



## Report

**2014**



The University of Manchester

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**Domain variance and cultural identity in a south  
Manchester high school**

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## 1. Introduction and Overview

Our investigation specifically targets how domain variance and cultural identity interact with multilingualism. To gather data, we investigated a nearby school in Manchester - St. Paul's RC High School in Wythenshawe - and we took multilingual participants from years seven, eight and nine. To assess the impact of domain variance and cultural identity, the body of this report is therefore designed to answer these three questions:

- “Do the languages spoken by the students in the school show any evidence of generational shift? If so, does this affect students’ identification with the culture associated with this language, or on their attitudes towards the language?”
- “Do students who speak a particular language feel that this makes them members of a certain group or culture? How do they feel about this?”
- “Are students with a stronger sense of cultural identity likely to be more proficient in their home language?”

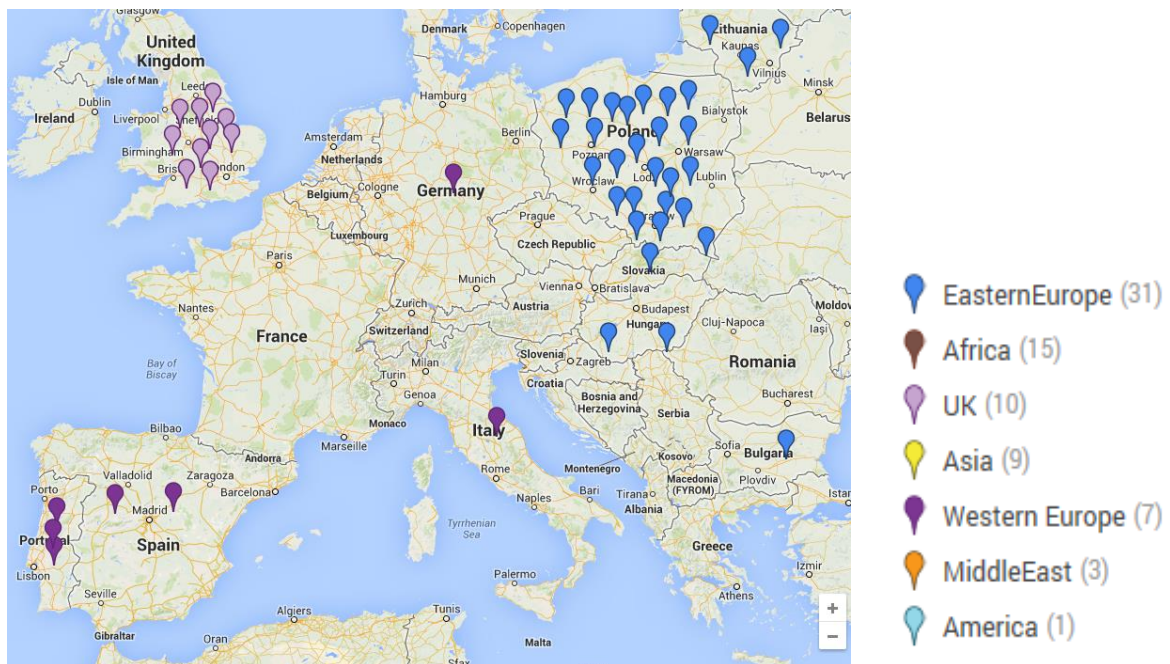
We hope to answer these questions in a few specific ways. Firstly, there is a general statistical analysis that serves as an introduction to the data. Secondly, we compare the duration of time spent in the UK with English proficiency scores. We then look at domain variance – where the choice of language for a multilingual speaker is determined by context. We then look at cultural identity in an attempt to find a correlation with the participants’ proficiency in different languages. Following this, we take a deeper look at the largest demographic from our data, Polish children, and finally look into two case studies of multilingual pupils.

We carried out the standardised interview created by the School Language Survey, adding 4 extra questions to collect data on cultural identity. These questions were:

1. Do you feel you have more in common with speakers of [home language], English or both?
2. Do you feel that speakers of [home language] make friends more with other speakers of [home language], or does this not matter?
3. When in a group of [home language] speakers, what language would you speak?
4. Are you proud to speak [home language]?

Firstly, a Google Map was created to visually represent the birth places of each data point in our report. Each data point is stratified by region (a full list can be found in the region section below), and each data point is colour-coded according to region. If there was more than one respondent from a country, Google Maps placed these one on top of the other. To give a more accurate depiction of who comes from where these have been separated (Each data point remains inside the country it was initially placed). The close up is only able to show Europe, while the whole data set spans across the globe.

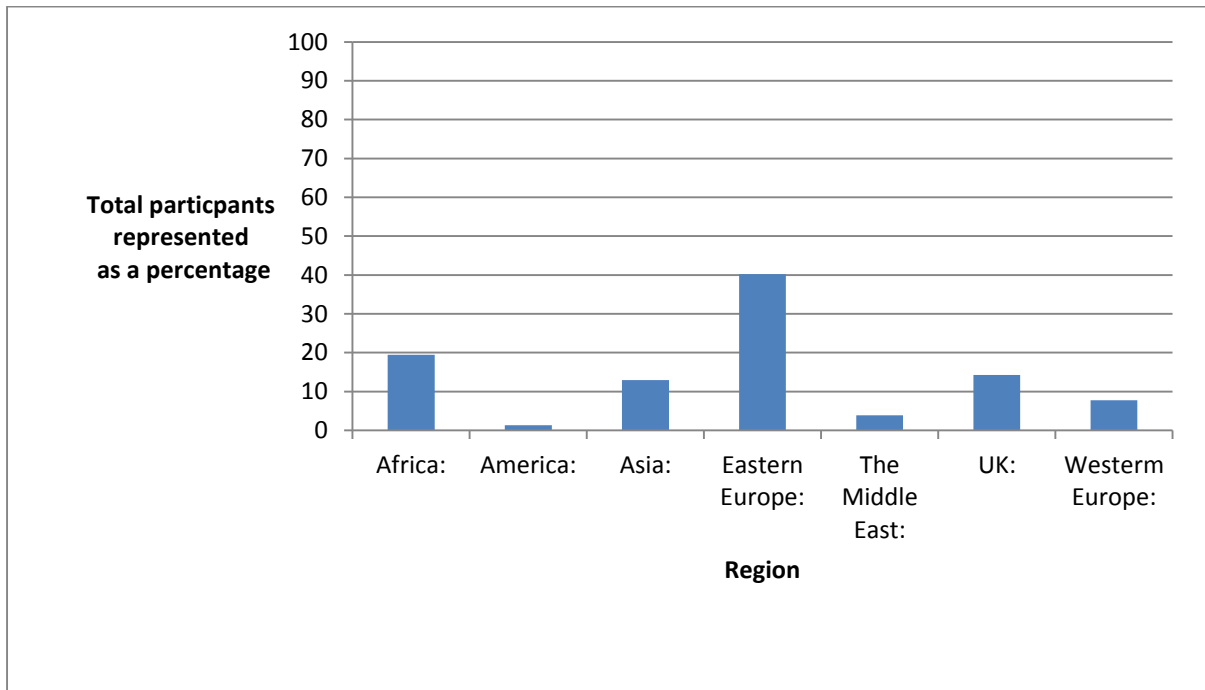
**Figure 1. Place of birth for respondents of European origin**



<http://tinyurl.com/klye57u>: (Last accessed 23:33, 17/05/14)

To give a more quantitative analysis we have represented the data from Google Maps as a bar chart, as seen in Figure 2.

**Figure 2. Total participants stratified by region**



**Africa:** Cameroon (2), Ghana(1), Uganda(1), Kenya(1), Nigeria(1), Sri Lanka(1), Sudan(1), Zimbabwe(3)

**America:** U.S.A(1)

**Asia:** India (6), Mauritius (5), Philippines(2)

**Eastern Europe:** Bulgaria(1), Hungary(2), Lithuania(3), Poland(24)

**Middle East:** Iran(1), Iraq(1), Pakistan(1)

**Western Europe:** Germany(1), Italy(1), Portugal(3), Spain(2)

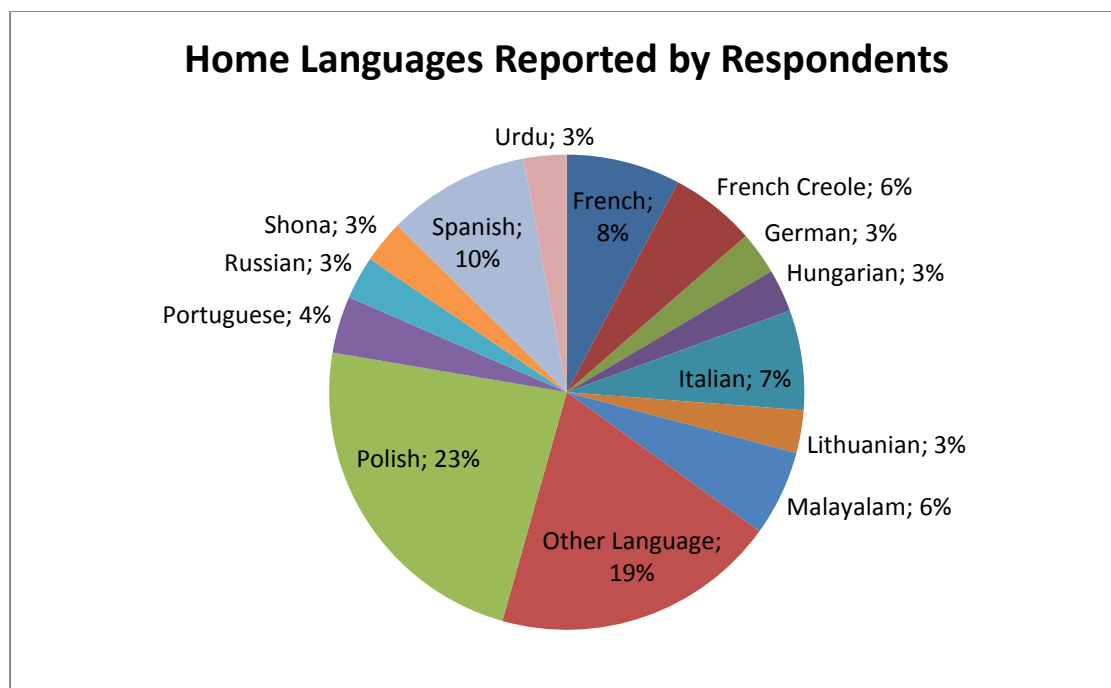
Those that have previously lived abroad represent the majority of the participants in the study (85.71%). This is to be expected, as one is more likely to be multilingual after moving to the UK from abroad. The graph shows where people from other countries lived before moving to the UK.

Eastern Europe is by far the largest contributor with 46.36%. Asia (19.64%) and Africa (16.67%) also represent significant chunks of those who lived abroad. 10.06% of students who have lived abroad lived in Western Europe, while the Middle East (4.55%) and America (1.52%) make up the rest of those analysed.

Interestingly, those that previously lived in Poland represent 77.42% of the Eastern Europe Bracket and 36.36% overall. Naturally this is the largest amount of data we have for one country, as the next highest is 6 respondents from India (9.09%).

We shall introduce the findings of our two-day data collection at Saint Paul's in the form of figures 3 and 4. In total, there were twenty-nine non-English languages reported by the seventy-seven respondents. These individual languages represented a staggering variety of geographical regions and language families, ranging from more traditionally well-represented languages (at least in the context of Western Europe) such as French and Spanish all the way through to African tribal languages such as Efik and Eket. Indeed, there were a number of instances throughout the data collection period where our group members were confronted by speakers of a language that they were entirely unfamiliar with – not just in terms of how it actually sounds when spoken, but in terms of its existence at all. Figure 3 below provides a broad summary of the range of attested languages spoken by students at Saint Paul's. For the purpose of clarity, those languages for which there were only one or two reported speakers have been grouped together under the label “other language”, and represented separately in figure 4.

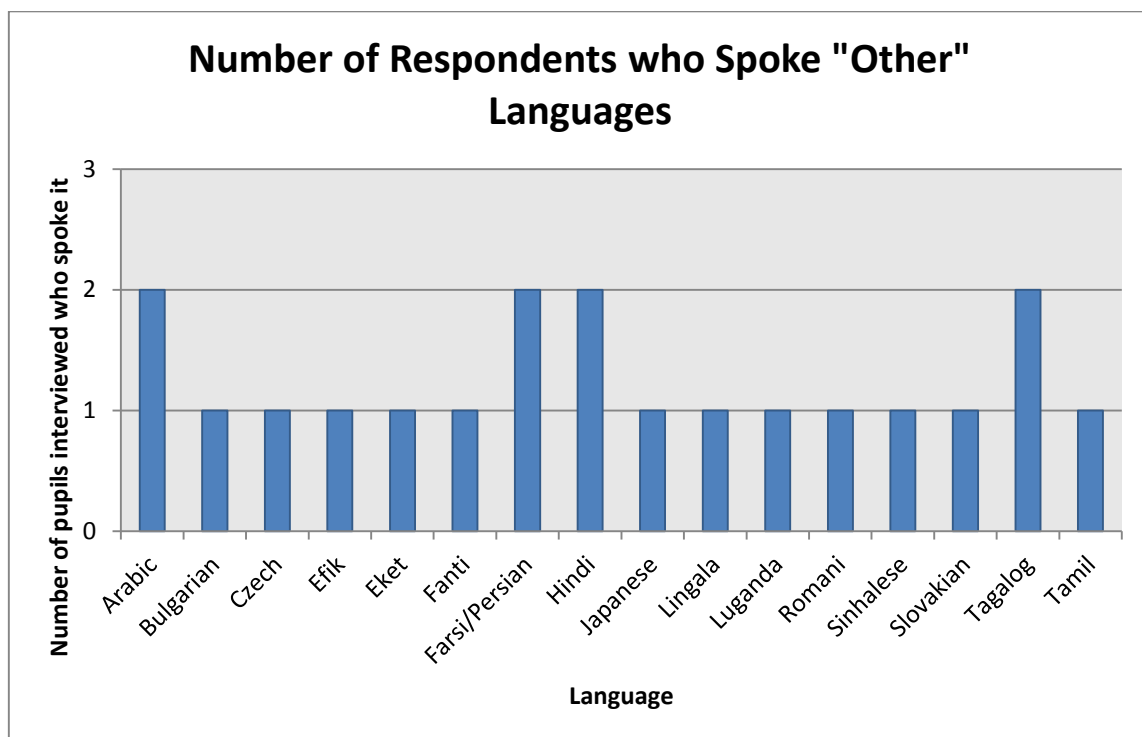
**Figure 3. Proportion of home languages reported by respondents**



As the above chart evidences, the most prominent minority language present amongst our survey respondents was Polish, reported by 23% of the speakers that were surveyed. This is consistent with the previous School Language Survey investigation conducted at Saint Paul's in 2010, which also found Polish to be the language other than English with the highest number of recorded speakers (Edden et al 2010:13).

Although this particular aspect of our language survey appears to have shown no change in the four years between surveys, of particular sociolinguistic interest is the increase in the sheer number of languages reported by the survey participants. The 2010 data on Saint Paul’s listed three languages – Polish, Malayalam, and Cantonese – and no more. Our survey results therefore represent a nearly tenfold increase in the number of minority languages being spoken within this particular school. To further illustrate this linguistic diversity, we have included a bar chart below that details the breakdown of the “other language” category.

**Figure 4. Number of pupils surveyed who spoke “other” languages**



It is difficult to attest with any real certainty what is responsible for such a vast increase in the number of minority languages spoken by the students of Saint Paul’s Catholic High School over a relatively short timeframe. We would perhaps be most naturally inclined to attribute differing migration patterns over the time that has elapsed since the last language survey carried out at Saint Paul’s (Edden et al 2010). Indeed, the 2011 census data for the Wythenshawe and Sale Constituency indicated that 12% of those living in the area were born outside of the UK (Office for National Statistics, 2011a), compared to just 6% in the 2001 census (Office for National Statistics, 2001a). This significant increase in the proportion of residents in the area who were born abroad is presumably what has caused the increase of minority languages in the school.

## 2. General Observations

### 2.1 Age moved to UK

As we were surveying pupils of different ages, we also worked out for each child how long they had been in the UK based on the information they had given us about their date of birth and the age they were when they moved. This was then cross-referenced with the region they had moved from. There are obvious benefits to finding out at what age and from what country multilingual children arrive in Manchester. If, for example, patterns between age of arrival and language proficiency can be established, then future provisions can be better implemented to accommodate multilingual children within schools.

**Figure 5. Those who have previously lived abroad sorted by region and age:**

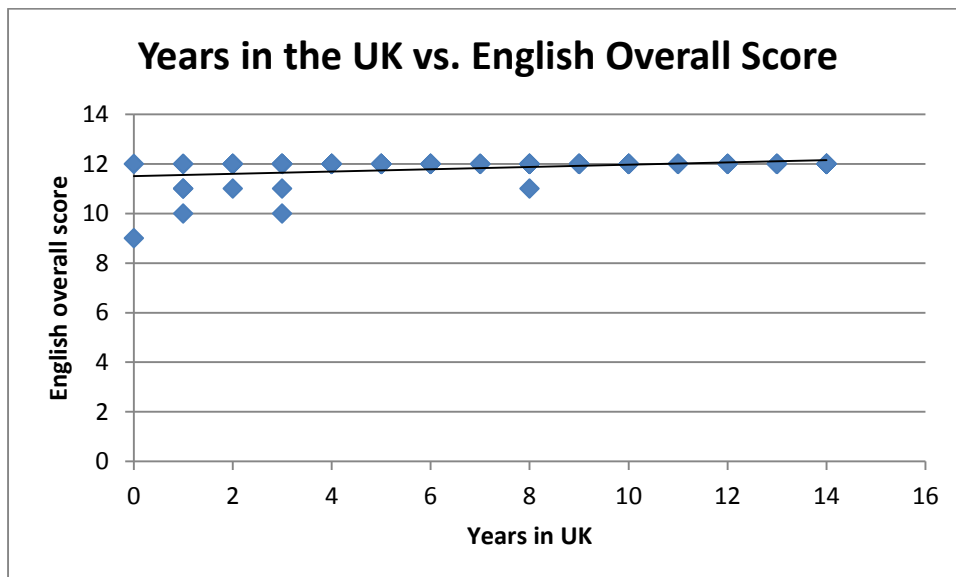
	Age:	Number of participants:
Africa:	0 to 3	2
	4 to 6	4
	7 to 9	2
	10 to 12	6
America:	0 to 3	0
	4 to 6	1
	7 to 9	0
	10 to 12	0
Asia:	0 to 3	5
	4 to 6	3
	7 to 9	2
	10 to 12	0
Eastern Europe:	0 to 3	4
	4 to 6	10
	7 to 9	7
	10 to 12	10
The Middle East:	0 to 3	0
	4 to 6	2
	7 to 9	0
	10 to 12	1
Western Europe:	0 to 3	1
	4 to 6	0
	7 to 9	1
	10 to 12	5



**Figure 6. Those who have previously lived abroad sorted by age**

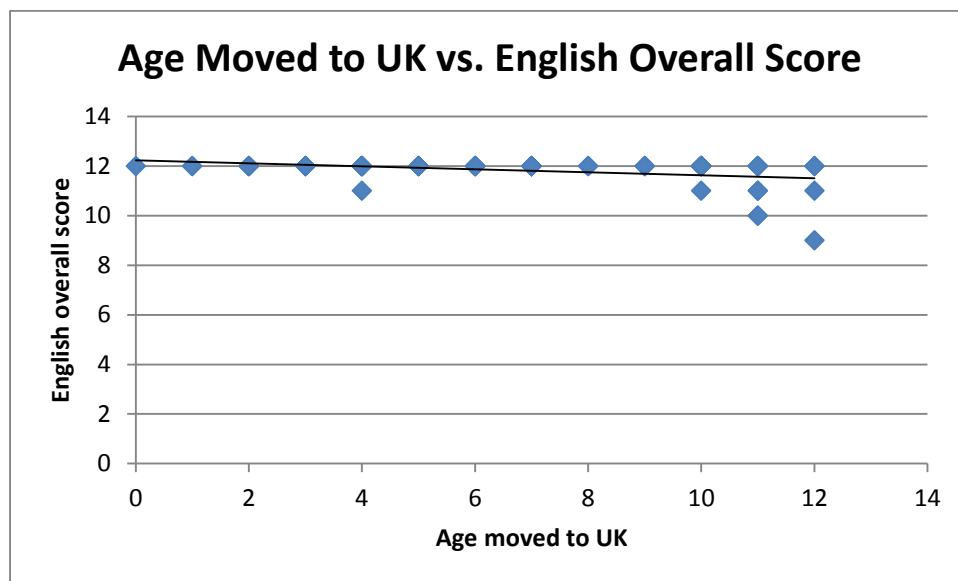
Age moved to UK	Number of pupils who moved at that age	Percentage (rounded)
0 to 3	12	18%
4 to 6	20	30%
7 to 9	12	18%
10 to 12	22	34%
Total	66	100%

**Figure 7. Correlation between how many years each pupil has lived in the UK and their overall score on the English proficiency test**



Correlation coefficient  $\approx 0.380$

**Figure 8. Correlation between how old each pupil was when they moved to the UK and their overall score on the English proficiency test**

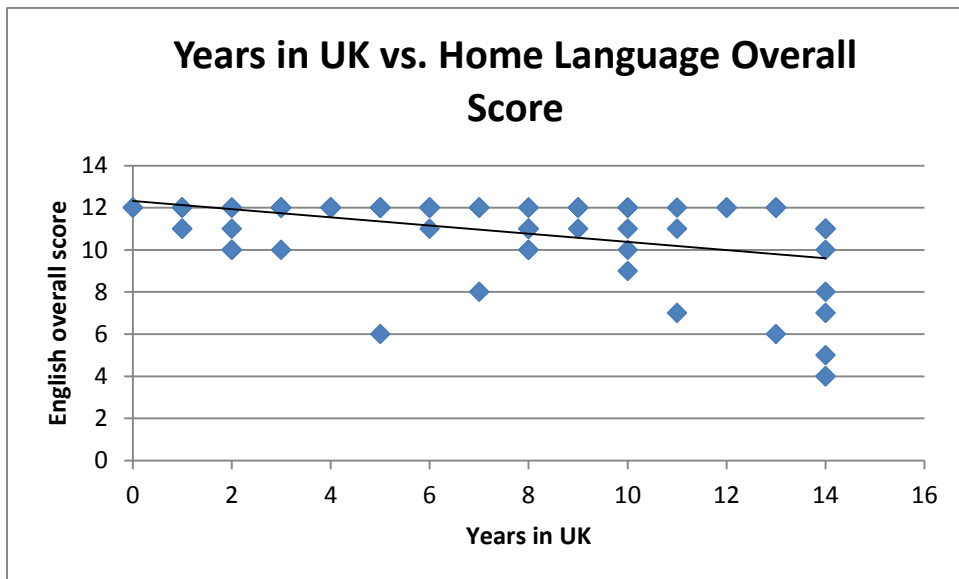


Correlation coefficient  $\approx -0.363$

We have taken any correlation coefficient above 0.2 or below -0.2 to indicate a significant correlation, with those above 0.5 or below -0.5 indicating a strong correlation. Therefore, both of the correlations shown above are significant, but not particularly strong. They do not display a drastic difference between the scores of those who have just moved to the UK, and those who have lived here a while; nor is there a large difference in proficiency between those who moved when old and those who moved when young. Whilst these correlations are not incredibly strong, they do lean in the direction we would expect: those who moved when older, and those who have been here for a shorter period of time are likely to have a lower proficiency score. However, the trendline predicts that these pupils' proficiency scores will be at around 11 out of 12, which is still high proficiency. This reflects incredibly well on the school, both in terms of English teaching and EAL<sup>1</sup> support, as it is clear that most pupils, no matter when they started living in the UK, have a high English proficiency score.

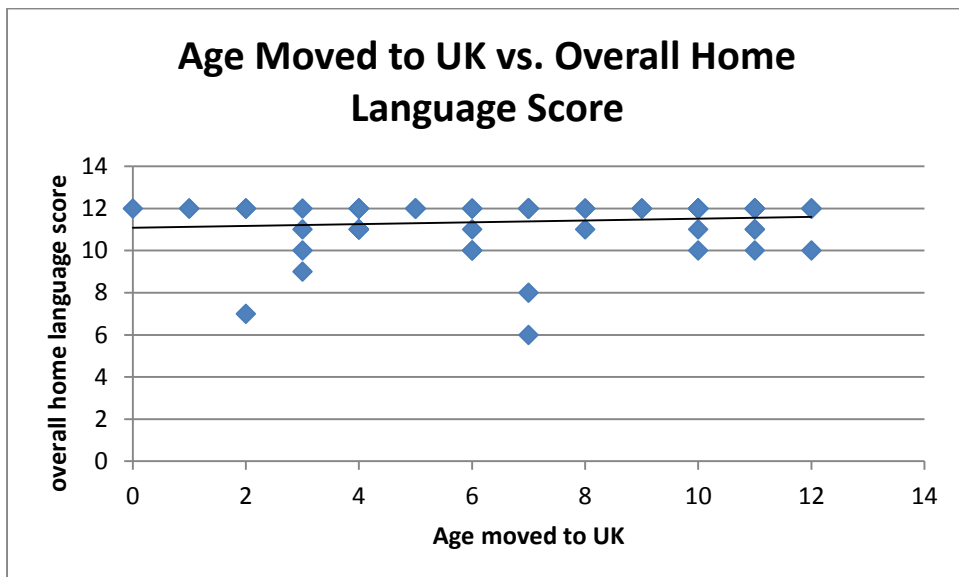
<sup>1</sup> English as an Additional Language

**Figure 9. Correlation between how many years each pupil has lived in the UK and their overall score on the proficiency test for their home language**



Correlation coefficient  $\approx -0.425$

**Figure 10. Correlation between how old each pupil was when they moved to the UK and their overall score on the proficiency test for their home language**



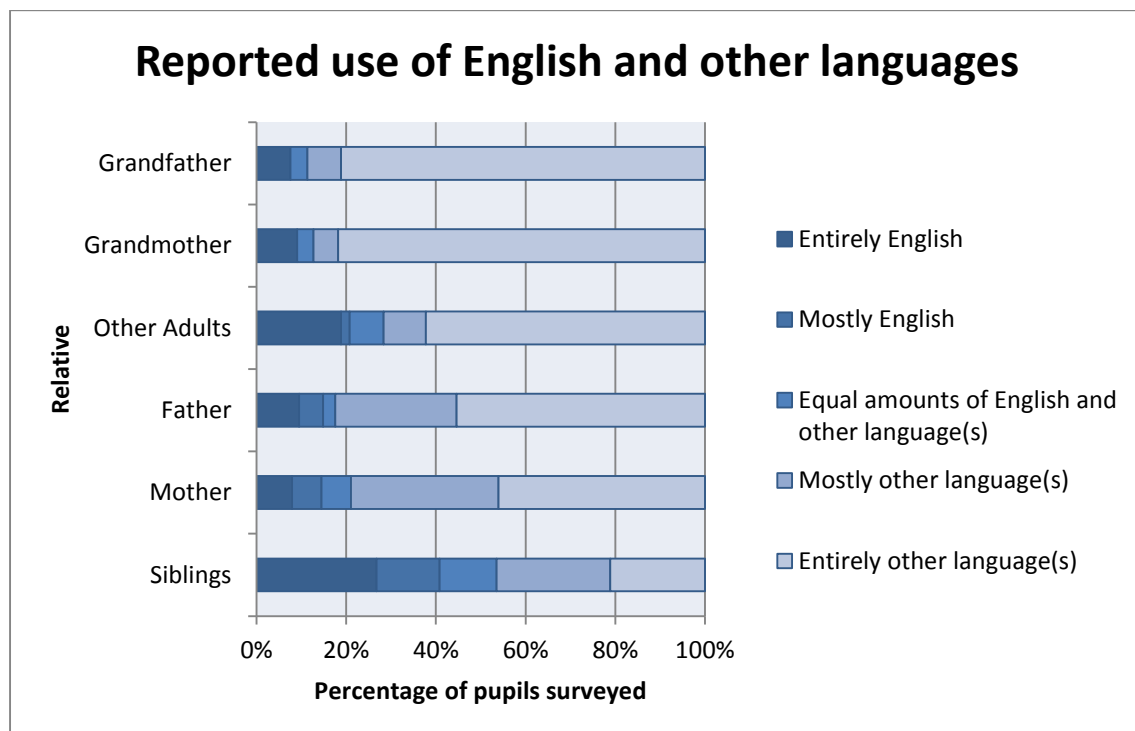
Correlation coefficient  $\approx 0.209$

In the same vein, these graphs show significant correlations, but the difference between the highest and lowest ends of the trendline are not drastic. It appears that the number of years since pupils moved correlates more with their proficiency than how old they were when they moved. Therefore, we can assume the trend in the second graph is caused by the fact that pupils who moved when older have spent less time in the UK than those who moved when young.

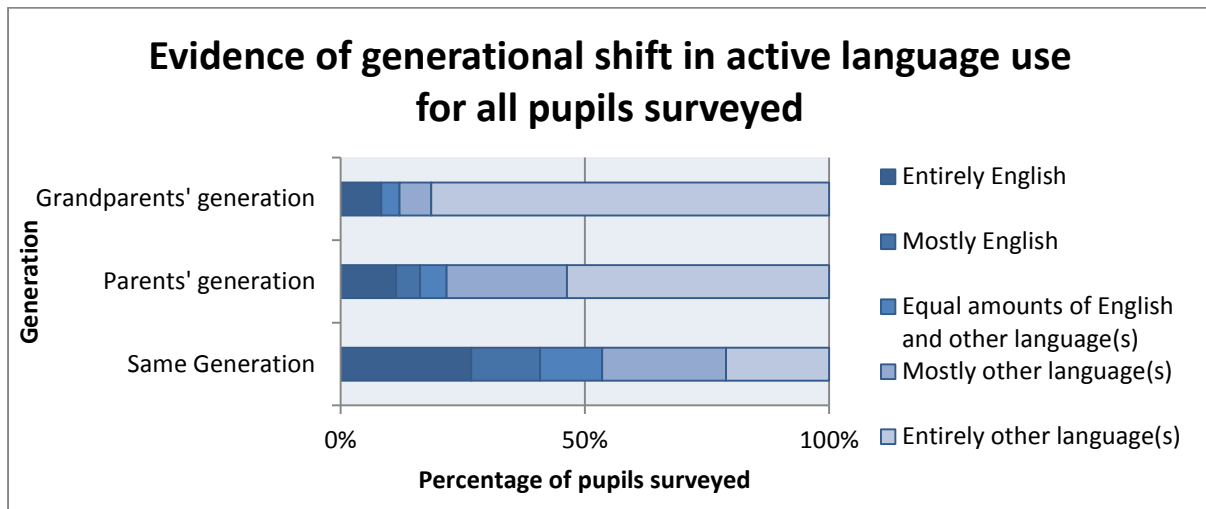
We note that on the x axis for figure 9, the pupils who have lived in the UK for 12, 13 or 14 years are most likely those who were born in the UK, and who are therefore second generation immigrants. However figure 10 only shows the pupils who have lived elsewhere before the UK.

## 2.2 Generational Shift

**Figure 11. Proportion of reported language use for different familial interactions for all pupils interviewed**



**Figure 12. Evidence of generational shift in respondents' reported active language use**



As figures 11 and 12 demonstrate, there appears to be a generational shift in the patterning of language use with respect to alternative generations. From the information presented, we observe that where multilingualism exists, it is predominantly with the older generations (i.e grandparents) where languages other than English are used. This is then graded by generation towards the age of the participant where it appears to be becoming more equal. This could be due to the fact that individuals at St Pauls are socialising with a more varied peer group at school level, so their varied language choice is reflected in their socialising patterns.

**2.3 Domain Variance**

**Figure 13. Proportion of pupils who used their home language and English to varying degrees in media domains**

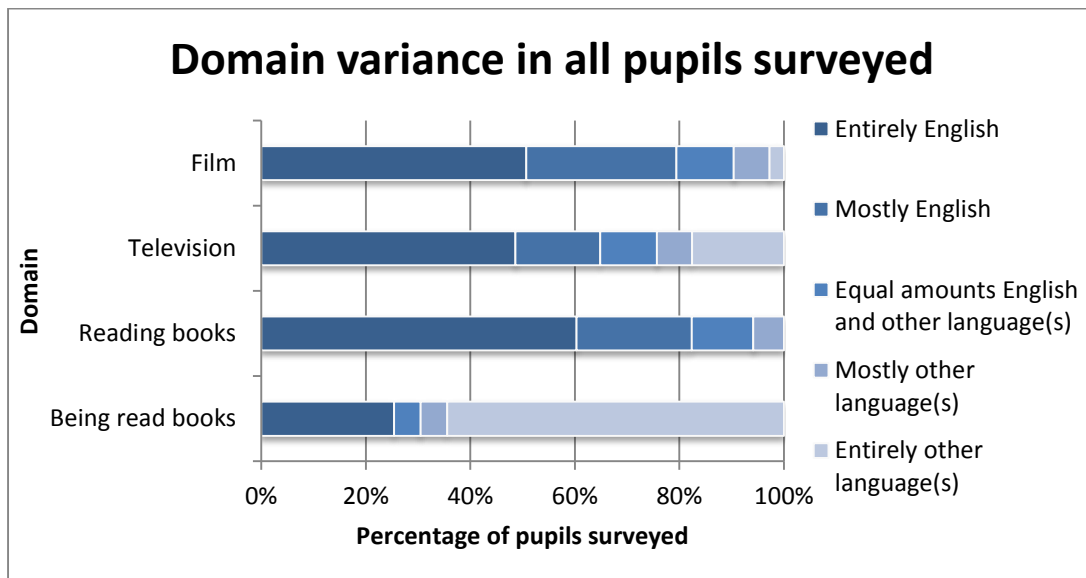


Figure 13 above demonstrates a varied distribution of language use across different forms of media.

As the plotting shows, it appears that the domains pupils use themselves (film, television, books) are dominated by the use of English. This is perhaps due to the fact that these domains are communicated in the national language. Interestingly, the graph also shows that around 65% of peer-read media is communicated in languages other than English. A proportion such as this may relate to an attempt from perhaps parent generations to ensure vitality of alternative languages. This could also be interpreted as an attempt to uphold a type of linguistic ability and identity.

## 2.4 Cultural Identity

This particular analysis concerns one of our primary research questions: “*Are students with a stronger sense of cultural identity likely to be more proficient in their home language?*” Before being able to reach a definitive conclusion regarding this question, however, the data had to be manipulated somewhat. In order to be able to quantify a concept as abstract as “cultural identity”, it was necessary to come up with some kind of system to convert the qualitative answers provided by the students. Fortunately, the answers provided for each of the four questions were largely similar in subject material, and so a straightforward system of assigning numbers based on the nature of the response was devised. This system can be seen as figure 14 below.

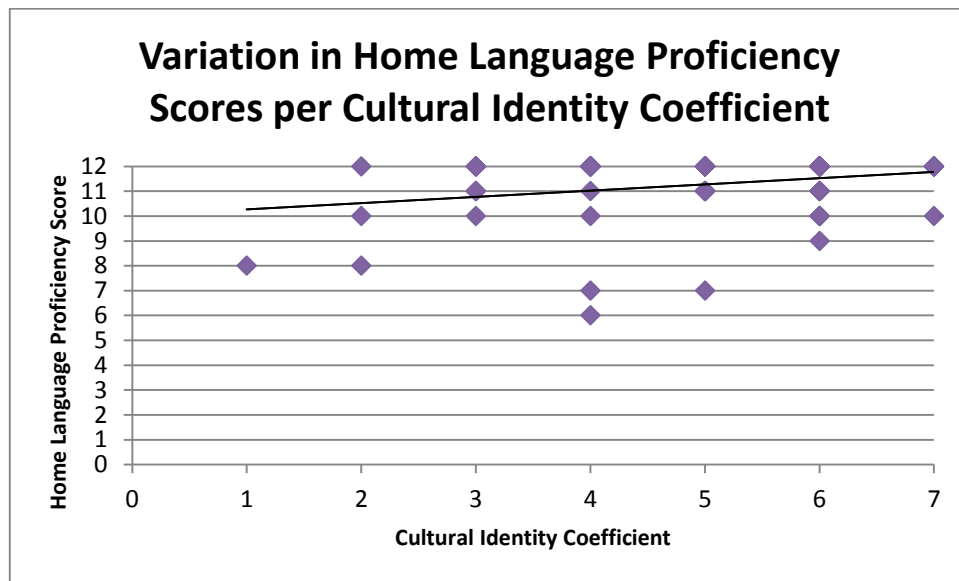
**Figure 14. Explanation of cultural identity coefficient criteria**

<b>Do you feel you have more in common with speakers of your own language?</b>	<b>Do you feel that students of similar language backgrounds tend to associate together?</b>	<b>When with other speakers of your language, which language would you communicate in?</b>	<b>Are you proud to be a speaker of your language?</b>
0 awarded for “no”	0 awarded for no awareness	0 awarded for <i>only</i> English	0 awarded for “no”
1 awarded for “sometimes” / “both”	1 awarded for some awareness	1 awarded for <i>predominantly</i> English	1 awarded for “sometimes”
2 awarded for “yes”	--	2 awarded for <i>predominantly</i> home language	2 awarded for “yes”

For each respondent, the score for each question was added together to create a gradient scale of cultural identity coefficients ranging from 0-7. Once the children who spoke exclusively English were omitted from the sample (alongside one respondent from whom no answers to our supplementary questions were obtained), there were no tokens exhibiting a coefficient of zero. Having converted the cultural identity responses to a set of numerical values, it was then possible to produce a chart to visually determine if a correlation existed between cultural identity coefficient and home language proficiency.

This was done by juxtaposing each token’s coefficient with the results of their language competency evaluation (only the evaluation pertaining to their “primary” home language was used; that is to say the non-English language for which they received the highest proficiency score) and plotting a scatter graph. Each interval along the horizontal axis represents a different stage on the scale of cultural identity coefficients, and each dot on the graph represents a unique home language proficiency score exhibited by a respondent from the relevant stage.

**Figure 15. Correlation between each pupil’s cultural identity coefficient and score for proficiency test for their home language**



Correlation coefficient  $\approx 0.263$

As can be seen from the trendline at the top of the chart above, there appears to be a positive correlation between cultural identity and home language proficiency. Although the gradient of this line is only gradual, it is nonetheless pertinent to our analysis as it demonstrates that our predictions were correct. In terms of the data we collected, those children who self-identified as being more aware of and in tune with their heritage culture also demonstrated a more advanced grasp of their home language. Whether this grasp of the language comes from immersion within the alternative culture or if this increased immersion in their heritage culture brings with it an increased desire to engage oneself with a heritage language, the scope of our survey does not allow us to determine.

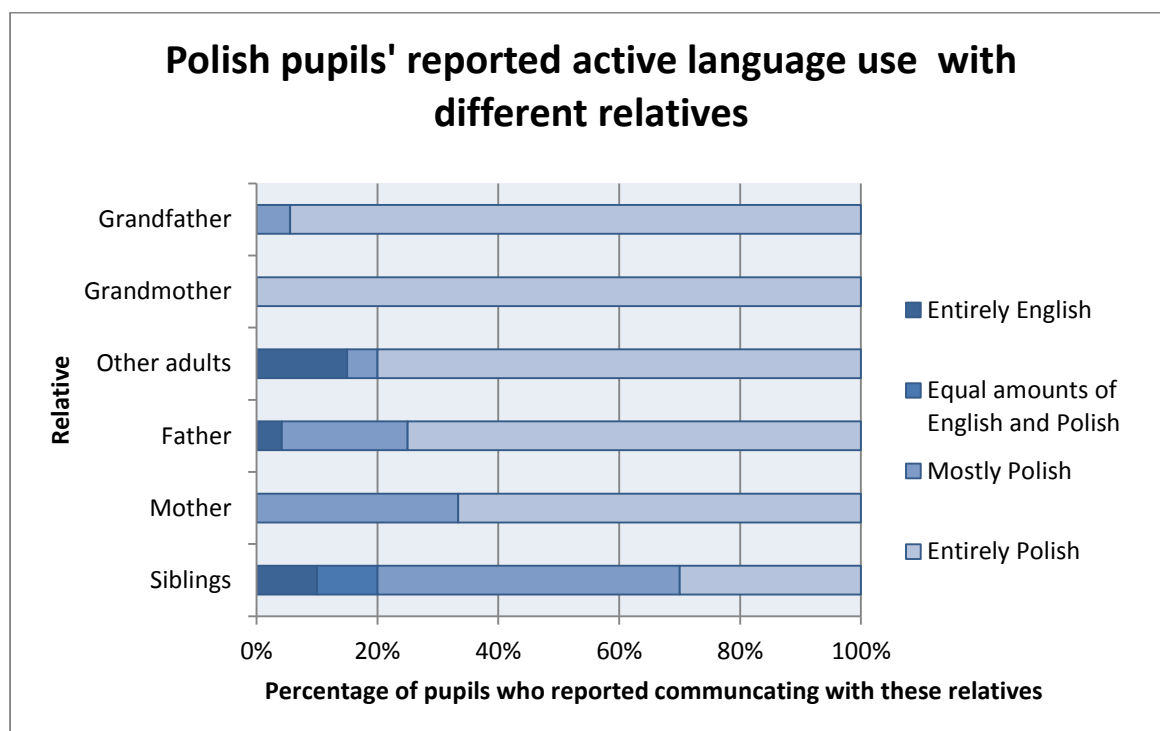
### 3. Polish Pupils

Between 2001 and 2011, the number of residents in the Wythenshawe and Sale East constituency who were born in Poland increased from 84 to 1,678 (Office for National Statistics, 2001b and 2011a respectively). This surge of immigration includes all of the 24 Polish speaking pupils we interviewed.

In the 2011 census, only 1,612 people from this area reported their “main language” to be Polish (Office for National Statistics, 2011b). This is probably due to the absence of a definition for “main language” which may have led to Polish speakers reporting English as they use it more in day-to-day life. In fact, we would expect the number of Polish speakers to be greater than the number of people born in Poland, as there would be second-generation immigrants, born in England, who are also native Polish speakers. We cannot compare this data to the 2001 census, as this question was not included in previous censuses.

### 3.1 Generational Shift

**Figure 16. Proportion of reported language use for different familial interactions for Polish respondents**



Similar to the graphs shown in figures 11 and 12, this graph demonstrates that it is predominantly in the older generations where Polish is mostly observed. It should also be noted that none of the Polish pupils reported speaking mostly English with some mixing of Polish to any of their relatives, so this category is not present on the graph.

Concerning the one pupil (SP14) who reported speaking only English to their father, this was an English stepfather, and the pupil reported speaking mostly Polish and some English with their mother. This pupil received a full proficiency score of 12 for English, and dropped only 1 point in the Polish proficiency evaluation, so evidently this mixing of languages at home has had no negative impact on the child’s language skills.

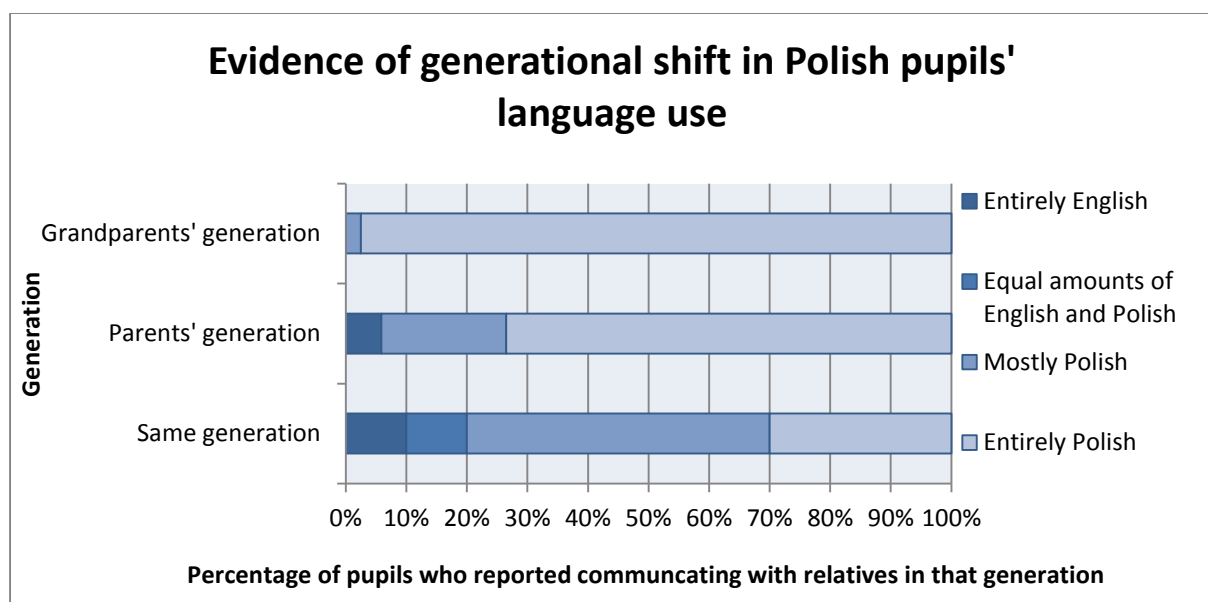


In order to more clearly see the differences between generations, we have condensed the categories to show just one bar for each generation. As “other adults” referred to uncles, aunts or step-parents, we have included this in the “parents” generation.

Figure 17 shows a clear generational shift, with more and more English being used when communicating with younger generations.

However, there were still very few who reported using solely English with their siblings, and 90% of respondents reported speaking some amount of Polish with their siblings. This shows that whilst the Polish pupils speak more English to younger generations than older generations, they are mostly still using Polish as well.

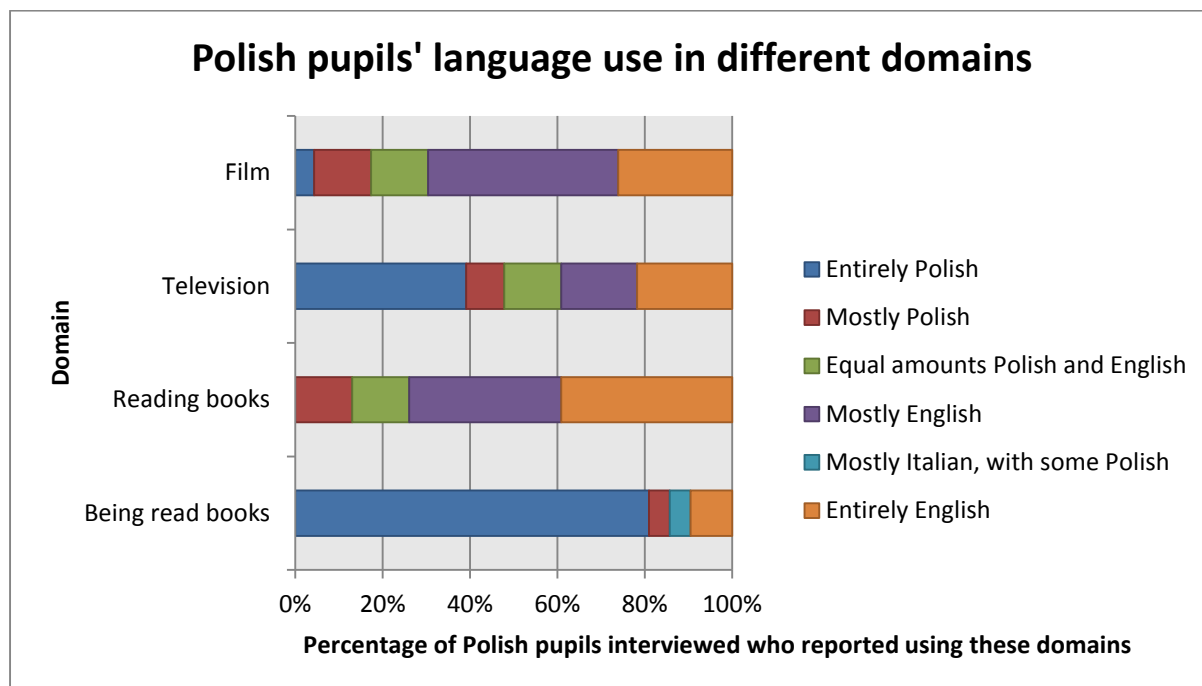
**Figure 17. Evidence of generational shift in Polish pupils' active language**



Where there was a difference between active and passive language use with relatives, this tended to lean towards Polish being predominant in passive language use, where some English would be included actively. Two of the Polish pupils reported that they were teaching their mothers English, and one that they were teaching their grandfather (however, this pupil reported their grandfather only speaking to them in Polish, so presumably he or she is teaching the grandfather to understand English better rather than to speak it). As this was not given as a question on the survey, this data is just from pupils mentioning it themselves. In future surveys, it may be interesting to include a question on this, and see if there are many more pupils who do this with relatives, and how they feel about doing it. Pupils also reported using English with siblings in the context of homework.

### 3.2 Domain Variance

**Figure 18. Proportion of pupils who used Polish and English to varying degrees in media domains**



The graph above shows that there is no consistent pattern in whether pupils use English or Polish for these domains. However, for books being read to the children, Polish was the dominant language. We feel it is sensible to attribute this to the fact that all of our Polish respondents were born in Poland; that is to say that their mothers would be far more likely to read stories to them in their native language.

In order to test their correlation with the English and Polish proficiency scores, the answers for each domain were encoded on a scale of 1-5, where:

- 1 – Entirely English
- 2 – Mostly English
- 3 – Equal amounts of English and Polish
- 4 – Mostly Polish
- 5 – Entirely Polish

However, no correlations were found which showed the effect of television, films and books on proficiency in either language. This refutes the idea that some people may have, that using one language more than the other in these domains may have a negative effect on the child's competency

in the other language. In fact, the data appeared to show that watching television more often in Polish than English positively correlated with a higher score in English.

However, this correlation, while significant (correlation coefficient  $\approx 0.281$ ), was still very weak, so we would not use this to conclude that watching more Polish television causes improvements in a child's English. Rather we use this to point out that it is definitely not negatively correlated, so pupils should not be discouraged from watching Polish television on the basis that it will in some way have a negative impact on their English.

### **3.3 Moving to the UK**

We tested to see if there would be a correlation between either the age pupils were when they moved away from Poland or how many years they had been in the UK and the pupils' proficiency in Polish. Neither measure produced a significant correlation (correlation coefficient for years in UK  $\approx -0.147$ ; for age moved  $\approx 0.099$ ) which indicates that neither pupils who moved to the UK at an older age, nor pupils who had been in the UK for more years were any less skilled in Polish. Given the high rate of Polish use across all of the surveyed domains, this comes as little surprise.

### **3.4 Writing**

21 out of the 24 Polish pupils surveyed were able to write in Polish. We consulted a native Polish speaker and showed the sentences they had written, keeping them anonymous. Out of the 21 that could write, there were 15 who made no mistakes at all. 6 pupils made mistakes in their writing, which were mostly spelling errors. There were 2 instances where the native speaker had to change a whole word, but other than those two, the mistakes seemed to only be one or 2 letters, particularly the letter z.

### **3.5 Identity**

Please note that one of the Polish pupils was not asked the identity questions. Therefore the numbers here refer to 23 speakers rather than 24.

Encouragingly, all of the Polish pupils answered "yes" to the added question about whether they were proud to speak Polish. However, one of the children added that they were not proud of this in school. On the other hand, two Polish pupils commented that cultural identity is important to them, which is why they are proud to speak the language; a third believed bilingualism is important. One respondent stated that the English pupils were excluded, which reflected the general response to another added question about social groups.

19 of the pupils reported that there were Polish social groups within the school, whilst only 4 said there were not. The pupils were then asked what language they would speak when in a group of Polish children. 17 answered Polish, 5 answered both Polish and English, and only 1 answered English. A few pupils commented that this was because some of their friends had trouble speaking English, so presumably would feel more comfortable conversing with their peers in Polish. This could perhaps explain the formation of Polish social groups, as non-Polish speakers would be excluded from Polish conversations.

However, whilst the Polish pupils appear to socialise mainly with one another, only 7 of them responded that they felt more in common with Polish people than speakers of other languages.

Therefore, the division of Polish social groups appears to be language-motivated, rather than cultural. This contrasts with the predictions we made based on previous literature, as we would have expected Polish pupils to group together due to a shared sense of cultural identity, whereas our data show that this separation of social groups is more due to the ease of speaking their native language to one another. We argue that this shows that the school is reinforcing positive attitudes towards other cultures, as so few of the Polish pupils reported feeling they had less in common with non-Polish pupils.

## 4. Case Studies

### 4.1 Multilingual Speaker 42

During our research, we came across a multilingual child who was previously native to Lithuania before moving to the UK as a young child. The speaker, who we will label SP42, showed proficiency in English, Russian, Lithuanian and a Balkans dialect of Romani. With these languages, the speaker was able to code switch between communicative domains and interlocutors. To measure the language proficiency of SP42, we used the standard proficiency evaluation created for the School Language Survey.

**Figure 19. SP42's overall scores in the proficiency tests for each language**

Language used	Overall proficiency score out of 12
English	12
Romani (unspecified Balkans dialect)	12
Russian	5
Lithuanian	4

Interestingly, despite their links to Lithuania, our speaker had the lowest possible proficiency score in the Lithuanian language and showed a similar ability in their proficiency in Russian. As our speaker stated, this was because they had yet only learned a few basic concepts within the two languages from their parents during home tuition to aid their formal education. SP42 explained to us during our interview with them that their parents had advocated language as a powerful tool in general education and showed us that as a result, SP42 developed an eagerness to pursue both Russian and Lithuanian further should they have the chance. This type of attitude towards language is encouraging in a pupil of SP42's age (14) and shows an active desire to go against the 'linguistic hegemony' found to be common in many western communities (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2001).

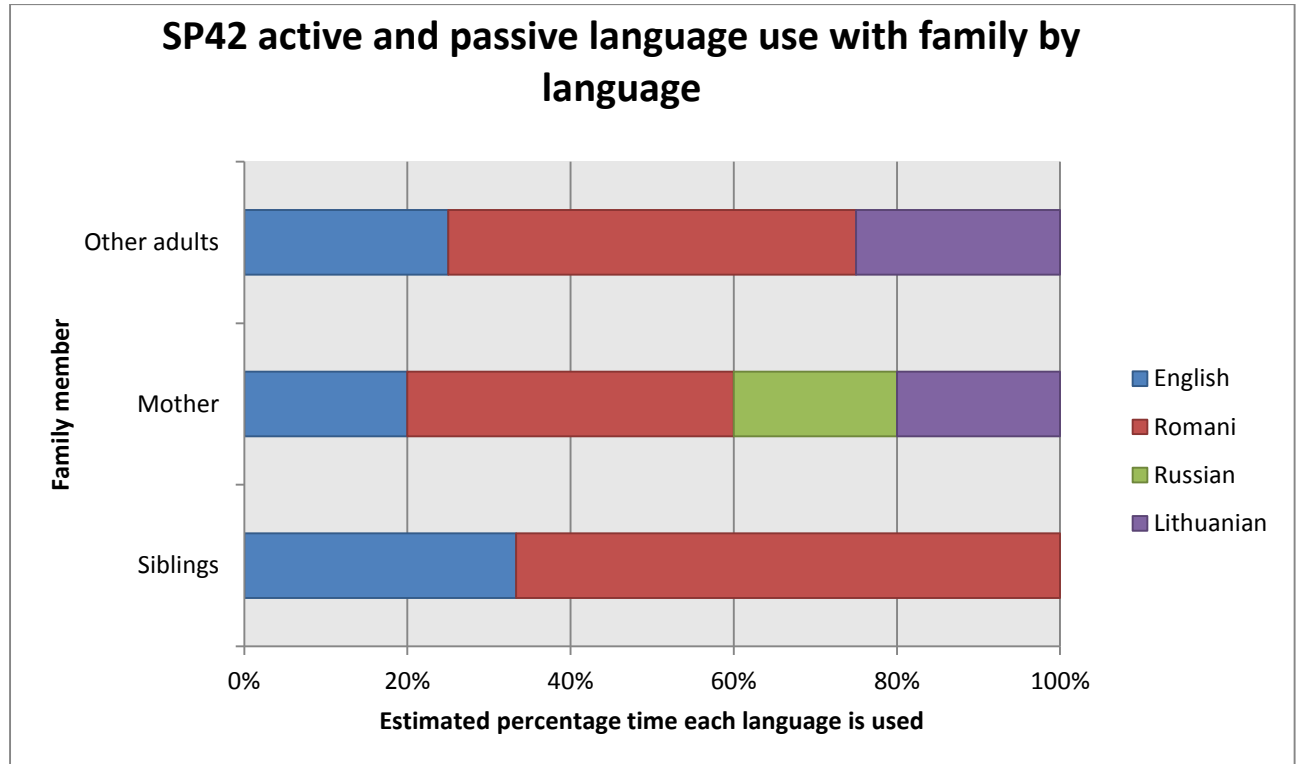
Users of the Romani language and its internal dialects are often regarded under the exonym 'Gypsies'

by most Anglophonic speakers and are a population of language users in the Indo-Aryan language family most commonly localised to eastern and central Europe.

As Matras (2005) states, there is no known tradition of *one* standard facet of Romani so it is often difficult to categorise the language in a way that would gauge a set home language. Though this true, the Roma people tend to be a very traditional community in their cultural and educational practises with most children often receiving home and/or “community education” as their main resource for tuition (Smith, 1997: 243). This approach to learning encourages community pride in Romani users and SP42 displayed a high level of identification and satisfaction with their capabilities in use of the Romani language.

In their interview, SP42 told us that despite their ability in negotiating the English language, their main communicative device is the use of Romani. This rang true across a number of domains of their language use with regards to communicating with close relatives and family members as well as in school where possible. The percentage of SP42’s language use across home domains is exemplified by figure 20.

**Figure 20. Estimated proportion of the time S42 uses each language in conversation with family members**



From the above chart, we see that SP42 chooses to adapt her communication to use Romani the majority of the time. In their interview, it was observed that SP42’s reasoning behind this is that they

have a high level of pride in their language use and through adopting this avenue of communication; they are able to preserve a cultural identity.

This appeared to be the central motivation behind SP42's language use and as they stated, they made a deliberate choice to not use English where possible in the home domain despite their formal education being strictly in English. Though from the data shown in figure 20 it appears that there is still a significant use of English in the home, the speaker stated that this was mainly due to aiding the learning of their younger siblings who were not as proficient in Romani as they were, and was mostly used for correcting misunderstandings.

In further investigation, SP42 was asked about their interaction with other social groups whilst at school; particularly those who are also multilingual. Our speaker stated that they often engage in mixing with other social groups and regularly use this as a tool to explore other languages as much as they are able. Although SP42 did not show a measured proficiency in languages other than those cited above, this tells us that for SP42, language serves as both a symbolic and a socially functional tool, apart from its standard practical uses. This idea is explored by Hughes (2013) in their paper on language representation in relation to Romani.

Interestingly, the faculty at St Paul's school showed an awareness of the Romani language and appeared to have made provisions where possible to accommodate the language needs of SP42. As an extreme minority language within the school, this has proved difficult as there is only one speaker of the language known to the institution; made more difficult by the dialect SP42 adopts. Traditionally, Romani appears to be a very "guarded" language due to non-linguistic controversy surrounding its people so provisions made to compensate for Romani speakers deserve much praise.

#### **4.2 Multilingual Speaker 44**

Also of particular linguistic interest was an interviewee who reported being – alongside English – a speaker of the languages Efik and Eket. Both Efik and Eket are members of the Niger-Congo language family, and are spoken in the southern regions of Nigeria (data sourced from the Ethnologue). The responses of this particular individual proved interesting to analyse when we considered the argument asserted by Bassegy Edem Antia in 2000's *Terminology and Language Planning*;

*"In the last two decades in particular, Efik has witnessed a downturn in its fortunes. Usage spheres of the language as well as competence levels are declining."* (2000:179)

Given that this is apparently the current status of Efik as a language, one would perhaps expect our Efik speaker to exhibit little knowledge of their language. This, however, was not the case. Speaker 44's Efik proficiency score was 10 (of a maximally-available 12), and they were additionally able to produce a writing sample translated to English as "Hi, how are you?". This is a direct refutation of Antia's arguments as far as a generalised decline in speaker competency is concerned.

With regards to Antia’s assertions concerning an apparent reduction in the overall usage spheres of Efik, we feel it is a cogent counter-argument to simply present the table of familial language use for our speaker. Here we see clear evidence to the contrary that even here in England where Efik’s status is one of an extreme minority language, usage of the language in a home environment continues to pervade.

**Figure 21. Reported Language Use for Different Familial Interactions for Speaker 44**

<b>Familial Interaction</b>	<b>Reported Language Use</b>
Parent-Child	Efik > English > Eket
Grandparent-Child	Efik = English
Other Adult-Child	Efik = English
Sibling-Child	English > Efik

As the above table aptly serves to demonstrate, Efik is a prominently-used language in the home life of this particular respondent. English – as we might expect – is present also, but it is only within the interactions that the speaker has with their siblings that it is used more frequently than Efik. Aside from being an effective rebuttal to Antia’s (perhaps somewhat antiquated, given the relative age of the book) assertions, this also offers what is likely to be the most definitive explanation for our speaker’s proficiency in their heritage language despite no ongoing tuition, given the frequency with which they speak it.

## **5. Conclusion**

In sum, our data provides an extremely interesting insight into the nature of domain variance and cultural identity. It does however do far more than this, as this report forms a robust depiction of multilingualism at St Pauls; we have given a thorough statistical analysis of the languages spoken, proficiency in English and we have shown how long people from abroad have lived in the UK.

Our work on domain variance has highlighted a generational shift in the language habits of our multilingual participants. Multilingual children increasingly report themselves to use the “other” language when talking to older relations. This can be seen as an accommodation; multilingual children are sensitive to the listening requirements of their hearer and choose which language to use accordingly. Interestingly however, in all tests done on domain and generation, the majority of participants spoke their native language when talking to anyone who is not of their own age. The Polish data is particularly salient for this, as active language use shows that “entirely Polish” is the largest data group for every category barring siblings.

Similarly, our data also show that using a particular language deepens the connection with the culture of said language. Those children who self-identify as being more aware of their heritage culture also demonstrate a more advanced grasp of their home language. There is however an element of ambiguity, as it is not clear-cut as to why this is so. Whether the actual use of the second language deepens the cultural connection or if the child becomes more interested in the culture as a consequence of learning the language still remains unclear.

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