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Language use in different domains of the 'Curry Mile', Rusholme, Manchester

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1.0 Introduction

Our fieldwork focuses on an area located in Rusholme, Manchester which has widely become known as 'The Curry Mile'. The name derives from the convergence of Indian restaurants, takeaways, shops and other businesses that are all situated within a two mile radius on Wilmslow Road. Having started as "an ordinary suburban shopping district" in the 1960s (Kaplan & Li, 2006: 194), the area has now become one of the most popular districts for Indian cuisine in Manchester, is home to about 14,000 residents and is situated close to two large universities. For this reason, the Curry Mile does not only attract many tourists, residents, and students, but also potential business owners, which makes the area very susceptible to language variation.

Due to the language and ethnic diversity there, Rusholme seemed a perfect place to carry out an investigation into multilingualism in Manchester. The main aim of the study was to highlight the languages spoken within this area, and to discover which domains these languages were used in, especially with regards to multilingual speakers. The investigation focused on five business areas- restaurants, takeaways, clothing and jewellery shops, and hairdressers, which represents the ratio of businesses along Wilsmlow Road. This allowed us to compare language use, not only within professional and social domains, but also between business sectors.

Our hypothesis stated that in more culture-based businesses, such as the fashion stores, English would be less prominent due to their specific target audience. Newsagents, restaurants and takeaways on the other hand were expected to attract a wide variety of language speakers, which we hypothesised meant English may be used a lot more, possibly as a lingua franca.

Other hypotheses that we maintained were that the domain, the addressee and also the age of the speaker would largely affect the choice of language used. Expectations included that younger speakers would use English more, perhaps due to the higher possibility of them having grown up or being schooled in England than the older generation, and that native speakers of non-English will use English in the workplace, especially with customers and their native language amongst their family and friends.

Due to the high density of Asian restaurants and takeaways, it was expected that the most prominent languages used would be Asian languages such as Urdu and Punjabi, with instances of other minority languages such as Polish and Arabic. English was also expected to be a prominent language, being the national language and thus requiring the participant to have the ability to speak it, at least to some degree.

Findings from a similar study conducted in 2010 by Littlefair et al. show some support for our initial hypotheses, varying slightly in terms of the businesses they investigated. This study aims to reinforce and strengthen their findings regarding language use across business domains, whereby they found that English was used predominantly within the working environment whereas minority languages were preferred in more informal and social contexts.

2.0 Methodology

Using our previous pilot questionnaire as a guide, a questionnaire was drafted that aimed to evaluate language use across the business sector, looking at different domains, both professionally and socially. These questionnaires would be taken to each business - five restaurants, five takeaways, five clothing and jewellery shops, and two hairdressers; in order to provide twenty-two sets of data to analyse.

The questionnaire was split into eight questions, the first of which dealt with age and ethnicity, as it was expected that ethnicity would influence their first language, and reflect any subsequent languages spoken by the individual. We also asked which languages the interviewee came into contact with most regularly. As our study also wanted to investigate language use across domains, the remainder of the questions asked which languages were spoken most often with customers, colleagues, suppliers, friends and then various family members. The questionnaire, along with responses, can be seen in Appendix A.

 To collect the information, participants were interviewed within each business orally, recording the answers, which were later transcribed. The same set of questions was used for each participant. The distribution of questionnaires to be completed by hand was ruled out as we predicted that a large proportion would be either lost or forgotten about, whilst recording also

gave the interviewer to ask for clarification where an answer was ambiguous. In a study conducted by Yeh et al (2004), where written questionnaires were distributed, a considerable amount were not returned. We wanted to avoid this in our study, and ensure that we received the data we needed.

The interviews were undertaken at two separate times, by two different sets of interviewers. The same piece of recording equipment was used for both, whereby a portable device with an inbuilt microphone digitally recorded sound to an MP3 format, which was later used to transcribe the answers. Recording would not commence until the participant had given their consent and were aware of the details of our study regarding anonymity. They were provided with information sheets and the assurance that they could withdraw their contribution at any point.

Each interview was undertaken with two interviewers present, whereby, upon arrival to the premises, the purpose of the investigation was explained before asking to speak to the manager. Whereas our plan stated that we had initially intended to interview the manager and one employee from each business, we found that, in some cases, the manager was unavailable and so only an employee interview was available. In others, the employee stated that only the manager was suitable to participate in the study and declined the invitation to take part, with other data having to be removed from the investigation due to the speaker's low comprehension and production of English which we encountered after the first three initial questions. Consequently, one interview was taken from each business, where possible with a manager.

2.1 Methodological Issues

As predicted in our initial plan, some of the businesses we approached were simply unwilling to participate in our investigation. One reason for this was that, in some cases, the employee was reluctant to answer questions without the presence or consent of the manager. Some businesses, however, simply did not want to participate without reason. Another issue, which had not been previously considered, was that, in some cases, there was a complete language barrier, whereby none of the employees were able to speak English sufficiently.

Inconsistency in answers given by the participants proved to be the main issue with obtaining information; for example, languages were listed as being spoken in certain domains, which were not initially listed in response to the question asking which languages the participant could speak. This resulted in us having to question the interviewee further, to confirm which languages they could actually speak. We attributed the inconsistency of the answers in some cases to a possible misunderstanding of the question. It could have been misinterpreted, for example, that the question was asking which language was *heard* amongst customers, instead of the language in which they used to communicate with them.

Incomplete and inconsistent responses also surfaced from the question, 'In your line of work, which languages do you come into contact with? Which most often?' Responses were frequently over-general, such as "all sorts". In these cases participants were pressed for a more detailed answer, asking for a comprehensive list if possible, in order to provide solid data. Despite this, vague answers such as 'Eastern European' were still given, which we understood to mean a variety of languages, such as Polish and Czech, which the participants were unable to differentiate. In these cases, results regarding language contact were not comprehensive.

Despite the distribution of our pilot questionnaire and subsequent refinement of the questions, we discovered that in some of the businesses, extra (and valuable) contributions of information were provided, whereby languages were specified for communication with their spouse and children. We realised that this would have provided a greater data source of information regarding languages spoken across different domains, but did not wish to alter the questions on our questionnaire halfway through our study. If we were to repeat the survey, we would choose to include these questions as part of our investigation. In five of the interviews, language interaction with children was provided which is commented on in our subsequent results section.

Unfortunately, when asking about certain family members, especially grandparents and, in some cases, parents, answers were not given, for reasons we did not pursue, resulting in incomplete data sets.

3.0 Results and Discussion

3.1 Analysis of language use according to business type.

Amongst Newsagents, participants' native languages were English (40%) and Urdu (60%). In the working environment, English was used predominantly, but Urdu and Punjabi more so when speaking to friends and family. Language contact in this business sector was similarly English and Urdu within all five of the businesses, with two companies also reporting Bangladeshi, Russian, Hindi and Arabic. Although N4 gave a more varied number of languages in which they came across, this is not sufficient evidence to support the hypothesis that newsagents would offer a more international variety of languages but does support the more general idea that English, as well as Punjabi and Urdu, would be the most frequently used language on the curry mile.

Restaurants provided a much wider range of language use. Native languages listed were Mandarin, Urdu, English and Bengali, with participants communicating with their family and friends solely in their native languages. English was generally used when dealing with customers, whereas language used with colleagues and suppliers was more varied. Usually, this correlated with the participants' native language, other than R1 who used Cantonese with suppliers and only Mandarin with colleagues. Overall, the languages noted by participants showed customers using the native language of where the cuisine was based, as well as English.

Despite none of the participants speaking English natively in takeaways, this was the language most frequently used with customers, suppliers and colleagues, as participants were still able to speak it fluently. Moreover, English was used mostly with friends, only switching with friends who were unable to speak English. Although there were more occurrences of native language use amongst family members in this sector (Arabic, Pashto, Kurdish and Urdu), some participants still attempted to use English with their parents, aiming to improve both their own and their family's use of the language. Takeaways provided the largest spread of language contact with a wide range of Asian and European languages given.

Similarly with hairdressers, English was not the native language for the participants, (these were Arabic and Pashto). However, in one case, English was still the predominant language spoken in

the workplace, with their native language only being used with family and friends. In the other hairdressers, the languages used were more varied in each domain, but English was still being used with customers. These businesses also claimed to come into contact with Pakistani, Spanish, Kurdish, Urdu, Punjabi and Turkish.

Finally, when looking at the fashion stores, there was again a wide spread of language contact, with a range of Asian languages alongside English, French and Somali being listed. The most commonly used with customers, colleagues and suppliers were Hindi, English, Urdu and Punjabi whilst communication with family and friends tended to be in their native language (English, Urdu or Hindi). In this sector, as it is highly culture-specific, the hypothesis was that there would be a smaller percentage of language contact and language usage of English. In reality, two out of the five shops approached; F3 and F5 did in fact use solely English with customers. Conversely, in another two shops; F1 and F2, English was not used at all, either a Hindi and Urdu mix or Urdu only, giving some (yet not significant) support to this hypothesis. F4 noted that if the customer had the ability to speak English, even though it may not be their native language, they would use it, showing English being used as a lingua franca (a 'bridge' language used to make communication possible between those who do not share a native language). Therefore, it could be that the customers were of Asian origin, having Asian languages as their native tongue, but that English was the preferred or assumed form of communication. This further provides support for the hypothesis that English would be the language used by all of the businesses, at varying degrees of fluency, showing that English is still a prominent language in multilingual areas.

3.3 Analysis of languages used dependent on age

Originally it seemed that age would play a large role in the effect on language use, with the hypothesis that the younger generation would show more evidence of predominant usage of English. Older participants (who possibly had not spent their whole lives in England and had moved here at an older age), on the other hand, were expected to exhibit a greater use of their native language over English.

One example of the potential effect of age on language was illustrated in R5, whereby the participant stated that his parents and children have no way of communicating, due to the fact

that his children speak English only, whereas his parents speak Urdu only. This shows language shift has occurred across generations and the participant acts as a form of communication between the two generations due to his bilingualism.

On the whole, however, there was very little correlation between age and language use. The ages of participants approached ranged from eighteen to fifty-two. There were only two cases, out of the twenty-two participants we interviewed, where English was used exclusively over all domains and this was demonstrated by a nineteen year old N1 and fifty-two year old N4, representing two completely different ends of the spectrum.

Additionally, where English was completely absent (more expected with older speakers), the participants were twenty-three and forty-three, again, showing little consistency between age groups. This initially suggests that age does not play as large a role in language use as first expected, although a larger scale analysis would have to be undertaken to determine to what extent this would be true.

3.4 Analysis of languages used with family members

When looking at language trends within families, we found that there was much less variation in the languages spoken, than for example between customers and colleagues. This was as expected, since the language spoken with relatives seemed to be their native language, in most cases.

We noted several interesting points regarding language use in this domain. In most cases, the native language was the language used with all family members. For example, if the interviewee's native language was Punjabi, it would be spoken with parents, grandparents, and siblings, which was the case in thirteen out of twenty-two interviews.

There were, however, several cases of language variation between generations. The main difference was in the language spoken with children and siblings. For example, in the case of T3, Urdu was used with parents and spouse, whilst English was used with siblings and children, and the participant in R4 reported using English and Urdu in equal measures with their children. One

explanation could be that, since their business is based in England, their children would be growing up with English, and would probably attend an English speaking school. It is possible too that, if the siblings had moved to England at a younger age, English has become the language spoken most often, with significant competency to render it the preferred language of communication. If this study were to be extended, it would be beneficial to include questions regarding the length of the interviewee's residency in the country and the place and length of residency of all relatives, as this would provide more insight as to why certain languages are used with different relatives.

Such examples of bilingual contact emphasises the need for English but also allows them to include the language of their heritage, which is something that they may share with siblings or wish to share with their children, as most commonly this is the language spoken with parents and grandparents.

3.5 Analysis of languages used with customers and colleagues

As Fishman (1965:68) indicates, group membership is one of the most important, controlling factors in the language that people use. This can be applied to workplace membership, where a certain language is spoken to achieve group identity. This does not apply to the choice of language with customers, since group identity is not needed. Language choices are fully conscious with customers, to ensure good communication and service, but it is not due to the need to form a group identity.

In one of the businesses, H1 noted using English with colleagues in order to assist her learning of the language. This could be attributed to wanting to attain identity with English speakers. It could also be due to the fact, with English being the national language; a better ability to speak it would be beneficial in other areas of life.

English was shown to be the language used mostly with customers, as is illustrated by the figure in Appendix B, and there were only two cases where English was not noted to be used with customers at all; Urdu with F2 and Hindi and Urdu mix with F1.

A particularly interesting finding was that one shop owner, F4 stated that although he could not produce the languages some of his customers used to speak to him, e.g. Urdu, he had passive knowledge of the language. He quotes, "If they speak Urdu then I have to speak English to them even though I understand what they are saying."

These findings show similarity to those of Littlefair et al. (2010: 4), in that English would be predominantly used in business situations, with customers, whereas other languages may be used in more informal contexts, for example with colleagues. On the other hand, in one case, F3, the participant's first language, and the language used within most domains, was English but with colleagues and suppliers he used Punjabi and Urdu, showing that this choice may very much depend entirely on the person and business.

One native speaker of Pashto, H2, stated that she chose to speak English with other Pashto-speaking colleagues in order for them to practice their English. Fishman (1965: 86) drew on this when stating that language shift occurs due to "particular configurations of dominance or variance." For this particular speaker, English was seen as the dominant language due to the vast majority of their customers being English speaking and therefore beneficial to practice it where possible.

3.6 Analysis of the hypothesis that English would be spoken by all interviewee's, to varying degrees.

Although all of the participants spoke English, there were some cases in which staff had a low level of English, directing us to another member of staff with a higher level for us to interview, while other stores lacked any staff member that could speak English to a suitable level to participate. This was surprising as the initial expectation had been that all those who we approached would have some level of English, which turned out not to be the case. However, from the participants that we conducted a full interview with, there can be seen to be usage of English at varying degrees, as we hypothesised.

4.0 Conclusion

Our study revealed many things about language use from speakers in businesses on the Curry Mile, mainly that there was a wide variety in the number of languages being spoken, with eight reporting native languages, ten second languages spoken to varying degrees of fluency and seven additional languages listed as those that they came into contact with.

Our investigation into language use in different domains revealed that the language spoken to customers was predominantly English. We believe this to be mainly due to the national language being English, and thus the expected form of communication between residents, regardless of their first language. English serves as a lingua franca, providing a method for non-native speakers to communicate. We also attributed this to the large number of students from the two Universities situated close to the Curry Mile, many of which speak English natively or fluently as a second language.

Although we originally hypothesised that English would be used more amongst the younger generations, results did not reflect this. Instead there was a mixture of languages being used, with high dependency on individual language choice and the business sector.

English generally tended to be used more than other languages, both in formal and informal situations, professionally and socially. Other languages were spoken in cases where both speaker and addressee shared another language, and were perhaps more comfortable communicating using this language.

Although this study did not yield conclusive results for all the hypotheses put forward, further investigation would provide more concrete evidence to support for each, whilst increasing the data set to strengthen our existing findings.

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Questionnaire:

1. Name of business

2. Job Title

3. Age

4. Ethnicity

5. What is your first/native language?

6. Do you speak any other languages? If so, to what level? (beginner, intermediate, fluent)

7. In your line of work, which languages do you come into contact with regularly?

8. What language do you speak mostly with:

- Customers

- Colleagues

- Suppliers

- Friends

- Family:

- Mother and Father

- Grandparents (mothers/fathers side, if applicable)

- Siblings

Responses:

Newsagents

1. N1

2. Cashier

3. 19,

4. Asian

5. English

6. Just English

7. English (mostly), Urdu.

8.

- Customers- English

- Colleagues- English

- Suppliers- English

- Friends- English

- Mother and Father- English

- Grandparents- English

- Siblings- English

1. N2

2. Cashier

3. 26

4. Pakistani

5. Urdu

6. English- fluent, Punjabi- fluent.

7. English, Urdu.

8.

- Customers- English

- Colleagues- English

- Suppliers- English

- Friends- English, Urdu

- Mother and Father- Punjabi

- Grandparents- Punjabi

- Siblings- Punjabi

1. N3

2. Manager

3. 45

4. Pakistan

5. Urdu

6. Speaks Punjabi, German and English fluently

7. English

8. Customers- English

- Colleagues- Urdu
- Suppliers- English
- Friends- English or Urdu depending on what language the friend speaks best
- All family- Urdu

1. N4
2. Cashier
3. 52
4. Jamaica
5. English
6. Patois (Jamaican English)
7. English mostly, Bangladeshi, Russian, Arabic
8. Customers- English

- Colleagues- English
- Suppliers- English
- Friends- English
- All family- English

1. N5
2. cashier
3. 21
4. Pakistan
5. Urdu
6. Speaks Punjabi and English fluently
7. Urdu, Punjabi, Hindi, English
8. Customers- English usually

- Colleagues- Urdu
- Suppliers- English to our English suppliers and Urdu to our Pakistan suppliers
- Friends- Urdu

- All family- Urdu

Restaurants

1. R1
2. Waiter (manager not available)
3. 28
4. Chinese
5. Mandarin
6. English- fluent, Cantonese- Intermediate
7. English, Cantonese, but English customers mostly
8.
   - Customer- English
   - Colleagues- Mandarin.
   - Suppliers- Cantonese
   - Friends- Mandarin, Cantonese
   - Mother and Father- Mandarin
   - Grandparents- Mandarin
   - Siblings- Mandarin

Extra Information:

Problems encountered: Possible misunderstanding of questions when asked which language he speaks most often with customers as he has mostly English customers yet speaks mostly Mandarin.

1. R2
2. Manager
3. 48
4. Pakistani
5. Urdu
6. Punjabi – fluent, English – fluent

7. Urdu, Punjabi, English (mostly)

8.
- Customers – English
- Colleagues – Punjabi
- Suppliers – Punjabi
- Friends – Punjabi, Urdu
- Mother and Father – Urdu
- Grandparents – Urdu
- Siblings – Urdu

Extra information: Speaks Urdu with children.

1. R3
2. Manager (one of them).
3. 36
4. British Asian
5. English.
6. Punjabi- intermediate.
7. Polish (Eastern European), English (mostly), Punjabi, Urdu
8.
- Customers- English
- Colleagues- Punjabi, English
- Suppliers- Punjabi, English
- Friends- English
- Mother and Father- English
- Grandparents- No contact with Grandparents.
- Siblings- Writes and speaks in Punjabi, but when angry they use English.

Extra Information: Didn't list all of the languages that he came into contact with, seemed to note the most obvious and least expected. Also, as he noted Eastern European languages it illustrates that perhaps they speak English with him but he hears other languages which he is unsure of (could be Czech, Polish, Slovakian).

1. R4

2. Buyer

3.50

4. Bangladesh

5. Bengali

6. Urdu, Hindi, English… speak all of these comfortably

7. Mostly Urdu, but sometimes English

8:

- Customers- Urdu and English, 50-50

- Colleagues- Urdu

- Suppliers- Urdu

- Friends- Urdu and English

- Mother and Father- Bengali

- Grandparents-Bengali

- Siblings- Bengali

- Wife- Bengali

- Children- Half of the time Bengali and half the time English

1. R5

2. Manager

3. 40

4. Pakistan

5. Urdu

6. Speaks Punjabi and English fluently Hindi speak almost fluently

7. English mostly, sometimes get Asian customers

8. Customers- English, sometimes Punjabi or Urdu

- Colleagues- English

- Suppliers- English mostly

- Friends- English unless they can't speak English and then speak whatever language they can speak, usually Urdu

- Parents- Cannot speak English so speak to them in Urdu

- Wife- English
- Children- Speak English only, cannot speak Urdu

Hairdressers

1. H1
2. Manager
3. 31
4. Libyan
5. Arabic
6. English – fluent, Kurdish – beginner
7. English (mostly), Arabic, Kurdish, Pakistani (mostly), Spanish, Urdu (mostly)
8.
    - Customers – English, Urdu
    - Colleagues – Kurdish, Arabic, English
    - Suppliers – English, Turkish
    - Friends – English
    - Mother and Father – Kurdish
    - Grandparents – Kurdish
    - Siblings – English

Extra information: many students, international customers. Appears to speak Turkish with suppliers without any knowledge of Turkish.

1. H2
2. Trader
3. 30
4. Pakistan
5. Pashto
6. Speaks Punjabi and Urdu fluently and English to quite a high level
7. English mostly some Asian Clients so speak Urdu to them
8. Customers- English usually
- Colleagues- Try to speak English because we need to learn to speak it natively
- Suppliers- English

- Friends- Urdu
- Mum and Dad- Pashto
- Grandparents-Pashto

Take away

1. T1
2. Supervisor
3. 21
4. Arabic
5. Arabic
6. English – fluent
7. Have encountered Spanish, French, Indian, Pakistani, Italian, and Dutch. But mostly English, Arabic, Arabic slightly more.
8.
    - Customers- English
    - Colleagues- English
    - Suppliers-They are Arabic but texts them in English
    - Friends- English
    - Mother and Father- Arabic with mother, no information given about father
    - Grandparents- Arabic
    - Siblings- Both

1. T2
2. Cashier, chef.
3. 18
4. Asian
5. Pashto.
6. Urdu- fluent, English- fluent, Persian- Intermediate.
7. English only.
8.
    - Customers- English

- Colleagues- Pashto, Persian, Urdu

- Suppliers- No contact with suppliers

- Friends- English, Persian, Pashto

- Mother and Father- Pashto

- Grandparents- No contact with grandparents

- Siblings- Pashto

Extra Information: Siblings do not live in England.

Extra Information: He has only been working there for a week, but already encountered all of those languages (why?).

1. T3

2. Assistant Manager

3. 49

4. Pakistan

5. Urdu

6. Speaks Punjabi and English fluently

7. English

- Customers- English mostly, whatever is easy for the customers understand. If they speak comfortably in Urdu, we will speak to them in Urdu, but most customers speak English to us and so we respond in English also, even if it is not the native language of either partici-pants in the conversation.

- Colleagues- English

- Suppliers- English

- Friends- Mixed depending on what their first language is

- Mother-Urdu

- Father-Urdu

- Grandparents-No contact

- Siblings- English

- Children-English

- Wife-Urdu, she cannot speak any English

1. T4

2. Behind the counter

3. 32

4. Pakistan

5. Urdu

6. Speaks Punjabi and English fluently, small amount of Greek

7. English mostly

8. Customers- English usually

- Colleagues- English

- Suppliers- English and Urdu

- Friends- English or Urdu depending on what language the friend speaks best

- Mums side of the family- English

- Fathers side of the family- Urdu

- Mother-English

- Father-Urdu or English

1. T5

2. Chef

3. 30

4. Iraq

5. Kurdish

6. English, Arabic, Turkish, Polish very well and also small amount of Spanish

7. English

8. Customers- English

- Colleagues- English

- Suppliers- English

- Friends- Turkish, Arabic, English depending on who they speak to

- Mother-English

- Father- English

- Grandparents- English

- Siblings- English

- Wife- English

- Children- English

Fashion

8. F1

9. Sales Assistant

10. 43

11. Indian

12. Hindi

13. English-fluent, Gujarati- fluent, Bengali- fluent, Urdu- fluent

14. Indian English, Urdu, Hindi

15.

- Customers- Hindi, Urdu

- Colleagues – Hindi, Urdu

- Suppliers- Hindi, Urdu

- Friends- Hindi, Urdu

- Mother and Father- Hindi

- Grandparents- Hindi

- Siblings- English

1.F2

2.Sales Assistant

3.23

4. Pakistani

5.Urdu

6. Punjabi fluently, English a little bit, can understand it but can't speak it fluently

7. Urdu, English and Bengali

- 8. Customers- Urdu

- Colleagues –Urdu

- Suppliers- Urdu

- Friends- Urdu

- Mother and Father- Punjabi

- Grandparents- Punjabi

- Siblings- Punjabi

1.F3

2. Owner

3. 52

4. Asian English

5. English

6. Indian, Hindi, Punjabi speak fluently

7. Bangoli, Urdu, Punjabi, French, Chinese, Samalian

- 8. Customers- English

- Colleagues – English, Punjabi, English depending on which colleague

- Suppliers- Urdu

- Friends- English

- Mother and Father- English

- Grandparents- English

- Siblings- English

1.F4

2. Store Manager

3.43

4. British Born Pakistani

5. English

6. Punjabi moderately, can understand Urdu and speak it at a low level

7. 70% English and also Punjabi and Urdu

- Customers- Depends on how they speak first. If they speak English first, I speak English back. If they speak Punjabi first, I speak Punjabi. If they speak Urdu then I have to speak English to them then they switch to English.

  - Colleagues – English

  - Suppliers- English

  - Friends- English

- Mother and Father- English but if they struggle, throw in an Urdu sentence
- Grandparents- English
- Siblings- English

1. F5
2. Accountant
3. 26
4. Pakistan
5. Urdu
6. Speaks Punjabi, Hindi and English fluently and can speak Spanish slightly
7. English mostly and sometimes Urdu
8. Customers- English
- Colleagues- Mostly English, but to non-English speakers, we speak Hindi
- Suppliers- English
- Friends- English, Punjabi
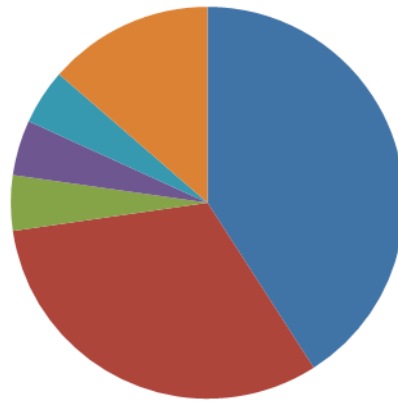- Mother, Dad and Sisters- English
- Grandparents- Urdu

Language use with customers and colleagues

■ **Different languages:**

English always used with customers.
With colleagues:
- English/Hindi
- English/Punjabi (in two cases)
- Pashto/ Persian/ Urdu
- Kurdish/Arabic/ a little English
- Urdu (in two cases)
- Punjabi

■ Different languages
■ English with both
■ Urdu with both
■ English & Urdu mix
■ Hindi & Urdu mix
■ Interesting cases