generation were found most comfortable using with elders and with same age group children inside home and with outsiders. The instances of medium request are given in the following extracts.

Extract 4

Talk takes place in the living room

1 Phone rings

2 Mrs M.S: An, who's online?

3 An: M-----d S-----z calling

4 Mrs M.S: Talk to *Mamu* [uncle]

5 An: Come *Ami jee* [grandmother]

6 Mrs M.S: Take up call *jan* [darling]

7 An: Hello

8 Caller: Asalam-o-Alekum [hi]

9 An: (0.5) (Hidding her face)

10 Caller: *Ke hal hai?* [how are you]

11 Mrs M.S: Talk to *mamu*, An

12 Mamu: How are you beta? [kid]

13 An: Fine

14 Mrs M.S: *Sharma rahe hai* [she is shy] (Takes up her in her lap and sits on the chair) *nahen nahen* [no no]

15 An: (trying to get off her lap)

16 Caller: *Konse class mein jate hai*? [which class does she go to]

17 Mrs M.S: *Batao beta* (to An) [tell him, kid]

18 An: (0.6)

19 Mrs M.S: Which class do you read in?

20 An: (3)

20 Caller: How's your mummy dady?

21 An: fine

In extract 4 it can be noticed that young people negotiated their medium in conversation with their elders. At times even when they were asked to speak in L1 they resisted and switched to L2.

Language Maintenance

Language maintenance and attempts to preserve L1 were seen through the code-switching and code-mixing practices. Myer-Scotton's

(1993, p. 4), talks about two types Code-switching (CS): 'Intersentential' and 'Intrasentential'. Intersentential involves switches from one language to another language between sentences whereas Intrasentential occurs within the same sentence or fragment. Barring Mr Shaz, who's never been noticed opting for CS except the names of cooked food items, the conversation of adults of the family involves a good amount of code-switching, both the type of CS have been observed but Intrasentential is slightly more frequent in comparison to Intersentential CS.

Extract 5

    Talk takes place outside and inside the Reading Room

1 Doorbell rings

2 Mrs M.S: Let's go for *Waddu, sabak* timmmme [ablution, its quranic lesson time] all kids come okay (to kids)

3 Mr M.S: *Chalo jee sabak* [let's go for quranic lesson] room An, SF, HS (other kids from neighbourhood)

4 Mrs M.S: you sit here *haan* here [yes]

5 Kids reading their Quranic lessons loudly

6 Mrs M.S: A------aaaa don't talk read your *sabak* come here [quranic lesson]

7 Mrs M.S: An, slowly read, cover head

8 One kid with other: we are going out (whispering)

9 Mr M.S: All should read dua loudly [supplication]

10 Mrs M.S: Come sit here, *idhar beta* (to Am) [here, son]

11 Sai: who rang the bell?

12 Mrs Sam: No one *beta nahen karo* [don't do this kid]

13 Sai: where is *Ami ji*? [grandmother]

14 Mrs M.S: I am reading *namaz, puttar* [prayer, kid]

15 All kids stand up and read Quranic verses loudly

    In the extract given above we noticed the use of CS through a number of Islamic and kinship lexical items. The members of the second and third generation tended to code-switch which in a way maintained the use of L1 in their interaction with young people. Similar instances were also found in turn 15 of extract 1 and in turns 10 and 12 of extract 2 when Mrs Shaz scolds her daughter for not listening to her. Young people of the family were usually scolded in the MT that was seen as an effective strategy to manage

children, who took it seriously as well. Anger, disagreement and emphasis were conveyed using Urdu/Punjabi CS.

Practical Usefulness of Language vs. Ethnolinguistic Identity

Interview findings of the 4 first and second generation members of the family portrayed significant views regarding their cultural and linguistic association with their L1 and also explained factors which would facilitate language shift in the participant family. All the 4 members individually interviewed seemed to be quite clear about their stand on their language strategies with their children and their preference for using English at the cost of their ethnicity and identity.

> I think it really matters less what languages you speak, identity is beyond languages. I do not speak Punjabi all the time, but I still know about my family values, I pray five times a day. Keeping kids away from English would be like restricting them to just a minority. We faced lots of restrictions when were kids but our parents never kept us away from other communities and languages. I want them to speak both languages and more if possible but it's not possible to concentrate on two languages at a time.

> (Mr Shaz, interview)

Mr Shaz is more concerned about the integration and cohesion issues that can be better understood and practised by speaking a foreign language on the foreign land. The views of Mr Shaz are in line with the participants' of Khelmani-David (1998). They believed that identity has got less to do with language which is just a way to communicate and get oneself known in the environment one lives in for several social and economic benefits. They believe that family values, following religion and just respect for ethnicity constitute their complete identity. They are of the opinion that kids if exposed to MT will not be able to learn and concentrate on English which is their future and present language. Mrs Shaz, on the other hand admitted to had tried several times to make kids speak their MT but failed owing to her and her husband's flexible attitude towards it.

> We have tried many times but I do not know why can't do it. We plan to visit Pakistan once in two years so they may get exposed to it and learn Urdu. See their friends and community language is English so they have to speak English. My sister's daughter, 6 years old, speaks Punjabi with her grandmother because her grandmother can't speak English. Here we all know English so kids don't feel any need. We have a Chinese friend whose family also faces the same problem; their kids do not prefer to speak in Chinese. My parents were strict so we had to speak in

> Urdu with them. We are not strict in this matter so our kids do not speak.

<div align="right">(Mrs Shaz, interview)</div>

Mr and Mrs M.S were seen confident that their grandchildren will somehow pick up their MT when they grow up. They also state that there is nothing wrong being monolingual if that single language (English) that amounts heavier than many languages. Mr M.S holds strong views against the use of MT, he believes that there is no market value for Urdu or Punjabi in the UK and children with poor English language skills will be considered backward hence they encouraged their children to use English only to secure better future prospects.

> Their future is here (UK) so its language is important, MT can be learnt later on, doesn't matter if they do not talk, families where they don't talk English with kids from the very first day, kids face many problem in school, society and everywhere, so why should they learn when there is no use of it in society here? In school if kids do not know English they are victimised bullied, and end up with low confidence. They do not want to be called 'backward and black'. In such conditions kids ultimately leave school because they are unable to talk with confidence, we do not want to ruin their future.

<div align="right">(Mr. M.S, interview)</div>

> Educated children can pick up other language later in their life, but if they concentrate on MT they will lose English which is not advisable. We talk in Urdu, they understand that's enough at this stage. We are not so expressive and articulate in English and we have to face problems in life, like explaining doctors our health issues etc. English is understood everywhere, Urdu or Punjabi is not, they can go to the world.

<div align="right">(Mrs. M.S, interview)</div>

The views of the most senior members of the family aptly described their preference for English over their MT. They wanted to ensure that their children socially integrate in the society which basically was not their own. Being immigrants with very low proficiency of English language they had to face a number of challenged which they did not want their children to go through. They were particularly concerned about children's academic future that was closely associated with their performance in English at school and later in their professional careers. In addition they believed that their MT is so intimately a part of their life that they cannot lose it also keeping in view the currency of Urdu/Punjabi in the Western society it was not advisable to encourage children to learn it at their initial stage. It was English that they

needed the most to survive in a society which used it as the medium of communication, education and social cohesion.

Findings

The recent phenomenon of globalisation and upsurge in immigration has majorly stimulated language shift and maintenance to take place in modern societies (Gafaranga, 2010). The overall findings of the current study similarly suggest that the familial dynamics evolved in last fifteen years or so and the social and academic needs have subsequently paved the way for language shift from Urdu-Punjabi to English in the participant family. It was quite noticeable that the elders of the family somehow did allow the shift to take place by facilitating the medium request most of the times in youngsters' interactional practices. They usually took into account their youngsters language preferences consciously or unconsciously. Youngsters mainly from third generation rarely preferred Urdu or Punjabi for interactional purposes. However, on the other hand the instances of language maintenance cannot be completely ignored. At places second and third generation adults deliberately switched to L1 at certain occasions for example at times of giving instructions, scolding children and using religious vocabulary in form of the code-switching. Such instances of language maintenance were seen very few if compared to instances of language shift in the participant family's interactional practices. One of the interesting findings was gradual switch in adults' language preferences due to their children's choice of language. Rather than resisting linguistic change in their interactions they seemed happy to switch their identities from Pakistani Urdu-Panjabi speakers to Scottish-Born English speakers.

Conclusion

The present study discussed the ways and factors that can be held responsible for the language shift and maintenance in the interactional practices of a Pakistani-Scottish family living in the United Kingdom for last fifty years. The key findings of the study showed that the first generation spoke in MT, second generation often preferred code-switching for various reasons whereas the third generation negotiated their medium for English and barely understood their first language. The younger generation's resistance to use their L1 seemed to facilitate language shift occurring in the family from Punjabi/Urdu-English bilingualism to English monolingualism. Linguistic affiliation with ones MT was clearly not their main concern being immigrants in the western world. Their identity was their religion (Islam) that they practiced at home. Their readiness to surrender their linguistic identity for social, academic and economic benefits, for them, was worth more than being linked with their linguistic roots. For them it was more important be

socially integrated within the world they were lived and which was associated with their future prospects. They preferred to be called as 'British-Born' rather than being tagged as 'Pakistani-British'.

Mostly the studies on language shift and maintenance have been carried out in larger community practices rather than individual families. Due to the limited focus and small sample size the findings of this study may not be generalised. The study was just an attempt to investigate the set objectives, however, this research focused on a typical Punjabi family which is commonly found in Britain. Therefore, it might be the case that the patterns of language shift and maintenance may be similar in other Punjabi families residing in the UK. Longitudinal studies in the context of the Pakistani-British families where language shift is in the process are needed for future research.

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Appendix 1

Interview Questions

1. Do you want your children grow up with two languages?

2. Do you think your children should speak their Mother Tongue (MT) as well?

3. Will they be able to speak MT when they grow up?

4. Do you think one's own language is one's identity?

5. Does abandoning your language means abandoning your identity?

6. Have you ever strictly tried to talk/converse to your children in your MT? What were the consequences? How long did you continue doing so?

7. What benefits do you see in sticking with English and ignoring your MT?

8. What measures do you suggest can be taken to ensure bilingualism for your children?

9. How would you preserve your language and identity?

10. How would you define your identity? What is your identity?