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Report

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A Multilingual Family's Linguistic Profile in Manchester: A Domain Analysis of English, Urdu and Punjabi

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Introduction

“Domain analysis may be a promising conceptual and methodological tool for future studies of language behaviour in multilingual settings” (Fishman, 1965). As outlined in our plan, we have conducted an *apparent time* research project with the aim of analysing the languages spoken by a South Asian family¹, living in Manchester. We focused on code-mixing, code-switching, language maintenance and the differences between prestigious and vernacular language forms. The languages we chose to investigate were English, Urdu and Punjabi because of our particular interest in South Asian culture and the accessibility of these languages and communities in the vicinity. It was important to find a family containing at least two generations, with a minimum of two languages being spoken fluently by most members. Our project was influenced by Fishman's studies into domains and role-relations within the Yiddish-English communities in the United States and Clyne's study of immigrant languages in Melbourne, Australia. We based our research methods on those of the aforementioned studies as they best displayed the varying uses of language.

We drew upon Fishman's domain choices such as the playground, street and church and altered them to suit our study. As our project is family-focused, we chose fewer domains, namely the home and work, and analysed in more detail the language choices made by different generations. Our family consists of four generations, enabling us to analyse language maintenance across a full age spectrum. It contains male and female siblings of differing levels of education, providing us with the opportunity to analyse how these variables affect language use. Our main subject is A, a nineteen year old, second generation British Pakistani Muslim, who is in higher education and works part-time

¹ For purposes of anonymity the names of the family members have been reduced to just the initial letter.

These are as follows:

Mrs C = Grandmother	AL = 22-year old son
Mr K = Father	M = 13-year old daughter
Mrs K = Mother	P = S's daughter
A = 19-year old daughter (main subject)	F = A's friend
S = 24-year old daughter	L = A's workmate
Z = 23-year old daughter	D = A's friend

in a fast food restaurant. We have focused primarily on her speech with different interlocutors such as parents, grandparents, siblings, friends, teachers and older people in the community.

The parents migrated to Britain from Pakistan in their thirties and set up home in Levenshulme with their five children. The maternal grandmother and great granddaughter are currently living in the family home. Mr K was educated to degree level in Pakistan, however Mrs K remains illiterate.

We were fortunate enough to have found a family that fitted our brief and that allowed us to enter their home flexibly and on many occasions, including mornings and evenings, to provide us with a vast distribution of their language usage. We were permitted to record conversations, analyse the siblings' Facebook pages and follow our main subject into her places of work and education. From this we were able to conduct domain analysis tables and compare each member's choice of language in different settings. Using interviews as follow-ups provided us with thorough qualitative data, elaborate explanations and opinions to be further analysed.

Throughout our study, we discovered a multitude of differences between Punjabi and Urdu that we had not expected, meaning we did not have enough time to gather sufficient data to prove or disprove our theories. For this reason, we asked the family for additional visits and more intense interviews and fortunately, they were happy to oblige. We discovered linguistic differences between the generations, however a lack of evidence to support our prediction that speech between older and younger siblings would vary. We focused on the family home because we imagined the family to be the domain, where language would be best retained. Many of our hypotheses were proved correct and are analysed in further detail in our research findings and evaluation.

Data Findings

Domain analysis of the parents:

Mr K (Father, 64) and Mrs K (Mother, 54)

Domain	Interlocutor	Language (Active)	Language (Passive)
Home	Grandmother	Punjabi	Punjabi
Home	Mother	Punjabi	Punjabi
Home	Children	Urdu	Urdu
Home	Grandchild	Urdu	Urdu
Neighbourhood	Friends	Punjabi	Punjabi
Neighbourhood	Non-Asian neighbours	Standard English	Standard English
School	Teachers	Standard English	Standard English
Phone	Friends	Punjabi	Punjabi
Phone	Various companies	Standard English	Standard English
Shop	Older Asian staff	Punjabi	Punjabi
Shop	Younger Asian staff	Urdu	Urdu
Shop	Non-Asian staff	Standard English	Standard English

Domain analysis of four children:

S (Female, 24), Z (Female, 23), AL (Male, 22) and M (Female, 13)

Domain	Interlocutor	Language (Active)	Language (Passive)
Home	Grandmother	Urdu	Urdu
Home	Mother	Urdu	Urdu
Home	Siblings	Colloquial English	Colloquial English
Home	Niece	Colloquial English/Urdu	Colloquial English
Neighbourhood	Friends	Colloquial English	Colloquial English
Neighbourhood	Non-Asian neighbours	Colloquial English	Standard English
School	Teachers	Colloquial English	Standard English
Phone	Friends	Colloquial English	Colloquial English
Phone	Various companies	Standard English	Standard English
Shop	Older Asian staff	Urdu	Urdu
Shop	Younger Asian staff	Urdu	Urdu
Shop	Non-Asian staff	Colloquial English	Colloquial English

Domain	Interlocutor	Language (Active)	Language (Passive)
Home	Grandmother	Urdu	Urdu
Home	Mother	Urdu	Urdu
Home	Siblings	Colloquial English	Colloquial English
Home	Niece	Colloquial English/Urdu	Colloquial English
Neighbourhood	Friends	Standard English	Standard English
Neighbourhood	Non-Asian neighbours	Standard English	Standard English
School	Teachers	Standard English	Standard English
Phone	Friends	Standard English	Standard English
Phone	Various companies	Standard English	Standard English
Shop	Older Asian staff	Urdu	Urdu
Shop	Younger Asian staff	Urdu	Urdu
Shop	Non-Asian staff	Standard English	Standard English

Research Discussion

Our first main discovery was that Mr K and Mrs K spoke Punjabi between themselves but strictly Urdu with the children. When interviewed, they said this was done purposefully as Urdu is regarded as a prestigious language. This is an example of diglossia; Punjabi and Urdu coexisting within a society, but Urdu is regarded as the more prestigious. Mr K explained how he grew up in the Punjab region of India, before the partition in 1947, where he learnt Punjabi in every domain. When Pakistan became an independent country, Urdu was made the official language and given a higher status than Punjabi. Urdu was the language of the education system – it was taught as a subject, spoken by teachers and used for exams. Mr K’s parents encouraged Urdu at home in an attempt to improve his studies, however Punjabi remained colloquial and was used by Mr K with friends and family. This is similar to standard and vernacular English. Because of this ideology, Mr K taught his children Urdu and not Punjabi. As Punjabi is the mother tongue of Mr and Mrs K, they converse mainly in Punjabi for familiarity, comfort and to maintain their language as an emblem. They speak Punjabi with the grandmother, who also speaks strictly Urdu with the children for prestigious purposes. When asked about their perception of Urdu, the family stated that speaking Urdu is the best way of displaying respect, and so uphold this practice in the home.

We were able to analyse the speech of Mr and Mrs K when they did their weekly shop in a local Asian food shop, where all of the staff were Pakistani. We found that Mr and Mrs K spoke Punjabi with the older members of staff and Urdu with the younger members. When asked why this was, they explained that it was unspoken knowledge that older members of the community were raised speaking Punjabi and the youth speaking Urdu. Similarly, when A's best friend, D, visited the home with her mother during one of our observational sessions, A's mother naturally spoke Urdu with D but Punjabi with her mother.

Although Mr K is fluent in English, he chooses not to speak it unless he has to. These circumstances in the home are limited to conversations with his children, regarding education or politics. Any other subject matters are spoken about in Urdu. His explanation for this was that he feels it is easier for the children to understand technical matters in their dominant language, English.

Another aspect we noticed is that Mr K did not vary his English in any context. There are many forms of English in modern society; two of which are the Standard form, which is classed as an 'unusual dialect', and the colloquial form. Many distinguish between the two in differing contexts, for example the standard would be used as formal register and the colloquial as informal register. In relation to English, Mr K uses just Standard English when speaking to non-Asian friends, neighbours and business callers. It is common practice to use the colloquial form with friends and family, changing to the standard 'posh' voice for the phone. Mr K, however, does not have a colloquial English form. This is because he is not surrounded by younger, native English speakers and does not pick up the vernacular. Although his children fit this brief, they do not use the colloquial form with their parents, choosing Urdu as a mark of respect. Mr K therefore uses the prestigious, standard English whenever English is needed.

Mrs K did not attend school; we can say she is 'illiterate'. Her main languages are Urdu and Punjabi and she differentiates between them as previously mentioned. Having lived in England for over twenty-five years, Mrs K has picked up some English, allowing her to uphold basic conversations where necessary. These often consist of Mrs K understanding the interlocutor but responding in broken English. She can form ungrammatical sentences and her vocabulary is at a basic level.

A brief transcription of Mrs K speaking to BT on the phone:

BT: Good afternoon, may I speak to Mr K please?

Mrs K: He not in in the moment.

BT: Erm, do you know when he will be available at all?

Mrs K: You call back later.

BT: That's fine. No problem. Thank you for your time.

Mrs K: Ok, bye.

As the children rarely speak Urdu amongst themselves, Mrs K attempts to fit into the conversation using Standard English. This usually reverts to humour as she speaks English in a different accent and the children often playfully point this out. This has led to Mrs K purposefully using English for comic effect. The grandmother, Mrs C, also employs this technique occasionally. The difference here is that although Mrs K may not have brilliant English, she can understand the English spoken by her children, whereas Mrs C cannot. Her English is limited to a few English terms such as 'yes' and 'no' which are generic for many languages anyway. Communication on the whole is very limited for Mrs C as she rarely leaves the home and tends to only speak to members of the family.

Contrastingly to Mr K's usage, the domain analysis table of the children conveys that they differentiate between standard and colloquial English. With each other and their peers, their teachers, non-Asian neighbours and in their work domains the children choose colloquial forms of English. This may be influenced by fashion, popular culture and even divergence. They display knowledge of Standard English being the preferred dialect as this is what they speak during business calls. They speak Urdu with their parents and elder members of the community, but pick up Punjabi to some extent by hearing their parents and elder family members converse, as well as absorbing influence from their Sikh friends and listening to bhangra music.

A's domain analysis shows a unique utilisation of language. She is the only family member to attend a prestigious university, the University of Manchester, where she has made many friends from different parts of the country, including London and Birmingham. It seems that because of this A has adapted her speech to fit in with her peers and the university community she is immersed in. Interestingly however, A refrains from speaking Standard English in the family home as it is classed as 'posh' by her siblings. For this reason, she changes her dialectical style in order to sound colloquial like her brother and sisters, and avoid being ridiculed. A alters her speech in each of these settings in order to gain acceptance; she is a clear example of how *group membership* is influenced by speech. According to Fishman, *group membership* is identifying yourself with a different group to which you belong, want to belong and from which you seek acceptance (Fishman, 1965: 90).

Although English is the dominant language of the children, they still incorporate Urdu in aspects of their everyday speech. Evidence of code-mixing and code-switching was evident in the data. Code-mixing refers to the mixing of languages in a phrase or utterance and code-switching describes the alternation of languages between utterances. Traditionally, these concepts were considered as “language corruption” (see Matras 2009: 101 for discussion). They feature heavily in our study, and are core attributes of multilingual speakers and communities. In our study, we have found that code-mixing in particular bridges the *lexical gap* between Punjabi, Urdu and English. We found that A, her family and peers use specific words in Punjabi or Urdu that do not have a distinct English translation. An example of this would be the Punjabi word *evi* or *emi*. This colloquialism does not have a clear translation into English but is used in place of ‘just’ or ‘why not?’ The word has slight semantic differences according to dialects but generally refers to a sense of ‘nothingness’.

From our study we have found a wide variety of reasons for code-mixing and switching, one of which is religious connection. Heinz Kloss, 1966, briefly mentions Arabic as a *link language* and highlights its religious importance. Many Muslims, like A and her family code-mix and code-switch to trigger a religious response; for example *Asalaamualaikum* is used as a religious greeting, which encourages the speaker to respond with *Walaikum Asalaam*, thus forming a relationship between language and religion. This linguistic tool is used as a way of gaining respect, familiarity and acceptance amongst other Muslims, embodying the notion of an emblematic function of one’s identity and culture (Clyne 2003: 70). Words such as *Salaam* have transcended from religion to race to popular culture. In Arabic-speaking countries, every Arabic speaker understands and uses terms such as *Inshallah* (God-willing), *Mashallah* (by the grace of God) and *Alhamdulillah* (gratitude to God) whether they are Christian, Muslim, atheist or anything else. Words such as *Salaam* are even used in rap songs and films based around American black and hip hop culture; furthering their usage and understanding. When we spoke to A about this in the last interview, she described how she had met a Palestinian Christian at an *Action Palestine* society meeting at university and was surprised that he used such terms. A explained that although she knew the terms were Arabic, she expected them to be used only by Muslims as they held strong religious connotations. She expressed her delight at the fact that she was united with other South-Asian Muslims, African Muslims, white Muslims, Arabic Christians and people with no religious or Arabic affiliation by terms which meant something personally to her. She also told us that she enjoys listening to *nasheeds*, or Islamic songs, which are nearly always sung in Arabic. Whilst she does not understand the messages, she says she likes the sound and feels a religious alignment to the songs and was pleased when she discovered that her Arabic Christian

friends also listened to *nasheeds*, although they listen for cultural reasons and A does for religious purposes.

In the K household, and many similar Muslim homes around the world, Arabic has a strong influence due to the fact that it is the language of the Quran and the language the family speak whilst conducting their daily prayers. Although Arabic is not understood by the family, it holds a high status; words like *Bismillah* are recited when members of the family start tasks or begin their meals or journeys. When the children started school, they were all enrolled in classes at the local mosque to learn to read the Quran and daily prayers.

Another reason for code-switching is to emphasise a point. In one instance, Mrs K asked A to join her in the kitchen but heard no response so repeated the command moments later in Urdu. "These reiterations are stylistic choices made by the speaker to emphasise a point of view and thereby to evoke the hearer's identification." (Matras 2009:105).

Media Variances

Our study has an additional element to those of Fishman and Clyne that predominantly took place in the twentieth century, due to the proliferation and widespread influence that the mass media now has. Times have changed and at present the media is not state controlled, most of the media variants featured in our research are specialised and independently funded.

Many more examples of code-mixing, code-switching and nonce-borrowing were found when we looked into the differences of English, Urdu and Punjabi in media domains. The many varying branches within the media offer unique insights and practices regarding bilingualism and dominant languages. National television offers series and programmes on terrestrial television such as Desi DNA on BBC2 and Channel 4's Indian Winter. Channel 4 often shows films in Hindi late at night. National channels then branch out to satellite and Sky channels specific to Bengali, Hindi, Gujarati, Urdu and Punjabi. From our research, we counted over sixty-five channels on Sky television specific to South Asian culture, the majority of which are broadcast in a language other than English. The channels most frequently watched by Mr K are DM Digital, ARY QTV, GEO UK and Prime TV. All of these channels broadcast in Urdu, Punjabi and English. We focused on these channels because they were the preferences of our family, and discovered that of the shows they broadcast:

- The majority of news programmes, talk shows, political shows, daily current affair shows and drama serials are in Urdu,
- All of the comedy shows, some films and comedic drama serials are in Punjabi,
- And shows regarding international affairs and those for younger children are in English.

This suggests that programmes dealing with important issues are broadcast in Urdu and that Punjabi is used solely for humour. When asked for their views on this matter, the family told us that comedy does not work well in Urdu and it is not considered polite to speak in Punjabi in many communities; hence the reason why news-related programmes are constructed in Urdu. Interestingly, we found that many of the Islamic shows on these channels were broadcast in English to cater for the second generation; of whom not all speak Urdu. Another reason for this choice may also be that Muslims are often not of South Asian descent.

National radio stations aimed at a South-Asian audience are not common but the BBC produce the BBC Asian Network. There are, however, many local radio stations (based mostly in London) aimed at Punjabi-speakers and a more general South Asian audience. Examples of stations we looked into are Punjabi Radio, Amrit Bani (based in Southall), Kismat (London), Desi radio (West London), Akash Radio, Kushkabri, Sukh Sagar and Panjab radio. These are all on Sky television and the internet for worldwide accessibility. The Asian radio stations do not appear on Virgin Media, Freeview or other Satellite packages as the aforementioned movie and music Asian channels do. Asian Sound Radio is a local South Asian radio station broadcast around Manchester and Liverpool and is favoured by Mr and Mrs K. The children sometimes listen to this station if they are at home.

Mr and Mrs K watch purely South Asian channels on Sky television, favouring Zee TV and Prime TV. They do not watch English channels aside from the news, which is watched by Mr K. The children do not watch any South Asian channels apart from music channels such as B4U and Zing. They expressed no interest in any dramas, soaps, comedy programmes or news in languages other than English.

The local newspapers read by the family are in English and Urdu. The children tend to read the Metro, picking it up on the bus or train and they sometimes pick up *Asian Leader* from Wilmslow Road. It is a local paper written in English and made up of stories affecting and addressing the South Asian community in the North West. Mr K reads *The Daily Jung*, a local newspaper written in Urdu; *jung* means 'war'. The family also read *Manchester Evening News*; no one in the family reads

national newspapers. National magazines with South Asian audiences such as *Asiana*, *Sensazn* and *Asian Woman* are not read by the family.

Facebook

Perhaps the most interesting media domain we researched was the internet, in particular, Facebook. In contemporary society, Facebook is the focal point of many young peoples' lives and this is applicable to A and her siblings. They wrote mainly in English on Facebook but we discovered that many Punjabi and Urdu words had become fashion statements amongst the second generation of South Asians nationwide. These Urdu words and sentences by A and her peers are nearly always written in English script. We noticed many instances of code-mixing and code-switching and have compiled some below.



This group has over 3000 members and is entitled 'Oi! Stop copying, the teacher's watching!' The title code-mixes and is a jovial statement.





The word *kasme*, *kasmeh* or *kasam* means 'promise' or 'swear' and derives from *qasam* in Arabic. It appears in many Indo-Iranian languages and retains its general meaning across the board. It has become a linguistic trend amongst the South Asian second generation in the Western world. It can be classed as emotive language and has become generalised as it is used in everyday speech under any context. There are many groups and fan pages on Facebook dedicated to its use and it has become so popular it has transcended cultures to white and black communities in inner city areas. Above we see somebody called Melissa Thomas appreciating its usage. It is often linked with the abbreviation 'bro' as seen above. This phrase can be heard in the 2010 film *Four Lions* about British




jihadists, directed by Chris Morris.


Facebook | Search

 **BLACK ROSE**


	Name: Kasam Se Type: Just for Fun Members: 288 members	Join Group
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	Name: ~MAA KASAM~ Type: Just for Fun Members: 106 members	Join Group
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	Name: FC Kasam Type: Sports & Recreation Members: 105 members	Join Group
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	Name: KASAM TV Type: Entertainment & Arts Members: 127 members	Join Group
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	Name: teesri kasam Type: Entertainment & Arts Members: 45 members	Join Group
--	--	----------------------------

	Name: khale kasam!!!!!!! Type: Just for Fun Members: 31 members	Join Group
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The above shows appreciation groups with the variation *kasam* in the title.

facebook Search

Did you fart.....no no kasme kasme it wasnt meeeeeeee [Join](#)

Wall Info Discussions Photos Video Events

Amber 'Khan' Hussain This cracks me upp :)
Yesterday at 20:48 · Flag

Izlam Bhara LMFAO
Saturday at 21:22 · Flag
Hasan Din likes this.

Aleeyah Mahmood omg i just farted now
07 May at 16:40 · Flag

Aleeyah Mahmood Imfao
07 May at 16:40 · Flag

Sophia Xa LMAO!!
06 May at 23:17 · Flag

HaleemaAisha Ax' Imfaoo goray have joined :P
06 May at 17:22 · Flag
Zeshan Rafi likes this.

Information
Category: Common Interest - Age
Description: Imfao
Privacy type: Open: All content is public.

Admins
Zeshan Rafi (creator)

On the wall of the appreciation group above, a member has written that *goray have joined*. Literally meaning 'white people have joined'. This is another example of code-mixing and further evidence of how the understanding of *kasme* has spread.

Name: asians eat curry, goreh eat fish and chips ;) [Like](#)
Type: Local business
Fans: 196 people like this.

Name: These goreh need a slap for making these Turban groups! :) [Like](#)
Type: Religious organisation
Fans: 444 people like this.

Name: Goreh Wish They Could Be Brown, So They Use Fake Tan Haha [Like](#)
Type: Local business
Fans: 63 people like this.

Name: whats going on with these goreh and the turban groups :/ [Like](#)
Type: Local business
Fans: 295 people like this.

Name: I Knew Jay Sean Before all the Goreh Did! [Like](#)
Type: Local business
Fans: 123 people like this.

Fan pages displaying code-mixing by using *goreh* instead of 'white people'.



This group was of great interest to us. The title code-mixes, using *gorra* for 'white' and *balle balle*, a term which refers to bhangra music. It also uses the youth vernacular *tuneage* in place of 'music'. The description of the group uses the word *gorafied*. This word has undergone conversion and affixation; it has changed from a noun to an adjective by means of the English suffix *fied* being attached and has become part of a 'Sociolect.' The word now refers to something or someone having the characteristics of 'white' or 'English' culture.



This fan page displays code-mixing using the word *inshallah* mid-sentence. *Inshallah*, of Arabic origin, means 'God willing' and is used by Muslims and Arabic speakers worldwide.

The screenshot shows a Facebook group page. At the top, the Facebook logo and navigation bar are visible. The group title is "They say Sat Sri Akal, They say Kidhaa and they say Teek Taak???" with a "Join" button. Below the title are tabs for "Wall", "Info", "Discussions", "Photos", "Video", and "Events". On the left, there is a cover photo of a group of people in orange and white clothing, and an "Information" box with details like "Category: Just for Fun - Facebook Classics" and "Privacy type: Open: All content is public." The main content area shows three posts:

- A post by Anoop ਸਿੰਘ Dosanjh ੴ lol sikk group, dated 24 April at 22:54.
- A post by Natasha Jassal GURDDDD 1 mannnnyy! lurw it:P now i knw why yhu asked me how 2 spell kidhaaa ;) xx, dated 28 March at 22:35.
- A post by Manveer Singh Samra lmaoo, i thought it was kidahh, dated 28 March at 22:36.

 On the right side, there is a sidebar with a "Create a" button, an advertisement for "Need H Fat?" featuring a product image, and a "Like" button.

This group is a play on the lyrics of a topical song called *Pass Out* by British rapper Tinie Tempah. It incorporates the Sikh religious greeting *Sat Sri Akal* which is Punjabi, *kidhaa* which is Punjabi for 'how are you' and *teek taak* which is Punjabi for 'ok'.



This is a Facebook conversation between A and her friend F. They both code-switch: In the first message, A asks her friend *tusi teek ho* which is Punjabi for 'are you ok?' She also says her mother asked her friend's whereabouts, *Fariya kithe gali*: 'Where is Fariya?' in Punjabi. Fariya says *bakwaas bandh kar*, Punjabi for 'stop the nonsense'. The use of Punjabi instead of Urdu here is for comedic and light-hearted purposes. They both display code-mixing:

Kam: work (Urdu and Punjabi)

Roti: chapatti (Urdu and Punjabi)

Biryani: spiced rice (Urdu and Punjabi)

Ami: mother (Urdu)

Saalan: curry (Urdu)

Ande aloo: egg and potato [curry] (Urdu and Punjabi)

Challo: go/ok (Urdu and Punjabi)

Here, we see that some words are the same in Urdu and Punjabi meaning these two languages are mutually intelligible to some extent; which is why both are understood.

When we asked A more about this conversation, she explained that her friend did not actually speak Urdu or Punjabi and was probably using these words and her basic understanding of Urdu and Punjabi because she knew her friend was an Urdu speaker and was doing it to fit in. Here, F illustrates *convergence*.

Similar findings were noticed at A's part-time work domain, a local Subway restaurant which is situated in the middle of Stockport Road; a road that runs through the whole of Manchester and attracts a huge number of people from various different backgrounds. She works weekends and gave us the opportunity to sit and analyse her use of language with the different customers. We saw that A naturally spoke Standard and colloquial English to her non-Asian customers and comfortably spoke Urdu with Asian customers. South Asian customers would instantly assume that A could speak Urdu and would communicate in the language as soon as they entered in order to make their order more comfortable. We also noticed that A adapted her speech to those who did not speak good English and conversed in a very simplified manner. This was also done with the predominant Eastern-European immigrant community that has recently developed in Manchester. Where some customers were able to order in full sentences i.e. 'May I have a six inch, Italian herb and cheese, steak sub please,' many others, for whom English was not their first language, only tended to say 'steak, small,' or even resorted to simply pointing. 'Please' and 'Thank you' tended also to be omitted by these speakers.

A works with L, a 22 year old, who migrated from Pakistan six years ago. After working at Subway for three years, L has picked up sufficient English and can form sentences, although a little ungrammatical. When the colleagues conversed, a lot of code-switching and code-mixing took place and both were comfortable speaking English and Urdu with each other. Urdu, however was predominantly spoken, as L spoke it more fluently. It was a strict policy to speak English in front of the customers in an attempt to avoid being rude as many may not understand Urdu. A recording of a conversation has been attached as evidence of their speech varieties. The two illustrate diglossia and multiple identities but at the same time enhance their emblem and group membership, sharing a religious connection.

Conclusion

We feel proud, as linguists, to have carried out an intense investigation into the societal multilingualism of Manchester, focusing on Urdu, Punjabi and English. We are grateful to have found a family that provided us with sufficient and interesting data.

The majority of the studies that we researched showed us how many languages were endangered, not maintained and subject to death. However, our study contested these popular findings. We can confidently conclude that the secondary languages of Urdu and Punjabi are maintained within the K household, fostered by family and cultural ideologies and the media. Within the media, the written corpus is discrete, timeless, autonomous and most importantly, it is permanent. Also, in contrast to Fishman's and Clyne's gradual retreat of similar languages, we found cross-generational language maintenance, often resulting in the formation of multiple identities.

The K children expressed how they endeavour to pass down Urdu and to some extent, Punjabi, to their children as their parents did. They did, however, further imply that they would tend to speak Urdu as opposed to Punjabi with their children, who would be the third-generation. This is already apparent as we had the opportunity of analysing the communication between the first, second and third generation, with P, the granddaughter living in the house. All members of the family spoke both English and Urdu with P equally. As stated earlier, the mother-tongue of the family is given great importance and is used as a cultural tool. Eric Lennenberg's proposal of 'The Critical Hypothesis Period,' explores the necessity of learning a second language before puberty to enhance fluency. This is the reason why all the K children are fluent in Urdu and they wish for P and the rest of their third generation to develop similar high levels of multilingualism. We can compare our study to Fishman's in which he analysed the difference between 'High German' and 'Low German.' We can give Urdu the same status as 'High German' and Punjabi 'Low German' as this is how the two are perceived by the Khan household; Urdu being more prestigious.

As Urdu is passed down, rather than the vernacular Punjabi, it can be said that this may endanger Punjabi's future. With further analysis however, we saw that S (A's sister), who is married and converses daily with her in-laws, speaks Punjabi to her older in-laws i.e. her mother-in-law. When asked why this was as she had not been brought up speaking Punjabi, she told us how she naturally picked it up. "It is a grown-up thing," she claimed. "Now that I am married, I feel like an adult and I

am able to communicate in Punjabi with my in-laws and parents.” This gives us belief that the future and maintenance of Punjabi is likely to be upheld by the British Pakistani community.

Retrospectively, we were able to analyse the speech of some of A’s Pakistani Muslim friends, where we can further understand the findings of previous studies suggestive of language endangerment. Although the parents of her friends were also immigrants, neither Urdu nor Punjabi was passed down to the children, as English was seen as the ‘high’ language of greater status. A’s friend F went to school predominantly attended by South Asian children. F’s mother understood that children at the school were behind on English as it was often their second language and so pushed her children to excel in English; leaving her native tongue behind. Edwards (2001: 253) supports this point by saying, “English has been used as an instrument of social cohesion and control [...] Its current position as the international language of communication helps to reinforce both notions of superiority and the feeling that it is unnecessary to learn other languages.” Urdu and Punjabi was picked up by the children however through other family members, friends and at school, and they are, at present, able to understand but not speak Punjabi (rather than Urdu) at a basic level. This is perhaps because Punjabi, as the colloquial, was heard more frequently in family conversation.

We still believe, however, that languages are generally well maintained in Manchester. The K children have had Urdu promoted throughout their lives. “There is a role of formal teaching in both community and mainstream schooling in helping to ensure that minority languages are transmitted to the next generation” (Edwards 2001:248). *Levenshulme High School*, ‘a language specialist college,’ and an all girl’s school, was the secondary school that the K girls attended. Urdu could be picked up as a GCSE to further enhance their speaking skills as well as knowledge in reading and writing. German, French, Italian, Spanish, Chinese and many more languages are taught at this school.

Above we stated that there are many domains affecting languages and multilingualism, with media being an important factor. Myer Scotton, 2006, states that, “No one factor or set of factors always predicts language maintenance or shifts; it depends on the specific hierarchy among factors in a specific community.”

Vivian Edwards claims that regional and national languages such as Arabic, Hindi and Urdu are “likely to gain rather than lose speakers, leading to an increased awareness of the importance.” Schools “have the effect of raising the profile of other languages. They enhance the status of bilingual

children and give them the opportunity to enhance their skills. At the same time, they broaden monolingual English-speaking children's horizon and increase their awareness of language" (Edwards 2001: 253). This further supports our notion in support of language maintenance across our subject community. We feel we have been successful in analysing the usage of Urdu, Punjabi and English in our chosen area of Levenshulme, Manchester across three generations.

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