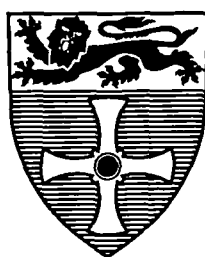# BECOMING BILINGUAL:
A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE COMMUNICATION
OF YOUNG MOTHER TONGUE PANJABI-SPEAKING CHILDREN

(VOL 2)

SUZANNE MOFFATT

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UNIVERSITY OF
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

Department of Speech

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CHAPTER 9

LANGUAGE ALTERNATION IN BILINGUAL SPEECH

The objective in this chapter is to examine the way in which the
children alternate between Panjabi and English in their speech. In
Section 1.4 we examined some of the various definitions, terminologies
and categorisations which have been put forward by investigators in
the field. While most of the literature on this subject relates to
adult bilinguals, the relatively small amount of work on language
alternation among bilingual children was discussed in Section 1.4.3.
Very little work exists on language alternation among speakers of
minority languages in Britain (cf. Chana & Romaine, 1984) and none, as
far as I have been able to discover, among young children. The
description of bilingual communication among the children in this
study will hopefully provide a starting point for more work.

In this chapter we examine the children's language alternation
and aim to identify patterns which arise. These patterns will be
viewed in relation to previous work on language alternation and then
in relation to the patterns of communication discussed in Chapters
5,6,7 and 8.

The term 'language alternation' is favoured here in the same way
as Auer (1984) uses the term — as a general label to cover all types
of language mixing, for example code-mixing, code-changing, code-
switching. Auer defines language alternation as:

> ... the locally functional usage of two languages in an
> interactional episode. Language alternation may occur between two
> turns, or turn internally; it may be restricted to a well-defined
> unit or change the whole language of interaction; it may occur
> within a sentence or between sentences. (Auer 1984:1)

In this chapter we are attempting to account for all the instances of language alternation produced by the children. A model is needed which can account for all the language alternating data (see Appendix 9 for all the examples). The purpose of the next section is to outline this model.

9.1 FINDING A MODEL FOR THE ANALYSIS OF MIXED LANGUAGE DATA

Language alternation occurs in young children, both successive and simultaneous bilinguals. McClure (1981) noted that some differences between the reports of language mixing in children and adults were related to levels of fluency in each of the languages. There is, however, no well established means of analysing the mixed language data. It seems best to consider some extracts of conversation which illustrate the type of language alternation found in the children's speech.

<u>Extract ONE</u>

Nasreen, Fara and R are in the home corner, A bilingual
Panjabi/English speaking teacher (Tp) enters the home corner and
Nasreen tells Tp that R visited her house.

```
1. N: eh (.) her come my on Monday house/                    -Tp
2. Tp:ki khandiyai?/              = what did you say?/        -N
3. N: eh bulke house ussainal isi/  = she came in the house with
4.                                  us                        -Tp
5. Tp:tere nal isi?/              = she came with you?/       -N
(Tp leaves the home corner)
6. R: Nasreen are you gonna help Fara?/                       -N
7.    see what she's made/                                    "
8. N: I make a cake/                                          -R&F
```

This conversation exemplifies two types of language alternation common among the children's speech. Nasreen switches code twice. On the

first occasion (line 3) she switches from English into Panjabi in
response to Tp.   She then switches back to English (line 8) in
response to R, using the only code which R can understand.   Two of
Nasreen's three utterances are English, while the other is basically
Panjabi with an English lexical item used (line 3)- a mixed utterance
(see Section 9.2.).   To regard this sequence as language alternation
in both senses, it is necessary to look at the sequence of
conversation rather than the utterances themselves in isolation.
Auer (1984:5) is concerned about the,

> ... failure to consider adequately the sequential implicativeness
> of language choice in conversation i.e. the fact that whatever
> language a participant chooses for the organisation of his/her
> turn, or for an utterance which is part of the turn, the choice
> exerts an influence on subsequent language choices by the same or
> other speakers.

Noting the sequence of events adds to the description.   Examining
each of these utterances individually would lead to analysing the
conversation as containing only one mixed utterance.   Nasreen's
competence in accommodating her interlocutor's linguistic ability
would not be recorded.   There are many occurrences of this type of
language alternation in the data (see Appendix 9) and they do not fit
into either Poplack's or Gumperz' schema for the analysis of code-
switching (see Section 1.4.2).   Our model must take account of the
interactional aspect of communication and its sequential nature.

Line 3, the utterance in which Nasreen introduces an English
lexical item can be analysed as mixed since 'house' is not an
established loanword among this community of Panjabi speakers, the
children vary between using 'house' and 'kaar', the Panjabi
equivalent.   This mixed utterance does exemplify a trend among the

children in this study and adults and children reported elsewhere, for

example Poplack (1980), McClure (1981), that nouns are the most

commonly mixed class of words (see Section 9.2.4).

<div align="center">Extract TWO</div>

Riaz joins OCp who is sitting at a table playing with a toy.   T is on
the other side of the class.

```
1. Ri: eh thak/                    = look                          -OCp
2.      thawarey kol kai?/         = what have you got there?/      "
3.      mein tugi desain right/    = I'll give it to you right/     "
4.      mein tugi desain/          = I'll give it to you/           "
5.      mein eh desain tugi/       = I will give it to you/         "
(Riaz takes the toy from OCp)
6.      mein eh desain tugi/       = I will give it to you/         "
7.      TEACHER LOOK/                                               -T
8.      TEACHER/                                                     "
(Holds up toy to show T)
```

Like Nasreen, Riaz switches to accommodate his addressee, a

monolingual English-speaking teacher in line 7.   However, he

initiates the switch himself, it is not in response to T and the

switch occurs within a single conversational turn.   Riaz also

produces a mixed utterance, 'mein tugi desain right'.   This type of

mixing fits in with Poplack's typology, Riaz mixes an English tag into

a Panjabi utterance.   According to Poplack (see Section 1.4.2) this

type of mixing requires the least facility in the bilingual's two

languages, so it could be expected of a young child just beginning to

learn a second language.   In fact this type of mixing was very rare

in the data.   Tahira was the only other child to mix languages in

this way and there is only one example of tag mixing in her data.   In

Poplack's (1980) schema, the switch from Panjabi into English in line

7 could be regarded as an inter-sentential switch.   From the point of

view of this study, it is more meaningful to regard this switch in

terms of its function to specify a particular addressee. This tells

us a great deal about the communicative competence of a child becoming

bilingual for example.

Extract three provides another example of language alternation

which is again slightly different from Extracts one and two.

Extract THREE

Riaz and two native Panjabi-speaking children Kaniza (K) & Halima (H),
both 'major' friends are in the Home Corner. The children are
playing with cooking pans

1. Ri:	eh thak mein kai kithai/	= look what I have done/	—H&K
2.	mein kai kithai thak/	= look what I have done/	"
3. K:	eh kai?/	= what's this?/	—Ri
4. Ri:	(2syl)/ Kaniza/ (2syl)/		—K
5.	Kaniza/ Kaniza/		"
6. K:	jai panni vich gudia (4syl)/	= go and take it out of the	
7.		water/	—Ri
8. Ri:	oh/		—K
9.	fill it/		"
10.K:	eh chiz bai dhio/	= put this in as well	—Ri
11.	eh kai?/	= what is?/	"
12.H:	dhio/	= give/	—Ri

Play continues in the home corner in Panjabi.

The children are conversing in Panjabi. However, Riaz switches to

English in line 9, in this case apparently to give a command to

Kaniza. The conversation continues in Panjabi - the switch does not

trigger a shift into another language and the addressee has not

changed. While the function of the English utterance is a command,

it is impossible to be certain at this stage of Riaz's English

development that this is what he intended. In other examples of this

type of mixing, there is no definite pattern, for example that all

switches into English are commands. For our purposes, it is perhaps

best to note this type of switching, and examine other examples of it

when they occur. The goal in this study is not to find evidence

about language universals, but to learn about the various aspects of the children's communicative abilities.

It has been shown that the children may switch from one language to another during conversation, taking account of their addressee. Some of the data show the children taking into consideration not just their immediate addressee, but also their 'audience'. The term 'audience' is one used by Bell (1984) to describe the people whom the speaker takes into account when talking, not just the addressee. Bell (1984:159) outlines and subsequently ranks 'audience roles' according to whether or not the persons are known, ratified, or addressed by the speaker. The main character in the audience is the addressee who is 'known, ratified and addressed'. 'Auditors' are third persons, known and ratified interlocutors in the group but not directly addressed, 'overhearers' are a third party 'whom the speaker knows to be there, but who isn't a ratified participant. 'Eavesdroppers' are unknown to the speaker. Bell proposes that 'speakers take most account of hearers in designing their talk', a point which Auer & di Luzio (1983) take up with specific reference to bilinguals (see Section 9.5).

We saw examples of this in Extracts one and two, with the children switching to speak to their addressee. In Extract four, below, we see how the speaker, Nasreen, switches when the 'overhearer' leaves.

<u>Extract FOUR</u>

Nasreen and Fara and R are in the Home Corner.   The children decide to go shopping.

```
1. N: there's a bag/                                    -F&R
2.     going shop/                                        "
3.     sugar/                                             "
```

```
4. R: bring me back some tea as well/                              -N&F
5. N: right then/                                                  -R
(Nasreen and Fara leave HC and go to 'the shops'.  Nasreen is
  carrying a shopping bag, on the way there Fara tries to take the
  bag)
6. N: chore de nai/        = leave it alone                        -F
7.    chore de/            = leave it                              "
8. F: ((CR))
(Nasreen and Fara return to HC)
9. N: been to shop/                                                -R
```

Nasreen's switch to Panjabi (line 5) coincides with the absence of the 'overhearer', R. The switch back to English (line 9) is simultaneous with her return into the home corner. The 'overhearer', R, becomes an addressee, whom Nasreen speaks to in English. In Extract five (below) Khalda (OCp) switches to Panjabi (line 5) when the 'overhearer', R, has left the home corner. Anisa, however, resists this 'invitation' to switch to Panjabi.

<div align="center">Extract FIVE</div>

Anisa and Khalda have sent R off to school

```
1. A&K: bye/                                                       -R
(R leaves HC and goes to 'school')
2. A: opened/    pre: to open & close door                        -SELF
3.    locked/                                                      "
4.    locked/                                                      "
5. K: tu jasai usski dasi/    = you go and tell her                -A
6. A: right/                                                       -K
7.    you stay here/                                               "
8. K: right (1syl)/                                                -A
```

These instances of switching were discussed in Section 6.3 in relation to the probable inhibitory effects which a monolingual English adult has on the children's use of Panjabi among themselves. In this chapter, such switching will be examined in more detail. For example, we will look to see why the 'overhearer effect' does not inhibit all children from using Panjabi. We saw in Chapter 6 that

friendship ties have an effect on the children's use of Panjabi, and

that a 'major' friendship can override the 'overhearer effect'. This

was most marked in both the Home Corner and Class with Ameena as the

following extract shows.

Extract SIX

Ameena, Firdos (F), Jameel (J), both 'major' friends, and T are at a
table. A Malaysian child (OCm) at the next table begins to cry.

```
1. A:  ((LF)) she's crying/                                        -T
2. T:  I know/                                                     -A
3.     she's been on holiday/                                      "
4.     haven't you/                                              -OCm
5. A:  yeh/                                                        -T
6.     I go to the park today/                                     "
7.     I go to the park today/                                     "
8. T:  you're going to the park today?/                            -A
9.     when are you going to the park*/                            "
10.A:                              *with you/                      -T
11.T:  with me/                                                    -A
12.    oh are we?/                                                 "
13.    that's interesting/                                         "
14.F:  teacher nal ussain parkai    = we're going to the park      -A
15.    vich jaisaan/                   with the teacher/
16.A:  mein aba thai teacher vi     = me daddy and the teacher are-F
17.    jaisain parkai vich/            going to the park/
18.F:  thoon thai aba parkai*       = you daddy and the park*      -A
19.T:                       *lots of buttons/                     -A&F
20.A:  Panjabi unintel.uttr.(2)                                    -F
21.T:  Firdos and Ameena come on/                                 -A&F
22.    lots of buttons please/                                     "
23.F:  lots of buttons/                                            -T
24.A:  ((LF)) mein thai b*/      = my and b*/                      -F
25.F:                mein thai*/= my and*/                         -A
26.T:  lots of buttons/                                           -A&F
27.    good girl Firdos/                                           -F
28.    look what Firdos has got/                                 -OCm
29.    lots of buttons/                                            "
(Ameena picks up a button)
30.A:  look at the square/                                         -T
31.T:  look at/                                                    -A
32.    is it a square?/                                            "
(Ameena continues a conversation with T in English)
```

In this case, the proximity of the monolingual English-speaking

teacher does not affect the code in which the children choose to

discuss going to the park.   However, when addressing T, Ameena uses English.

It would appear that the effect of an English monolingual 'audience' to the children's communication in the classroom can vary. In Section 9.5 we will examine the combination of factors which appear to enable the children to override or succumb to the 'overhearer effect'.

In our search for a model within which to analyse the data several factors have to be taken into account.   Firstly, the sequential aspect of language alternation, is it within one turn or across a turn boundary ?   Secondly, a description of the type of language alternation taking place is needed.   Language alternation within an utterance, therefore within one turn will be called <u>code-mixing</u> (line 3, Extract one; line 3, Extract two, for example). Language alternation across utterance boundaries but within a single speaker's turn (Extract two, lines 6 & 7, for example) will be called <u>code-changing</u>; the various functions of <u>code-changing</u> will be examined in Section 9.3.   Within the <u>code-changing</u> category we will also account for language alternation which occurs across a turn boundary but within the same conversation (line 9, Extract 3, for example).   If we were to consider only these aspects of language alternation which deal with utterances isolated from their position within the conversational sequence, a fairly large amount of data would be missed.   Language alternation which appears to be prompted by accommodating the addressee and which does not occur within one turn (Extract one) will be another descriptive category and termed <u>code-switching</u> (mainly, but not always to to accommodate the addressee).

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Finally, we consider switching due to a change in the 'overhearer' which can occur within a speaker's turn or across a turn boundary, termed language switching (Extract Four). The model is summarised below.

Table 9(i)

Model Adopted for the Description of Language Alternation

Within One Conversational Turn	Across A Conversational Turn Boundary
code-mixing	—
code-changing (various functions)	code-changing
—	code-switching
language switching ('overhearer' motivated change)	language switching ('overhearer' motivated change)

Each of these aspects of language alternation will be described in more detail and where possible, quantified. Auer (1984:11) argues that in relation to a study of bilingual conversation, 'frequency counts are irrelevant ... it is a mistake to believe that numbers of occurrences of certain types of language alternation could reveal their functional character'. Auer believes that there are an infinite number of ways in which language alternation may be used and that it serves no purpose to attempt to quantify particular categories.

One difference between the treatment of language alternation in this study compared to Auer's is that an attempt is made to deal with all the mixed language data, rather than isolated sequences of conversation. Viewing the data as a whole, frequency counts of particular aspects of language alternation reveal some very

interesting patterns. They are not used prior to a description of

the behaviour, but in order to highlight similarities and differences

between individual children. Frequency counts also allow us to

relate patterns of language mixing to overall patterns of language use

already established about the children's communication.

9.2 CODE-MIXING

Code-mixing is the term we are using to describe language

alternation which occurs within a single utterance, following McClure

(1981), Auer (1989), McCormick (1989). In Section 1.4.4 we examined

some of the difficulties in differentiating between mixed utterances

and utterances which contain established loanwords. The attempt to

carry out such a difficult task in this study was done with the help

of four adult native Panjabi speakers from the Pakistani community in

Newcastle. The four adults, all bilingual in Panjabi and English

were asked to rate utterances in which there were both Panjabi and

English elements, as being 'local Panjabi' or a 'mixture of English

and Panjabi', they were asked to give the Panjabi/Urdu equivalent of

an English word used in a Panjabi utterance and state if they would

use that word. There was very high agreement that words such as

'school', 'teacher', 'shop', 'toilet', 'dinner money' were

'established loans'. Although all the informants gave Panjabi or

Urdu equivalents for these words, they all said independently that

they would only ever use the English word themselves. This was

backed up by my own observations. Panjabi base utterances containing

'established loanwords' are not then regarded as code-mixed

utterances, see Table 9(ii) below. There was also agreement that the

English base utterances containing Panjabi lexical items were code-

mixed utterances, Table 9(iv). While the informants generally agreed

that utterances such as those on Table 9(iii) were 'mixed', there was

less certainty than with the 'established loans'. There was a

general feeling for some words, eg. shoes, glasses that 'some people

use the Panjabi word and some people use the English word'. All the

informants said that they themselves would most likely use the Panjabi

word. It was on the basis of these local native speaker norms that

utterances were classified.

In dealing with issues such as what items are 'permanent

borrowings' and which are 'mixed' it should be remembered that the

status of certain words, particularly English nouns, will change with

this and successive generations of bilingual Panjabi/English speaking

children. The examples given on Tables 9(ii), 9(iii) and 9(iv) and

in Appendix 9 can in no way be regarded as permanent and unchanging.

It is also possible that different English lexical items would be

regarded as 'mixed' by members of a Panjabi community in a different

part of Britain (Madhani 1989), and almost certain that such a list

would have been different twenty years ago, when contact with English

was a more recent occurrence.

Table 9(ii)

Panjabi utterances containing established loanwords

1) oh <u>teacher</u> kudar jooli aa?/   = where's the teacher going now?/
2) jai <u>school</u> hoon/   = I go to school/
3) eh <u>baby</u> eh rohnai/   = the baby is crying/
4) mein <u>dinner money</u> deyain/   = I will give the dinner money/
5) an <u>game</u> <u>toilet</u> vich khelahsain?/= do you want to play that game
                                           in the toilet?/
6) mein <u>shoppai</u> uppar jainai/   = I'm going to the shop/

It is highly unlikely that the children in the study would hear

any words other than the English words on Table 9(ii) above to refer

to the items in question.

Table 9(iii)

Panjabi utterances containing English lexical items which are not established loans

1) mein <u>dad</u> bhanu/   = I'll be dad/
2) <u>look</u> meray khol keyain/   = look what I've got/
3) kai iss ki <u>push</u> kur ithai/   = push this one/
4) barai <u>shoes</u> layianeyain/   = she's got big shoes on/
5) oh <u>wrong way</u> phir iyaiyai/   = he's coming the wrong way/
6) chuppi jai <u>quickly</u>/   = hide quickly/
7) ain <u>glasses</u> lai/   = put the glassses on/
8) mein aur book <u>choose</u> kurain?/   = will I choose a book?/

Table 9(iv)

English utterances containing Panjabi lexical items which are not established loans

1) can I <u>lik</u> it?/   = <u>draw</u>
2) there's a <u>chamach</u>/   = <u>spoon</u>
3) well I go in the (.) in the <u>shadi</u>/   = <u>wedding</u>
4) <u>chirris</u> and ball/   = <u>sparrows</u>
5) I got it <u>panj</u> pound in my house/   = <u>five</u>
6) my mammy's put my <u>baksa</u> <u>kupre</u> in my house/ = <u>suitcase</u>, <u>clothes</u>
7) this is my <u>kauti</u>/   = <u>cardigan</u>
8) and it <u>shamm</u>/   = <u>evening</u>

English utterances, such as those on Table 9(iv) above,

containing Panjabi lexical items which are not widely used by English

monolinguals (unlike 'samosa' or 'bhaji' for example) are relatively

easy to identify. One reason is that there is less borrowing of

Panjabi into English than English into Panjabi. It is probable that

these mixed utterances are more likely to be the result of a lack of

the necessary English.

In the analysis of <u>code-mixing</u>, we will examine the amount of

mixed utterances produced by the children; the effect of the

interlocutor; the type of mixing (English into Panjabi or Panjabi into English); the word class of the mixed word; the utterance type of the mixed utterance, and the children's perceptions of code-mixed speech.

9.2.1 Amount of code-mixing

Tables 9v(a&b) below show the amount (N) and relative proportions (%) of mixed utterances produced by the children in CLASS; HOME CORNER with a native Panjabi-speaking friend (HCp); HOME CORNER with a native English-speaking friend (HCe) and STORY-TELLING (STORY).

Amount & Percentage of CODE-MIXING in CLASS, HCp, HCe & STORY

Table 9v(a)

		CL	HCp	HCe	Stry
Nasreen	%	2.2	2	1.8	8
	N	13	3	3	6
Riaz	%	3	9	0	9.2
	N	12	7	0	10
Jameel	%	0	1.5	0	11.1
	N	0	1	0	10
Shahid	%	4	0	0	15.4
	N	4	0	0	1
Zahid	%	0	0	0	2.7
	N	0	0	0	2

Table 9v(b)

		CL	HCp	HCe	Stry
Qaseem	%	1	6.5	1.6	7
	N	1	14	4	6
Anisa	%	6	0	0	1.3
	N	25	0	0	1
Ameena	%	7	4	0	1.1
	N	32	5	0	1
Tahira	%	9	0.4	0	0
	N	13	1	0	0
Shamshad	%	2	2.9	0	0
	N	13	8	0	0

As a proportion of the entire data corpus (see Table 8(xi)) the amount of code-mixed data is relatively small. However, code-mixing occurs in all data collection settings and is done by all the children to varying degrees. Zahid and Shahid produce the least number of

code-mixed utterances, while Ameena produces the most. This examination of the data shows up two main patterns. The first, which is also quite striking, is that all children in Group 1 produce code-mixed utterances in the STORY-TELLING setting (see Chapters 7 and 8 for a discussion of this). Second, that the smallest number of code-mixed utterances occur in the HOME CORNER with a native English-speaking friend. It would appear that there may be some link between setting and code-mixing and interlocutor and code-mixing. We will examine interlocutor first of all.

9.2.2 Code-mixing and interlocutor

Tables 9vi(a&b) below show the number of mixed utterances addressed to SELF, OCp, OCe, monolingual English-speaking teacher (Te), bilingual Panjabi/English speaking teacher (Tp), researcher (R), monolingual English-speaking adults (ADT), for example classroom assistants or other parents, and Toys.

Number of MIXED Utterances Addressed to Different Interlocutors

Table 9vi(a)

		SELF	OCp	OCe	Te	Tp	R	ADT	Toy
Nasreen	CL	7	2	0	0	1	0	4	0
	HCp	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
Riaz	CL	0	11	0	1	0	0	0	0
	HCp	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jameel	CL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shahid	CL	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zahid	CL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 9vi(b)

		SELF	OCp	OCe	Te	Tp	R	ADT	OCp&R	Toy
Qaseem	CL	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	1	4	0	0	0	3	0	1	5
	HCe	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Anisa	CL	0	0	0	16	0	9	0	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ameena	CL	0	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tahira	CL	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shamshad	CL	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	0	0
	HCp	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	2	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Several trends which cross group boundaries emerge from this analysis of code-mixing and interlocutor. The first is shown by three children, Ameena, Tahira and Riaz who address either all or all but one mixed utterance to native Panjabi-speaking children. The second trend is one where mixed utterances are mainly addressed to SELF, this is shown by Shahid and Nasreen. Thirdly, Anisa addresses all her mixed utterances to monolingual English adult speakers. It would appear that the use of code-mixed utterances among Ameena, Tahira, Riaz, Shahid and Nasreen mirrors, to a large extent, their use of Panjabi. We saw in Section 5.4 that these children communicate mainly with other native Panjabi-speaking children, and in the case of Nasreen and Shahid, considerable proportions of talk are addressed to SELF and that with both these 'interlocutors' mainly Panjabi is used. Anisa on the other hand, follows a different pattern, preferring to communicate with adults and monolingual English-speaking children, always in English. Is there any difference in the type of code-mixing produced by the children ? We examine this question below.

9.2.3 The type of code-mixing analysed

Two basic 'types' of code-mixing can be identified in the data.
Most of the mixed utterances can be placed into one of two categories.
The first of these is exemplified by Anisa's utterance (below)
addressed to R,

> Anisa: There's a chamach/   = spoon

The second 'type' is illustrated here where Ameena addresses OCp,

> Ameena: eh horrible a/ = this is horrible/

We have termed the first type code-mixing with an English base and the
second type, code-mixing with a Panjabi base.   Sankoff et.al.(1986)
claim that it is possible to decide whether or not the morphology or
syntax of an utterance belongs to one or other language.   Romaine
(1989) argues that the criteria normally used by researchers to decide
on the base language can not apply to Panjabi/English bilingual
discourse because of syntactic differences between the languages.
While it is certainly not possible to identify all the children's
code-mixed utterances as being clearly of an English or Panjabi base,
it is possible to assign most of the children's utterances to one or
other category.   Auer (1984) found that he could do this with his
data corpus from bilingual children of Italian migrants living in
Germany.   There are however, some instances of code-mixing which are
difficult to categorise.   For example Zahid says 'red murchain', 'red
pepper', a construction which follows the rules of both Panjabi and
English and one cannot identify it as having either a Panjabi base or
an English base   There are only a very small number which cannot be
categorised (see Tables 9vii(a&b) below).

In the analysis which follows, the children's utterances have
been analysed according to whether they are identifiably 'English
base', 'Panjabi base' or 'neither'.

Type of Mixing in Terms of Base Language

Table 9vii(a)

		English Base	Panjabi Base	Neither
Nasreen	CL	5	7	1
	HCp	1	2	0
	HCe	3	0	0
	ST	6	0	0
Riaz	CL	2	9	1
	HCp	4	3	0
	HCe	0	0	0
	ST	8	2	0
Jameel	CL	0	0	0
	HCp	1	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0
	ST	11	0	0
Shahid	CL	0	3	1
	HCp	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0
	ST	1	0	0
Zahid	CL	0	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0
	ST	0	1	1

Table 9vii(b)

		English Base	Panjabi Base	Neither
Qaseem	CL	0	1	0
	HCp	14	0	0
	HCe	4	0	0
	ST	6	0	0
Anisa	CL	25	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0
	ST	1	0	0
Ameena	CL	1	32	1
	HCp	1	4	0
	HCe	0	0	0
	ST	1	0	0
Tahira	CL	1	13	0
	HCp	1	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0
Shamshad	CL	12	1	0
	HCp	8	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0

Dealing first with Group 2, the children fall into two sets.
Qaseem, Anisa and Shamshad almost always produce English base
utterances.   These mixed utterances are usually addressed to English
monolinguals (see Table 9vi(b) above).   Ameena and Tahira, on the
other hand, produce mixed-code utterances which are almost always
Panjabi-base, and these are addressed to native Panjabi-speaking
interlocutors.   This division with Group 2 mirrors the difference in
use of Panjabi and the pattern of preferred addressee (Chapters 5 &
6).   It is possible that different motivations for mixing have been
identified.   The mixed-code utterances mainly produced by Qaseem,
Anisa and Shamshad are motivated by their lack of the necessary
English vocabulary.   In their communication in CLASS or HOME CORNER
their aim to get the message across causes them to access and use both
English and Panjabi codes, hence the use of mixed-code utterances.
Such mixing, however, is almost certainly below the level of

consciousness, since most of the older children are reticent to use

Panjabi vocabulary in the STORY-TELLING setting (see Chapter 7).

The type of mixed-code utterances produced by Ameena and Tahira
are possibly more in keeping with the type of speech they hear within
their community; a language contact situation.   Its use almost
exclusively with other native Panjabi speakers lends weight to this
observation.   The developmental progression of the two 'types' of
mixing is likely to be that mixing into English will eventually
disappear and mixing into Panjabi will continue among those speakers
who code-mix.   This point will be taken up in Section 12.4.1 in
relation to assessment.

As far as Group 1 are concerned, Riaz follows the same pattern as
Ameena and Tahira, as one would expect since he did the same with
Panjabi (see Chapters 5 & 6).   Another point to note about this group
is that the type of mixing in the STORY-TELLING setting is almost
always a Panjabi lexical item into an English base utterance,
indicating a lack of the necessary English vocabulary, but also a
readiness to use either code to communicate.   This is in contrast to
Group 2 in the STORY-TELLING setting, where it appears the older
children seemed generally more reluctant to communicate and very
reticent about code-mixing (see Chapters 7 & 8).

We have seen that code-mixing is associated with different
'styles' of communication, and found that most children who use a lot
of Panjabi code-mix in a different way than children who communicate
predominantly in English.   None of the children appear to violate the
rule of communicative competence which says you should use the
language the listener knows best (Grosjean, 1982).

There also appears to be a relationship between setting and code-mixing such that English-base code-mixing is the most common type of code-mixing in the STORY-TELLING data collection setting. Zentella (1981), working in an 'officially' bilingual classroom with Spanish/English Puerto-Rican children found that the children used a much higher proportion of switches involving nouns in an interview setting compared to the normal class setting. She felt it was probably the result of the interviewer selecting the topic, just as in this study the researcher selected the story books.

9.2.4 The word class of code-mixed speech

Poplack (1980) identified an order of mixing in which nouns were the word class most often borrowed. The mixed code data will be examined in terms of the word class of the lexical item mixed. English-base utterances are dealt with first, Tables 9viii(a&b) below and then Panjabi-base utterances, Tables 9ix(a&b) below. Only single word mixing is included on these tables.

Number of Each Word Class in English Base Single-Word Mixed Utterances

Table 9viii(a)

		Noun	Verb	Adj	Tag	Pron	Neg
Nasreen	CL	3	1	0	0	1	0
	HCp	1	0	0	0	0	1
	HCe	2	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	6	0	0	0	0	0
Riaz	CL	1	1	0	1	0	0
	HCp	4	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	6	0	1	0	1	0
Jameel	CL	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	1	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	10	0	0	0	0	0
Shahid	CL	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	1	0	0	0	0	0
Zahid	CL	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 9viii(b)

		Noun	Verb	Adj	Tag	Pron	Neg
Qaseem	CL	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	14	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	4	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	5	0	0	0	0	0
Anisa	CL	8	14	0	0	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	1	0	0	0	0	0
Ameena	CL	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	1	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	1	0	0	0	0	0
Tahira	CL	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	1	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shamshad	CL	10	0	2	0	0	0
	HCp	6	0	1	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0	0	0	0

The Panjabi lexical items used in English-base utterances are most commonly nouns for all the children except Anisa. Anisa has a

relatively high number of Panjabi verbs in her mixed utterances.

However, she only mixes one verb, 'liksan', to write or to draw. The

verb is used only in the first person, but is inflected according to

the verb rules of English not Panjabi. In Panjabi the verb would be

inflected as follows,'mein liksain' = I write/draw. Anisa produces

the following code-mixed utterances:

<div align="center">
Can I <u>lik</u> it?/
I can't <u>lik</u> it/
I <u>likin</u> a picture/
</div>

This does not occur in the speech of any of the other children.

The tables below show the pattern, in terms of which word class

is mixed from English into Panjabi.

Number of Each Word Class in Panjabi Base Single-Word Mixed Utterances

<div align="center">Table 9ix(a)</div>

		Noun	Verb	Adj	Tag	Pron	Minor	Neg
Nasreen	CL	1	2	4	0	0	1	0
	HCp	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Riaz	CL	6	2	0	0	1	0	0
	HCp	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jameel	CL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shahid	CL	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zahid	CL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 9ix(b)

		Noun	Verb	Adj	Tag	Pron	Adv	Neg
Qaseem	CL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anisa	CL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ameena	CL	11	1	3	0	0	1	0
	HCp	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tahira	CL	4	3	0	1	1	1	1
	HCp	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shamshad	CL	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

As with the English-base utterances above, nouns are the most commonly mixed class of words in Panjabi-base utterances.

These findings are in keeping with Poplack (1980) but different to Romaine (1989) who identified compound verbs as the most commonly mixed word class among Panjabi/English bilinguals. One likely reason for this difference is that Romaine's informants were adults, while this data is taken from young children at a relatively early stage of becoming bilingual. It is possible that a different picture would emerge in a few years when the children's competence in each language is more similar. However, Romaine (1989) makes the general point that nouns are relatively free from syntactic restrictions and so are good targets for borrowing

So far we have only examined utterances in which there are single words mixed into the other language, this is indeed the majority of mixed-code speech. Only four children, Nasreen, Anisa, Ameena and

Shamshad produce mixed utterances which contain more than one lexical

item from the non-base language and the utterances are given below.

Nasreen 1. nice nice eh/   = nice nice this
        2. mouse thai box thai chuwi/ = mouse and box and little mouse

Anisa   3. can I lik it chamach?/   = write, spoon.

Ameena 4. eh speak English hain/   = I speak English/
        5. uss nai nayee fork and knife/it's name is fork and knife/
        6. oh wrong way phir iyaiyai/ = he's coming the wrong way
                                           again/
        7. you give me eh/   = you give me it/

Shamshad 8. my mammy's put my baksa   = suitcase,
            (4syl) kupre in my house/ = clothes.

These utterances cannot readily be thought of in the same category as

Poplack's intra-sentential switching, which she believes requires the

greatest bilingual skills.   The eight utterances above appear to be

more the result of a lack of fluency in English.   This is perhaps

another example of the difference between adults and children.

Even less frequent than multi-word mixing is mixing at the

morphological level.   This occurs among only four children.   Three

of the children mix codes at the morphological level to mark the

plural.   In Panjabi the plural is marked by nasal [ñ], represented

orthographically as 'ain' as shown in the following examples:

Nasreen 1. jai nai parain stickyain/ = if I don't tear the stickies
            (Panjabi plural inflection)

Qaseem   2. get phoolz/   = flowers
            (English plural inflection)

Shamshad 3. two chamz/   = spoons
            got a two chamz/   "
            (English plural inflection)

Anisa uses English morphology to inflect the Panjabi verb 'liksan', to

write or to draw as we saw above.   In all but one occurrence the verb

is inflected in the simple present form:

Anisa: 1. can I <u>lik</u> it?/
           2. I can't <u>lik</u> it like that/
           3. can I <u>lik</u> it in the book?/
           4. I <u>likin'</u> a picture/

Anisa does not inflect any other Panjabi verbs in this way, in fact

this is the only verb she mixes into her English utterances. It is

possible that she uses this Panjabi verb like an English verb because

the action is associated with school. As none of the other children

do this, it can be assumed that this is a type of idiosyncratic

behaviour which can be found when children are in their early stages

of becoming bilingual.

9.2.5 <u>Code-mixing as a function of utterance type</u>

We turn now to examine the amount of code-mixing which occurs in

each utterance type: FULL, TAG, REDUCED, ELLIPTED, MINOR and PROBLEM,

and the results are shown on Tables 9x(a&b) below.

Number of CODE-MIXED utterances in each utterance category
in CLASS, HCp, HCe & STORY

Table 9x(a)

		FULL	TAG	RED	ELL	MIN	PROB
Nasreen	CL	7	0	5	0	0	1
	HCp	1	0	1	0	0	1
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	3
	ST	0	0	3	2	0	1
Riaz	CL	8	1	2	1	0	0
	HCp	3	0	1	0	0	3
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	2	0	6	0	0	1
Jameel	CL	1	0	0	0	0	1
	HCp	0	0	1	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	9	0	0	0
Shahid	CL	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	3	0	0	0
Zahid	CL	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	1	1	0	0

Table 9x(b)

		FULL	TAG	RED	ELL	MIN	PROB
Qaseem	CL	0	0	0	1	0	0
	HCp	6	0	3	2	0	3
	HCe	1	0	2	1	0	0
	ST	0	0	0	6	0	0
Anisa	CL	12	0	3	2	0	8
	HCp	0	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0	0	0	1
Ameena	CL	32	0	1	0	2	0
	HCp	5	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	1	1	0	0
Tahira	CL	8	1	1	1	2	0
	HCp	1	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shanshad	CL	4	0	4	0	0	6
	HCp	3	0	0	2	0	3
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0	0	0	0

The majority of code-mixed utterances fall into the FULL category for
Nasreen, Riaz, Qaseem, Anisa and Ameena. Most of Jameel's and
Shahid's mixed code utterances are REDUCED. Shamshad has a higher
number of her mixed-code utterances in the PROBLEM category.

Mixed code appears to be a form of communication necessary to the
children at this stage in their bilingual development either because
they lack a lexical item in one code and use the word they know from
the other, or because it is a mode of communication used by their
speech community. It appears in all utterance categories, but in
considerably higher proportion within the FULL category.

We conclude this section by outlining instances of awareness
among the children that they are code-mixing, and try to draw some
conclusions as to their feelings about this type of communication.

9.2.6 Code-mixing: what the children say

We begin with Extract seven, a conversation between Shamshad and
Frozana in the home corner.

Extract SEVEN

Shamshad & Frozana are at the cooker. Shamshad is getting some
spoons.

S:	wait there/		-F
	got a two chamz/	= spoons/	"
	got a two chamz/	"	"
F:	no/		-S
	don't say chamz/	= spoons/	"
S:	what?/		-F
F:	you say spoons/		-S
S:	spoons/		-S
	one for you/		"

Frozana clearly disapproves of Shamshad's use of the Panjabi word and

tells her how to say it 'properly'. Shamshad doesn't seem worried

and complies with Frozana's request. Frozana's tone is that of an

adult admonishing a child, and it may be she has been told off herself

by an adult for doing the same thing. Later on in the sequence

Frozana herself supplies the Panjabi word which she thinks Shamshad is

searching for.

Extract EIGHT

Shamshad and Frozana are giving the doll a bath. Shamshad is
shampooing the doll's hair.

```
S:  Suzanne/                                              -R
    give us some sh_  eh_ em*/                             "
F:                        *sabban/= soap/                 -S
S:  spoon/                                                -R
F:  spoon/                                                -R
```

Frozana, like many adult bilinguals (see Section 1.4.1), appears

negative about mixing languages, but does it herself. It appears

from Extract seven that young children may pick up negative attitudes

in relation to aspects of bilingual behaviour which may well be

community norms.

There is only one other example in the data which shows an overt

awareness about code-mixing (we examine in Section 9.4 awareness of

code-switching). The occasion is once again in the home corner,

during Tahira's CLASS data collection setting.

Extract NINE

Tahira, OCp & OCe are in the home corner.

```
OCp:you're the baby man*/                                 -OCe
    why are you drinking the dhood?/= milk                "
    ((LF))
    why are you drinking the milk for?/                   "
```

*'man' is a Tyneside address term

OCp laughs in recognition of the fact that she has used a Panjabi word in her English utterance when addressing a monolingual English-speaking child. OCp defers to her addressee and repeats the utterance fully in English.

The fact that there are few examples illustrating awareness of this behaviour is not surprising. Almost all language-mixing behaviour is below the level of consciousness when it actually happens. We saw (Section 1.4.1) however, that adult speakers are often aware that they do this, and it would seem that at least some of these young children are aware too. There is some evidence that bilingual children have some advantages in terms of analytical orientation to their languages in comparison to monolingual children, although most of the research does not focus on speakers of minority languages (Baker, 1988). Fantini (1985) recorded his Spanish/English speaking son's first use of metalanguage at the age of 4;1. We return to this point in Section 9.4.

This concludes our examination of code-mixing and we turn now to look at the alternation of language within a conversational turn.

9.3 CODE CHANGING

This section deals with the type of language alternation which occurs across utterance boundaries, but within the same conversational turn and which will be termed code-changing (see Section 9.1 and Table 9(i) above). Gumperz (1982) and McClure (1981) assigned functions to this type of language alternation. Although functions are difficult to ascribe to mixed language (Auer 1984; Gumperz 1984), scrutiny of

the mixed language data in this study (Appendix 9) did reveal that

some code-changing fulfilled an identifiable function for the

children. These functions did not fit neatly into all of Gumperz'

functional categories, nor even McClure's. Gumperz deals with

adults, so it is not altogether surprising that his functional

categories do not meet the requirements of the data in this study.

Although McClure's 1981 paper is about code-switching in children from

three to fifteen years old, almost all the examples which illustrate

the functions of code-changing are from children older than seven,

considerably older than the children in this study.

The functional categories that were chosen to describe this data

are outlined below, only the first three categories are used by

McClure, and only the first by Gumperz. Such differences suggest a

possible developmental progression in the use of code-changing as a

conversational strategy, a point we will take up later. The

categories are named and illustrated by examples from the data.

1) ADDRESSEE SPECIFICATION – describes a code-change which is

motivated by a change in addressee (Romaine 1989 ; Gumperz 1984 ;

McLure 1981). Extracts ten and eleven illustrate examples from the

data.

<u>Extract TEN</u>

Nasreen is at a table doing a puzzle with a teacher. OCp (a 'minor'
friend) has just joined them.

```
1.T:  there's another piece on the floor Nasreen/        -N
2.    I think Nasreen was doing that one/                 -OCp
3.    let Nasreen finish it/                               "
(Nasreen is looking for some lost puzzle pieces)
4.N:  more/                                               -T
5.    want some more/                                     "
6.T:  look and see if it's on the floor/                  -N
7.    have a look under the table/                         "
8.    on the floor/                                        "
```

```
9.N:  on the floor                                              "
(Nasreen looks on the floor and finds a piece)
10.N: telephone/                                               -T
11.   telephone/                                               "
(Nasreen fits in the puzzle piece and OCp tries to help)
12.   ni kurni/                          = don't do it/        -OCp
13.OCp:unintel.uttr.(1)                                        -N
14.N:  mi das/                           = show me/            -OCp
```

Most of the conversation is between the teacher and Nasreen and is in

English.   Nasreen (line 12) switches to Panjabi to address OCp and

then continues talking to her in Panjabi.

Extract ELEVEN

Tahira (Ta) & OCp are in the home corner.   T is on the other side of
the classroom.

```
1.Ta: jai marai ki ackhai chori    = tell the boy to go and   -OCp
2.    chaiyai ain/                   get the knife/            "
3.OCp:kiyain?/                     = why?                      -Ta
4.Ta: a kholnai/                   = to open this/             -OCp
5.    othai door vich painiyani/   = it's near to the door/    "
6.    (4syl)
7.    HEY TEACHER/                                             -T
8.    OI/                                                      "
9.    (2syl)/
10.   oulai jumper chai ain/       = go bring the jumper/      -OCp
```

Tahira switches (line 7) to English in order to address the teacher,

she then switches back to Panjabi (line 10) to resume the conversation

with OCp.

2) EMPHASIS - in this category code-changing serves to emphasise a

point.   Fantini (1985:68) noted that for his young bilingual son 'a

rather common function of code-switching was to emphasize, underscore

or replicate something just said in the first language'.   Extracts

twelve and thirteen are examples of this category.

Extract TWELVE

Nasreen is completing a puzzle. OCp has just joined her at the table and is trying to do the puzzle with Nasreen.

1.N:	nehi/	URDU = no/		-OCp
2.	jaanai hai/	URDU = I have to go/		"
3.	going/			"
(OCp leaves the table)				

Nasreen emphasises that she does not want OCp to join her in

completing the puzzle. After she switches to English (line 3) OCp

leaves her.

Extract THIRTEEN

Ameena & Firdos are colouring in their pictures.

1.A:	na/	= no/		-F
2.	mein sairai colour karsain/	= I want to colour it all/		"
3.	thoon colour nai kari kini/	= you must not colour/		"
4.	my ((SI)) COLOUR/			"
5.	Panjabi unintel.uttr.(1)/			"

Ameena's code-change from Panjabi into English (line 4) emphasises her

point. In addition to changing codes, she also sings the word

'colour' and raises her voice.

3) <u>ATTENTION ATTRACTION OR RETENTION</u> - descibes <u>code-changing</u> which

functions to attract or retain the attention of the interlocutor or

audience. Extracts fourteen and fifteen illustrate this type of

<u>code-changing</u>.

Extract FOURTEEN

The children are in the home corner, Riaz offers Halima (H) & Kaniza (K) a drink.

1.	phi ke that/	= drink some/	-H&K
(H & K do not respond)			
2.	look/		"

Riaz's offer in Panjabi (line 1) does not receive a response, so he

changes into English.

Extact FIFTEEN

Ameena, Firdos & Jameel are at the table.   Jameel takes the crayon
which Ameena has been using.

1.A:	look/		-F
2.	mairai kinigayai eh/	= he's taken mine/	"

Ameena points out what has happened in English (line 1) and then

changes to Panjabi to retain Firdos' attention by explaining in

Panjabi.

4) STEREOTYPED/ITEM-LEARNED PHRASES - are identified in the speech of

some of the children at the point of a code-change as extracts sixteen

and seventeen illustrate.

Extract SIXTEEN

Shahid is playing alone in the sand tray.

1.S:	attani apoon ni/	= will not move herself/	-SELF
2.	ready steady go/		"

Extract SEVENTEEN

Ameena is commenting to Firdos:

1.A:	qori phar tai peiyai/	= the girl has fallen again/	-F
2.	whoops a daisy/ ((LF))/		"

Both of these code-changes mark a shift into English to produce an

item-learned phrase.

5) OTHER - a considerable number of code-changes cannot be assigned to

one of the above functional categories.   However, they are recognised

as code-changes and will be included when code-changing is quantified

in the 'other' category (see Tables 9xi(a&b) below).   Extracts

eighteen and nineteen illustrate this category.

Extract EIGHTEEN

All the children are outside in the yard. Shahid goes towards the climbing frame. A teacher is there and three other children, all native English-speaking children.

1. S:	mein ethai churaisain/	= I'm going to get on that/	-SELF

(Shahid climbs to the top of the climbing frame)

2.	go way/		"
3.	go away/		"
4.	au aupaar ni/	= he's not on top/	"
5.	go way/		"

(Shahid does a 'circuit' on the climbing frame)

6.	eh laisai?/	= do you want this?/	"
7.	up/		
8.	up/		"
9.	mein apoon jainai/	= I'll go myself/	"
10.	((SI))		
11.	uppar/	= up/	"
12.	uppar/	= up	"
13.	jainai/	= go/	"
13.	lai a/	= bring it/	"
14.	thoon liyai/	= you bring it/	"
15.	((LF))		

Extract NINETEEN

Nasreen is drawing with OCp and shows her drawing to R.

1. R:	that's lovely/		-N
2.	can you tell me about the other picture Nasreen/		"
3. OCp:	*eh tho likhai/	= do you want to write this/	-N
4. N:	*mm/ thoon/	= mm/ you/	-OCp
5. R:	can you tell me about this one/		-N
6. N:	eh thackai a/	= look at this/	-OCp
7.	mouse thai box thai chuwi/	= mouse and box and little box/	"
8.	mein thari eh kurshursain/	= I will do this on yours too/	"
9.	lubnai/	= find it/	"
10.	and I'm not like/		"
11.	(3syl) achai banai/	= make it nice/	"
12.	thackusai/	= look/	"
13.	snake banai/	= make a snake/	"
14.	eh paper book/	= this paper book	"
15.	we can't find it/		"
16.	and this a picture/		"
17.	alright a my picture/		"
18.	this right/		"
19.	shall I do my (.)/		"

(Nasreen's pencil breaks)

In both of these extracts it is impossible to say what function the

code-changes serve for Shahid and Nasreen. Since all instances of language alternation are being accounted for, we require this 'other' category to record instances of code changing which cannot be ascribed to a functional category.

So far we have looked at code-changing within one conversational turn. Our model of language alternation at the end of Section 9.1 accounts for the fact that code-changing can occur ac ross the boundary of an individual speaker's conversational turn, but within the same conversation, and an example of this was given in Extract 3 (line 9). The code-change occurs while addressing the same interlocutor, so the code-change cannot be explained by a change in the addressee. Extracts twenty, twenty-one, twenty-two and twenty-three illustrate code-changing which does not occur within the boundary of one conversational turn. These are the only examples of this type of code-changing in the data.

Extract TWENTY

Riaz, Kaniza and Halima are playing in the home corner. Riaz and Kaniza are at the cooker and are fighting over cooking pans.

```
1. Ri: ((symb.noise: cooking))
2.      ahey/                            = this thing/                    -K
3.      MEIN TWARE UPARA SATTAIN EH?/= HAVE I TO THROW THIS ON YOU?/"
(Riaz and Kaniza are arguing over the cooking pans)
4. K:   oh kundayai nai/                = I've got that one/             -Ri
5. Ri:  alright/                                                         -K
6. K:   oh kundayai nai/                = I've got that one/             -Ri
7. Ri:  thoon ke desain/                = I'll give you/                 -K
8.      thoon ke desain/                =        "                        "
9.      thoon ke desain/                =        "                        "
10.K:   EH MI DE NAI/                   = GIVE ME THAT/                  -Ri
```

Riaz changes to English (line 5) to give his agreement, but the conversation continues in Panjabi.

Extract TWENTY-ONE

Tahira & OCp are playing in the home corner.

```
1. Ta: eh thai teek eh oow/        = this is the right place/   -OCp
2.      nai uttain ethai/          = don't get up/              "
3.      eh mi thakai/              = look at me/                "
4. OCp:Panjabi unintel.uttr.(1)                                 -Ta
5. Ta: no/                                                      "
6. OCp:Panjabi unintel.uttr.                                    -Ta
7. Ta: thoon jai oon/              = you go away/               -OCp
8.      kaal/                      = wait                       "
9.      oi/                                                     "
```

Tahira signals her disagreement by saying 'no', line 5 and the

conversation continues in Panjabi.

Extract TWENTY-TWO

The children are 'fooling around' with the drawing materials, T comes

over

```
1. A:  that's it/                                              -F&J
2.     naughty/ naughty/                                        "
3. T:  now leave these please and get on with this colouring in/-A,F&J
4. A:  why?/                                                   -T
5. T:  because you've got a beautiful pattern there to colour in/ -A
(T points to children's work)
6.     that's lovely and that's beautiful/                     -A,F&J
(T leaves the group)
7. F:  pattern/ pattern/ pattern/                              -A&J
8.     pattern/                                                 "
9.     make a pattern/                                          "
10.    gori dadi/              = white grandmother/             "
11.A:  tati goo alai/          = poo poo/                       -F
12.F:  tati goo alai (1syl)/    = poo poo/                      -A
```

Extract twenty-two illustrates <u>code-changing</u> which does not occur

within a single conversational turn and in which the children use

'taboo' language. The use of minor utterances such as 'yes', 'no'

and 'bye bye' as well as 'taboo' language are the types of utterances

which are mixed into conversations in one turn in the data.

Returning once more to <u>code-changing</u> within a single

conversational turn, Tahira gives us two examples which are worth

noting.   The first (Extract twenty-three) is a code-change which

serves to exclude her mother, who speaks and understands very little

English.   The second code-change (line 11, Extract twenty-four) marks

a topic shift.   Auer & di Luzio (1983) found this occurring in the

conversations of bilingual Italian/German children.   Topic shift is

also noted by Gumperz (1982) in his investigations into adult language

alternation.   That there is only one clear example in this data

corpus may be because the children in this study are much younger than

the informants in the studies of Auer & di Luzio (1983) and Gumperz

(1982).   Fantini (1985) found that topical code-switching was almost

unknown to his son until his tenth year, but noted that lexical

borrowings intensified   when school subjects were being discussed.

A possible developmental progression in language alternation has been

suggested by McLure (1981), Fantini (1985) and Saunders (1982).

While no 'hard' evidence for this exists from the data in this study,

such a possibility cannot be ruled out and it could be a reflection of

the increasing association and use of the child's different languages

in particular domains.   Clearly the language of education is an

important influence on topical code-switching (Fantini, 1985).

Extract TWENTY-THREE

Ta: dinner money de/   = give the dinner money/   –M
    I'm going to eat all up/   "

The second type which deserves to be illustrated is <u>code-changing</u>

which appears to signal a shift in the topic.

Exctract TWENTY-FOUR

Tahira (Ta) and OCp have been playing in the home corner for a while.

Hoorum (H), a native Panjabi-speaking child comes in and Tahira hits
him.

```
1. OCp:Miss Jones/                                        -T
2.      Miss Jones/                                        "
3.      she hit him/                                       "
4.      she hit him/                                       "
5. H:  I'll hit you back then/                            -Ta
6. Ta: I hit you back/                                    -H
(Tahira & Hoorum are fighting)
7. H:  I'm not your friend/                               -Ta
8.      AAGH/
9.      ((CR))
10.Ta: cuttiyai/                        = bitch/          -H
(Tahira & Hoorum stop fighting)
11.Ta: I'm going to dinner/                               -OCp
12.     I'm going to dinner/                               "
```

The examples given so far illustrate the types of code-changing

found in the data, some can be categorised, some can not.   However,

this type of analysis allows quantification of the data.   In this

way, we can examine any patterns which emerge from the code-changing

data.

9.3.1 Quantifying code-changing

Tables 9xi(a&b) show the total amount of code-changing, both

within a conversational turn and across a conversational turn, for

each child.

Total Amount of Code-Changing for Each Child

Table 9xi(a)

	No. of Utterances
Nasreen	11
Riaz	22
Jameel	4
Shahid	7
Zahid	1

Table 9xi(b)

	No. of Utterances
Qaseem	4
Anisa	2
Ameena	31
Tahira	27
Shamshad	1

The tables above show that Riaz, Ameena and Tahira use a relatively large amount of code-changing in their conversation, Shahid and Nasreen less and Jameel, Zahid, Qaseem, Anisa and Shamshad code-change very little. The chidren who code-change most are those who use a large amount of Panjabi with their native Panjabi-speaking peers in class (Tables 5xvi(a&b), rather than a large amount of Panjabi overall. This point is best illustrated by Shahid who produces a relatively high proportion of Panjabi in his speech but addresses most to himself. Shahid, consequently produces a much smaller amount of code-changed speech than Ameena, Tahira and Riaz, who all use most of the Panjabi they produce in conversation with native Panjabi-speaking peers. It appears then, that code-changing has an interactional dimension. It is an aspect of the conversation of young bilingual children, rather than the speech of all children becoming bilingual in class. Among this group of children we have found that code-changing is a significant aspect of the conversation of children who

communicate in Panjabi with native Panjabi-speaking peers, but much less so in the communication of children who use Panjabi mainly with themselves.

Tables 9xii(a&b) show the amount of code-changing within a conversational turn according to the functional categories which have been used to describe this behaviour in the children.

Amount of Code-changing in Each Functional Category

Table 9xii(a)

	Addressee	Emphasis	Attention Attrac/Ret	Stereo-types	Other
Nasreen	3	2	0	0	3
Riaz	12	3	3	0	2
Jameel	0	4	0	0	0
Shahid	1	0	0	1	5
Zahid	1	0	0	0	0
Total	17	9	3	1	10

Table 9xii(b)

	Addressee	Emphasis	Attention Attrac/Ret	Stereo-types	Other
Qaseem	2	2	0	0	0
Anisa	1	1	0	0	0
Ameena	11	5	2	3	5
Tahira	7	4	3	1	7*
Shamshad	0	1	0	0	0
Total	21	13	5	4	12

* 1 'topic shift' & 1 'exclusion' are included in 'Other' (examples are Extracts 24 & 25 above)

The pattern regarding the use of code-changing for a designated function (or 'other') is similar across the groups. The function which code-changing serves most often is to specify an addressee. Next frequent are the categories 'other' and 'emphasis' with relatively small amounts of code-changing in the other categories. Taking the children separately, Riaz and Ameena use a higher proportion of code-changing to specify an addressee; Nasreen and Tahira use similar proportions of code-changing within the 'addressee specification' and ' c⁻ʳᵥ⁻ ' categories, while Shahid produces most code-changing within the ' c⁻ʳᵥ⁻ category .

Addressee is the factor which motivates most code-changing. For young children, this factor is probably the most salient. Fantini (1985) and Saunders (1982) reported that code-switching on the basis

of addressee seemed to be the earliest trigger to this type of

language mixing, this possibly points to some kind of developmental

progression in the development of language alternation.

9.4 CODE-SWITCHING

In this section, we are dealing with the third aspect of language

alternation in our model, which we have termed <u>code-switching</u> in order

to accommodate the addressee.   The switching we are dealing with here

does not occur within a single speaker turn, and is thus

differentiated from <u>code-changing</u>.   Nursery and infant classes favour

conversational situations in which the 'participant constellation',

(Auer & di Luzio, 1983) is constantly changing.   In a bi- or multi-

lingual setting, it is often necessary for the children to switch

languages in order to accommodate a new addressee in this fluid

conversational situation.   Extract twenty-five below illustrates

this.

<u>Extract TWENTY-FIVE</u>

Nasreen has just finished a drawing.   Tp, a Panjabi/English bilingual
teacher comes over and talks to Nasreen while R is there.

```
1. N:   look/                                                    -R
(Mrs.M comes over to the table)
2. R:   that's a lovely picture/                                 -N
3.      do you want to show Mrs.M?/                               "
4. N:   I want this/                                             -R
5. Tp:  apoo baniyi eh/ mm/        = have you made it yourself/  -N
6.      how many/                                                 "
7.      ki baniyoi si thoon/       = what did you make/           "
8. N:   thacko/                    = look/                       -Tp
9. Tp:  ki banai eh/              = what do you want to make/    -N
10.N:   thacko/                   = look/                        -Tp
11.Tp:  oh/                                                      -N
12.N:   nice nice eh*/             = nice nice this/             -Tp
13.Tp:  *eh banaiyia si/           = made this?/                 -N
14.     eh bhooth sona eh/         = this is very beautiful/      "
```

```
15.    horai iderhai vi khuch haigai/= is there anything over here?/"
16.N:  eh kurni sain/                = I'm doing this/              -Tp
17.Tp: dehka hagai/                  = show me it/                  "
18.    horai khuch bunoni/           = you're going to show me
19.                                    something/                   "
20.N:  eh thacko eh ke si/           = look at what this is/        "
```

Nasreen (line 8) switches from English into Panjabi to acommodate her

addressee, a bilingual Panjabi/English teacher who has spoken to her

in Panjabi.   Zentella (1981) noted that Spanish/English bilingual

children usually responded to their bilingual teacher in the language

in which they were addressed.   This is in keeping with Bell's

(1984:185) observations, 'a speaker's response to an addressee is

normally convergent, expressed in monolingual shift towards the

addressee, in a bilingual's, choice of the addressees language. I take

convergence to be the norm and treat divergence as the exception'.

Extract twenty-six (lines 7 & 12) illustrates an 'exception'.

<p align="center">Extract TWENTY-SIX</p>

Ameena and Firdos (a 'major' friend) are colouring in.   R comes over
to the table.

```
1. R:   what are you two doing here?/                        -A&F
2. A&F:((LF))
3. R:   can you show me?/                                     "
4.      oh that's very good/                                  "
(Ameena points to the recording equipment in the back of the jacket)
5. A:   what's in here?/                                      -R
6. R:   that's helping move the tape/                         -A
7. A:   ((LF)) thoon kai thakni aa?/ = what are you looking at?/  -R
8. F:   ((LF)) thoon kai thakni aa?/ = what are you looking at?/  -R
9. R:   come on then/                                         -A&F
10.     let me see you colour in/                             "
11.F:   thari mundi paji gaiyai/     = your neck's broken/    -R
12.A:   thari mundi paji gaiyai/     = your neck's broken/    -R
(R walks back to a corner of the classroom)
(F throws a crayon over the table)
13.A:   thoon sutti aa?/            = did you throw it?/      -F
14.     oh teacher laiyee gaiyai eh/ = that teacher's gone away/  "
15.     ((LF))/
```

Ameena (line 7) switches, apparently to make fun of her

addressee by deliberately using a language R does not understand.

Both Ameena and Nasreen are using their linguistic knowledge

appropriately, but for different purposes, Nasreen to accommodate and

Ameena to confound, the addressee.

In this section we will be describing and quantifying switching

which accommodates (either by initiation or response) the addressee,

or switching which excludes the addressee.   Extracts twenty-seven and

twenty-eight are further examples of switching to accommodate the

addressee.

Extract TWENTY-SEVEN

Riaz, OCe and R are playing with a train.   Hoorum (H), a native
Panjabi-speaking child approaches.

1. Ri: LOOK THA:T/   -OCe
2. R: mm/   -R
3. Ri: oh man/   -OCe
4.   AAGH/   "
5. R: shall we see if this one runs down the bridge?/   -Ri&OCe
6.   lets have a look/   "
7. Ri: look/   -R&OCe
8. OCe:((symb.noise: train going along the track))
(Hoorum comes over to see what's happening)
9. Ri: HOORUM thoon ethai kehdanai?/= HOORUM do you want to play
                                  here?/   -H
(Hoorum looks and goes away again)
10.Ri: look/   -R
11.R: who's that?/   -Ri
12.Ri: Hoorum/   -R
13.R: is he your friend?/   -Ri
14.Ri: no/   -R

Extract TWENTY-EIGHT

Ameena is playing with a railway track.

1. R: can you ask Firdos if she wants to play?/   -A
2. A: thoon kehd se?/   = do you want to play?/   -F

Riaz and Ameena switch to address their native Panjabi-speaking peers.

Extract twenty-eight, line 2, illustrates the ability of Ameena to transfer a request from English into Panjabi and address Firdos in the appropriate code. This can be contrasted with the following extracts in which the 'wrong' language is used with the 'wrong' person.

Extract TWENTY-NINE
Ameena & Firdos are playing with a doll

```
1. R:  has she had anything to eat yet?/                        -A&F
2.     or to drink?/                                             "
3. A:  dhood/ ((LF))              = milk/                        -R
4. R:  are you going to give her some milk?/                     -A&F
5. A:  yes/                                                      -R
6. F:  dhood piaz/               = she's drunk the milk/         -A
```

Ameena addresses R in Panjabi (line 3) and clearly knows that this is not 'right' since she laughs. It is less clear whether she deliberately uses Panjabi to confound her addressee in Extract thirty below.

Extract THIRTY

Ameena and Firdos are colouring in their work. They are sitting at a table with two native Bengali-speaking girls (OCb).

```
1. A:  ((SI))
2.     baji kailayi teek oh?/      = sister are you alright?/    -OCb
3.     hi/ hi/ hi/ hi/             = hey/ hey/ hey/ hey/         "
4.     thoon kai kithai?/          = what have you done?/        "
5. F:  paperaan paarni a oh/       = she's tearing papers/       -A
6. A:  hain gundi a woh/           = she is dirty/               -F
7. F:  pathai oh gundi eh/         = do you know she's dirty/    -A
(T comes over to the table)
8. T:  that's lovely/                                           -F
9. A:  looka/                                                   -T
10.T:  can you colour these in a little bit more?/              -F
11.A:  kai paaraini lagioviyeh/    = what is she tearing?/       -F
12.T:  you try/                                                 "
13.    that's lovely/                                           "
14.T:  right Ameena/                                            -A
15.    you can choose some different colours/                   "
16.A:  why?/                                                    -T
```

After addressing the native Bengali-speaking girl in Panjabi she

continues to talk rudely about her with Firdos, it is possible that

she knows the Bengali-speaking child does not understand her.   These

levels of awareness can be compared to other examples of the 'wrong'

code as used by Riaz and Nasreen.

<u>Extract THIRTY-ONE</u>

Riaz and Mark are making tea, they can't find the cups.

```
1. R:   oh there's a cup in there/                                -Ri&M
2.      here you are/                                                "
3. M:   I pour some in/                                            -R
4.      can I have a cup of tea/                                     "
5. Ri:  eh dhood vada biyanea/       = I've put the milk in
6.                                     something big/              -M
7. M:   I pour some cup of tea in there/                          -Ri
8.      right?/                                                     "
```

<u>Ectract THIRTY-TWO</u>

Nasreen is telling R about her families' recent house move.

```
1. N:   I go (.) f. in the flat/                                  -R
2. R:   you go in the flat/                                       -N
3. N:   flat/                                                     -R
4.      and my pussy cat/                                          "
5. R:   mm/                                                       -N
6. N:   mujay lai move/             = we have moved/              -R
7. R:   what?/                                                    -N
8. N:   in a (.) in a (.) in a house/                             -R
9.      in morning/                                                "
```

Riaz (Extract thirty-one, line 5) and Nasreen (Extract thirty-two,

line 6) both use Panjabi when addressing monolingual English speakers.

Their use of Panjabi in these situations appears to be because of

their desire to communicate a message and they use their available

linguistic resources to do so (Grosjean, 1982).   In both these

examples, the message is relatively complex and is beyond their

abilities in English (at the time of these recordings Riaz and Nasreen

had had approximately ten weeks exposure to English in nursery school)

so they resort to Panjabi. We will examine the number of times each of the children adopted this strategy below. Firstly, however, we will examine the amount of code-switching the children do to accommodate their addressee.

Total Amount of Code-Switching to Accommodate the Addressee

Table 9xiii(a)

	No. of Switches
Nasreen	9
Riaz	10
Jameel	2
Shahid	2
Zahid	0

Table 9xiii(b)

	No. of Switches
Qaseem	0
Anisa	0
Ameena	37
Tahira	11
Shamshad	0

Ameena has a much greater amount of switching to accommodate the addressee in her data corpus than any of the other children. Tahira is the only other child in Group 2 who switches for this reason. This type of language alternation appears to correspond with the amount of Panjabi used by this group. Ameena and Tahira use considerable amounts of Panjabi in their classroom accommodation, while the others use very little.

Within Group 1, Riaz and Nasreen both switch languages to accommodate the addressee more than any of the others in the group. Riaz uses a lot of Panjabi in his classroom communication, and Nasreen, while not using as much, does use a relatively large amount of Panjabi. Shahid, who uses a lot of Panjabi, addresses most of it

to himself and therefore code-switches to accommodate the addressee very little.

We will now look to see how many times the children switched and used the 'wrong' language, and whether this appeared to be intentional or not.

Number of Switches Which Do Not Accommodate the Addressee

Table 9xiv(a)

	Intent.	Unintent.
Nasreen	0	1
Riaz	0	3
Jameel	0	4
Shahid	0	1
Zahid	0	1

Table 9xiv(b)

	Intent.	Unintent
Qaseem	0	2
Anisa	0	3
Ameena	3	0
Tahira	0	0
Shamshad	0	0

All the children in Group 1 use the 'wrong language with the wrong person' unintentionally. While in Group 2, only Qaseem and Anisa do this. This is possibly evidence of a developmental difference between the two groups.

Ameena, by deliberately switching to the language which the addressee does not know, and by switching a great deal to accommodate her addressee shows more sophistication in her use of languages than the other children. In addition, she also produces more code-changes and more code-mixed utterances. She exemplifies that, 'Code-switching represents an individual's ability to creatively exploit conventional associations between patterns of language use and social

activities' (Heller 1988:269). It appears that, 'in many multi-

lingual societies, switching to a language not known by all

participants is a common means of exclusion, often conscious' (Scotton

1988:174). Fantini (1985:66) reported that his Spanish/English

bilingual son by the age of 8;1 frequently marked his language choice

by using the opposite of what would be expected when he wanted to

'amuse, surprise or shock' and he also made use of his languages to

include or exclude participants. Ameena also stands out among both

groups of children in being the only child who on occasions, overrides

the inhibitory effects of an English monolingual 'overhearer'. The

other children accommodate the 'overhearer', a phenomenon reported by

Dorian (1981) and Gal (1979) in minority language speakers deferring

to the language of the majority. This analysis of language

alternation so far provides a considerable amount of information about

the children's bilingual communicative competence. We explore this

further in the next section.

9.5 LANGUAGE SWITCHING

The final part of our model addresses language switching which

appears to be motivated by a change in the 'overhearer'. Analysis of

the data so far has shown that code-mixing, code-changing and code-

switching generally takes account of the listener's linguistic

abilities. Most of the children usually accommodate their speech to

the language of the interlocutor. There are two exceptions to this

rule. First, if the speaker cannot access the necessary linguistic

item in the language of the listener, they may switch to access it

from their other language. Secondly, the speaker may deliberately

choose a code which the addressee cannot understand. The speaker

will have a reason, such as to exclude or make fun of the listener.

We saw (Table 9xiv(b) above) that only Ameena was recorded doing this.

In Section 6.3 we noted the effect of the 'overhearer' - a person

whose presence or absence has an effect, in this case, on the

linguistic code of the speaker. The data was analysed further to

find more instances of this. These are outlined below.

Extract THIRTY- THREE

Nasreen is playing with a bag filling it up with bricks

1.	N:	look/		-R
2.		going [ə] down/		"
3.		[ə] there/		"
(R walks away from Nasreen)				
4.	N:	eh eh alai/	= this this alright/	-SELF
5.		eh eh marai/	= this this mine/	"
6.		alahia/	= alright	"
7.		ke kinse orange blue/	= do you want orange blue/	"
8.		eh alahai/	= this alright/	"
9.		(2syl)/(5syl)/		"

Nasreen's switch to Panjabi coincides with a change in the 'audience',

the monolingual researcher (R) leaves her alone and her communication

changes from English to Panjabi. We have noted elsewhere (Table

5xviii(a) above) that Nasreen's communication to SELF is mainly in

English, it is possible that her awareness of the 'audience' is one of

the factors which affects the code she uses to address herself.

Extract thirty-four illustrates a similar occurence.

Extract THIRTY-FOUR

Nasreen is completing a puzzle while sitting at a table with T present

1.	T:	Put it on the table/	-R
2.	N:	no this/	-T
3.		no this going/	"
(OCp joins Nasreen and T at the table)			

```
4. N:  nehi/                          URDU = no/                              -OCp
5.     jaanai hai/                    URDU = I have to go/                     "
6.     going/                                                                 "
(OCp and T leave the table, Nasreen continues fitting in the puzzle
pieces))
7.     main edurai jai/              = I'm going this way/                    -SELF
8.     eh janai eh/                  = this is going/                         "
9.     eh ferai ferai janai/         = this is going again and again"
10.    alright/                                                               "
11.    ek janai/                     = one is going/                          "
12.    farai janai/                  = going again/                           "
13.    kis ke janai hai?/            = who's are you going to?                "
```

Again, Nasreen's switch to Panjabi to address herself occurs after her

'overhearer' and addressee have left.   It should be noted that

Nasreen does address OCp in Urdu in front of the monolingual English

teacher, therefore she is not totally inhibited in her use of a code

other than English in the presence of a monolingual adult, but she is

not as uninhibited as Ameena (see Extract thirty-eight below).

Perhaps the clearest examples of the 'overhearer' effect are

illustrated by Extracts thirty-five and thirty-six below, when the

monolingual 'overhearer' leaves.

<u>Extract THIRTY-FIVE</u>

Nasreen and Fara decide to go shopping.

```
1. N: there's a bag/                                                          -F&R
2.    going shop/                                                             "
3.    sugar/                                                                  "
4. R: bring me back some tea as well/                                         -N&F
5. N: right then/                                                             -R
(Nasreen and Fara leave HC and go to 'the shops'.   Nasreen is
  carrying a shopping bag, on the way there Fara tries to take the
  bag)
6. N: chore de nai/           = leave it alone                                -F
7.    chore de/               = leave it                                      "
8. F: ((CRIES))
(Nasreen and Fara return to HC)
9. N: been to shop/                                                          -R
```

<u>Extract THIRTY-SIX</u>

Shaida is trying to get Tahira to eat her dinner

```
S: eat your dinner/                                                          -T
T: don't want eat my dinner/                                                 -S
   I have eat my dinner/                                                     "
R: I'm just going to get something/                                         -T&S
   I'll be back in a minute/                                                 "
(R leaves HC and goes to the other side of the classroom)
S: (1syl) khaa/            = eat                                             -T
T: mein ni khaana/         = I don't want to eat                            -S
   mein khai rakhsain/     = I've eaten                                      "
   mein khai rakhsain/         "                                            "
   bye/                                                                      "
   mein jalia an/          = I'm going                                       "
S: pakat lena?/            = you want a packet?                             -T
T: pakat lena?/            =        "                                       -S
S: a jal bhar (1syl)/      = let's go out                                   -T
   (1syl) lena?/           = you want                                       "
   unint. uttr.                                                             "
(T and S leave HC to find R)
T: let have that monies/                                                    -S
   lets have that money/                                                    "
(S sees R)
S: look/                                                                    -T
T: I'm going shopping/                                                      -R
```

Extract THIRTY-SEVEN

Ameena, Firdos & Jameel are drawing at a table.

```
1. A:  bhoolai/                    = speak/                    -F
2.     bhoolai/                        "                        "
3.     teacher/                                                -R
4.     teach*/                                                  "
5. F:      teacher aigigee eh*/   = the teacher is coming/     -A
6. A:                    *teacher/                             -R
7.     teach/                                                   "
8.     ((LF))
```
(The children are 'fooling around' with the drawing materials, T comes over)
```
9. A:  that's it/                                             -F&J
10.    naughty/ naughty/                                       "
11.T:  now leave these please and get on with this colouring in/-A,F&J
12.A:  why?/                                                  -T
13.T:  because you've got a beautiful pattern there to colour in/ -A
(T points to children's work)
       that's lovely and that's beautiful/                   -A,F&J
(T leaves the group)
14.F:  pattern/ pattern/ pattern/                             -A&J
15.    pattern/                                                "
16.    make a pattern/                                         "
```

Line nine of Extract thirty-seven shows the effect that the arrival of

the teacher has on Ameena, she switches to English to address Firdos

and Jameel, and possibly also to show the teacher that she thinks they

have been messing around when they should have been working.   In

contrast, Extract thirty-eight shows that a monolingual 'overhearer'

often has a negligible effect on Ameena's use of Panjabi.

Extract THIRTY-EIGHT

Ameena, Firdos and the two native Bengali-speaking children are at the
table.   T is encouraging Ameena and Firdos to use different colours.

```
1. A:  I can choose THIS colour/                                    -T
2. T:  good/                                                        -A
3. A:  not a this/                                                  -T
4.     it's broken/                                                 "
5.     THAT colour/                                                 "
6. (Ameena sneezes)
7.     ((LF))
8. F:  thai thoon/              = and you/                          -A
9.     thai thoon/              "                                   "
10.    thai thoon*/            "                                   "
11.A:            * teacher thakni lagi = the teacher is looking/  -F
12.    oyi vi eh/
13.    ((LF))
14.    teacher dassni eh*/      = the teacher is showing us/        "
15.T:             *and put those up/                                -A&F
16.A:  thakni lagi oyi vi eh/   = she is looking at us/             -F
17.T:  put those words up/                                          -F
```

It was quite striking in Ameena's CLASSROOM and HOME CORNER data

collection sessions that unlike all the other children, she was very

confident about using Panjabi in front of an English monolingual

adult.   Of the other children who used a lot of Panjabi, they

preferred to use it out of earshot of a monolingual English speaker.

Another example from Tahira in the CLASSROOM illustrates this.

Extract THIRTY-NINE

Tahira & OCp are playing with a doll in the home corner.   They have
been conversing in Panjabi.

```
1. Ta: ithai khollsain/          = open it here/          -OCp
2.      ithai khollsain/              "                     "
3. (Tahira picks up the doll)
4.      there/                                             "
5.      oh:/                                               "
6. (T comes over to the home corner)
7.      heavy/                                             "
8. T:   oh Tahira that's lovely/                          -Ta
9.      are you looking after the baby?/                   "
10.Ta:  yeh/                                               -T
11.T:   yeh/                                               -Ta
12.(T leaves and OCe comes over to the home corner)
```

Tahira switches to English as her monolingual English-speaking teacher

approaches (line 4).

The fact that Ameena seems to be less influenced by her

'audience' can be attributed mainly to Ameena's strong association

between language and particular people mainly family and 'major'

friends'.   The final two extracts, forty and forty-one illustrate

this point.

Extract FORTY

Ameena is in the Home Corner with Kate (OCe) and R.   Ameena is
speaking into a toy telephone.

```
1.  R:  who's on the phone?/                              -A
2.  A:  my (.) my sister/                                 -R
3.  R:  your sister/                                      -A
4.      which sister?/                                    "
5:  A:  Shaida/                                           -R
6.  R:  Shaida/                                           -A
(R takes phone)
7.      hello Shaida/                                     -phone
8.      it's Suzanne here/                                "
9.      how are you?/                                     "
10. A:  eh ke bani eh?/        = what are you making?      "
11. R:  alright/                                          -A
12. A:  ((LF))
13. R:  you want to speak to Kate?/                       -phone
14.     o.k./                                             "
15.     here she is/                                      "
```

```
(R gives the phone to Kate, the Ameena takes it from her)
16: A:  hello/                                                    -phone
17:     mara (.) mara aba/         = my (.) my dad/                  "
18:     Panj. unintel. utterance(1)                                 "
(Ameena gives the phone to R)
19: R:  hello Shaida/                                               "
20: A:  my dad/                                                    -R
21: R:  oh it's your dad/                                          -A
21: A:  hello Ameena's dad/                                     -phone
```

It has been established that Ameena always speaks to her father in

Panjabi (see Table 5xx(b) below).   Therefore, even in the situation

where she is in school playing with an English monolingual adult and

child pretending to address her father, she uses Panjabi so strong is

her association between the person and the language for her.   We saw

in Extract twenty-nine that when requested by the researcher to ask

Firdos to play, she asked her in Panjabi as this is usually the

language of communication between these children both in and out of

school.

It appears that many of the children have internalised a set of

principles about which language to direct to a particular person and

which language should be overheard by another person.   When these

principles are broken the consequences can be rather amusing.

Extract FORTY-ONE

Ameena & Firdos have been on the (toy) telephone to their relatives.
Firdos is speaking to Mohammed (a cousin in Bradford).

```
1. F:  hello Mohammed/                                         -M
2.     tik ho?/              = alright?/                         "
3.     teacher eh ki diyan?/ = have I to give it to the        -A
4.                             teacher?/
5. R:  hello Mohammed/                                         -M
6.     mera naam Suzanne hain/  = my name is Suzanne/            "
7. A:  tera naam ki hain?/      = what is your name?/          -R
8. R:  mera naam Suzanne hain/  = my name is Suzanne/          -A
9.     bye/                                                    -M
(R puts the phone down)
10.F:  Panjabi unintel.uttr.(1)
11.A:  bye/                                                    -M
```

```
12.     see you tommorrow/                                          "
(R suggests that they tidy up, but Ameena & Firdos continue playing
with the phone.)
13.F:   my mum/                                                    -R
14.R:   your mum?/                                                 -F
15.F:   eh thoon/                  = it's for you/                 -A
16.     chap kai/                  = shut up/                       "
(Firdos talks into the phone)
17.     bye aba/                   = bye daddy               -PHONE
18.     teek ho?/                  = are you alright?/              "
19.     mein teek hain/            = I'm alright/                   "
20.     Allah ne wale/             = God be with you/               "
(Firdos hands the phone to Ameena)
21.A:   Allah ne wale/             = God be with you (Mirpuri)      "
22.     kuda hafiz/                = God be with you (Panj/Urdu)    "
23.     hello aba/                 = hello daddy/                   "
24.     teek ho?/                  = are you alright?/              "
25.     mein teacher e ki deni lagi = I'm going to give it to the  "
26.     eh/                          teacher/                       "
(Ameena gives the phone to R)
27.R:   hello/                                                      "
28.     gon he?/                   = who is this?/                  "
(Ameena & Firdos both look astonished)
29.A:   eh Bengali te ni eh?/      = is she Bengali?/              -F
30.F:   my dad/                                                    -R
31.R:   Firdos' dad/                          .                 -PHONE
32.     hello/                                                      "
33.     mera naam Suzanne hain/    = my name is Suzanne/            "
34.F:   eh gori ke ekni?/          = what is this English-woman   -A
35.                                  saying?/
36.     eh Pakistani teni/         = she's not Pakistani/           "
37.     eh aknieh bye/             = she's saying bye/              "
38.A:   ((LF))
```

This final extract shows what may happen when a monolingual English

person speaks in Urdu/Panjabi. The children are very surprised. In

line 7 Ameena asks R in Panjabi, to repeat her name, this time Ameena

is genuinely enquiring in Panjabi and not attempting to make fun of R.

Further on in the conversation, Ameena and Firdos look absolutely

astonished when R asks 'gon he?', 'who is it?' after she is handed the

phone. This prompts the children to ask who this woman might be.

Ameena asks if she is a Bengali (line 29), and Firdos, in no doubt

about the researcher's origins asks 'what is the English-woman

saying?' but affirms that she is not Pakistani.

The researcher in Extract forty-two, has 'broken the rules' which
all the children have learned and abide by the majority of the time.
These 'rules' are that white people speak only English, and should
always be addressed in English unless the intention is to confound
them, for example, to say something derogatory about them, talk about
a taboo topic in front of them, or make fun of them. The preferences
about what language to address a native Panjabi-speaker appear to
differ among the children. Some children speak to them almost always
in English and some almost always in Panjabi. For Ameena the rules
regarding her family and 'major' friends are so strong that she speaks
Panjabi to them almost all the time when in class at this age.

9.5 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The findings in this chapter provide us not only with more
information about language alternation in this particular group of
young children, but also further insights into their communicative
abilities and competence. Our findings are in keeping with those of
other investigators:

> ... code-shifting is a conversational phenomenon that can be used
> by speakers to produce certain interpretable effects ...
> variation can be said to be not only interactionally meaningful
> but also functional. (Auer & di Luzio 1983:21)

> Code-switching can be seen as one kind of verbal strategy used to
> establish conversational co-operation, or to prevent it s
> establishment. (Heller 1988:267)

> Bilingual children quickly develop a complex language decision
> system. It is first tuned to the interlocutor (the person-
> language bond) but soon takes into consideration the situation
> and the function of the interaction. (Grosjean 1982:204)

The description, analysis and quantification of the data has shown language alternation to be used in a patterned, meaningful and appropriate way.

Compared to adults the children alternate languages for some of the same conversational purposes as adults. Tag and intra-sentential switching is infrequent, but some of the children switch at utterance boundaries to quite a large extent. It may be that this pattern would change with age.

There are differences among the children in the type of language mixing they produce. Some of this is related to fluency. Lack of fluency in English can prompt code-mixed utterances which are 'English-based', containing Panjabi lexical items; while the learning of a Panjabi mixed code 'style' seems to prompt code-mixing of English into Panjabi. The type of code-mixing which each child favours generally seems to reflect whether or not they use a lot of Panjabi in the first place.

The relationship between speaker and interlocutor affects certain types of language alternation more than others. It seems to govern most code-changing and all code-switching, but not code-mixing Panjabi lexical items into English base utterances. Bell (1984) believes that the relationship with the addressee is an important factor in conversation.

Individual differences between the children in the amount of language-mixing was found. McClure (1981:91) found that:

> There were children who were competent bilinguals who virtually never code-switched and that one young non-fluent bilingual code-switched incessantly. Thus it is probable that personal characteristics also affect patterns of code-switching.

It is probably for reasons to do with personality, as well as
friendship ties which caused Ameena to exploit her bilingual skills in
a way that none of the other children seemed to do.

This analysis has shown that the children's language alternation
is another indicator of the high level of their linguistic and
communcative ability.

CHAPTER 10

LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDES - SELF REPORTED DATA FROM THE CHILDRENS' MOTHERS

This chapter, together with Chapter 11, provides information which allows us to interpret the child language data within a wider context. Mothers' and teachers' views on certain aspects of language and education were obtained through informal interviews. Mothers' interviews are concerned with language use in the home, community language classes and religious instruction and involvement with their child's schooling. The findings from the mothers' interviews are presented in this chapter. The interview format can be found in Appendix 7.

The interviews were carried out at the beginning of the children's second term in nursery or infant class. Sameera, the bilingual co-worker, and I visited each mother at home to carry out the interview. Sameera asked the questions in Panjabi, translated the responses and all other comments, which were then recorded by me. Both the questions and method of interviewing was piloted prior to these interviews with five other mothers. The translation proved to be no problem, mainly because the questions were very straightforward and could be easily translated (see Appendix 7).

We begin this chapter by presenting background information concerning the childrens' families.

10.1 BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT THE CHILDRENS' PARENTS

Aspects of parents' lives which particularly affect the home and school experience of children from ethnic minority communities are parents' educational experiences, place of origin, length of residence in the U.K., proficiency in English and employment status.

Tables 10i(a&b) show the variation in place of origin, length of residence in the U.K., education and number of children for the mothers of the children in this study.

Place of Origin, Length of Time in U.K.,
Education & Number of Children for the
Mothers of the Study Children

Table 10i(a)

	Nasreen	Riaz	Jameel	Shahid	Zahid
Place of origin	Mirpur District	Mirpur District	Rawalpindi District	Jhelum District	Chaksavari District
Length of residence in U.K.	16yrs	15yrs	5yrs	7yrs	5yrs
Mother's Education	None	None	None	5yrs	1yr
No. children in family	4	5	3	3	4

Table 10i(b)

	Qaseem	Anisa	Ameena	Tahira	Shamshad
Place of origin	Mirpur District	Karachi District	Mirpur District	Mirpur District	Mirpur District
Length of residence in U.K.	7yrs	6yrs	15yrs	16yrs	11yrs
Mother's Education	None	10yrs	None	None	None
No. children in family	5	4	6	6	4

All the mothers are from rural districts of Pakistan and all are full-time housewives. Only one mother, Anisa's, has ever been employed outside the home, but she gave this up when she had her first child. It is the exception rather than the rule for the women to have had any formal education and none have had any education in Britain. A similar picture comes from women in the Panjabi community in Bradford (Fitzpatrick 1987:27). It was found that seventy-nine percent of mothers of children involved in a mother tongue teaching project had received no schooling. This figure corresponds generally with levels of illiteracy. The women are primarily engaged in looking after their families. Mothers' contact with the English-speaking community is generally limited to people they meet in school and in shops and is particularly affected by the communication barrier they face because they speak little or no English.

All the fathers, with the exception of Ameena's, were in full-time employment at the time of the interview. Most of the men did shift work and their jobs involved long hours in unskilled jobs.

Parents' level of English affects bilingual children's experiences considerably, as this chapter will show (see also Chapter 13). Generally speaking a child may have to interpret for their parent or parents when any dealings with services such as health, education or social services are required (see also Section 10.4 below). However, Fitzpatrick (1987) makes the point in relation to families in the Panjabi-speaking community in Bradford that invariably children also interpret how systems such as education work:

> Situations may arise in families such as these, where the parents, in particular mothers, may find it difficult to speak with authority to children on school matters. It is likely that on a day to day basis parents' view of formal education in the U.K. may in many families be based on the personal interpretation of young children. (Fitzpatrick 1987:28)

This is equally true for the Pakistani Community on Tyneside, and probably also many other minority linguistic communities throughout Britain.

Table 10(ii) below shows the level of proficiency in English for each study child's mother and father. A three-point numerical scale was utilised to describe parents' use of English:

1 = unable to use English for basic activities such as shopping and making appointments.

2 = functional use of English ie. can be used for shopping, making appointments and 'basic' conversation

3 = fluent use of English

Parents' Proficiency In English

Table 10(ii)

	Nas-reen	Riaz	Jam-eel	Sha-hid	Zahid	Qas-eem	Anisa	Ame-ena	Tah-ira	Sham-shad
Mother	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
Father	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	3

Anisa's mother, the only mother who has been in paid employment outside the home, has functional use of English. All other mothers use and understand very little or no English. Fathers are either fluent or have a functional use of English. The communication difficulties experienced by the mothers often causes them to be dependent on family members or bilingual friends and sometimes even their children, in matters which require proficiency in English, generally all non-household matters. Health and education are particular concerns of the mothers and they are unable, usually, to deal with anything but the simplest issue without assistance. This is a matter which arises often in the mothers' inteviews and it is discussed throughout this chapter.

It is apparent from interviews with the mothers and teachers and from my own experiences working in the National Health Service that the response to service users without fluent English is inadequate and an equal service is generally not available to this population. This point will be discussed further in Chapter 13. However, one way of overcoming the communication barrier between practitioners in health or education and clients with a mother tongue other than English, is to work with trained interpreters. It is of course a necessary

prerequisite that the language of the interpreter and client are the same. Misunderstandings often arise because people may name their language as different to the one they actually use. As part of the interview, mothers were asked what name they gave to their own language and Table 10(iii) below shows the responses to this question.

Name Given By Mothers To The Language Spoken In The Home

Table 10(iii)

	Nas-reen	Riaz	Jam-eel	Sha-hid	Zahid	Qas-eem	Anisa	Ame-ena	Tah-ira	Sham-shad
Name given	Panj/Urdu	Urdu	Panj	Panj	Panj/*Pak	Panj	Panj	Urdu	Urdu	Urdu
Lang. spoken	M-P	M-P	P	P-U	P	M-P	P	M-P	M-P	M-P

*"Pakistani"
P = Panjabi; M-P = Mirpuri dialect of Panjabi; P-U = Panjabi with, in this case 'a little bit Urdu'

Mothers give a variety of responses when asked to name their language. Four of the Mirpuri/Panjabi speakers say that Urdu is their language. This response reflects the status of Urdu in relation to their own, often stigmatised dialect, a common finding among other speech communities (Fishman, 1989). We saw in Section 2.3.3 that many Pakistanis in Britain regard Urdu as their mother tongue. The other mothers, all non-Mirpuri/Panjabi speakers except for Qaseem's, said that Panjabi was the language they spoke at home.

From this background the other information gathered during the interview can now be examined.

10.2 LANGUAGE USE IN THE HOME

This section will describe the reported patterns of language use in each of the children's families. Fishman (1965:67) posed the question 'who speaks what language to whom' and information about code choice among each family at home will be presented in terms of the preferred code for each family member when addressing another.

The study children's code choice with various family members was outlined in Section 5.6 (Tables 5xx(a&b) above). It was concluded that, at this young age, the children use mainly Panjabi with their families and with friends in their homes. However, the children of Group 2 did appear to be following a trend towards using more English particularly with older siblings.

The code choice of mothers, fathers, older siblings and younger siblings will be presented. Self-reported data is not necessarily totally reliable (Chana & Romaine 1984). However, when examined in conjunction with my own observations of communication between family members (Section 3.5.4) there was very little discrepancy between mothers' reports and my observations. Gal (1979) also found a high correlation between survey results of self-reported language behaviour and her observations of language use in a bilingual speech community. Rickford (1985) discusses the advantages of supplementing language data with intuitive speaker judgements and concludes that their inclusion in sociolinguistic studies enriches the data.

Tables 10iv(a&b) show the reported code choice by mothers when addressing their husbands, the study children and the older and younger siblings of the study child.

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<u>Mothers' Reported Code Choice With Family Members</u>

Table 10iv(a)

	Nasreen	Riaz	Jameel	Shahid	Zahid
Study Child	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	always* Panj	always Panj
Father	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj
Older sibs	**equally P & E	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj
Younger sibs	NA	NA	NA	always Panj	always Panj

* Mother uses Urdu on occasions
** Researcher observed 'always Panjabi'

Table 10iv(b)

	Qaseem	Anisa	Ameena	Tahira	Shamshad
Study Child	always Panj	mostly Panj	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj
Father	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj
Older sibs	always Panj	mostly Panj	always Panj	always Panj	mostly Panj
Younger sibs	always Panj	always Panj	NA	always Panj	always Panj

Mothers communicate mainly in Panjabi at home, as could be expected from their level of English (Table 10ii). Shahid's mother uses Urdu on occasions, she is very keen for her children to learn this language. As she has had five years of formal education in Pakistan (in Urdu) she is better placed than most of the other mothers

to teach it (see Table 10(i) above). Only one discrepancy exists between reported and observed behaviour. Nasreen's mother reports that she uses 'equally Panjabi & English' when communicating with older sibs, this was not observed at home, nor would it be very likely, as her level of English is extremely limited and she was observed to use 'always Panjabi'. It is possible that this discrepancy has arisen either because Nasreen's mother feels this response is what a native English-speaker (in this case, the researcher) wants to hear or she is herself responding to status judgements about Panjabi and English, favouring English. Taken together, this group of mothers show a fairly uniform pattern in their communication with various family members. Only Anisa's mother who has a functional level of English uses anything other than 'always Panjabi' when communicating with the study children at home.

We will turn now to look at father's communication within the family. As we saw in Section 10.1, all fathers, except Ameena's are in full-time employment, many work shifts, and so they do get an opportunity to spend time with their children during the day.

Fathers' Reported Code Choice With Family Members

Table 10v(a)

	Nasreen	Riaz	Jameel	Shahid	Zahid
Study Child	always Panj	always Panj	mostly Panj	always Panj	always Panj
Mother	*mostly Panj	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj
Older sibs	always Panj	mostly Panj	mostly Panj	always Panj	always Panj
Younger sibs	NA	NA	NA	always Panj	always Panj

* Researcher observed 'always Panjabi'

Table 10v(b)

	Qaseem	Anisa	Ameena	Tahira	Shamshad
Study Child	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	mostly Panj	always Panj
Mother	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj
Older sibs	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	equally P & E	equally P & E
Younger sibs	always Panj	always Panj	NA	mostly Panj	always Panj

Fathers use Panjabi with their wives, the study children and their younger and older siblings. There is a slight shift in the direction of more English in father's communication with older siblings. This may be because older siblings use more English when addressing their fathers (see Tables 10v(a&b) below) which is

motivated by the fact that the fathers have a greater knowledge of English than the mothers. The emerging pattern for both parents is similar however; Panjabi is the code most used at home regardless of the parent's facility with English.

The code choice of older siblings with family and friends and cousins the same age is now outlined.

Older Siblings Reported Code Choice With Family Members

Table 10vi(a)

	Nasreen	Riaz	Jameel	Shahid	Zahid
Study Child	mostly Engl	mostly Panj	equally P & E	mostly Panj	always Panj
Mother	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	mostly Panj	always Panj
Father	always Panj	equally P & E	equally P & E	mostly Panj	always Panj
Older sibs	mostly Engl	mostly Engl	equally P & E	NA	mostly Panj
Younger sibs	NA	NA	NA	mostly Panj	mostly Panj
Friends/ Cousins (same age)	equally P & E	mostly Engl	always Panj	mostly Engl	equally P & E

Table 10vi(b)

	Qaseem	Anisa	Ameena	Tahira	Shamshad
Study Child	mostly Panj	mostly Engl	equally P & E	*always Engl	equally P & E
Mother	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	mostly Panj
Father	always Panj	mostly Panj	always Panj	always Panj	equally P & E
Older sibs	always Engl	always Engl	mostly Engl	*always Engl	mostly Engl
Younger sibs	always Panj	mostly Panj	NA	mostly Panj	mostly Panj
Friends/ Cousins	* always Panj	always Engl	mostly Engl	always Engl	always Engl

* Researcher observed 'mostly Panjabi'

These tables show a shift towards English when the older siblings, especially those of Group 2, are communicating among themselves or with friends and cousins the same age. It was noted (Section 5.6) that among Group 2 there was a trend towards using more English with older siblings, it is probably affected by the older siblings using more English among themselves and encouraging the use of English among the study children at home. This shift in code choice seems to be in a direct relationship with the increased time in school that these children have had. This pattern of more English contrasts sharply with the younger siblings code choice, shown on Tables 10vii(a&b) below, NA indicates 'not applicable'.

Younger Siblings Reported Code Choice With Family Members At Home

Table 10vii(a)

	Nasreen	Riaz	Jameel	Shahid	Zahid
Study Child	NA	NA	NA	always Panj	NA
Mother	NA	NA	NA	always Panj	NA
Father	NA	NA	NA	always Panj	NA
Older sibs	NA	NA	NA	always Panj	NA

Table 10vii(b)

	Qaseem	Anisa	Ameena	Tahira	Shamshad
Study Child	always Panj	mostly Panj	NA	always Panj	*mostly Panj
Mother	always Panj	mostly Panj	NA	always Panj	*mostly Panj
Father	always Panj	mostly Panj	NA	always Panj	mostly Panj
Older sibs	always Panj	mostly Panj	NA	always Panj	always Panj

* Researcher observed 'always Panjabi'

Panjabi is the code used by this group of children. Other family members recognise these young children's competence in only one code and they are consequently addressed either 'always' or 'mostly' in Panjabi, Tables 5xx(a&b), 10iv(a&b), 10v(a&b) and 10vi(a&b).

The question of who speaks what to whom appears to be governed by

two factors. The first concerns the relative levels of ability in each language, so that mothers, Group 1 children and their younger siblings, having least ability in English are not usually addressed in English. The second factor seems to be related to age, or generation. Fathers, all of whom are either functional or fluent in English mainly use Panjabi at home with their families. Speaking Panjabi at home is a way of maintaining the families' linguistic and cultural identity. The second generation, the older siblings of the study children who have received all or part of their education in English are maintaining their use of Panjabi with family members who only understand that language, but have switched to using mainly English at home with siblings and same-age peers who have facility in English. This is a distinct shift between the generations (Gal, 1979; Dorian 1981) and it appears to begin for the children in this study, once a child has been in school for a year.

Mothers were asked when the study children began to speak English at home after they had started nursery school, and the results are shown on Tables 10viii(a&b) below.

Length Of Time After Starting School Study Child Began Using English At Home

Table 10viii(a)

Child	Time Period / Mother's Comments
Nasreen	2 months after starting nursery
Riaz	2-3 months after starting playgroup
Jameel	"don't know - only uses English when playing with older sibs"
Shahid	2-3 months after starting nursery
Zahid	5 months after starting nursery

Table 10viii(b)

Child	Time Period
Qaseem	5-6 weeks after starting infant school
Anisa	3 months after starting nursery
Ameena	3 months after starting nursery
Tahira	3 months after starting nursery
Shamshad	2-3 months after starting infant school

Most of the children appear to start using some English at home, with their older siblings, after about two or three months of nursery schooling. Qaseem and Shamshad are exceptions to this, both started using English at home after spending some time in infant school. Interestingly, both children attended a playgroup (School 6, see Appendix 2) where Panjabi was the language spoken by most of the

children and there was a Panjabi/English bilingual member of staff,
they were likely to communicate using a considerable amount of
Panjabi, and English may have appeared less 'dominant' for them.

When mothers were asked which language the study children
preferred to use at home, for all of Group 1 Panjabi was the preferred
language. The responses of Group 2 mothers were quite different.
Qaseem and Anisa's mothers said they preferred to use English. From
my observations, this was certainly not the case for Qaseem, who uses
either 'always Panjabi' or 'mostly Panjabi' depending on the
interlocutor. Anisa was reported and observed to use more English at
home than any of the other children, but on the basis of my
observations could be described as using 'equally Panjabi and English'
with some variation according to interlocutor. Ameena's mother
reported her child using 'always Panjabi' with her parents and 'always
English' with her siblings. Observation of Ameena and her siblings
showed that she uses 'mostly Panjabi' in her communication with them.
Tahira's mother said that her child used 'mostly English', but my
observations found that she tended to use mainly Panjabi overall.
Finally, Shamshad was described by her mother as using 'equally
Panjabi & English', but observed to use 'always or mostly Panjabi'.
The responses to this question by the parents of Group 2 children is
at odds with their initial reports (see Table 5xx(b) above) and with
my own observations. The shift in reporting is all in the direction
of the children using more English than they have been observed to use
at home. Anisa's and Tahira's mothers were found to do this when
reporting communication with father and friends and cousins
respectively (see Section 5.6 above), but not to such a large extent

as the responses to this more general question of 'language

preference'. However, the same explanation is the most likely one,

that the mothers, unable to understand their children's speech for the

first time, perceive that the children use more English than they

actually do use. It is not so likely that the mothers state that

their children have a preference for English because they believe that

this is what the researcher wants to hear. Clearly in the case of

these younger children the claim is obviously unrealistic. It is

still the case for the children in this study that Panjabi is the code

most used at home with the majority of family members.

When mothers were asked what their child did if they addressed

their mothers in English and mothers replied in Panjabi, all but two

children were reported to switch to Panjabi. Anisa's mother said

that her daughter would continue in English, and Shamshad's mother

said that it happened very rarely, but that Shamshad would continue in

a mixture of Panjabi and English. Both these mothers reported, in

conversations outside the interview, that their children sometimes

used English to annoy them or to make them feel stupid, and Anisa's

mother was quite concerned about the amount of English her daughter

used at home, and in communicating with her.

The mothers themselves used little or no English with their

children. Mothers who used no English were, Riaz's, Jameel's,

Zahid's, Qaseem's and Tahira's. The other mothers did not report any

special reasons for using some English, except Shahid's, who said she

used English to "get him to do something he won't do". Gal

(1979:112) reports an incident in which a grandfather switches from

Hungarian to German in order to admonish a young child and similar

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examples from other bilingual communities are reported by Fasold (1984:204).

When asked how they felt about their children speaking English, mothers were all favourable about it. Nasreen's mother felt "alright", Riaz's mother wants him to learn English, and encourages her older children to read to him in English. Jameel's mother said that it was "important to speak it outside (the home) but not important in the home". Shahid's mother doesn't mind him speaking English even though she doesn't understand it. Zahid's mother said she "doesn't mind", but that his father doesn't allow him to speak English at home. Qaseem's mother is "happy" about him speaking English. Anisa's mother commented that she was "happy" about Anisa speaking English but "wants her to know her own language". This comment reflects her worry about Anisa using too much English to the possible detriment of her first language. Ameena's mother "doesn't mind as long as she's happy". Tahira's mother said "she needs both languages and I don't mind her speaking English" , however, this mother is aware that "some children forget their own language". Shamshad's mother is "happy" and wants her to learn English.

Thus only one mother expressed some anxiety about her own child in relation to the possible dominance of English, and one mother told of her knowledge about language loss, but did not relate it to her own children. The picture which emerges in relation to their children's development of English is that the mothers generally feel comfortable about their children's learning of English provided it doesn't threaten their continued use of Panjabi within the home. This is understandable given that the mothers have a restricted knowledge and

use of English. Anisa's mother, who is most worried about her child using too much English and 'losing' her first language is significantly the most able of the mothers in English. Fitzpatrick (1987:35) also found that the children's learning of English was extremely important in the view of Panjabi-speaking parents in Bradford.

During the questionnaire piloting stage, several of the mothers who completed the interview were bilingual in Panjabi and English and expressed a much higher level of anxiety about the potential for their children to 'lose their language'. It transpired that English seemed to be taking over as the medium of communication in these homes to a much greater extent than in the homes of monolingual Panjabi mothers. The bilingual mothers expressed a lot of worry and guilt about this and blamed themselves for speaking in English to their children at home, but said how difficult it was to avoid doing this. There was generally little anxiety among monolingual Panjabi mothers about their own children losing their first language because Panjabi would always be the medium of communication between mother and child.

Both monolingual Panjabi and bilingual English/Panjabi mothers were in agreement about the importance of their children speaking Panjabi. Dealing now with the monolingual Panjabi mothers of the study children, all mothers responded positively to the question 'Is it important for your child to continue speaking your own language?'. Qaseem's and Shamshad's mothers alone stressed the importance of having use of both English and Panjabi. Very similar reasons were given by all mothers as to the importance of Panjabi – for communicating with parents and other relatives and when going to

Pakistan.

This group of mothers present themselves as a reasonably similar group in relation to the questions asked so far which have related to the domain of home and family values. Taylor & Hegarty (1985) in their review of the existing literature about the education of Asian children, conclude their review of studies on language and reading by saying,

> This section has demonstrated a complex pattern of language use amongst Asian adults and children throughout the country. For those who are bilingual to some degree whether the first language or English is used will depend on many factors including age, sex, status, length of residence, the topic under discussion, who is present and the social situation in which communication takes place ... there appears to be preference for the use of the first language in the home and in as many social settings where it seems viable. At home parents are most likely to speak to each other and to the older generation in the first language. Although this is also likely to be the main single language of communication with children, reflecting the pattern of fluency in English, fathers are more likely than mothers to communicate in English ... The education of Asian children in English is clearly reflected in the communication patterns in the home, though the media, especially TV, are other major influences and may be the main exposure to standard English. This is shown most strongly by the increasing use of English in communication between siblings. As the language used in the home depends on contexts and purposes these apply to a greater extent outside the home ... there appears to be increasing evidence of mixed language use or use of English alone, though whether this is what is preferred or what is expected or necessary for communication is not clear.
> (Taylor & Hegarty 1985:179)

By and large the findings about language use in this study are similar to those of other studies reviewed by Taylor and Hegarty (above).

The following sections present mothers' experiences and opinions about their children's educational experiences outside the home. This will begin by examining the responses to questions related to religious and language classes.

10.3 COMMUNITY LANGUAGE CLASSES AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

Mother tongue maintenance is widely felt to be important in the community. The Pakistani Community in Newcastle has taken on the responsibility of religious instruction and Urdu teaching. The importance of religion and language within this community was discussed in Section 2.3 (above). Islam is the religion of Pakistan and Urdu the official language. Particularly important is the fact that Urdu is the language of literacy for Panjabi speakers of Pakistani origin, without it correspondence with relatives in Pakistan is very difficult.

Mothers were asked about these community classes. None of the children in the study went to any at the time of the research, while they were below the age of five. All mothers said that their children would go to classes to read the Quran and to learn Urdu when they got older. Mothers varied in the exact age when the children would start these classes, but all gave an age between five and seven years old. None of the children would attend Panjabi classes – this is not seen as a taught language, and it is invariably viewed as inferior to Urdu (see Table 10(iii) above).

The following section, which concentrates on school, will show mother's preferences about their children's medium of education as well as information about mother's involvement in their child's schooling.

10.4 MOTHERS' INVOLVEMENT WITH THEIR CHILDS SCHOOLING

It was noted on Section 5.5 that there is a considerable gap between school and home experiences, particularly in terms of language use. This is likely to be even greater for the children's mothers, who have no direct personal experience of the British education system, and generally little experience of formal education in Pakistan (Table 10(i) above). Teachers of young children in nursery and infant schools usually like to have a lot of contact with children's parents and feel that this is important for the child's education (see Section 11.2.3). Such contact is made considerably more difficult when a language barrier exists between parents and teachers, as was made clear by both mothers and teachers.

However, in spite of these potential difficulties, all mothers reported that they were happy about going into their child's school. The reasons why children were sent to nursery school fell into two main categories. First, 'social-type' reasons, to mix with other children and to prepare for infant school - these are common reasons for parents sending children to nursery. Secondly, 'language-learning' reasons were mentioned by seven mothers who wanted their children to have some opportunity to learn English before starting infant school. Both sets of reasons are however, related to preparation for school and are similar to those given by monolingual British parents (Sylva et.al., 1980; Tizard & Hughes 1984; Blatchford et.al. 1982).

The next set of questions related to mother's knowledge about their child in school. Six mothers felt they knew too little about

what their child does in school.   When parents were played taped

extracts of their children in the classroom at the end of the data

collection period, their surprise concerning what their children were

doing and saying was clear to myself and Sameera, the bilingual co-

worker.   This was not surprising considering that none of them had

personal experience of the British education system (Section 10.1).

During the interview, when asked about their children's progress in

school, four mothers said they felt they knew enough and six said they

knew too little.   Not all nurseries had formal parent's events, such

as parents evenings; they relied on the informal contact which usually

occurs between parents and staff in nursery classes, but which cannot

take place to the same extent when mothers and teachers do not share

the same language.   So the question 'Do you attend parent's events?'

was not relevant to all the mothers of children in Group 1, but was

for the mothers of children in infant school.   Mother's attendance at

these events and their comments about the usefulness is given on

Tables 10ix(a&b) below.

Attendance At Parents Events and Mothers' Comments
On Their Usefulness

Table 10ix(a)

Child	Attends	Useful	Reasons / Comments
Nasreen	Yes	Yes	
Riaz	no parent events	NA	
Jameel	Yes	No	"no-one is there to translate"
Shahid	no parent events	NA	"would only be useful if there was someone there to translate"
Zahid	no parent events	NA	"are only useful if there is someone there to translate"

Table 10ix(b)

Child	Attends	Useful	Reasons /Comments
Qaseem	Yes	Yes	"I can ask for books"
Anisa	Yes	Yes	
Ameena	Yes	Yes	
Tahira	No	No	"not worth it because of the language barrier"
Shamshad	Yes	Yes	"but I can't understand the teacher"

While these mothers feel happy about going into school, all of them have difficulties communicating with the teacher about what their child does in school and how their child is progressing. The language barrier is certainly responsible for most of this, neither parents or teachers lack the will to communicate, it is just not

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possible without bilingual staff. There were bilingual staff in two classes, and while they carry out a considerable amount of interpreting, they are employed to work with the children, not to engage in interpreting between staff and parents. In emergencies, relatives, other parents or even older children are asked to interpret, a situation found unsatisfactory by the majority of parents and teachers, particularly when the subject is sensitive. One reason why all the mothers who attended said they find these parents events useful, even without an interpreter, is possibly because they usually get so little information, a visit to the school to obtain books or see their child's work, even without being able to communicate with the teacher, is useful. Seven of the classroom teachers felt that communication with parents whose language they did not share was inadequate at parents events (Section 11.2.3).

When asked, all mothers said they would feel happy about talking to their child's teacher if there was a bilingual person employed to interpret and Qaseem's mother said that she would visit the school much more often if this was the case. Most of the teachers felt that parent's events would be much more useful to these parents if they had access to interpreters (see Section 11.2.3).

The final question put to mothers about their children in school concerned language teaching and medium of education. When asked if children should learn Panjabi at school, seven mothers replied negatively and three replied positively. The same question about Urdu, the medium of education in Pakistan, obtained a positive answer from all the mothers. When asked whether the children should be taught through the medium of Panjabi in school, six mothers said yes

and only four said no and all mothers responded positively to the question of Urdu-medium education for their children. Fitzpatrick (1987:48) notes that 'it has been commonly assumed that teachers and South Asian parents are not in favour of the use of languages other than English'. However, during a one year bilingual education project he found the parents had positive attitudes to their children learning through the medium of Panjabi as well as English.

These findings bear out the strong commitment to learning Urdu and to maintaining mother tongue. However, Panjabi is not viewed as a language with as strong a place in a child's education as Urdu. Differing values attached to languages used within a particular speech community is not uncommon. Fishman (1989:424) writes that, 'there are many speech communities that are disinclined to having their vernaculars taught and fostered by schools'. We take up these points again in Chapters 12 and 13.

The impression gained from these responses concerning children's schooling is that in spite of considerable effort on the part of mothers, for example attending parents events with little possibility of communicating adequately with the teacher, there is a huge gap between what they would like to know about their children in school and what is actually possible for them to know given the present constraints.

To find out if similar difficulties arise within another area of service commonly used by the women, mothers were asked how they communciated with their family doctor. Eight mothers attend family doctors who speak a North Indian language, in this case either Hindi, Panjabi or Urdu, none of the mothers reported any difficulty

communicating with these doctors. Two mothers attend monolingual
English speaking doctors, neither of whom have bilingual co-workers,
and with whom there are communication difficulties. Both these
mothers take a family member with them. Therefore, the same
difficulties exist when mothers do not have access to an interpreter,
not only can this cause misunderstandings, but serious errors can be
made by service providers because of the lack of interpreting services
in all areas of the public sector in Britain today (Ahmad, 1982;
Barnett, 1989).

Having shown the difficulties encountered by mothers and the
barriers to communication in English, it is useful and relevant to
their children's language use and language attitudes to examine their
attitudes towards English, their opportunities to learn English and
how they overcome the language barrier which faces them in almost
every situation outside their homes.

10.5 MOTHERS AND THE COMMUNICATION BARRIER

All mothers felt it was important for them to improve their level
of English, and none of them felt that they could do all the things
they wanted to in English. All the mothers said that they would like
to improve their English, although two said that it was impossible to
spare the time at present. All the women had had some sort of
English tuition - four women had been to a local class, five women had
had a home tutor (a volunteer, without much training who visits the
home and teaches English) and one woman's husband had not been happy
for her to learn. None of these arrangements were long-term or

particularly stable and usually depended on the commitment of a

volunteer which is subject to many changes, and few women had been

taught for a long enough period to really improve their English.   All

mothers expressed a preference for the Home Tutor Scheme as a way of

improving their English, as it fitted in better with their domestic

commitments than a class.   There is a general lack of facilities for

improving the English language level of women responsible for

childcare and domestic arrangements, who have little experience of

formal education.   There appears to be no lack of motivation on the

part of most of these mothers.

When asked how they felt about talking to the teacher in English,

six mothers said they didn't feel happy.   Four mothers said they felt

happy about it, although one of these mothers said she was never very

sure if she understands the teacher or that the teacher understands

her.   As an observer, I would say that none of the mothers could

communicate with the teachers as adequately in English as they could

in Panjabi with a properly trained interpreter.   The fact that some

of the mothers said they felt happy about it was related to their

personality, not their ability in English.   When the mothers have to

tell the teacher something important they resort, if they can, to

going with someone else who will (hopefully) give an adequate

translation of their message.   Nasreen's mother takes her son (aged

16); Riaz's mother takes one of her older children (aged 13 & 11) or

asks her husband to write a note; Jameel's mother takes a friend;

Shahid's mother tries to make herself understood by using signs and

the little English that she knows; Zahid's mother uses signs, but

finds it inadequate; Qaseem's mother takes her oldest daughter (aged

15); Anisa's mother asks her husband or her father to go; Ameena's mother says as much as she can in English and then tries to find a Panjabi-speaking member of staff; Tahira's mother uses signs and as much English as she can; Shamshad's mother asks her husband to go.

The mothers of these children are often pushed into a marginal role in relation to matters which require dealings with education and health professionals. Family members, including children, may have to take on responsibilities they do not wish to or are not equipped for. It is still not uncommon for professionals or parents to use children as interpreters; little or no provision exists for people in Britain who are not fluent in English (Corsellis, 1988; Ahmad, 1989).

10.6 CONCLUSIONS

The interviews with the children's mothers have provided useful information about reported language use in the home which seems to be a fairly accurate picture of what actually goes on. Code choice, after a child has been learning English for some time appears to be related to characteristics of the interlocutor. This means that almost all the children, at whatever age will speak Panjabi to their mother because she is competent only in Panjabi. The children speak mostly Panjabi with their fathers, presumably because this is expected. Although four of the fathers are fluent in English and six fathers have 'functional' English, fluency is not the major factor dictating code choice with fathers. However, once past a certain age (probably around eight years of age) the children speak mostly English among themselves. The mothers of the study children were not worried

that their children might lose their first language, but it appears that bilingual mothers feel this is more of a possibility.

Mothers who do not share the language of their children's teacher nevertheless maintain an active interest in their children's education. While many feel they lack knowledge about what their children do in school or how they are progressing, mothers feel they have a good relationship with their child's teacher. Six mothers would like their child to have some vernacular-medium education in school and all mothers would like the children to have the opportunity of Urdu-medium education in school.

Many of the reports about language use and attitudes are similar to those found by Fitzpatrick (1987) during the mother tongue teaching project carried out in Bradford. In that study most of the parents were Mirpuri Panjabi speakers and it suggests that same-language speakers residing in different parts of the country have similar attitudes to language use and language in education.

The next chapter highlights certain issues for teachers who work with children and parents whose language they do not share. Mothers and teachers comments together provide some clear practical guidelines for making improvements to the current situation. These will be discussed in Chapter 13.

CHAPTER 11

THE INTERVIEW WITH THE STUDY CHILDREN'S TEACHERS

Each of the study children's teachers agreed to be interviewed on issues related to their own training and the education of young children becoming bilingual in the classroom. The areas chosen to be investigated during the interview were all on topics mentioned by teachers during the feedback sessions which occurred at the end of the child language data collection period (Section 3.6.1).

The interview examined three main areas - teacher training, in-service training and resources; working with bilingual children in class and working with parents of bilingual children. Pilot interviews were carried out with four teachers working in schools with pupils from a range of linguistic and cultural backgrounds before arriving at a final version of the interview schedule. The study children's teachers were interviewed by me, the researcher, after school. As I had known these teachers for a minimum of nine months and had spent considerable periods of time in their classrooms and talked with them on several occasions, the interview was quite relaxed and the teachers talked freely. The interview schedule is in Appendix 8.

The children in the study came from three nursery classes (Jameel and Shahid are in the same class), one playgroup and five infant classes. Although this makes nine classes altogether, ten teachers were interviewed because Qaseem's class is taught by two teachers working as a team with fifty-two children in one large classroom (see Appendix 2 for details of schools, number of staff and children in

each class). The findings from these interviews are presented, for the most part, discursively rather than in tabular form as this is a more useful and appropriate way to deal with this data. The first section of this chapter deals with issues related to staff training in the area of bilingualism.

11.1 TEACHER TRAINING, IN-SERVICE TRAINING AND RESOURCES

A way of providing some background to the information about teacher training specifically related to working in a multi-lingual environment is by showing the variation among this group of teachers in terms of the number of years they have taught and the length of time in their present school. This is shown on Table 11(i) below. Classes 1-4 refer to nursery/playgroup staff and 5-9 refer to infant teachers. On the tables throughout this chapter numbers are used to the refer to the class teachers of the study children as follows: 1=Nasreen; 2=Riaz; 3=Jameel & Shahid; 4=Zak;5a&b=Qaseem; 6=Anisa; 7=Ameena; 8=Tahira; 9=Shamshad.

Number of Years Since Teacher Training, Number of Years Teaching, and Time in Present School for Teachers of Children in the Study

Table 11(i)

	1	2	3	4	5a	5b	6	7	8	9
Years since leaving teacher training	24y	*NA	8y	25y	25y	13y	19y	2y	4y	15y
Time teaching since teacher training	10y	*12y	8y	21y	20y	13y	19y	2y	4y	15y
Time teaching in present school	10m	14y	3y	3y	4y	3y	19y	2y	4y	3y

y=years; m=mths
*Playgroup leader attended Preschool Playgroups Association training

after two years on the job.

Most of the teachers have many years of experience, and trained some time ago. One could perhaps expect only the more recently trained teachers to have attended courses during their training relevant to teaching a class with a range of mother tongue languages. The question about training in areas related to this subject covered four areas. Firstly, training in the area of bilingualism, for example theories of bilingual language development and bilingual teaching. Secondly, working with children whose first language is not English. Thirdly, multi-cultural education and fourthly, anti-racist education.

Only one teacher had received information about bilingualism during teacher training, this was an optional course on a training course undertaken fifteen years ago. The same teacher is the only one of this group to have had training in working with children whose mother tongue is not English as part of the same optional course. Two teachers had been taught about multi-cultural education, it was "briefly touched upon" during a training course undertaken eight years ago, and taught in more detail on a teacher training course four years previously. None of the teachers had received any information about anti-racist education during their training. All the teachers were agreed that their training had not prepared them sufficiently for meeting the needs of their pupils with a mother tongue other than English.

It is surprising that the training courses undertaken more recently did not equip trainees to practise in a multi-lingual classroom. However, teachers, like other professionals rely on in-

service training to increase their knowledge and improve their skills, so the same questions were asked in relation to in-service training. Four teachers had received some information about bilingualism, although this varied from one teacher taking a nine month Royal Society of Arts diploma (Teaching English Across the Curriculum in Multi-lingual Classrooms) to another teacher taking a one day course in working with bilingual children. The same four teachers had also received some further in-service training in relation to working with children whose first language is not English, again with large variations in the amount and quality of the information. Eight teachers had received in-service training on both 'multi-cultural education' and 'anti-racist education'. These terms cover a wide range of topics, and while important, should perhaps be taught when there is already a knowledge base about issues related to bilingualism and education (see Section 13.2.1).

Teachers were then asked what, if any, specific information about different languages and cultures they would find useful. Most of the teachers said they would like much more information about the particular languages and cultures within their school (see Table 2iii), while one teacher said she would like access to information about all languages and cultures within the city. In addition, one teacher expressed an interest in finding out more about cross-cultural communication. When asked about the best format for this information, four teachers mentioned taught courses, four teachers said they would prefer written resource materials in the staffroom, and two teachers expressed a preference for learning alongside bilingual teachers or bilingual co-workers.

When asked about opportunities to learn a community language or languages all but one teacher said they would like to do this. Five teachers said Urdu/Panjabi would be most useful, and one of these teachers would also like to learn some Malay. Two teachers said that Panjabi and Bengali would be most useful in their situation and two teachers said Panjabi only. The level of language proficiency which most teachers thought would be useful was "basic" although two teachers said they might like to go on and learn it to an advanced level. Teachers reasons for acquiring some basic language skills were to facilitate communication between themselves and parents and also young children with no knowledge of English. Two teachers felt that learning even a little of a child's first language would show a positive attitude which would be beneficial to children and parents.

One teacher said that she felt "torn" with regard to this issue. She expressed a concern that if she learned only one language she would be,"worried I'd align myself with one community at the expense of another ... it would be nice to do, but difficult". This teacher had native English, Panjabi and Bengali speaking children in her class and at the time worked in conjunction with a bilingual Panjabi/English teacher and a bilingual Bengali/English worker employed through the (then) Community Programme Scheme. She stressed the importance in her job of having bilingual colleagues who enabled her to communicate with parents and young children. These issues will be discussed further in Chapter 13.

The issue of access to trained bilingual staff was one which recurred throughout most of the teachers' interviews, and will be examined more closely in the next section.

11.2 TEACHERS WORKING WITH BILINGUAL CHILDREN IN THE CLASS

In this section issues such as access to bilingual staff,
bilingual children's use of different codes and identification of
language difficulties will be discussed. To put teachers' opinions
into context, Table 11(ii) below shows the extent to which each
teacher works with bilingual pupils (see Tables 5xi(a&b) for details
of the number of languages spoken in each class)

Number of Bilingual Pupils and Total Number of Pupils in Each Teacher's Class

Table 11(ii)

	1*	2	3*	4	5a	5b	6	7	8	9
No. bilingual pupils in class	31	14	14	5	12	11	7	19	19	11
Total no. pupils in class	41	22	28	23	14	14	19	22	25	12

*These nursery classes operate two sessions, morning and afternoon.
 Figures given are for the children from both sessions.

Some teachers work with a majority of children with a mother
tongue other than English and in some classes monolingual English
pupils are in the majority. However, the teachers all feel that
issues related to bilingualism are relevant to them.

Questions related to school or playgroup staff with bilingual
skills revealed that none of the teachers work with bilingual teachers
employed by the school. Two bilingual playworkers are employed in
the playgroup. Neither have formal training to work with young
children, but their skills, particularly their language skills are
invaluable. There are monolingual auxiliary staff part-time in most
of the classes, but none of the class teachers work with bilingual

auxiliary staff.   Three class teachers had bilingual trainees from

the (then) Youth Training Scheme to assist them for approximately two

days a week, but this was about to be discontinued a few months after

the interview.   One of the nurseries has a bilingual worker employed

on the (then) Manpower Services Commission (hereafter referred to as

MSC) Community Programme Scheme for sixteen hours a week.   This same

nursery has the skills of a bilingual teacher for four days each week

employed through Section 11 Funding (most of this funding comes from

the Home Office).   Apart from the playgroup, all the other nursery

and infant classes are assisted by mono-lingual 'Teachers for

Bilingual Children' (see Appendix 2 for details of staff funding).

The period of this teacher's assistance in the eight classes varied

from one-and-a-half hours per week to six hours per week, and was on

average two-and-a-half hours per week.   At the time of the interview,

nursery teachers were particularly worried because they were all about

to either lose one nursery nurse or have their ratio of children to

staff increased to 13:1 due to Local Authority cuts in education

spending.   This was carried out from the beginning of the school year

1988/89.

Regarding unpaid help, all but one nursery and one infant class

teacher either had at the time, or in the past, bilingual people

coming into the class to help in various ways.

Parents (invariably mothers) were one group who were encouraged

into the classroom.   All teachers mentioned that the children's

mothers were generally very shy if invited in, particularly if they

didn't speak English and there was no-one to interpret.   However, all

teachers were keen to encourage this more.   One teacher said that she

encouraged parents coming in to work with their own children, but not with other people's children.

Secondary school pupils (invariably girls) on child care courses had been in seven of the ten classes, usually for an afternoon once a week. It seemed that communication between a bilingual secondary school pupil and a young child would rarely be in their shared first language, because of the reluctance of the young person to communicate with the child in the school domain. This is often the case even if the young person is asked specifically to do so, if, as happens on occasions, the teacher is trying to ascertain a child's level of mother tongue development to rule out the possibility of a first language learning difficulty. Such reticence about speaking in their mother tongue is presumably due to the young peoples' embarrassment at speaking their own language, something often more acute during adolescence.

Excluding the playgroup, only one nursery class had anything like adequate bilingual staffing, having a Panjabi/English teacher and a Bengali/English worker employed by MSC. Funding through MSC no longer exists, and this nursery did not have a Bengali/English worker in the following year, the same year that the child/staff ratio was increased. The bilingual teacher funded by Section 11 is not necessarily a secure post, dependent on government support of the scheme. Therefore the only class operating with a bilingual teacher may not retain her. In general then, provision of bilingual staff is very poor.

The lack of trained bilingual staff, whether teachers, classroom assistants or interpreters was acutely felt by teaching staff for

three main reasons.   First of all it affects children's opportunities

to use their mother tongue in the class.   Secondly, it limits

teachers abilities to make an all-round assessment of a child's

language abilities and thirdly, communication with some parents is

exceedingly difficult or impossible to carry out in a satisfactory

way.   Each of these points will be dealt with in turn.

11.2.1 Children's use of mother tongue in the classroom

Results from the child language data showed that a series of

factors affected whether or not children use their mother tongue with

peers in the class.   First and foremost, children need at least one

other native-speaker in their class.   However, friendship ties with

peers and the presence of a monolingual English-speaking adult also

have a strong influence on a child's use of mother tongue in the class

(Chapters 5,6,7 & 8).

Teachers were asked if there were any children with English as a

second language in their classes who never, to their knowledge, used

their mother tongue in class.   The nursery teacher and playgroup

leader, both with bilingual staff in their classes, replied

negatively.   All the other teachers said that there were some

children who did not use their mother tongue.   The teachers believed

there were two reasons for this.   The first, which has been mentioned

already, is that some children are the only native speakers of a

particular language in their class.   Tables 5xi(a&b) show this to be

the case for a small number of children in all these classes.   The

second reason which the teachers gave was related to the children's

confidence about using their mother tongue in class. All teachers felt that there were some children who had the opportunity to speak (for example) Bengali with a classmate, but chose not to do so. The teachers believed that from a very early age the children feel they should be speaking English all the time. Four teachers also mentioned that some parents expect their children to be using only English at school, and that the child follows this wish. Some of the teachers comments on this subject were: "it's very sad that children don't have confidence in their mother tongue", "trying to encourage them to use mother tongue is hard", " usually if a bilingual child has a friend who speaks the same language and not much English, then they will use their first language, otherwise they will not".

All the teachers believe it is important for children with a mother tongue other than English to use their own language in class and when asked why they thought this, their replies fell into two main categories: cognitive/linguistic and emotional/social. Teachers felt that learning through their first language at this fairly early stage of English development would be easier and quicker and would also help to extend the children's first language, "it will develop their underlying proficiency in language and allow the child to acquire concepts without the limitations of English". The emotional and social reasons given were that speaking their own language in class would "enhance a child's self-esteem", "give them a feeling of confidence ... and pleasure" and prevent their own language being downgraded.

Teachers were then asked what formally recognised opportunities existed for the children to speak their first language in class. Two

infant class teachers said that they grouped children according to their mother tongue, in order to encourage children to use their language among themselves. Teachers without bilingual staff felt that an important way of encouraging first language was to allow the children time in class with bilingual adults. This was usually done by asking bilingual adults, often parents into class to read stories or do a cooking activity in different mother tongue languages with the children who shared the same language. Six of the eight classes without bilingual staff did this at least occasionally.

There appears to be an implicit assumption that the presence of bilingual adults using their mother tongue with children in class will encourage a child's use of their first language. This is explored further (Section 11.2.2, below) in relation to the identification of general language difficulties among children whose mother tongue is not English.

11.2.2 <u>Identification of underlying language problems among children</u>
       <u>becoming bilingual in the classroom</u>

Teachers were asked how sure they felt about identifying the existence of underlying language problems in children with a mother tongue other than English. Such a problem would affect general language learning ability, therefore both first and second language would be affected. One teacher said she was "very sure", two teachers said they were "quite sure" and seven teachers said they were "not sure". The teacher who is very sure works with bilingual staff and would rely on them, naturally, to access the child's first

language and come to some conclusions about the level of first language ability. Teachers who felt unsure expressed an enormous amout of anxiety about the situation. For them the main issue was being unable to access a child's first language and this relates to the previous discussion (Section 11.2.1, above) about the importance of working with bilingual staff. Three teachers mentioned the worry of misconstruing a child's silence as a 'listening period' when it may be a language difficulty. Most of the teachers had to assess a child's linguistic ability on the basis of their ability in English, but they all recognised the potential dangers of doing this. One nursery teacher said that she was sure that, "language problems among bilingual children are not being picked up ... only two bilingual children were referred to speech therapy in the last three years", she wondered, though, what a speech therapist could do given many of the same constraints as teachers. This will be discussed further in Chapter 13.

Five of the teachers felt they had sufficient resources to cope with monolingual children in their classes with speech and language difficulties. The reasons why five other teachers felt this not to be the case was firstly no speech therapy, and secondly insufficient time to work with children requiring extra help. However, only two teachers felt they had sufficient resources to cope with bilingual children in their classes with language difficulties and one of these teachers had bilingual staff. The problems were lack of staff with knowledge of special needs and lack of bilingual staff.

When teachers were asked what resources they would ideally like to have, all teachers said they would like to work with bilingual

staff. The teacher working with bilingual staff at the time said she would like this to stay the same, the playgroup leader with two bilingual playworkers said she would ideally like to have four. One teacher stipulated she would prefer to work with trained bilingual teachers because the children deserved to have highly trained staff and it would give issues related to bilingualism greater status. The other teachers did not stipulate the level of training required.

The need for bilingual staff who are trained in the identification and remediation of children with language and learning difficulties affecting their educational progress has been clearly stated by the study children's classroom teachers, not just for themselves, but one can assume also for speech therapists, educational psychologists, school nurses and doctors at the very least. (One in five of all school children are likely to have 'special educational needs' at some point during their educational career (Warnock, 1978).

The next section deals with teachers and parents, which again highlights the need for trained bilingual staff in schools if teachers are to carry out their job as they would wish to.

11.2.3 Issues in working with parents of bilingual children

Some children with a mother tongue other than English have parents who are bilingual, four of the study children had fathers who were bilingual Panjabi/English speakers (Table 10(ii) above). There may be cultural differences between these parents and teachers, but the greatest barrier to communication between teachers and parents is when there is no shared language between them. This was the

situation which existed between the mothers and teachers of the study children.

All the teachers in the study feel that it is 'very important' to have a good relationship with children's parents. Questions on their relationships with parents of bilingual children were then put to the teachers.

All but two teachers felt they had adequate contact with parents of bilingual children who could communicate in English. Three teachers felt they did not have adequate contact with parents who did not speak English. Three teachers said they felt it was more difficult to have adequate contact but they managed to achieve this, while four teachers said they did have adequate contact with parents who did not speak English, two of whom work with bilingual staff. Teachers made various comments, for example, "you don't do the everyday things like chat", "it's very difficult ... there's always a lot of confusion", "I see parents twice a day, there's always another parent who can help if I need to talk", "it must be terrifying trying to speak to a teacher when you can't speak the language ... the teacher's always so rushed", "it varies, some parents keep coming, some parents avoid the teachers", "I only manage by using interpreters".

All teachers felt they had good relationships with the parents who spoke English. Regarding parents who spoke little English, one teacher felt she did not have a good relationship with these parents because she could not chat to them, another teacher said, "I don't know. I don't know what parents feel - I like to think I've got a good relationship". All other teachers felt they did have a good

relationship, mainly relying on non-verbal communication and making parents feel very welcome, although most of the teachers expressed reservations about relying on these means.

When teachers have something very important to tell a parent, most resort to various means of finding someone to interpret, seven teachers resorted to asking another parent to interpret for them, but most teachers felt unhappy about this if the matter was private. Three teachers said that a (monolingual) teacher employed under Section 11 would either find someone to interpret or make a home visit. In addition to this four teachers mentioned asking bilingual staff to interpret when these staff were available.

All teachers had adequate communication with English-speaking parents of bilingual children at parents events. However, when parents were unable to speak or understand English, seven teachers said that communication was inadequate. Of the three teachers who said yes, two said it was only possible if interpreters were present and one teacher said this would be better, but that she relied on using visual materials, such as the child's work. When asked how this situation could be improved, eight teachers said the presence of interpreters would help considerably. All ten mothers said they would find this very helpful (see 10.4). Two teachers had reservations about working with interpreters, one commented, "there is some difficulty using interpreters when you don't know them and they you ... you're not sure exactly how things are being translated", the other teacher said, "using interpreters - it's never the same but it's the best alternative".

There are currently no trained interpreters available to the

education service, training naturally makes a considerable difference

in a skilled job such as interpreting.   It is likely that the

reticence expressed by some teachers about working with interpreters

is because of this state of affairs and the extreme difficulty in

obtaining their services in the first place.   There are many issues

to be discussed in relation to effective working with interpreters and

some of these will be discussed in Chapter 13.   It is clear that

teachers feel the need to work with bilingual staff and/or have access

to properly trained interpreters to work effectively with parents who

speak little or no English.

The final set of questions to teachers concerned their knowledge

about the children's environment outside the class.   These findings

will now be presented in the final section of this chapter.

11.3 TEACHERS KNOWLEDGE ABOUT CHILDREN'S HOME AND COMMUNITY LIFE

Having a knowledge about the child's home background was seen as

vital by all the teachers.   In addition to information such as number

of siblings, child's place in the family and parent's employment

status, teachers felt it was important to know about any problems, for

example health, housing or financial problems faced by the family.

Teachers also mentioned the importance of knowing about the atmosphere

in the home; whether it is, for example, loving and caring and the

kind of values held by parents.

Four teachers felt that they did not have sufficient information

of this sort about children becoming bilingual in their classes.   Two

teachers were unsure and three teachers and the playgroup leader felt

they knew enough. The four staff who felt happy in their knowledge

of the children's backgrounds all taught in schools and a playgroup

with bilingual staff. This school and playgroup had very strong

links with local minority communities which had been built up over a

number of years. The sort of information teachers felt they lacked

was related to culture and religious beliefs. Nursery staff

particularly expressed an interest in knowing more about child-rearing

practises and dietary restrictions.

All teachers believed it very important to know about the child's

home language environment. Specifically this meant, what language or

languages were spoken at home and by whom, and whether any English is

spoken by parents or children. Parents' level of literacy in one or

more languages was also thought of as essential information. The

teachers all thought it important that the children use their first

language at home. Reasons given were similar to those related to

using mother tongue in the class (see Section 11.2.1), but maintaining

family ties were the reasons stressed this time, "it (using mother

tongue) builds links with parents and grandparents", "to communicate

with relatives", "very important for family bonds and visiting

relatives". Two teachers expressed a worry about language loss, "it

would be terrible to lose a language", the other teacher said that it

was "essential that children use their mother tongue at home. They're

using English at school a lot so they should use their mother tongue

at home ... it would be tragic if it was lost".

Another aspect of the study children's experiences outside school

is their future attendance at religious instruction and language

classes (Section 10.3, above). Teachers felt that attendance at

religious instruction was fine, although two teachers expressed

concern about children starting very young, below the age of six.

Regarding language teaching, two teachers felt it should be done

in school, two teachers expressed reservations at what they felt were

rote teaching methods, two teachers expressed worry about putting

excessive pressure on young children and the other four teachers said

they thought religious instruction was fine. All teachers, however

gave their support to these efforts to maintain the children's

linguistic and cultural heritage.

11.4 CONCLUSIONS

Considering the educational, cultural and linguistic differences

which exist between mothers and teachers there is a strong degree of

mutual agreement about what is important for the children and how

communication between them can be improved.

Both mothers and teachers view the children's first language as

having great importance, particularly within the family, and both feel

that it should be the main medium of communication in the home.

Mothers and teachers feel that the maintenance of a child's religious,

linguistic and cultural heritage is extremely important and support

community initiatives set up to do so. Some teachers, like all

mothers, would like children to have language instruction in school

and all teachers believe that it is important for non-native English

speaking children to use their mother tongue in the class.

Several practical issues have arisen from these interviews with

mothers and teachers, for example, the need for bilingual workers to

facilitate communication between home and school; the difficulties of identifying special needs in children with a mother tongue other than English and the place of mother tongue in the classroom. These, and other issues which have direct relevance to practitioners working with children becoming bilingual in the education system will be discussed in Chapter 13. In the next chapter, however, we will discuss some of the theoretical issues raised by this study. An attempt will be made highlight the links between research, theory and practice in both Chapters 12 and 13.

CHAPTER 12

THEORETICAL ISSUES ARISING FROM THE STUDY

In Chapter 1 the theoretical basis for this study was outlined.
The methodology and findings have been presented and we return again
to theoretical issues. In the light of the substantive findings of
this study, we examine the usefulness of a sociolinguistic approach to
bilingualism, evaluate specific aspects of the research process and
the contribution made to the study of bilingualism. Finally, a
sociolinguistic framework for the study of bilingualism is presented
together with a model of language choice.

12.1 A SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF BILINGUALISM

The assumption underlying the research is that the essential
prerequisite to any study of bilingualism must be that it takes
account of the context in which two or more languages are learned,
used, maintained or lost. Sociolinguistics, as we discussed in
Section 1.1, 'is that part of linguistics which is concerned with
language as a social and cultural phenomenon' (Trudgill 1983:32) and
is an approach ideally suited to the study of bilingualism. However,
it should be stressed that the contexts in which bilingualism occurs
vary so markedly between different countries and among particular
speech communities in each country that the social, cultural and
educational situations in which bilingual or potentially bilingual
individuals exist should be clearly documented. It is for this
reason that, for example, a similar approach to bilingual education in

Canada and the United States has completely different consequences for

(majority) native English speakers becoming bilingual in French and

English in Canada and (minority) native Spanish speakers becoming

bilingual in Spanish and English (Fitzpatrick 1987). These

differing approaches are themselves a reflection of varying degrees of

underlying support for bilingualism and we discuss this specifically

in relation to education in Section 12.4.2 below. An explicit

account of context is important in order that any findings from a

study of bilingualism can be applied appropriately and to avoid

generalisations being made which could have for example, potentially

disastrous educational consequences.

A particular speech community was the initial focus in this study

rather than individual speakers (see also Milroy, 1980). While

noting the difficulties in applying this sociolinguistic concept (see

Section 1.1.1) it provided a starting point for making contacts within

the community. The Pakistani Panjabi-speaking Community have a

particular linguistic history, and set of values attached to their

vernacular language, language of literacy and religious language which

they share with other Pakistani Panjabi Speech Communities throughout

Britain (Saifullah-Khan, 1983). However, they also have a distinct

experience as a minority community on Tyneside, which they share with

other minority communities such as the Bangladeshi, Indian and Chinese

Communities on Tyneside (see Section 2.3).

The context within which a linguistic minority community operates

is multi-faceted and this clearly has implications for the

generalisation of findings from a study such as this. It is beyond

the scope of this small scale study to generate a sociolinguistic

model of bilingualism, but we can postulate a model which predicts code choice and propose a sociolinguistic framework outlining factors to consider in bilingualism research (Section 12.5 below). Before doing so we will examine the major findings of the study.

12.2 SUBSTANTIVE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Considerable variation existed in the communication of ten young native Panjabi-speaking children, five of whom were in nursery and five in infant school, all from similar cultural, socio-economic and sociolinguistic backgrounds. Much of the variation in the amount of speech produced and in the preferred interlocutor did not seem to follow any observable pattern and appeared to be due to individual personality differences. Wong-Fillmore (1976) attributes much of the differences in rate of second language acquisition in young children to personality and it is a factor among adults learning a second language (Dulay et.al. 1981). However clear patterns emerged in relation to code choice. Some of the children in both age groups used very little Panjabi, choosing to communicate mainly in English; while some children used considerable amounts of Panjabi in their speech. However, all the children used more English than Panjabi in each setting within school. For the younger children, this meant that after an average of five weeks in a predominantly English-speaking environment they communicated mainly in their second language.

Further analysis revealed that certain characteristics of the interlocutor had a strong influence over the child's code choice. If

the child had a 'major' friendship tie with a native Panjabi-speaking

child, then they were much more likely to use Panjabi than English.

When the friendship tie was 'minor' or 'null', and they did use some

Panjabi in the class, then their use of Panjabi was usually when out

of earshot of a mono-lingual English-speaking adult.   However, with a

'major' friend Panjabi was often the preferred code while in the

presence of a mono-lingual adult (see Section 6.4).   Additional to

the effect of interlocutor, was 'audience' (Bell, 1984).   It appears

that the use of Panjabi is generally inhibited by a monolingual

English-speaking adult's presence (see Section 6.3).

Setting also appeared to have an effect on the children's

communication.   STORY-TELLING produced considerable differences

relative to CLASSROOM, HCp and HCe with respect to utterance type.

STORY-TELLING inhibited most of the older children (with the exception

of Qaseem) from using Panjabi, while the particular story topics

appeared to facilitate Panjabi in the younger children - the topics

were associated with home (see Chapter 7).

Language alternation was also investigated and it was found that

code-changing and code-switching occurred more in the speech of the

children who used a lot of Panjabi in their speech (see Sections 9.3 &

9.4).   Code-mixing also appeared to follow two distinct patterns:

English-base utterances containing Panjabi elements were used mainly

by the children who used little Panjabi; Panjabi-base utterances

containing English elements were used by the children who produced a

lot of Panjabi in their speech.   The first pattern was probably due

to a lack of English vocabulary, the second a normal language contact

feature, the children merely using the variety of Panjabi spoken in

their community.

Before examining the contribution of these findings to specific
issues in bilingualism, we will take a critical look at aspects of the
research process in the light of the findings.

12.3 EVALUATING ASPECTS OF THE RESEARCH PROCESS

In a study which relies for its data on observation and recording
of natural language, the relationship between the researcher and
informants is of utmost importance. This study clearly showed that
characteristics such as gender, race and linguistic background were
important considerations in the data collection procedure and that
what could be done in one domain (school) could not be done as well in
another domain (home) by the same (white) researcher (see Section
3.5).   Edwards points out that:

> Native speaker status guarantees neither objectivity nor a
> monopoly of insight. However, it must be admitted that there are
> many disadvantages in studying another community from the
> position of an "outsider".   (Edwards 1986:8)

Some sociolinguists adopt more than one method of data
collection, for example Gal (1979), LMP (1985), Gibbons (1987).   In
his study of code-mixing and code-choice Gibbons (1987) uses several
approaches, including those from ethnography and the sociology of
language.   He evaluates each on its individual merits and concludes
that:

> ... the varied approaches have not clashed. Rather they have
> proved complementary, each providing additional information, and
> at the same time providing a measure of mutual support and
> confirmation ... The advantage of a multi-dimensional study of
> the language behaviour of a single group is that the strengths of
> one approach may help to compensate for the weaknesses in

another. (Gibbons 1987:123)

In this study, complementary approaches were utilised in different
domains, as interviews were more appropriate in the home when the
researcher was white, monolingual and British.

The attempt in this study to collect natural language data in the
homes of members of linguistic minorities with the quality and
naturalism of Milroy's Belfast Study (Milroy, 1980) leaves me in
agreement with   Edwards (1986) (see Section 3.5.4) that it is a task
only for an 'insider' from the particular community.   Milroy more or
less achieved 'insider' status and recorded long conversations in
people's homes, often largely forgotten by the participants.   While
Milroy was not a member of the Belfast community, she was ethnically
and linguistically 'the same' as her informants in that both she and
the community being studied are all white and native speakers of
English.   On the other hand, a white researcher involved with members
of a black linguistic minority community at home is less likely to
reach a position where her/his presence produces negligible effect on
the language of the participants, particularly when code choice is one
of the issues.   One of the most likely outcomes is that more English
will be used because of the researcher's presence.   While it is
impossible to be certain of the observer effect, surely it is better
for a member of the community to be involved in the research project
and to play a central role in data collection at the very least.   In
addition, an 'insider' is able to interpret aspects of informants'
language and behaviour which an 'outsider' cannot.   There are
therefore crucial reasons why members of linguistic minority groups in
Britain should be engaged in language research — specifically with

regard to the 'observer's paradox' and data interpretation. Labov (1982) describes how the entry of black linguists into the field (studying Black English) was a critical factor in the development of theories of Black English.

12.3.1 <u>Making use of the entire data corpus</u>

The findings in this study come from an analysis of the entire data corpus. The findings were quantified and this allowed certain patterns regarding the use of two languages in the classroom to be identified (Chapters 5,6,7,8,9). In effect, by combining the approaches of Labov and Gumperz both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data has been carried out. Taking the group as a whole allowed patterns of communication to be identified; examining the communication of individual children highlighted the diversity within the group. Both approaches are valuable and complement each other.

The procedure of quantifying language data is not uncontroversial. For example, Auer (1984) does not believe that quantification in relation to language alternation provides useful information about this aspect of a bilingual individual's language use. However, clear differences in the occurrence of language alternation in individual children's speech provides us with further information about the variation of communication among this group of children (see Chapter 9).

Both Auer (1984; 1989) and Gumperz (1982) have produced very interesting work in relation to language alternation. Gumperz'

framework, based on a speaker-oriented approach analysing selected

portions of data identified a number of speaker strategies. However

only one of these was used in this study (see Section 9.1). His

model, based on a selection of data from the corpus he obtained could

not be applied wholesale to the data in this study. While it is

obviously useful for identifying speaker strategies, it does not allow

patterns of language alternation to be identified. This is possibly

because, as Milroy (1989) points out, his schema is largely based on

analysis of fragments of the data corpus. Auer's speaker-

interactional approach focuses to some extent on language alternation

within the sequence of conversation rather than within the individual

utterance or conversational turn. This approach was very useful for

the analysis of the language alternation data, and highlighted

particular aspects of the children's communicative competence.

However, like Gumperz, Auer's examples are presented with no

information as to the frequency of particular types of language

alternation or indeed how much of the data has been left unanalysed.

While not claiming that the framework adopted in this study to

describe language alternation is the definitive approach, it has

allowed a useful description in both quantitative and qualitative

terms. It highlights both speaker strategies and patterns, and it

shows clearly that some types of language alternation do not occur in

the language of young children becoming bilingual when they are

communicating in the classroom. It is also possible, as we discussed

in Section 9.3 that different 'types' of language alternation emerge

as the child grows older.

In the analysis of the entire data corpus, the importance of

network (friendship) ties has been highlighted as an important factor in code choice. Gal (1979) found that the use of two languages in the bilingual community in Oberwart, Austria could be predicted on the basis of interlocutor only. In this study, close friendships and family ties are greater predictors of the use of mother tongue than having a common language background, religion or culture. Topic was not a strong predictor of code choice among most of the infant class children, yet it may be for older children (Fantini, 1985). This finding has implications for assessment as we shall discuss below (Section 12.4).

There is much to be gained in a comprehensive approach to the data, especially in a study such as this when so little is known about the subject under investigation beforehand. We will now examine some specific issues related to bilingualism in relation to the study's findings.

12.4 THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY TO SPECIFIC ISSUES IN BILINGUALISM

In this section we examine language assessment, bilingual education and language maintenance and shift in the light of this study's findings. The focus is on the British situation, although relevant literature from other countries will be used where appropriate. The aim is to show that even a small study such as this, by providing new information, can make a contribution to the debate about these issues within Britain.

12.4.1 <u>Assessing the language of bilingual children</u>

In Britain, language assessment in young children has usually
been carried out when there is some cause for concern about a child's
linguistic or educational progress.   As such it has traditionally
involved teachers, speech therapists and educational psychologists.
Recently there has been a growing body of literature about the
language assessment of speech and language handicapped children with a
mother tongue other than English (Miller 1984; Abudarham 1987; Duncan
1989).   However, with the implementation of the National Curriculum
in British schools and 'Standard Assessment Tasks' (SATs) for children
at the ages of seven, eleven and sixteen (Education Reform Act 1988),
language assessments are going to play a much greater role in a non-
speech and language handicapped child's school life.   Children from
both monolingual English and bilingual non-English speaking
backgrounds will be involved in this.   It is as yet unknown whether
or not children with a mother tongue other than English will be
treated any differently than their monolingual peers on SATs (Seager,
1989).   Can a fair assessment of the language skills of a child with
a mother tongue other than English be carried out only in their second
language ?   Stokes & Duncan (1989:118) state that such a procedure
'will reflect only the child's ability in L2 English, and this will
clearly be influenced by the duration and type of exposure to English.
It cannot inform about the overall language skills of the child'.   We
know from this study that the overall language skills of the child are
a combination of their mother tongue, their use of L2 English,
possibly language alternation skills, and pragmatic skills enabling

the use of the appropriate languages with a particular listener.

Clearly, a range of skills require assessment. Wells points out

that:

> ... it is a difficult and risky business ... to draw conclusions
> about an individual's ability from his or her behaviour in any
> particular situation. So, to be comprehensive as well as valid,
> an assessment must be based on a number of observations made in a
> variety of situations ... there has been very little research
> that has systematically investigated the important influence of
> situational factors on performance ... the majority of tests and
> even of less formal methods of assessment tend to have a very
> narrow focus, concentrating exclusively on just one aspect of
> ability ... if the assessment is to be truly adequate, all of
> these aspects of ability need to be included in some form of
> composite profile. (Wells 1986:126)

We saw that the STORY-TELLING setting did not tap most of the

older children's linguistic competence in their second language

compared with the less formal settings of CLASSROOM and HOME CORNER.

As it is not yet known what the content of the SATs will be, it is not

possible to judge at this stage the appropriateness of the language

task. However, we should be aware of the potential effects on young

children's language skills of this type of performance-related

assessment. Andersen (1986) in her study of register variation in

young Anglo-American children concludes that:

> The data ... show the importance of going beyond standard
> measures of linguistic measurement in assessing what preschoolers
> know about their language ... examination of children's role-
> playing speech is a useful and feasible way to tap their implicit
> knowledge of social uses of language and its appropriateness for
> different social roles. (Andersen 1986:159)

Wald (1981) has shown that naturalistic language data, yielding

concrete information about specific strengths and weaknesses can be

obtained from children in a relatively *short period of time and that*

this is preferable to a standardised test situation. Carroll,a

psychologist, notes that 'some of the more important language

abilities can be established only through studies of language performances in realistic, non-testing situations' (1979:22). This is certainly the case for aspects of bilingual communication such as language alternation.

If it is decided that children with a mother tongue other than English are to be assessed in their first language as well as English, the findings of this study show that it may not be easy to access a child's mother tongue in the school domain, especially if the child normally uses little of their mother tongue at school. Even if the first language is accessed, will the assessment examine the pragmatic skills of the bilingual child, or linguistic skills such as language alternation ? Is this even possible in an assessment situation ? Many questions remain. The contribution made by a study such as this is that it can highlight some of the questions which require answering if children with a mother tongue other than English are not to be disadvantaged by a system set up to 'support the work of teachers and to serve the needs of pupils' (Halsey 1989:1).

With regard to the identification and assessment of children with special educational needs, Warnock (1978:64) recommends:

> Whenever a child is being assessed whose L1 is not English, at
> least one of the professionals involved in assessing the child's
> needs must be able to understand and speak the child's language.

Romaine (1989:64) discussing issues in the assessment of bilingual pupils with no special educational needs states that, 'on the basis of testing only in English, there is no way that valid assessments can be made about minority students'. Skutnabb-Kangas (1981:210) criticises the tendency of tests purporting to measure bilingual proficiency against 'monolingual proficiency' in each of the bilingual's

languages. Sociolinguistic studies have shown this view to be a
faulty theoretical concept (Gumperz, 1971; Fishman 1972) as languages
are used in functionally differentiated ways. It seems that, at
present when there is no bilingual education in England, the type of
bilingualism emerging is such that one language is dominant in one
area (outside the community) and one language is dominant in an other
area (within the community) or a process of language shift towards
English is taking place.

Issues in assessment are never clear cut for any group (Milroy &
Milroy 1985), however it can be said that in order to fairly assess
the potentially bilingual pupils in British schools a large number of
factors must be carefully considered otherwise the consequences for
children from minority linguistic backgrounds may be educationally
disastrous.

12.4.2 Bilingual education

Honeyford (1988:216) claims that research findings show bilingual
education in Britain to be unjustified. There has in fact, been only
one experimental bilingual education project in Britain. The Mother
Tongue and English Teaching Project (MOTET) (1978-81), funded by the
Department of Education and Science (Rees & Fitzpatrick, 1981)
involved native Panjabi-speaking children. This project involved
sixty-six five year-old children in two Bradford primary schools
randomly assigned to an experimental bilingual infant class or a
control monolingual infant class. The bilingual group received fifty
percent of their education in Panjabi and fifty percent in English.

The bilingual teaching project lasted for one year.   The major

conclusions of the study were:

> ... the children who experienced half their curriculum in Panjabi
> and half in English were better able to take advantage of what
> the school and the curriculum had to offer. Clearly, school
> experience in the first year at school did have a significant
> effect on the development of the home language of these children
> where they were able to deal with school experience using the
> home language. This, in turn, extended their linguistic skills
> and there is evidence that it extended their conceptual skills
> also. Clearly, their development in English skills overall was
> unaffected by the amount of time spent using or listening to
> English. (Fitzpatrick 1987:98)

This small study chose to examine the feasability of bilingual

education for a group of native Panjabi-speaking children, most of

whom spoke Mirpuri Panjabi, a fairly stigmatised dialect (see Section

2.3.3).   The study had to address several crucial issues, such as

teaching in a vernacular as opposed to a standard language variety;

teachers attitudes (both monolingual and bilingual); parents attitudes

and assessment of bilingual skills, for example.   Perhaps the most

significant finding of MOTET was 'in terms of the kind of

communicative performance sampled by these tasks the bilingual and

control groups demonstrated no significant difference in English

performance, but there were clear differences in favour of the

bilingual group in Panjabi performance' (Fitzpatrick 1987:88).

It is important to bear in mind that this study concerns one

minority linguistic group who acquire English sequentially in relation

to their first language.   However, the significance of the study is

that it highlights the benefits of bilingual education on the basis of

a small scale one year project.   The findings of this study lead us

to consider the following point:

> If it is felt that some children would learn better, or more
> quickly or more easily, in a language other than English do

schools have a responsibility to take account of this; or put
another way – do schools have a right to ignore this ?
(Fitzpatrick 1987:18)

The MOTET study has been considered at some length because it

makes an important contribution to the bilingual education debate in

Britain. It is my view that the study shows that the use of the

child's vernacular language in the early stages of education (nursery

and early primary) is warranted for a number of reasons. The use of

mother tongue (through the presence of bilingual teachers) would

facilitate communication between child and school staff, lessening the

gap between home and school; it is likely to aid conceptual and

linguistic learning; enhance self-esteem; learning or language

difficulties are less likely to be missed and home-school liason would

become easier.

At the present time in Britain there ought to be be much more

discussion within education about bilingualism from a positive

viewpoint while also recognising the need to support a child's first

language in the early stages of education. Viewing bilingualism as a

national resource is a point mentioned by LMP (1985) and Fasold

(1984). The debate needs to focus on the aims and underlying

philosophy of education for all children who enter school with a

language other than English, with a sound understanding of the variety

of contexts this can occur in, the relationships between vernacular

and 'official' languages and written scripts. Use can be made of the

experiences of other countries, for example Canada (Cummins, 1984),

the United States (Rivera, 1984), Finland and Sweden (Skutnabb-Kangas,

1981). However there is a considerable lack of research into

bilingual education in Britain (Baker, 1988) especially when compared

with North America.

The debate, research and practice of bilingual education in North America highlights two differing philosophies of language and culture. In the United States the tradition is bilingual education for transition and assimilation. The ultimate goal is not bilingualism for the pupils, but successful learning in the medium of English (Romaine, 1989). The system in Canada is different, the ultimate goal is bilingualism and biculturalism, and bilingual schools continue a bilingual curriculum throughout a child's school career, with notable success (Cummins, 1984; Baker, 1988). It is not clear what the underlying philosophy of the British education system is to the minority languages of Britain or the Celtic languages of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

Reviewing the position of bilingual education in Britain and Ireland, Baker concludes,

> There is a lack of research to examine whether bilingual education developments since the war have been positive or not. Such developments would seem to require research as part of the raison d'etre of the development. Members of the public and politicians need informing; administrators need evidence; teachers and parents need answers to their questions. Research can replace innuendo, guesswork, hunches, prejudice, false claims, polemic and propaganda. Bilingual education has not become a mainstream research area in the UK, nor does the topic appear on the agenda of the major research bodies. Research is badly needed in England and the Celtic countries to educate about bilingual education ... from the little research that exists, it seems reasonable to conclude that bilingual education is not detrimental ... in all four countries there is evidence of grassroots movements to promote and produce bilingual education ... pressure for, and the development of, bilingual education is coming more from the bottom than the top. Pressure groups, community groups and language activists have probably affected the development of recent bilingual classes, units and schools to a greater extent than administrators, politicians and professional educators. The growth in bilingual education in the four countries has tended to be a trickle rather than a flood. Yet the way the tide is moving in all four countires is the same:

irrigating bilingual education. (Baker 1988:77-78)

There is clearly a great deal to be done in terms of research,
debate and resources. We discuss some of the practical issues in the
next chapter. We turn now to discuss language maintenance and shift.

12.4.3 Language maintenance and shift

Gal (1979), Huffines (1980) Dorian (1981) carried out studies of
language shift within bilingual communities and Lieberson (1972)
investigated a case of language maintenance in Montreal, Canada.
Fasold (1984) lists some of the most frequently cited causes in
studies of language shift as: migration, industrialisation, school
language, urbanisation, differential prestige values between languages
and a smaller population of speakers of the language in question.
However, Fasold (1984:217) notes that there has been very litle
success in using any combination of these factors to predict when
language shift will occur and that, in fact, there is considerable
consensus among scholars that no-one familiar with the issues would be
able to predict shift:

> Although many of the most often-cited sociological factors are
> present when a shift does occur, it is all too easy to find cases
> in which some speech community is exposed to the very same
> factors, but has maintained its language. (Fasold 1984:217)

The speech community involved in this study have been affected by
all the factors listed above. In addition, we have seen (Chapter 10)
that the younger generation are tending to use English among
themselves at home and Fasold (1984:213) points out that, 'when a
speech community begins to choose a new language in domains formerly

reserved for the old one, it may be a sign that language shift is in progress'. It could be said that language shift is certainly possible within this speech community, but a closer look at other factors is required before we can draw even any tentative conclusions about the possibility of language shift.

Interlocutor has been shown to be an extremely influential factor in the children's code choice. The study children and their older and younger siblings generally use Panjabi with their parents, especially with their mothers. So while we can say that English is spoken within the home, there are certain qualifications to this finding, the first being interlocutor and the second being the linguistic competence of the interlocutor in terms of their relative bilingualism in Panjabi and English. It was possibly a significant finding in relation to language shift and maintenance that bilingual English/Panjabi speaking mothers (in the pilot interview) expressed some concern over their children's use of English at home, while monolingual Panjabi-speaking mothers did not (see Section 10.2). Fasold (1984:238) points out that 'an unmistakable sign of shift is when bilingual parents pass on only one language to their children'. This occurred among the Gaelic-speaking community in the North-East Highlands of Scotland studied by Dorian (1981), but there is no sign of this happening among bilingual members of the Pakistani Panjabi speech community on Tyneside.

We have already discussed the findings of McDowall's (1989) follow-up study (Section 8.5 above) and seen a dramatic shift to English in school within one year among four of the children.

One of the findings of Lieberson's (1972) large-scale survey on

language maintenance among French speakers in Montreal was that:

> The higher degree of bilingualism among the F(rench) M(other)
> T(ongue) population has not led to a net switch to English among
> the children. In all periods, a larger proportion of small
> children than of women in the child-bearing ages have French as
> their mother tongue ... the net results of our intergenerational
> analysis indicate that French is not merely holding its own but
> is actually gaining between generations.
> (Lieberson 1972:243-4)

The bilingual mothers in the pilot study, and personal friends of mine

who are bilingual in Panjabi and English show no signs of raising

their children mono-lingually in English. It remains to be seen

whether successive generations will withstand the pressures from the

dominance of English especially since the position of minority

languages in Britain is less prestigious than French in Canada.

It is possible that, rather than language shift, language

alternation becomes a significant code in itself as Gal proposes,

> For language groups facing a dominant culture that imposes
> external images of them, linguistic practices and evaluations are
> among the readily available and revealing sources of information
> about the implicit self-perceptions and unspoken evaluations of
> the ethnic 'other' that make up consciousness. They are a form of
> symbolic resistance whose local meanings, though grouped around
> solidarity, differ notably across cases ... the Italian young
> people, with their position as migrants from the periphery in an
> economically stagnant sector of the industrial core, use their
> bilingual repertoire to create a syncretic form of conversation
> that continually includes the stream of newcomers, but
> symbolically rejects both alternatives offered to them by the
> German state: integration into German society and repatriation to
> Italy. This genuinely novel form is not only symbolic of a newly
> forming social identity; it is instrumental in creating it.
> (Gal 1988:259)

For many British Asian young people it is possible that their own

language will play a large part in their own 'youth culture' as it

does for some British Black young people who take pride in "talking

black" (Edwards, 1986:9). In addition to this there is

considerable support for community language classes. As Fishman

(1989:180) points out, ' in many instance the language is lost, but the sense of ethnic continuity remains'. 'Ethnic continuity' seems to me to be the only certainty at this point in time.

12.5 A SOCIOLINGUISTIC FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF BILINGUALISM AND A PROPOSED MODEL OF LANGUAGE CHOICE

There are certain factors which emerge as important in any study of bilingualism. The various factors fall within the areas of social/political, educational, sociolinguistic and developmental. These areas provide the context within which bilingualism should be studied. Accounting for all these factors allows us to understand why a monolingual Anglophone child in Canada will emerge from school bilingual in French and English with a good degree of academic achievement, while a monolingual Panjabi speaking child in Britain may emerge from school monolingual in English or bilingual in Panjabi and English, but with little recognition for their skills as a bilingual.

The data obtained in this study makes it possible to generate a model which predicts the likely code choice of young mother tongue Panjabi-speaking children in an English-medium classroom. The model is aimed at a specific age group - nursery and infant school children below the age of five years. A final consideration is that the model applies to children becoming bilingual in a similar 'context' to the children in this study. As such it may still apply to a large number of linguistic minority children in Britain.

Table 12(i)

Model of Language Choice In The Classroom Among Young Children From a Linguistic Minority Whose Mother Tongue is Not English

Condition	Likely Outcome
1) other native Panjabi-speaking peers – monolingual English adult absent	Panjabi
2) other native Panjabi-speaking peers – monolingual English adult present	English
3) strong network ties with Panjabi peer – monolingual English adult absent	Panjabi
4) strong network ties with Panjabi peer – monolingual English adult present	Panjabi
5) family member – monolingual English adult absent	Panjabi
6) family member – monolingual English adult present	Panjabi
7) bilingual staff – monolingual English adult absent	Panjabi
8) bilingual staff – monolingual English adult present	Panjabi
9) other native English-speaking peers – monolingual English adult absent	English
10) other native English-speaking peers – monolingual English adult present	English

The two strongest factors found to affect code choice within the classroom for children at this age are interlocutor and overhearer.

There is some evidence from McDowall (1989) that this model would not apply to children one year older than the children in this study. Rampton (1984) argues for a dynamic model for describing sociolinguistic variability in a multi-lingual language contact situation. It seems very likely that the variables affecting code choice vary certainly with age; gender, minority language and socio-

economic group are also factors to consider. Finally the general

context within which the child grows up will strongly affect their

language choice. Fantini's account of the bilingual development of

his son Mario is fascinating and highlights the relative ease with

which young children appear to learn more than one language in a

favourable environment. At several points throughout the book

Fantini comments on his son's experiences in relation to many other

bilingual children:

> Absent from the child's experiences thus far (age 10) was any
> incident reflecting negative social attitudes or prejudices. At
> no time was Mario noted experiencing a difficult or embarrassing
> situation because he spoke one language or the other, nor did he
> ever report such incidents. If anything, many of the persons with
> whom he associated valued his ability to speak two languages and
> their comments consistently reflected this. Unfortunately this is
> not always the case for so many other bilingual children. Mario's
> self-confidence, in fact - in either language - was so great that
> he spoke spontaneously and naturally in Spanish to his parents
> when they visited him at school, this often being the acid test.
> The only effect produced when he spoke was amazement in his
> classmates who seldom - if ever - heard other languages.
> (Fantini, 1985:77)

Such a view of bilingualism as natural and positive is not commonly

held with regard to children from linguistic minority groups in

Britain. It is unlikely that most of the children in this study will

have similar positive experiences about their mother tongue by the

time they are ten years old. It is also possible that they will use

their mother tongue only with family members who cannot understand

English. There is little doubt in my mind that children from

linguistic minority groups in Britain would benefit enormously from

having such positive experiences of bilingualism.

12.6 CONCLUSIONS

This study has raised many questions about the bilingualism of young children from linguistic minority groups in Britain, but has also answered a few regarding the particular speech community involved in the study as the model above (Section 12.5) shows. An important aspect of future research must be to examine the generalisability of research into bilingualism in Britain across different communities, we have stressed that outlining the context of a study is an extremely important aspect in bilingualism research. Research is also essential if the debate about bilingual education is to be furthered. Before drawing the final conclusions, we will examine some of the practical issues concerning work with young potentially bilingual children, this is the subject of Chapter 13.

Chapter 13

PRACTICAL ISSUES ARISING FROM THE STUDY

Issues relating to theory were discussed in the previous chapter.

Duncan (1989:6) writing about the relevance of research to

practitioners states that 'the onus is on practitioners to acquaint

themselves with the relevant theory being investigated and to apply

the findings appropriately'. By the same token researchers also need

to acquaint themselves with the practical issues in their area of

research and attempt to bridge the gap which often exists between

theory and practice. This is particularly important in relation to

research with linguistic minority groups as pressing practical issues

are so obvious. The take-up of any research findings, as we shall

see in this chapter, is dependent on the improvement of basic services

to this section of the community. It is one of the tasks of a

realistic research strategy to highlight these issues as well as the

other findings which perhaps may seem more directly relevant to a

research project. Labov, in his account of the Ann Arbor Black

English trial outlines the potential usefulness of linguistics,

> Linguistic research applies to a good many of the questions
> facing contemporary society: how to resolve educational failure
> in the inner cities; how to resolve conflicts and paradoxes that
> center (sic) around bilingual education; how to implement the
> responsibility of the law to communicate to the public.
> (Labov 1982:166)

He also makes clear that research alone will not change the major

underlying causes of poverty, deprivation and educational failure and

raises questions about the role of researchers:

> ... books and articles on Black English had contributed to their
> own (ie. researchers) prestige and promotion in the academic
> world. But black youth·in 1979 suffered from the same sense of

disillusionment and despair as in 1964, when research on these problems had begun. (Labov 1982:173)

In this chapter, we will address some fundamental issues which have arisen from this, and other studies, and it will be shown that these must be addressed before any of the issues discussed in Chapter 12, for example, mother-tongue teaching can really be put into practice.

13.1 NECESSARY BACKGROUND INFORMATION FOR PRACTITIONERS WORKING IN A MULTI-LINGUAL ENVIRONMENT

In order to provide appropriate services for a multi-lingual community in a particular locality, it is important to know a certain amount of background information. Is the bilingual community, for example, a relatively small proportion of the community but relatively linguistically diverse, or a large proportion of the community but relatively homogenous in terms of the languages spoken ? This most basic information is by no means available in all parts of the country. The LMP (1985) produced considerably detailed information about the multi-lingual nature of three English cities, London, Coventry and Bradford. The Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) carries out regular language censuses; however, the City of Newcastle upon Tyne carried out their only schools language survey in 1984 (see Section 1.5.3). It is likely that the linguistic profile of the city's schools has changed a great deal since then, but in the absence of a systematic survey, knowledge about this lies only with individual practitioners aware of this issue who also have knowledge of the areas of the city where linguistic minority communities live. Such

knowledge does not provide a very accurate picture of the linguistic diversity of the city nor is it easily accessible. It is also unlikely that the demography of linguistic minority communities remains static over time, accurate surveys would also chart changes of, for example, the gradual movement of a particular community from a poorer area of town to a 'better' area. This sort of information is required as a basis for the provision of facilities (health, education and social services) which will be easily accessible to linguistic minority groups.

There are several possible reasons why information about the numbers and distribution of bilingual communities may not be available. One possible reason is that the 'quasi-political nature of this information ... is highly sensitive to misuse and negative interpretation' (Stokes & Duncan 1989:37), another reason is the absence of any question on language in the national (British) Census of 1981 which means that the onus is on individual local authorities to collect this information. One viewpoint is that some local authorities do not want this information as it would only highlight how inadequate the resources are for bilingual sections of the community.

Stokes & Duncan (1989) advise the practitioner to collect specific information about bilingual clients, the aim being that the collection of statistics on languages spoken becomes routine within the UK. Without this background information it is very difficult to argue the case for bilingual co-workers in schools, clinics or hospitals (Humphreys, 1988).

We have identified the starting point for work with linguistic

minority communities to be knowledge of language demography within the
geographical area for which the practitioner is responsible.   It
would, of course be preferable for this information to be routinely
collected by local authorities.

13.2 FACILITATING COMMUNICATION BETWEEN PRACTITIONERS AND PEOPLE FROM LINGUISTIC MINORITY BACKGROUNDS

We saw in Chapters 10 and 11, that the major problem for mothers
and teachers was inadequate communication because they did not share
the same language.   This is probably the most common experience of
service providers to and service users of linguistic minority
communities, and probably also the most likely explanation as to why
people with a first language other than English are often regarded as
a problem.   It is quite impossible for a monolingual practitioner to
deal adequately with a person from a non-English speaking background
when there is no shared language.   This has been documented by
teachers (see Chapter 11), speech therapists (Barnett, 1989), health
visitors (Dobson, 1986), doctors (Black, 1985; Fuller & Toon, 1988),
dieticians (Stevens & Fletcher,1989), social workers (Baker & Briggs,
1975; Jamieson, 1989) and psychologists (Goodwin & Power, 1986).
In the context of speech therapy Barnett makes some important points:

> The employment of bilingual staff is clearly essential, but the
> seemingly obvious solution of employing ethnic minority speech
> therapists who speak the local languages is difficult for three
> reasons. First, in some districts linguistic diversity is such
> that there are more languages spoken than there are posts
> covering the variety of speech therapy specialisms; secondly
> there are as yet very few ethnic minority speech therapists; and
> thirdly, they do not all necessarily wish to specialise in
> communication impairment within one community. A possible

parallel development to seeking ethnolinguistic speech therapists
would be the employment of bilingual facilitators, that is people
trained and employed to collaborate with speech therapists and,
perhaps, other related professionals such as psychologists.
(Barnett 1989:92)

Clearly, this model could be used in health, education and social

services.   Such a service is necessary to enable people from all

linguistic backgrounds access to and full use of services to which

they are entitled.   Without bilingual staff, practitioners cannot

provide an adequate service to clients whose language they do not

share.

Employment of interpreters in public services raises some

controversial issues (Barnett, 1989).   Some critics believe that by

employing interpreters the need for bilingual staff is masked, and the

recruitment of people from linguistic minorities into professions

ceases to become a priority.   Another criticism levelled at

interpreting is the belief that it reflects the racism operating in

society where there is a ''black recipient' and a 'black mouthpiece'

but (usually) a 'white authority' person' (Barnett 1989:92).   While

recognising the validity of these issues, there are at least two

further reasons why bilingual staff should be employed to interpret.

Firstly it is extremely unlikely that any professional from a

linguistic minority will speak all the languages required; secondly, a

proper training and career structure for bilingual staff, then

professionals in their own right, would put them in a position of

authority and mitigate against them acting as a 'black mouthpiece'.

At present, relatively few practitioners in the public services

have easy access to trained interpreters and many people rely on ad

hoc arrangements.   Barnett (1989) gives an excellent account of the

factors to consider in the location, selection, rejection and

preparation of interpreters. Many of these issues were discussed in

Section 3.3, when considering the need for a bilingual co-worker for

this study. Barnett (1989) discusses how ad hoc solutions to

bilingual service provision are not adequate for any service,

especially in relation to speech therapy, which 'requires more than

interpreting and more than a bilingual aide' (ibid.:106). She goes

on to outline the issues in making a case for a 'bilingual

facilitator'; the role of the bilingual facilitator; selection

criteria and training, and concludes:

> Current provision is lacking and current expectations of
> 'interpreters' is unrealistic. The lay bilingual people currently
> being asked to assist as interpreters are not trained in overt
> linguistic analysis of their own language, nor language
> acquisition of this language, nor in testing procedures and
> rationale, nor in therapy techniques - nor could they be. There
> is much more research to be done. The establishment of bilingual
> facilitators might be one way of beginning to address these
> matters. (Barnett 1989:112)

Other services such as psychiatry, counselling and social work also

require more than straight 'interpreting' (Corsellis, 1988) and

practitioners should be addressing these issues.

13.2.1 Issues in vocational training

In this section we discuss the implications for training

practitioners who work in public services (eg. teachers, doctors,

nurses, speech therapists, psychologists, social workers) to equip

them for working with clients from diverse linguistic and cultural

backgrounds.

We saw that teachers who trained relatively recently received

very little information which was relevant to working in a multi-lingual and multi-cultural setting, even in-service training provision was patchy (Section 11.1, above). Speech therapy students and practising speech therapists may have received little or no training in the assessment, diagnosis and treatment of speech and language handicaps in clients with a mother tongue other than English (SIG, Bilingualism, research in progress). It is unlikely that the situation is any different for other vocational training courses.

An understanding of certain basic principles about working with clients from other linguistic and cultural backgrounds, as well as more detailed information about particular client groups is essential for the practitioner to be effective. This does not mean learning small details about particular cultures, which can often be stereotypical (eg. Lobo, 1978) but general principles, for example, the importance of working with bilingual co-workers; the necessity of recording details about linguistic background to make a case for improving resources; an awareness of the predominant 'monolingual perspective' within British society and its institutions and services; a commitment to providing an equal service regardless of linguistic or cultural background. Specifically regarding education, Labov (1982) believes that changing attitudes alone is not enough, but actual changes to the curriculum are necessary. I would add to this: training courses on the nature of bilingualism, bilingual education and practical ideas for the classroom at the same time as, if not before, training about multi-cultural education.

It cannot be assumed, for example, that while practitioners see the need for working with bilingual staff, that they will

automatically be able to do so without some training themselves. In
Section 11.2.3 we saw that all the mothers reported that they would
find access to interpreters very useful in their dealings with school.
Two teachers expressed reservations, one said, 'you're not exactly
sure how things are being translated', the other, 'it's never the same
but it's the best alternative'. None of the teachers have ever had
any information about the factors which make working with interpreters
most effective and satisfactory, as have few practitioners. The
'problem' is often thrown back to the interpreter, who may be another
mother in the class, a neighbour or a child who happens to speak the
same language. Clearly, even trained interpreters rely for their
effectiveness on practitioners who are aware of issues in dealing with
clients from linguistic minorities. There is some literature (Ahmed,
1982; Baker & Briggs, 1975; Campbell, 1986; Corsellis, 1988; Malik,
1987) and training material (Shackman, 1983; SIG Bilingualism, 1989;
Corsellis, 1984). All vocational training courses would be better if
such issues~were included~on the curriculum.

13.3 THE RELEVANCE OF THIS STUDY TO WORK WITH (POTENTIALLY) BILINGUAL
     CHILDREN WITH COMMUNICATION HANDICAPS

Certain basic principles applying to all practitioners regarding
work with people from linguistic minority backgrounds have so far been
outlined. In this section we examine some of the findings from this
study which have implications for the assessment of (potentially)
bilingual children with communication impairment.

We have seen that young children growing up in families where the

language of the home is one of England's linguistic minority

languages, will communicate predominantly in that language at home

when they are in their early school years.   After a certain time

(possibly over eight years old), the use of their mother tongue at

home becomes more interlocutor dependent (See Sections 10.2 & 10.6).

At school, a child with a mother tongue other than English may,

depending on their network ties, communicate with peers in their

shared first language.   However, they are likely to communicate

predominantly in English in school.   Their L2 English in these early

stages will contain a considerable number of REDUCED utterances (see

Sections 4.3.2 & 8.3.1) and probably fewer PROBLEM utterances (see

Sections 4.3.4 & 8.3.2).   Careful scrutiny of these utterances are

likely to show some idiosyncratic syntactic patterns, but overall L2

English development mirrors L1 English (Dulay et.al, 1982).   A child

with no underlying learning or language difficulties developing

English as a second language on entry to nursery school, in common

with monolingual children (Karmiloff-Smith, 1981) is likely to have a

good command of the English syntactic system by the age of five years

(McDowall, 1989).

Bearing this information in mind, we can examine how potentially

bilingual children with underlying communication handicaps are

identified, assessed, diagnosed and treated.

Identification of a communication handicap in a young child whose

mother tongue is not English by a person other than a parent, in

practice is most likely to occur in nursery or infant school by a

teacher.   We have seen (Section 11.2.2 above) that most of the

teachers in this study felt unsure about their ability to identify

such a problem in a potentially bilingual child compared with a

monolingual child. Again, this is an area in which people require

further training and obviously one in which bilingual staff would play

a central role. While I would not wish to deny that the notion of

the 'silent period' has some validity (Kessler, 1984:43) none of the

children in this study were silent on entry to school. The 'silent

period' is possibly less likely to occur at this young age than in an

older child who experiences an extreme change in their environment,

for example a junior school child who arrives from the Sub-continent

(personal communication, Sanderson). If a child is completely silent

after five weeks in nursery, information should be sought about their

communication at home in their first language.

Assessment of the child should involve a detailed investigation

of the family's sociolinguistic background, language of communication

at home, first and second language development, and communication at

home and at school. We have seen that young children developing

bilingual skills learn early the rules of appropriate language use,

observation or questioning about this skill should be included as part

of the assessment. A situation like play in the home corner with a

friend is probably a good setting for at least part of the language

assessment process (Sections 8.3 & 8.5 above).

One of the problems about the early identification of language

problems is lack of information about the development of the child's

first language. Although there is a paucity of information about the

development of L1 in languages other than English, efforts are being

made to improve this situation. Madhani (1989) has investigated L1

Panjabi language development and Stokes (1989) L1 Bengali language

development. Clearly much more research into the first language

development of languages other than English is required.

Diagnosis of language handicap must be made in the context of the

type of bilingualism which the child is developing (sequential or

simultaneous, Section 1.6.2); their exposure to L2 English; their

level of communicative competence; community norms of language

alternation. There are still large gaps in our knowledge of what is

'normal communication' for this population, and even less about

bilingual communication handicap. The practitioner, however, must

base their diagnosis on their knowledge of the particular linguistic

minority community and never on what would be expected of a

monolingual child of the same chronological age.

The major issue in the treatment of bilingual language-

handicapped children is 'which language(s)' to provide therapy in.

For there to be a choice depends on the availability of bilingual

staff. The other major consideration, is the provision of treatment

which fulfils the needs of the child and family. Helping the child

in the languages they use should be the aim of any therapy programme.

This study has produced some information about the communication

at school and home of a small number of native Panjabi-speaking

children. While it remains to be seen whether the findings for these

children are similar to children from other linguistic minorities,

there appear to be aspects of communication in these normally

developing children which could be compared with potentially bilingual

children referred for speech therapy. Factors such as the level of

bilingual communicative competence; the amount of Panjabi versus

English spoken and the amount and type of language alternation can be

noted. This information would be additional to specific information about receptive and expressive skills in each language and can be helpful in the diagnosis of language handicap.

13.4 CONCLUSIONS

There is a need for further research into several aspects of bilingualism among speakers of a minority first language and English. More information is required about the L1 development of languages other than English, this would aid in the early diagnosis of language disorder (Stokes 1988). We require more information about the (bilingual) communication in school of children from a much wider range of linguistic backgrounds, especially since assessment is going to play a much greater role in education (see Section 12.4.1 above), and we require more information upon which a fair assessment can be based. Further information about the process of language shift and language alternation among young people in the various linguistic minority communities would be useful for educators and would make a great contribution to the mother-tongue debate.

13.5 OVERVIEW

It would be naive to assume that research findings will automatically be used to change policy. There are many examples of commissioned research being disregarded because of its unwelcome political implications (Bulmer, 1982; Brindle, 1989). Similarly, research documenting situations which require immediate policy changes

such as increasing inequalities in health (Townsend et.al. 1987) are not taken up by policy makers. However, practitioners often do take notice of research which applies to their area of work and can effect some change in their particular field.

A considerable amount has been written about the use and usefulness of research and there is a general consensus among those concerned that the relationship between research and its use is not a simple one. Bulmer calls for better links between universities and areas where research is applied and adds:

> ... a dichotomy between basic (pure) and applied research is relatively unhelpful, just as is a polarisation between 'pure theory' and 'applied empiricism'. (Bulmer 1982:152)

Specifically in relation to linguistics and minority groups Labov writes:

> How can we reconcile the objectivity we need for scientific research with the social commitment we need to apply to our knowledge of the social world? When I first started discussing this case (the Black English Trial), I thought that the answer was clear. I saw our most valuable asset was the consensus that had been reached. Once linguists arrive at a common point of view, they can testify effectively in court and in the public forum. The strategy then seemed straightforward: follow the principles of objectivity rigorously and if you are right you will get the evidence you need to convince your colleagues. You can then proceed to follow the principles of commitment with a good chance of success and the knowledge that you haven't biased your scientific work.
> On closer examination of the record of this research, I've come to recognise that objectivity and commitment can't be partitioned a neatly as that. Commitment is needed at all stages of this research: in entering the field; in dealing with a racist society. (Labov 1982:194-195)

It is my sincere hope that in addition to increasing the prestige of Britain's minority languages as an area deserving of academic study and resources, research findings within this field will be used by practitioners, community groups and individuals to the benefit of the

many linguistically and culturally diverse communities in Britain. The researcher can also disseminate findings to groups who will be able to make use of them. Such practice in this study, not only benefitted the recipients of the information, but greatly helped the researcher and the research process.

The words of Ervin Shrödinger are a fitting conclusion to this study,

> If you cannot in the long run tell everyone what you have been doing, then your doing has been worthless.
> (Schrödinger 1951:7).

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APPENDIX 1

Chronology of fieldwork

Nov.86   Re-establishing contacts in Newcastle prior to the start of
         the project.   Sent letter to advisory teacher for 'multi-
         cultural education' and head teachers known to the
         researcher explaining the proposed research project.

Feb.87   Contacted all head teachers in the West End of Newcastle
         by letter and arranged a visit to discuss project with the
         head teacher.

Mar.87   Visited nursery and playgroup classes, met class teachers,
         explained project.
         Drew up selection criteria
         Obtained list of possible children for pilot study from
         class teachers based on selection criteria.

Apr/   Began contacting parents without the services of a bilingual
May.87   co-worker, relying on bilingual teachers and adult
         relatives.
         Obtained parental permission for children to take part in
         the pilot study.

June/   Began pilot study in school: recording children
Jul.87   Obtained funding.

Jul./   Began pilot study at home: recording children.
Aug.87   Obtained further funding.

Sept.87 Began final study: fieldwork in schools with Group 2;
         contacting parents of Group 1; working with a bilingual
         co-worker.

Oct./   Data collection in schools.
Nov./   Transcribing English language data.
Dec. 87 Translating and transcribing the Panjabi language data with
         the bilingual co-worker.

Dec.87   Home visits to parents, playing back some of the tape-
         recorded language.

Jan./   Feedback sessions with teachers of children in the project
Feb.87   Piloting structured interviews with mothers.
         Find a new bilingual co-worker
         Carrying out structured interview with mothers.

Mar./   Began feedback sessions about project to health and
Apr,87   community groups.
         Piloting structured interview with teachers.

May 87   Carrying out structured interviews with teachers.

Jun.87   In-service training sessions with teachers not directly
          involved in the project.

APPENDIX 2

Details of Staffing Levels and Schools in the Final Study

Group 1

No.	Details of school	Total no. staff	No. bilingual staff	Total no. children	Mother* tongue languages
1	Nursery attached to infant & jnr. school	2 teachers 2 NNEB** 1 (CP)***	1 teacher 1 (CP)	41	English-10 Panjabi-21 Bengali-10
2	Nursery attached to infant & jnr. school	1 teacher 2 NNEB	0	28	English-14 Panjabi-12 Hindi -1 Arabic -1
3	Nursery attached to infant & jnr. school	1 teacher 2 NNEB	0	21	English-1 Panjabi-2 Bengali-1 Farsi -1 Yoruba -1
6	Playgroup (Social Services funded)	2 playgroup supervisors 2 (CP) 1 YTS	1 (CP)	22	English-8 Panjabi-10 Urdu -2 Arabic -2

* In the column 'Mother tongue languages', the numerical values indicate the number of children with that mother tongue.

** NNEB indicates staff who are trained nursery nurses.

*** CP, indicates people employed by the Community Programme on a temporary yearly basis. YTS stands for Youth Training Scheme.

The bilingual teacher in nursery 1 is employed under Section 11, this is funding which comes predominantly from the Home Office.

It should be noted that all nurseries either lost one nursery nurse, or had the ratio of children to staff increased to 1:13 in the following year 88-89, because of Local Authority cuts.

All the nurseries take children on a full and part-time basis, except the playgroup which operates five mornings a week.

Group 2

No.	Details of school	Total no. staff	No. bilingual staff	Total no. children	Mother tongue languages
7a	Infant & jnr. with nursery	1 teacher 1 auxiliary	0	22	English–3 Panjabi–11 Bengali–6 Malay –1 Arabic –1
7b	As for 7a	1 teacher 1 auxiliary	0	25	English–6 Panjabi–9 Bengali–6 Cantonese–1 'Chinese'–1 Arabic –1 Farsi –1
8	Infant & jnr. with nursery	1 teacher	0	19	English–12 Panjabi–3 Malay –1 Arabic –1 French/ Ewondo – 2
9a	Infant & jnr. with no nursery	2 teachers (team teaching) 1 auxiliary	0	52	English–28 Panjabi–11 Urdu –6 Vietnamese–1 Cantonese–2 Malay –1 Turkish–1 Norwegian/ German –1
9b	As for 9a	1 teacher	0	26	English–15 Panjabi–6 Urdu –3 Bengali–1 Hindi –1

APPENDIX 3

Observational Record Form

Actual size is A4

DATE:		NAME:	PLACE:	TAPE:		PAGE:
No	Activ.	Language			Inter.	Context

APPENDIX 4

Transcription Conventions for the Language Data

Adapted from, Crystal et.al (1976), Ochs (1979) and McTear (1985).

INTERLOCUTORS

OCp = other child (Panjabi); b,(Bengali); e,(English).
AC = all children
R = researcher
T = teacher (monolingual English-speaking teacher)
Tp = teacher (bilingual Panjabi/ English speaking teacher)
M = mother
A = adult (non-teaching staff)

Study children will be represented by their first or first two
initials:

N	= Nasreen	Q	= Qaseem
Ri	= Riaz	An	= Anisa
J	= Jameel	Am	= Ameena
S	= Shahid	Ta	= Tahira
Z	= Zahid	Sh	= Shamshad

LINGUISTIC CONVENTIONS

/ utterance boundary   eg. that's mine/

* overlap   eg. R: is that *yours?/
                                Ri: *it's mine/

(.) pause, very short   eg. An:on that (.) window/

(3s) seconds duration   eg. Q: it go over (2s) there/
    of a pause.

(2syl) unintelligible   eg. S: that (2syl) not mine/
      syllables

unintelligible utterances   eg. ununtel.uttr.(3)

[ ] phonetic   eg. Q: it's a [ges]
     transcription

CAPITAL LETTERS,   eg. Ri:GIVE ME/
increased volume

: lengthened syllable   eg. N: Give me:/

' tonic syllable   eg. J: 'don't go/

__ stressed syllable   eg. Z: where are you/

other voice qualities   ((LF))=laugh
                                    ((WH))=whisper
                                    ((CR))=cry
                                    ((SI))=sing
                                    ((SCR))=scream

NON VERBAL COMMUNICATION

point   PT
nod head/shake head   HD

SOCIAL CODES

Adapted from Sylva et.al.(1980) and Blatchford et.al.(1982)

solitary   SOL

pair   PR

small group (3-5 children) SG

large group (6 or more)   LG

parallel (2 children
together, not interacting) /p, eg.PR/p

interacting with or near
to an adult

TRANSCRIPTION

RHS - speaker and language

LHS - addressee

eg.

Am: that's a my book/   -OCp
OCp: give me it/   -Am

ILEA (1984) Phototalk Storybooks*

Story 1: SAIQUA & SHAN GO SHOPPING

Saiqua and Shan go shopping

*Actual size is 8" by 8" and pictures are in colour.
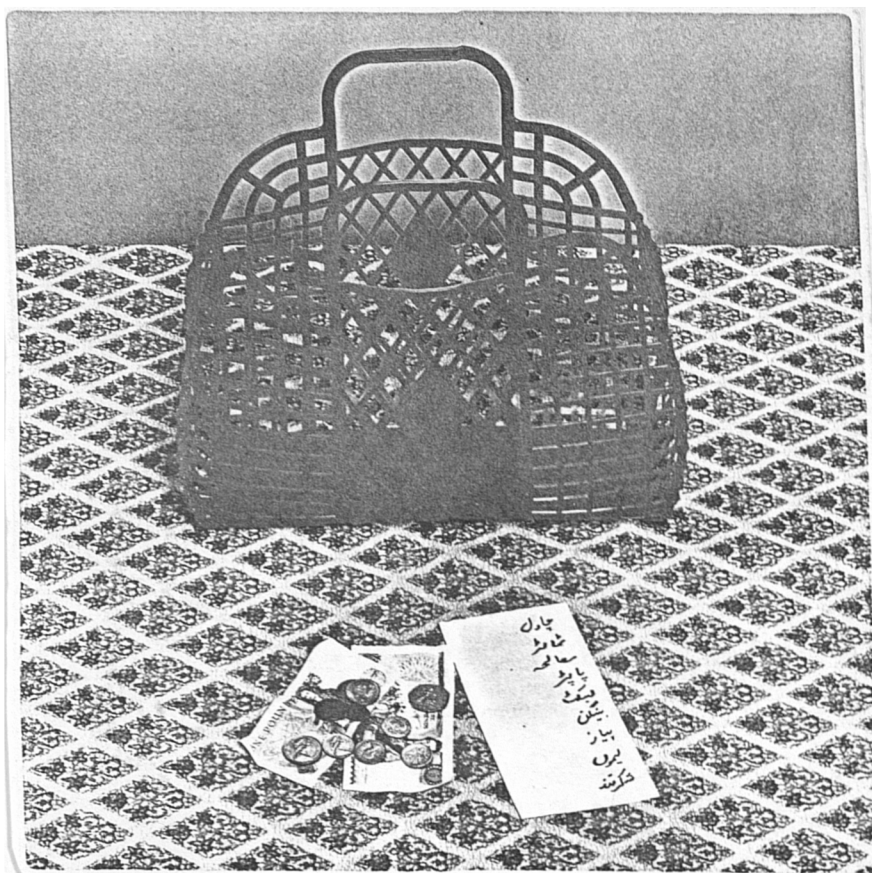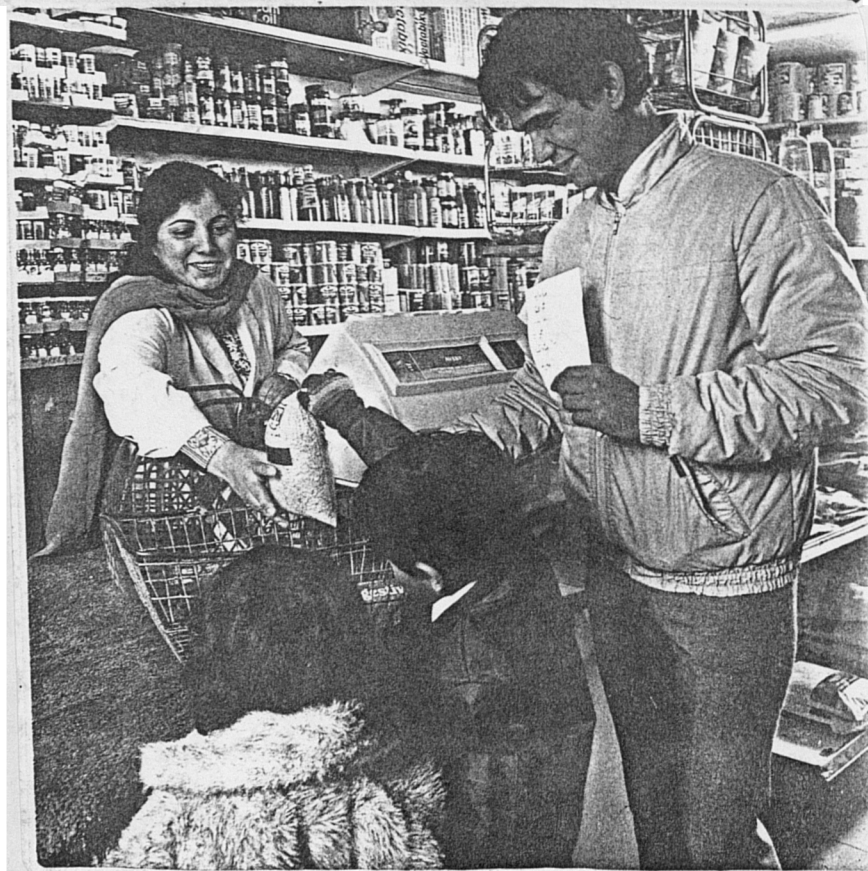
Eating with Badre and Nabil
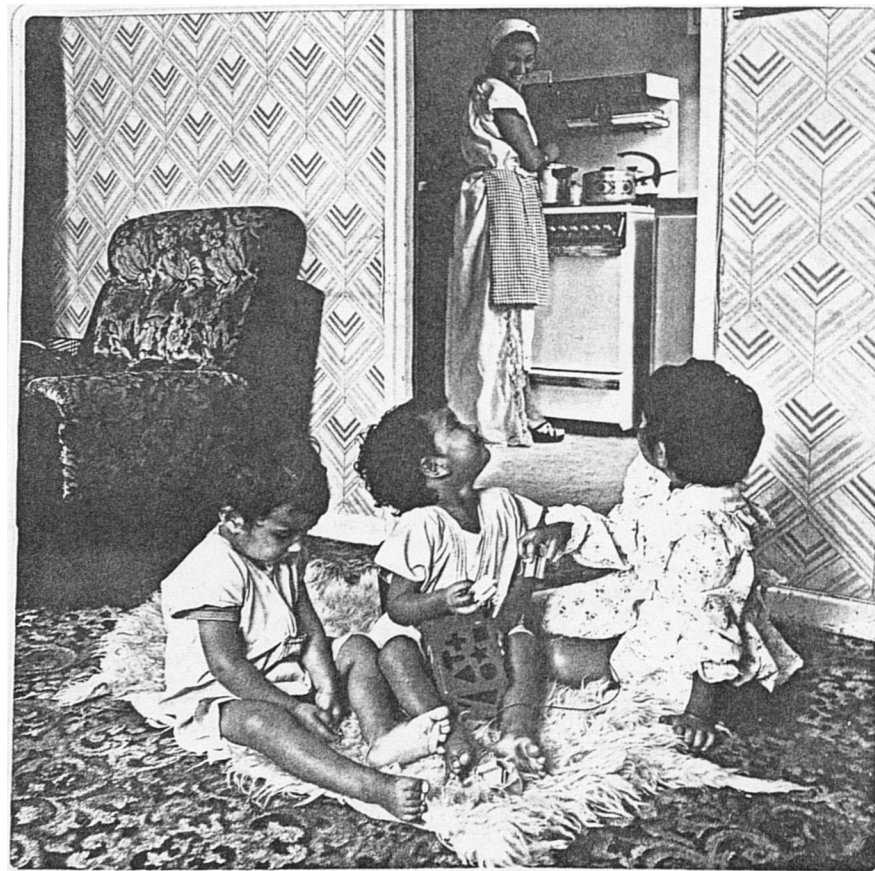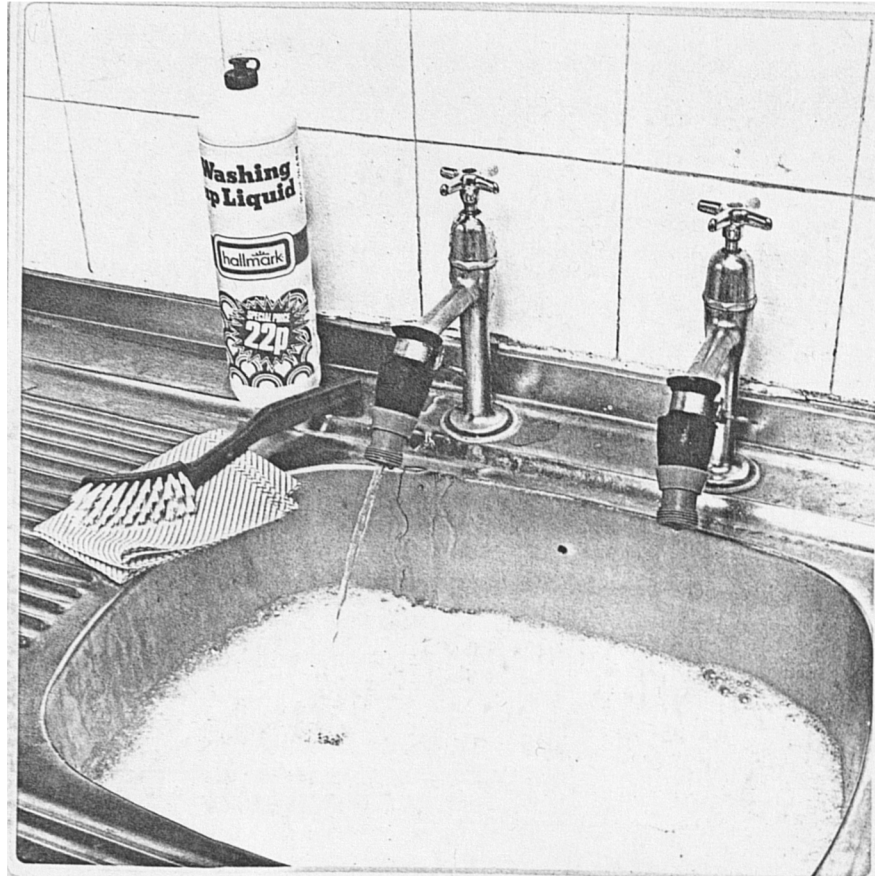
Going to the park
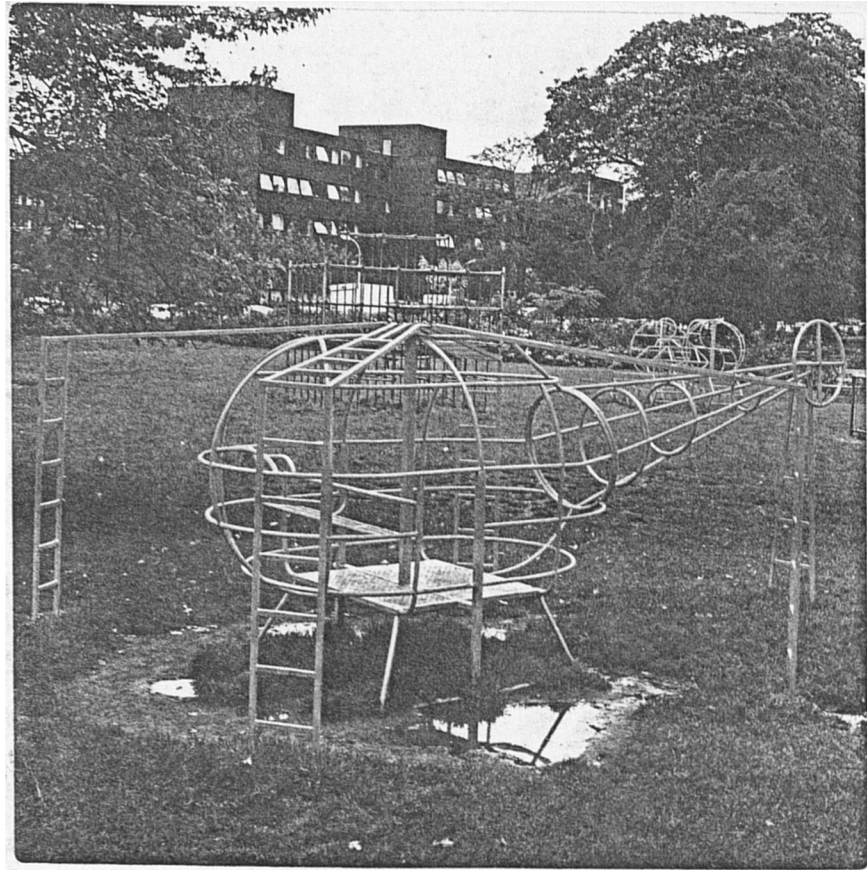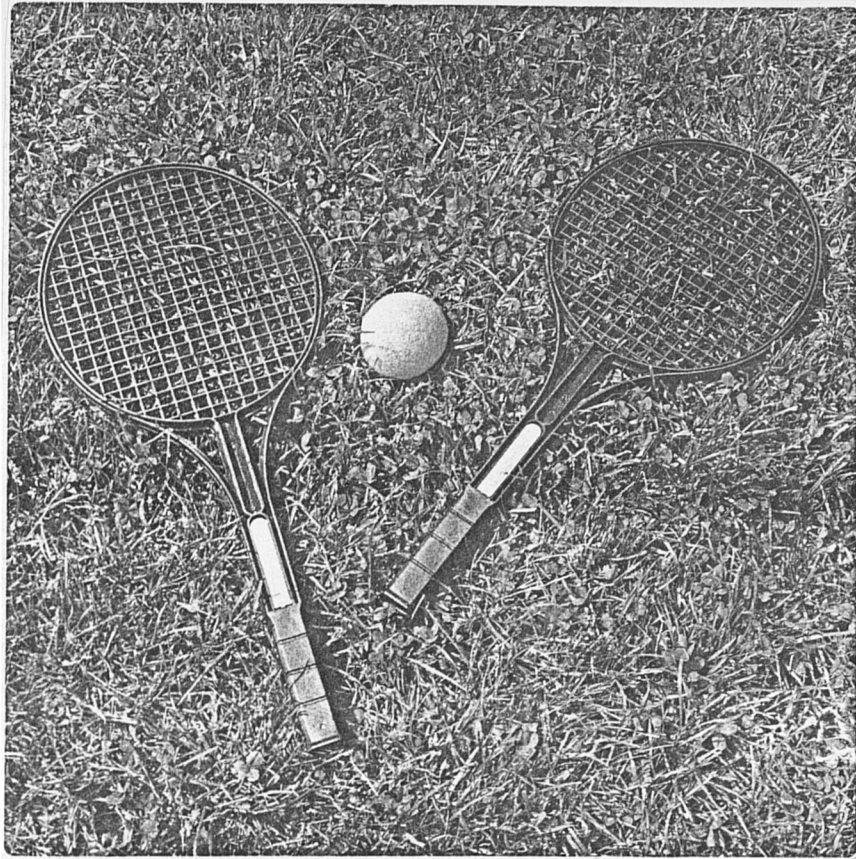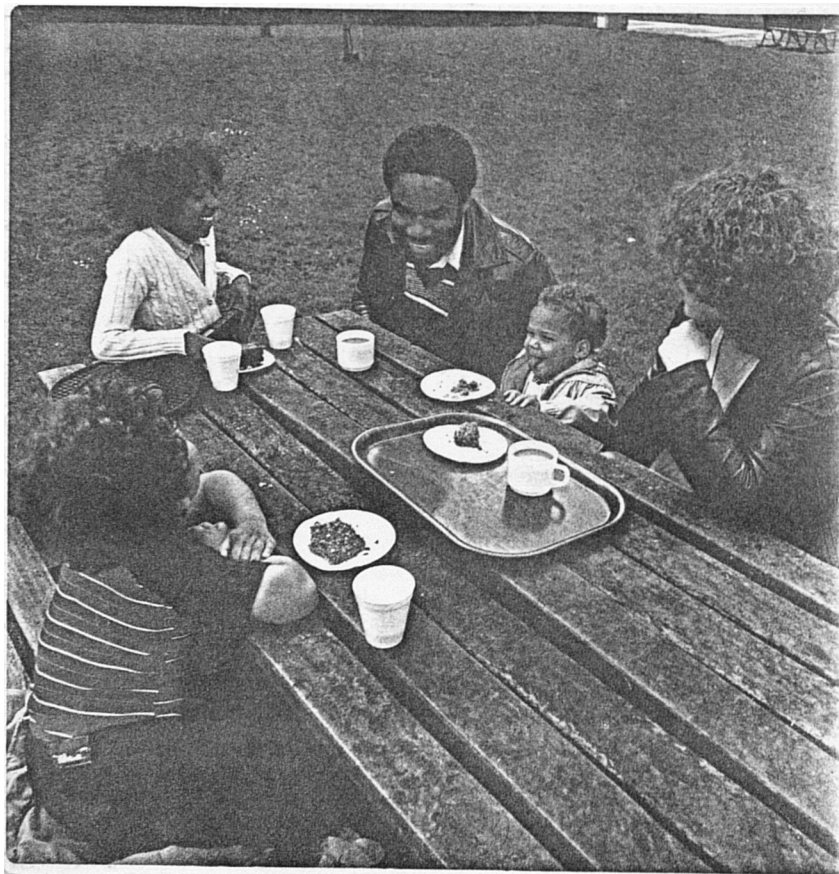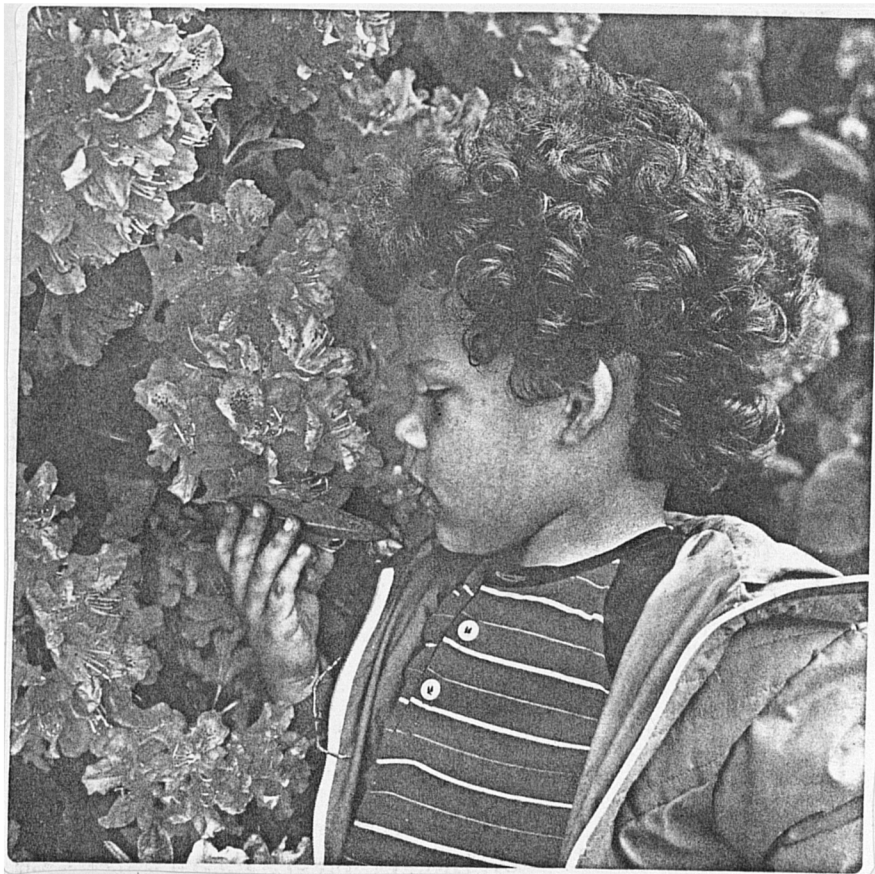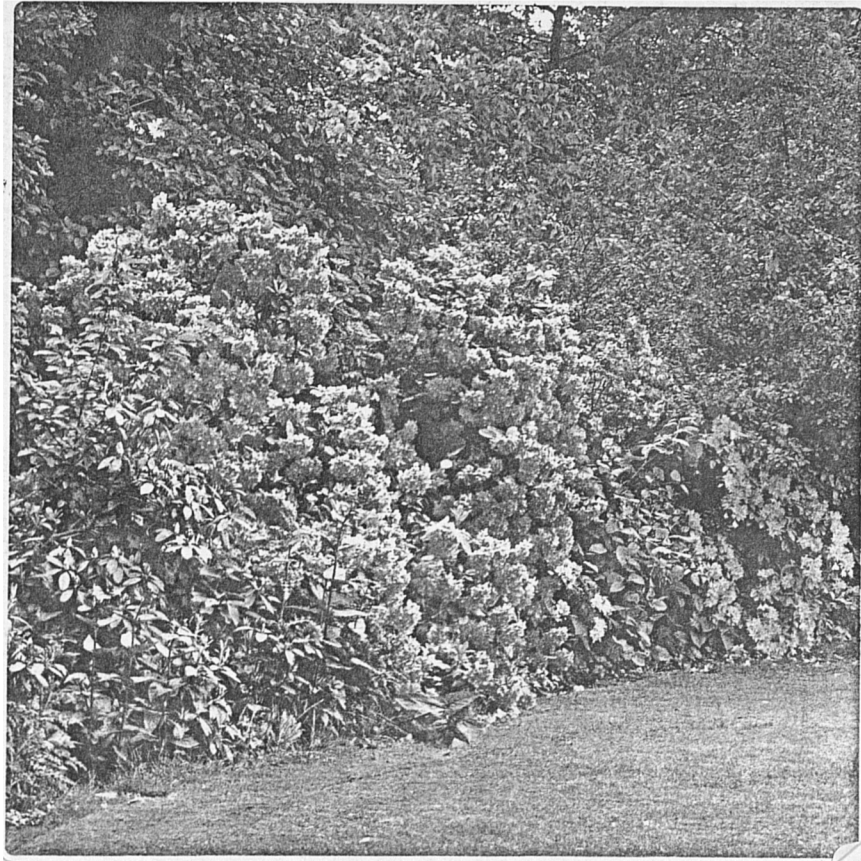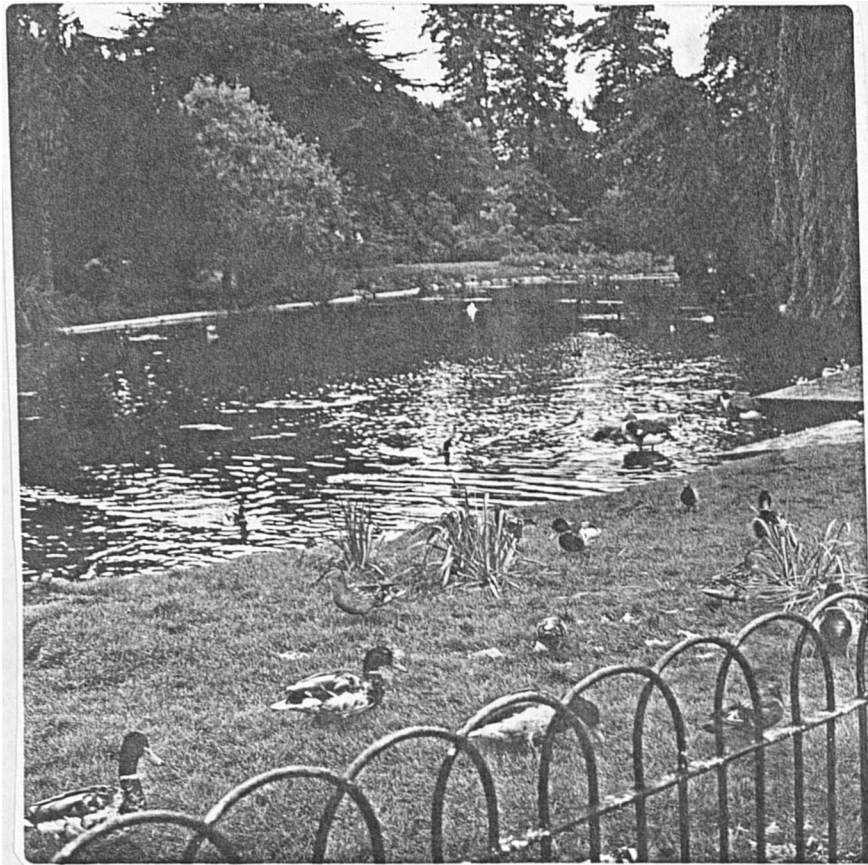
APPENDIX 6

Extracts from CLASSROOM, HOME CORNER & STORYTELLING transcripts

EXTRACT ONE

CLASSROOM: Jameel (nursery)

SOC	SPKR	LANGUAGE	CONTEXT
			J leaves HC, walks over to a table with A & OCe
PR/p	A	hello Jameel/ do you want to come and play?/	
	J	yeh/	
	A	do you want to*	
	J	*yeh/	
	A	there's a car for you/ can you find a driver for your car?/	
	J	no/	
	A	where's the driver?/ have a look in the box/	
	J	what/	
	A	see if you can find a man for your car/	
	J	oh mam/ oh ma/	
	A	you don't want your mam/ you're hav ing a nice time/ a nice play/	J starts to build a tall tower
	A	this is nearly bigger than you Jameel/	the tower breaks in two
	A	what happened?/ ooh what happened?/	
	J	big one/	
	A	the big one/	
	J	yeh/ big one/	J adds lego to the tower
	A	pardon/ oh a bigger one/	
	J	big one/	
	A	yes big one/ no Thomas/	OCe(Thomas) tries to break J's tower
		don't snap it/ this is Jameel's/	
	J	STOP IT/	tower breaks in two
	A	stop it/ stop what?/	
	J	((LF))	A helps J put tower back together

```
A    go on/
     press hard
J    ((LF))
A    is this a little one or a big one?/
     Jameel/
     Jameel/
     Jameel/
     is it a little one?/
     this is just little/                         tower snaps, J
                                                  builds it up
A    Jameel that's tall/
     look how tall/
     stand up and see how tall/
     Jameel stand up/
J    blue/
A    blue/
     that's not blue that's yellow/
J    yellow no/
A    it is yellow/
J    no/
     NO*
A      *well what is it?/
J    yellow/
A    ((LF))
J    yellow/
A    that's yellow/
     yes/
     good boy/
J    lellow/
A    what's this?/
J    lellow/
A    this isn't yellow/
     this is (.) *blue
J                    *green one/
     blue
A    blue/
J    green one/
A    not a green one/
     you find me a green one in here/
J    blue/
A    there/
     that's a green one/
J    there green one/
A    good boy/
     that's right/
J    there green one/                             OCe squeezes past
                                                  and leaves A & J
SOL  AAA/
A    say excuse me/
     don't shout/
     excuse me/
     what's this colour?/
     what's this colour?/
J    green one/
```
-440-

```
A    no/
     not a green one/
J    1ellow/
     yellow/
A    this is yellow/
J    green one/
A    this is blue/
J    blue/
     (1syl) blue/
T    what's this one?/
J    green/
A    yellow/
J    yellow/                                      tower falls
A    what happened?/
```
(T is holding up the children's milk tags and asking the children to
put them on a milk bottle)
```
     T    who's is this?/                         T  holds out J's
                                                  milk tag

     A    what's Miss Tait got Jameel?/
     J    mine/
     T    could you put it on your milk please/
     A    put your picture on your milk before
          you forget/                             J is sitting at the
                                                  milk table with A

     J    no/
     A    yes/                                    dinner man takes
                                                  away empty trays

     J    [mæm]/
          hello/
          cake/
     A    not today/
          no cake/
     J    (2syl)                                  T2 shows how eraser
                                                  works
     A    rubber/                                 J points to a
                                                  picture

     J    look ice cream/
     A    ice cream/
          rubber/
          you do it/
          you do it/
     J    yeh/
     A    all gone/
          put your picture on your milk before
          you forget/
     J    yeh/
          [fɪ]/                                   names another
                                                  milk tag

     A    pig/
     J    ICE CREAM/                              names another
                                                  milk tag

     A    that's Marook's ice cream/
     J    yeh/
     A    put your drum on/                       J's milk tag is a
```

```
                                                   drum
              put your drum on/
      J       on table/
      A       put your drum on there/
      J       on table
      A       Shahid come down/
      J       on ta (.)/
              on table/
              on (2syl)/                            J reaches for a
                                                    straw
              TEACHER/
              EE/
      A       here have a straw/
```

EXTRACT TWO

CLASSROOM: Anisa (infant)

```
PR/p  An    symb. noise                            An & OCe are putt-
                                                   ing shapes in a
                                                   balance, it falls
                                                   over
            ee/
            I'm gonna tell my teacher/             An goes over to T
SOL         teach_/
            fallen down/
            it's fallen down/
      T     put it over here/
            you have to put the pieces in the tub
            very carefully/
            there you are/
            you sit down and play with it Anisa/
                                                   An goes over to R
      An    look/                                  shows R an abacus
                                                   An goes over to T,
                                                   T is picking up
                                                   pieces from the
                                                   floor
            why/
            why/
      T     pardon/
      An    why/
      T     why what?/
      An    are you gonna tidy up?/
      T     we're just picking things up from the
            floor Anisa/
      An    why?/
      T     so you'll be able to to sit on the
            carpet in a moment/
      An    have a mil/
            have a mil/
      T     not yet/
```

```
                soon/
                but not yet/                          OCe joins An & T
PR      OCe     Mrs.Cook/
                Mrs.Cook/
        T       your mummy's called Mrs.Cook/
        An      your mummy's called Miss Cook/
                ((LF))
                I goin' say your mummy's called Miss Cook/
                ((WH)) Miss Cook mummy/
                ((WH)) Miss Cook/
        T       Anisa/                                An joins T & OCe at
                                                      a table
PR              sit there Anisa/
                you turn round here Carl/             T has a puzzle
                now this is a picture of a big ship/
        An      [ʃʋk]
        T       a big ship/
                where lots of people go onto a big ship/
                they sail on a big ship/
                now Anisa can you see this is the sea
                and the waves*
        An                      *yeh/
        T       down there/
                and up there is the blue sky/
                put that one right/
                can you find me any more like that Anisa/
                they look like the sea/
        An      there's a one/
        T       yes/
        An      there's the sea/
                sea/
        T       I wonder if that fits down there/
                I don't think it does/
        An      I do/
                I do/
        T       see if it fits together/
        An      there/
        T       how many are there/
                in there/
        An      one two/
        T       oh that's not quite right Anisa/
                they don't fit together Anisa/
        OCe     there/
                there/
        T       Anisa can you find me another piece
                like that to put in there?/
        An      there/
        T       good/
                that fits beautifully/
                up here/
                look Carl/
                that one fits there like that see/
                that one there and_/
        An      that one there/
```

		and there/	
		my Rukhsana's got that one/	Rukhsana is An's sister
		my Rukhsana's got that one/	
	T	Rukhsana has has she?/	
	An	yeh/	
	T	your Rukhsana used to be very good at doing jigsaws/ she was a very clever girl/	
	An	that's a jigsaws/ that's a jigsaws/	
	T	look Carl in there/	
	An	that's a jigsaws/	
	T	good boy that's it/ that's it look/ can you see the picture/ look/	
	An	yeh/	
	T	there's the sea and the waves/ there's the ship and there's the blue sky there/ come over here now/	T tells children to go to the story corner
SOL	An	I want a mil/ ((SI))	An joins SG in the story corner
SG	An	I want sit there/ sit there/ nai/ = no halai ni bhar khednai/ = don't play out yet	
	OCp	ni/ = no	
	An	ni/ = no ni/ = no phir khaloon/ = we'll play later hain?/ = alright?	

EXTRACT THREE

HOME CORNER: Qaseem & Colin (OCe)

SPKR	LANGUAGE	CONTEXT
		Q & C have moved furniture for teddy's birthday party
R	you said you were going to make a cake/	
C	I'm going to in a minute/	
R	a birthday cake for teddy/	
Q	((WH)) I'm going (1syl)/ I get a (.) cherry cake/	

```
              get it/
              (symbolic noise:pretending to go to the shop)
              (2syl) cherry cake/                           Q comes back from
                                                            shop with pretend
                                                            cake
R      so what have we got to do for this party?/
Q      get it cake/
R      get a cake/
Q      do you bring a cake just now*
                                        *I get a four cake/
R      shall I help you make it?/
C      yeh/
Q      open cake fridge/
       open cake fridge/
R      put it in the fridge/
C      unintel. uttr. (1)
R      can you help me get it down then?/        R pretends to bring
                                                 a cake out of the
                                                 oven
Q      all/
       ((WH)) unintel.uttr.(1)
R      there we are/
Q      tidy up time/
R      now I'm gonna turn it out onto a plate/
       on there/
       are you ready?/
       there we are/
       does he like it?/                        he = teddy
Q      he's eatening/
R      oh no/
       we forgot to put the candles on/
Q      I get it/
       I get it/
       (symb. noise: pretends to light candles)
       put it on/
R      they're done/
       oh great/
Q      that's him/
       a coca cola for him/
       eat/
       eat/
       ((WH)) unintel.uttr.(1)
       other one table/                         Q brings over a
                                                table
       (symb.noise: moving table)
       put on there/
       this table party/
R      how many are coming?/
C      six/
Q      that's two same/                         both tables are
                                                the same
R      have we got enough chairs now/
C      yes/
R      one two three four/
              -445-
```

```
            we've only got four/
            we need _/
Q           seven*
C                *one more/
R           two more/
            there's one in here/
Q           ((WH)) want it/
            ((WH)) gimme/
C           that one's yours/
R           it's alright you can have it/
Q           pick that/                                      Q tells C where to
                                                            put furniture
            party/
            ((SI)) du du du DU DU/
            chinga chinga chinga/
            put that back/
            put that back on there/
R           we've not had this party yet have we?/
Q           I'm putting it [itər]/               = heater
            on there/
            that's [itər]/                       = heater
R           that's what?/
Q           [itər]/
R           [ider]
Q           [ges]
            is a [ges]/
R           ah right/
Q           put on there/
            put again/
            (2syl) on there/
            move that/
            (symb. noise: moving furniture)                 Q moves furniture
            no/
R           careful/
Q           there/
R           what time are all these people coming to
            the party?/
Q           now/
C           six o'clock/
R           is that soon?/
C           yeh/
            oh I forgot to put on a candles on the cake/
R           oh hurry up then/
            have we got any?/
Q           I put it on the cake/                           C goes to the shop
R           oh look Colin/
            Qaseem's already done it/                       C comes back.
C           I get some more for next week/
R           hey we've not got any cups for the party/
Q           get inside/
R           are they inside/
            can you help me with them?/
            we've forgotton to put the cups on the table/
```

C   I know/

EXTRACT FOUR

HOME CORNER: Tahira & Louise (OCe)

SPKR	LANGUAGE	CONTEXT
Ta	we going now in the doctors/	Ta & L pretend to go to the doctors
R	you going to the doctors?/	
Ta	yeh/	
L	aye we have to go now/	
R	oh/	
	what's the matter/	
Ta	they sick/	
	they eaten to much *eh sweetie/	
L	*eaten too much/	
R	the baby's eaten too many sweeties/	
Ta	you get a baby/	
L	no/	
R	you both gonna take that one?/	
Ta	yeh/	
R	I'll wait here then you go off to the doctors/	
Ta	here/	
	hold the baby/	Ta tries to put the doll in a pushchair
L	no cos_/	
	cos em I just need*	
Ta	*I don't know need it/	
	he's stand up/	
	sit down/	
L	have to wait in this seat/	
Ta	you have to wait/	
	I have to/	
L	have to wait on the waiting room/	
	have to wait on the waiting room/	
Ta	no doctor there/	
	doctor there/	

(some children come into the class in fancy dress, Ta & L stop what
they are doing and watch them)
R   they're dressing up/
(R joins Ta & L)
R   I'm the doctor/
       would you like to come in/
Ta   yeh/
R   now then/
       what's the matter/

```
Ta   babies (.) eaten too much sweetie/
R    oh dear and what's happened to baby?/
Ta   they they got a headache/
R    she's got a headache/
     anything else?/
Ta   he'd not eaten anything/
L    she's got a bad throat/
R    she's got a bad throat/
     why do you think that baby's got a bad thraot?/
L    cos she swallow*
R                        *oh dear/
Ta   he eat soap powder/
R    he's got what/
Ta   soap eat/
     he eat soap powder/
R    let me see/
     I'll give this one some red medicine/
     and I'll give this one some blue medicine ok/
     now your baby's got to take a spoonful of red
     medicine three times a day/
     and your baby's got to take a spoonful of blue
     medicine three times a day/
     now I'll write you a prescription/
     and then you take it to the chemist/
Ta   I get a prescription/
     that's it/
R    oh here you are/
     blue medicine/
     red medicine/                        Ta brings a piece
                                          of paper

L    where's the chemist/
R    just round the corner there/
Ta   I've gorrit/
     I haven't/
L    I've got medicine/
R    you've got medicine for your baby/
Ta   me haven't got it/
R    the do_ the chemist not got it/
     there's another chemist over there/
     why don't you try that one over there/
Ta   that's too much/
L    I get some more/
     cos I know which chemist/
Ta   you know where it is/
     well you'd better take the prescription/
L    yeh/
     I know which chemist has got (unintel. syls)
Ta   you have a blue/                      pre: getting
                                          medicine from
                                          chemist
L    she got a (unintel syls)
Ta   I got red/
R    you've got have you/
     very good/
                         -448-
```

```
Ta      let's have a Louise again/
        this chemist/
L       can I*
Ta            *no/
        you have a blue one/
        got a blue one/
        silly billy/
L       can I have some of_/                              Ta & L go back to
                                                          show R
Ta      we got it/
R       oh you've got it/
        be very careful with it/
L       ee I've left me bag over there/
R       how are you gonna give these babies their
        medicine/
Ta      we're_/
        we want to make a big (2syl)/
R       do you need a spoon?/
Ta      yeh/
R       would that not be the best thing?/
        have you got any spoons in your house?/
Ta      yeh/
        in a drawer/
R       in the drawer/
Ta      yeh/
R       can you show me cos I don't know where they are/
Ta      ((WH)) I know/
(5mins later, Ta waits for L to go to the chemist with her)
R       are you waiting for Louise?/
Ta      yes/
R       I think she's just coming/
Ta      bye Louise I'm going/
L       wait there/
Ta      (2syl) be closed seven o'clock/
L       it's one o'clock man/
        won't close yet/
Ta      I know what a time/
        come on/
        quick/
        I'm late/
L       we're not late*
Ta                    *bye/
        I'm going on a bus/
        bye/
        I'm going somebody's house/
        I'm going somebody's house/
```

Nasreen reads Story 1: Saiqua & Shan Go Shopping

<u>Front cover</u>
R   look/
N   what's this?/
R   that's a little girl and a little boy/
       see what they've got/
       what got?/

<u>Page 1</u>
R   tell dolly what's this?/
N   a tukeri/   = basket
R   and what's this?/
N   (2syl)

<u>Page 2</u>
R   look/
       tell dolly/
N   em (.) boy little/
R   mm/
N   little girl/

<u>Page 3</u>
R   look dolly/
N   chawal/   = rice
R   mm/
N   mm cake/

<u>Page 4</u>
R   look dolly/
N   em paise/   = money
R   yes/
       they're in the shop/
N   in the shop/
       in the (.) the shop/

<u>Page 5</u>
R   and this/
N   em chawal/   = rice
       em fruit/
       angoor/   = grapes
       this (1syl)/
R   keila/   = bananas
N   keila/
       (2syl)/
R   that's melon/
       and look/

<u>Page 6</u>
R   look dolly/
       keila/   = bananas
       keila/
       (2syl)/

<u>Page 7</u>
N   what's this?/
       (2syl)/
R   you tell dolly/
       tell dolly/

```
N       eh mam/
```
```
N       em (1syl)/
        light/
R       mm/
N       orange light/
R       mm/
```
```
R       look/
        this is what they bought/
N       orange/
R       yes/
N       Monday get ice-cream/
```
```
R       and look/
N       tukari/                          = basket
        biscuit/
R       yes
N       a tea/
        who's this?/
R       mummy/
        and we're finished that book/
```

Nasreen reads Story 2: Eating With Badre & Nabil

```
N       andi/                            = pans
        andi/                            = pans
        there two [ges]/                 = gas cooker
        two andi on/
R       mm/
```
```
N       in the playing house/
        ma/
```
```
N       make a cake/
R       yes/
```
```
N       make a cake/
        birthday happy/
R       mm/
N       birthday happy/
```
```
N       make it semiya/                  = vermicelli
```
```
N       eh cake/
```
```
N       em angoor and chips/             = grapes
        what's this?/
R       that's biscuit/
        what's this?/
R       I think that's jaleby/           (jaleby is a sweet)
```

```
R      look/
N      they eating/
R      yes/
```
Page 9
```
R      and look/
N      sink/
R      yes/
N      I get a sink/
```
Page 10
```
R      mm look/
N      panday/                              = crockery
R      yes/
       and it's finished/
```

Nasreen reads Story 3: Going To The Park

Page 1
```
R      look here/
N      playing in the garden/
```
Page 2
```
N      play the in a thing up/
R      yeh/
       look/
```
Page 3
```
N      play the ball/
```
Page 4
```
N      playing the ball/
       playing the ball/
       playing the ball/
```
Page 5
```
N      make the_/
       this a orange/
       this a tea/
       this a cake/
       this a cake/
R      yes/
```
Page 6
```
N      make a cake/
       this all cake/
       this tea all a this/
R      mm/
```
Page 7
```
N      flowers/
R      yes/
N      I ger a flowers/
```
Page 8
```
N      am (2syl) all a flowers/
       me gerrit/
```
Page 9
```
R      look dolly/
       you tell dolly/
N      em chigi/                            = bird
R      mm/
```

```
N       em this Pakistan/
        I go Monday Pakistan on Pakistan/
        doy comes chirya/                   = bird
R       mm/
N       me/
        ((LF))
```
Page 10
```
R       and look/
N       chirya/                             = bird
R       and we're finished/
```

Anisa reads Story 1: Saiqua & Shan Go Shopping

Front cover
```
A       I be the teahcer/
        you sit on the carpet/
        you sit on the carpet/
R       that's the first one/
        can you tell us the story/
A       that called/
        boy said/
        em/
        what is it?/
```
Page 1
```
R       you tell us about the pictures/
        this one here/
A       this ones/
        two penny to go home/
        look at this/
        now/
```
Page 2
```
R       what's this one here?/
A       the girls and mammys going to the shop/
        now then/
```
Page 4
```
R       this one here/
A       she's go in the shop and get the cake/
        thems a se(.)/
        have a penny/
```
Page 5
```
A       and he's get the cheese/
        bananas/
```
Page 6
```
R       what's over here?/
A       nothing/
        he said to mammy I want a banana/
R       what's he doing here?/
A       he eating em banana/
```
Page 7
```
A       she/
        I been in the shadi/              = wedding
        and that's is the story/
        shadi/                            = wedding
```

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<u>Page 8</u>
R   and what are they doing here?/
A   she's looking at the/
       she she looking at lights/
<u>Page 9</u>
A   she's go for the lamp/
       he*
R   *what's this here?/
       what's all this here?/
A   a banana/
       a (1syl)/
<u>Page 10</u>
A   he (2syl) say to her/
       that is/
       I know/
       I don't know it/
       she went to baby house/
       now that/   (points to Story 2)

Anisa reads Story 2: Eating With Badre & Nabil

<u>Front cover</u>
A   baby and baby eating the c akes up/
<u>Page 1</u>
A   I (.) got/
       like my mam/
       like that one/
       (1syl)/
<u>Page 2</u>
R   and what are they doing?/
A   he's playing the (.) toys/
<u>Page 4</u>
A   that's a breakfast for the children/
A   then (2syl) in the school having a breakfast/
R   are they at school?/
A   that's not school/
       that's a house and that's a school/   (points to class)
<u>Page 6</u>
R   and who are these people here?/
A   he's eating the in the house a dinner/
       she she eating the breakfast/
<u>Page 8</u>
A   and he's telling mammy (2syl)/
<u>Page 10</u>
R   what's she doing here?/
A   washing the cakes/
(R picks up Story 3)
R   this is the last one/
A   this is the last one/

Anisa reads Story 3: Going To The Park

Page 1
R look here/
A I been in there/
R what is it?/
A em slide/
Page 2
R mm look/
   look/
A slides/
R what are they doing?/
A he's in the slides/
   he's/
Page 3
R look here/
A eh ball and eh/
Page 4
A and he's done that/
R mm
Page 5
A coffee/
   coffee/
   I'm reading the story for you/
Page 6
A them is going to the shop*/ he's
R   *are they going to the shop?/
A no/
   in the slide/
   he's going in the slide/
   he's kicking the ball up the sky/
   and he's put a ball on the grass/
   on the grass/
   on the grass/
   all on the grass/
   right/
   now/
   he's having a (2syl) coffee/
   and it is/
   what is it?/
R cake/
A that that (1syl)/
R and what's that there?/
A coffee/
   he's eating a coffee/
R look/
   look/
   look/
   look/
A coffee/
R it's orange/
A orange/
Page 7
A she's picking the flower ups/

Page 8
A   she's go see the ducks/
Page 9
R   look/
     look/
     what's she doing?/
A   she's looking at the ducks/
R   mm/
A   ((SI)) she's going in the shop/
R   did you like those stories?/
A   yes/
     nother one/

APPENDIX 7

Mother's Interview

Introduction

    We are interested in how you and your family speak at home.
This is to enable teachers and other people to help bilingual children
better.
    We have some questions written in English. Sameera will ask
them in your language and Suzanne will write the answer on the paper
so we can remember it. Your name will not be put on the form, it is
only the answers we are looking at. If there are any questions you
do not wish to answer, that is fine. We will ask about how you speak
at home and how you feel about your children in school. We really
appreciate you giving your time to help us like this, thankyou very
much.

INTERVIEW FORMAT

HOME
1)What name do you give to your language?   _____

2)What language does your child use at
home to:

Mother   ___

Father   ___

Older brother/sister   ___

Younger brother/sister   ___

Grandparents   ___

Aunties/uncles   ___

Same age friends/cousins   ___

3)What language does **mother** use at home
to:

X_____   ___

Husband   ___

Siblings older than X_____   ___

Siblings younger than X_____   ___

4)What language does **father** use at home
to:

X_____   ___

Wife   ___

Siblings older than X_____   ___

Siblings younger than X_____   ___

Always Punjabi=1   Mostly Punjabi=2   Equally Punjabi/English=3

Mostly English=4   Always English=6   Other=6

5)What language do **older siblings** use at
home to:

X_____   ___

Each other   ___

Mother   ___

Father   ___

Same age friends/cousins   ___

6)What language do **younger siblings** use
at home to:

X_____   ___

Mother   ___

Father   ___

Same age friends/cousins   ___

7)Did X_____ speak any English at
home before starting school?   ___
(Y=1,N=2)

8)When did your child start to speak English at home?

 1=doesn't speak English   ___

 2=before school   ___

 3=same time as starting school   ___

 4=3 months after   ___

 5=6 months after   ___

 6=9 months after

 7=1 year after   ___

 8=don't know   ___

9)What language does your child **prefer**
to speak at home?   ___

10)If X_____ speaks to you in English
and you reply in ___PANJABI___ what language
would X_____ usually continue the
conversation in?   ___

11)If X_____ speaks to you in English
and you don't understand what does
X_____ usually do?   ___

12)Do you ever speak to X_____ in English?   ___
(Y=1,N=2)

If no, go to Q 13.

12a)In what situations?

_____

_____

_____

12b)For what reasons?

_____

_____

_____

13)How do you feel about your child speaking
English at home?

_____

_____

_____

14)Is it important for X_____ to
continue to speak your language?   ___

Why?

_____

_____

_____

OUTSIDE SCHOOL

1) Does X_____ go to any classes
   outside school

   Punjabi   ___

   Urdu   ___

   Quran   ___

2) If not now, will X_____ go to any?

   Punjabi   ___

   Urdu   ___

   Quran   ___

3) At what age?

   Punjabi   ___

   Urdu   ___

   Quran   ___

_____

Code:
Y=1, N=2

SCHOOL

1) What do/did you want your child to gain
   from being in nursery / infants.

1=language learning opportunities?   ___

2=educational opportunities?   ___

3=anything else?   ___

_____

_____

2) How has X_____ changed since being in nursery/infants?

_____

_____

_____

3) Do you know

1=too much   ___

2=enough   ___

3=too little   ___

about what X_____ does in school?

4) Do you know

1=too much   ___

2=enough   ___

3=too little   ___

about X_____'s progress in school?

4) Do you attend parent's evenings?   ___

4a) Do you find them

1= useful   ___
2= not useful   ___

5)Do you feel happy about going into school?   ____
(Y=1, N=2)

5a)If not, why not?

_____

_____

_____

6)Are there any staff at school who speak
your language?   (Y=1, N=2)   ____

6a)If there was someone who spoke your
language at school,   would you feel
happy about going into school and
talking to the teacher?   ____

7)Do you think the children should be
able to learn:

    i)Panjabi at school   ____

   ii)Urdu at school   ____

8)Do you think the children should be
taught any lessons in

    i)Panjabi   ____

   ii)Urdu   ____

Questions to mother

1)Did you go to school?   ___
(Y=1, N=2)

1a)If yes,how long did you go to school
in   (code no. of years)

 i)Pakistan   ___

ii)U.K.   ___

2)Do you feel it is important for you to
 speak English?   (Y=1,N=2)   ___

3)Can you do all the things you would
 like using English? (Y=1, N=2)   ___

4)Do you feel happy about talking to
 X_____'s teacher using English?(Y=1, N=2)   ___

5)What do you do if you have to tell
 X_____'s teacher something?

_____

_____

6)Do you wish to improve your English?(Y=1, N=2) ___

7)What opportunities have you had to learn English?

_____

8)If you would like to learn English, how would you like to:

  i)home tutor

 ii)local class

iii)college

 iv)other
                                    -463-

9)What language does the doctor speak to
 you in?   ___

9a)What language do you use at the doctor?   ___

Code:
Always Punjabi=1   Mostly Punjabi=2   Equally Punjabi/English=3

Mostly English=4   Always English=5   Other=6

9b)If you use English , how do you tell
 the doctor what's wrong?

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX 8

TEACHER'S INTERVIEW FORMAT

TRAINING

1) How long have you been teaching in your present school?

2) How many years have you taught since teacher training college?

3) How many years is it since you left teacher training?

4) During teacher training did you receive information on

    i)bilingualism in general i.e.definitions, theory, types of
      bilingualism etc.   Y / N

    ii)working with children whose first language is not English   Y / N

    iii)multi-cultural education   Y / N

    iv)anti-racist education   Y / N

5) Can you state whether this was sufficient for your present
   needs in each of these areas:

    i)bilingualism in general   Y / N

    ii)working with children whose first language is not English   Y / N

    iii)multi-cultural education   Y / N

    iv)anti-racist education   Y / N

6)Are you familiar with the term **semilingual**?   Y / N
   If yes,
   i)can you define what you understand by this term

_____

_____

    ii)where did you come across this term?

_____

7)Have you received any in-service training on the following issues
  over the last two years?

    i)bilingualism in general   Y / N

    ii)working with children whose first language is not English   Y / N

    iii)multi-cultural education   Y / N

iv)anti-racist education   Y / N

8)Would you find background information on any of the following
  useful in your present situation? (Tick which ones)

          Languages   Cultures

          Panjabi   Pakistani
          Urdu   Sikh
          Hindi   Indian
          Gujerati
          Bengali   Bangladeshi

          Vietnamese   Vietnamese
          Cantonese   Chinese
          Chinese
          Hakka
          Hokien
          Mandarin
          Malay   Malaysian

          Arabic   Sudan
                                      Saudi Arabia
          Farsi   Iranian
                                        Iraqi

          Turkish   Turkish

          Norwegian   Norwegian
          German   German

          Yoruba   Nigerian
          Ewondo   Camaroon

Please state any other information you would find useful.

_____

_____

How should this information be available for practising teachers?

_____

_____

Would you like to have the opportunity to attend introductory
language classes in one of the community languages?   Y / N

If **yes**,

    i)which language(s) would you find useful?_____

ii)in what way would this be useful?_____

iii)to what level would this be useful?_____

iv)what time would this be most convenient_____

If no, why,_____

_____

Bilingual children in the class

1)No. of bilingual children in your class   ____

2)Do bilingual children in your class use their first language (here-
after referred to as L1)

   i)all bilingual children   Y / N

  ii)some bilingual children   Y / N

iii)no bilingual children   Y / N

Comments_____

_____

_____

2a)Do you have some bilingual children who never use their L1 in
school?   Y / N

If **yes**, why do you think some bilingual children don't use their L1
in school?

_____

_____

3)Do you think it is important for bilingual children to use their L1
in school?

   i)with peers   Y / N

  ii)with adults   Y / N

If yes, why_____

_____

4)What **formally** recognized opportunities do bilingual children have to speak their Ll?

   i)with peers _____

  ii)with adults _____

6)Do you have any **bilingual** staff employed by the school in your class?

   i)teachers   Y / N

  ii)auxiliaries   Y / N

iii)other   Y / N

If yes, how many hours per week

   i)teachers   _____

  ii)auxiliaries   _____

iii)other   _____

7)Do you have any Section 11 support?   Y / N

If yes,

   i)how many hours per week   _____

  ii)are any of the section 11 staff bilingual   Y /N

If yes, how many   _____

8)Do you have any bilingual people coming into the class on a voluntary basis to help?   Y / N

If yes, do you have

   i)parents   Y / N

  ii)secondary school pupils   Y / N

iii)others   Y / N

Comments_____

9)How sure are you that you can identify when a bilingual child
   is having general **language difficulties?**

   i)very sure
  ii)quite sure
 iii)not sure

10a)what are the problems in identifying language difficulties in
bilingual children?

_____

_____

11)Do you have sufficient resources to cope with **monolingual** children
   children in the class with language difficulties?   Y / N

If no, what are the problems?_____

_____

_____

11a)Do you have sufficient resources to cope with bilingual children
    in the class with language difficulties   Y / N

If no, what are the problems?_____

_____

_____

12)Would you like to have bilingual support staff?   Y / N

13)If resources were unlimited, what support staff would you like?

_____

_____

14)Do you think bilingual children should have any **formally** recognized
opportunities (in the form of alloted time) to

  i)speak their L1 in class   Y / N

 ii)use their language of literacy in class   Y / N

If yes,

  i)what do you think would be the advantages in this?_____

_____

ii)how would this be best carried out?_____

_____

Children Outside School

1)What are your feelings about bilingual children going to

  i)language classes outside school?_____

_____

  ii)religious instruction outside school?_____

_____

Parents

1)How important is it to have a good relationship with
children's parents in general?

   i)very important
  ii)quite important
iii)not important

2)Do you feel you have adequate contact with parents of
bilingual children,

  i)who can communicate with you in English   Y / N

  ii)who can't communicate in English (so that you are sure you
    can understand them and they you)   Y / N

_____

_____

3)Do you feel you have a good relationship with parents of
bilingual children,

  i)who can communicate with you in English   Y / N

  ii)who can't communicate with you in English   Y / N

_____

4)If you have something **very important** to tell a parent who
cannot communicate adequately in English, what do you usually do?

_____

5) If you invite parents into school to discuss their children's work (eg.parents' evenings/afternoons) do you feel your communication is adequate with bilingual children's parents,

i) who can communicate with you in English   Y / N

ii) who can't communicate with you in English   Y / N

If not, do you have any ideas how the situation could be improved?

_____

_____

6) How important is it for you to know something about the home backgrounds of the children in your class?

  i) very important
 ii) quite important
iii) not important

What sort of information is most important and useful for you as a teacher?_____

_____

7) Do you feel you have sufficient information about the home backgrounds of bilingual children in your class?   Y / N

If not, what sort of information would you find most important and useful?_____

_____

How could this information be obtained?_____

_____

8) How important is it to know about the language environment, **outside school** of bilingual children in your class?

  i) very important
 ii) quite important
iii) not important

What information about bilingual childrens' home language environment would you find most useful?_____

_____

9)Do you think it is important for bilingual children to use
    their L1 at home?   Y / N

If yes, why?_____

_____

_____

If not, why?_____

_____

_____

OTHER COMMENTS YOU WISH TO MAKE ON THIS SUBJECT

APPENDIX 9

Mixed Language Data

SC1 NASREEN

Language mixing in CLASSROOM

1.596.3a

Nasreen & OCp are playing together with some bricks at a small table.

OCp:	eh nai sutti alai/	= don't throw this alright	-N
	mein bickai laisain/	= I want the bricks	"
N:	shut up/		-OCp
OCp:	alai/	= alright/	-N
	(4syl) chaiyi de/	= (4syl) pick it up/	"
	alai ohni/	= not that one/	"
N:	Muraz shut up you/		-OCp
	Murad/ Mubarad/		"
	mai rusain ke Murad pagal bunai/	= Murad is acting mad	"
	Mubarad pagal bunai/	= Murad is acting mad	"

3.26.6ai

Nasreen has just finished a drawing. Tp, a Panjabi/English bilingual teacher comes over and talks to Nasreen while R is there.

N:	look/		-R
(Tp comes over to the table)			
R:	that's a lovely picture/		-N
	do you want to show Mrs.M?/		"
N:	I want this/		-R
Tp:	apoo baniyi eh?/ mm/	= have you made it yourself?/	-N
	how many/		"
	ki baniyoi si thoon/	= what did you make/	"
N:	thacko/	= look/	-Tp
Tp:	ki banai eh/	= what do you want to make/	-N
N:	thacko/	= look/	-Tp
Tp:	oh/		-N
N:	nice nice eh*/	= nice nice this/	-Tp
Tp:	*eh banaiyia si?/	= made this?/	-N
	eh bhooth sona eh/	= this is very beautiful/	"
	horai iderhai vi khuch haigai?/	= is there anything over here?/	"
N:	eh kurni sain/	= I'm doing this/	-Tp
Tp:	dehka hagai/	= show me it/	"
	horai khuch bunoni/	= you're going to show me something/	"
N:	eh thacko eh ke si/	= look at what this is/	"

Nasreen is drawing with OCp and shows her drawing to R.

```
R:   that's lovely/                                                      -N
     can you tell me about the other picture Nasreen/                    "
OCp:*eh tho likhai/                      = do you want to write this/    -N
N:   *mm/ thoon/                         = mm/ you/                      -OCp
R:   can you tell me about this one/                                     -N
N:   eh thackai a/                       = look at this/                 -OCp
     mouse thai box thai chuwi/          = mouse and box and little box/ "
     mein thari eh kurshursain/          = I will do this on yours too/  "
     lubnai/                             = find it/                      "
     and I'm not like/                                                   "
     (3syl) achai banai/                 = make it nice/                 "
     thackusai/                          = look/                         "
     snake banai/                        = make a snake/                 "
     eh paper book/                      = this paper book               "
     we can't find it/                                                   "
     and this a picture/                                                 "
     alright a my picture/                                               "
     this right/                                                         "
     shall I do my (.)/                                                  "
(Nasreen's pencil breaks)
     break/                                                              "
(Nasreen grabs a pencil from OCp)
OCp:nai/                                 = no/                           -N
N:   no my pencil/                                                       -OCp
     my pencil/                                                          "
     no/ mine/                                                           "
```

Nasreen and OCp are drawing side by side, R is sitting at the same
table.

```
N:   mm/ [æmæ] picture/              = that's my picture              -R
(Nasreen turns to draw on her picture and begins to talk to herself)
N:   this picture alright/                                           -SELF
     picture/ right/                                                 "
     jai nai parain eh stickiyain/   = if I don't tear the sticky
                                       ones/                         "
     eh ethqon parain esairain/      = tear this like this/          "
R:   that's lovely/                                                  -N
     lovely/                                                         "
     isn't it nice/                                                  "
(Nasreen bangs her pencil on the table making spots on the paper)
N:   ((LF))
R:   your making spots/                                             -N
N:   look/                                                          -R
     I'm doing [ə] this/                                            "
```

3.223.8a

Nasreen is playing with a bag filling it up with bricks

```
N:   look/                                                              -R
     going [ə] down/                                                     "
     [ə] there/                                                          "
(R walks away from Nasreen)
N:   eh eh alai/                      = this this alright/             -SELF
     eh eh marai/                     = this this mine/                  "
     alahia/                          = alright                          "
     ke kinse orange blue/            = do you want orange blue/         "
     eh alahai/                       = this alright/                    "
     (2syl)/(5syl)/                                                      "
(Nasreen starts to play with lego)
     tu maray nal banai/              = you make it with me/             "
     mein ke karain/                  = what shall I do/                 "
     panday pani eh awain/ [tut]/     = she's breaking the dishes
                                        for no reason/                   "
     panday pani/                     = breaking the dishes/             "
     ((SI))
     eh pagal ain/                    = they're mad/                     "
     eh achai a/                      = this is good/                    "
     achai a/                         = good/                            "
     a achai/                         = good/                            "
(Nasreen turns round to show R a lego tower)
     it's broke/                                                        -R
     look/                                                               "
     look/                                                               "
     broke/                                                              "
     ((LF))
```

3.617.12

Nasreen is completing a puzzle while sitting at a table with T present

```
T:   Put it on the table/                                              -R
N:   no this/                                                          -T
     no this going/                                                     "
(OCp joins Nasreen and T at the table)
N:   nehi/                      URDU = no/                             -OCp
     jaanai hai/               URDU = I have to go/                      "
     going/                                                              "
(OCp and T leave the table, Nasreen continues fitting in the puzzle
pieces))
     main edurai jai/               = I'm going this way/             -SELF
     eh janai eh/                   = this is going/                    "
     eh ferai ferai janai/          = this is going again and again"
     alright/                                                            "
     ek janai/                      = one is going/                     "
     farai janai/                   = going again/                      "
     kis ke janai hai?/             = who's are you going to?          "
     that going (.) there/                                              "
```

```
nother going there/                                          "
no that/                                                     "
no that going/                                               "
that going there/                                            "
there/ there/ there/ there/                                  "
put that/                                                    "
mm/                                                          "
```

4.4 12a

Nasreen is at a table doing a puzzle with a teacher

```
T:  some green trousers/                                     -N
N:  alright/ alright/                                        -T
T:  try this one/                                            -N
(Nasreen is joined by OCp, a 'minor' friend)
N:  eh janai/                   = this going/                -OCp
    thai eh kursain/            = going to do this/           "
    thoon kursain?/            = you want to do this?/         "
    thoon kursain?/            = you want to do this?/         "
    thoon apoon das nai/       = you tell me yourself/         "
OCp:ek dasi/                    = one sad                     -N
    ek dasi/                    = one sad                      "
T:  there's another piece on the floor Nasreen/              -N
    I think Nasreen was doing that one/                      -OCp
    let Nasreen finish it/                                    "
(Nasreen is looking for some lost puzzle pieces)
N:  more/                                                    -T
    want some more/                                           "
T:  look and see if it's on the floor/                       -N
    have a look under the table/                              "
    on the floor/                                             "
N:  on the floor                                              "
(Nasreen looks on the floor and finds a piece)
N:  telephone/                                               -T
    telephone/                                                "
(Nasreen fits in the puzzle piece and OCp tries to help)
    ni kurni/                   = don't do it/                -OCp
OCp:unintel.uttr.(1)                                         -N
N:  mi das/                     = show me/                   -OCp
    mi das mein benasi/         = I want to make/              "
    mein apoon benasa/          = I want to make it myself/    "
    tari turn agaie si/         = it's your turn/              "
    tari/                       = your/                        "
    tari turn agaie si/         = it's your turn/              "
OCp:mein ruksain/               = I'm going to put it/        -N
N:  nai/                        = no/                        -OCp
    tari nai jai/               = you don't go/                "
    Panjabi unintel.uttr.(2)                                  "
OCp:nai/                        = no/                         -N
N:  mein jaina/                 = I'm going/                  -OCp
    iderhai jainai/             = going here/                  "
```

-476-

(Nasreen leaves the table)

Language alternation in HOME CORNER

Nasreen & Fara (OCp)

<u>93.2</u>

Nasreen, Fara and R are in the home corner, Tp enters the corner and
Nasreen tells Tp that R visited her house.

```
N: eh (.) her come my on Monday house/                                    -Tp
Tp:ki khandiyai?/                        = what did you say?/             -N
N: eh bulke house ussainal isi/          = she came in the house with
                                           us                            -Tp
Tp:tere nal isi?/                        = she came with you?/           -N
(Tp leaves the home corner)
R: Nasreen are you gonna help Fara?/                                     -N
   see what she's made/                                                   "
N: I make a cake/                                                        -R&F
```

<u>113.2a</u>

Nasreen and Fara decide to go shopping.

```
N: there's a bag/                                                        -F&R
   going shop/                                                            "
   sugar/                                                                 "
R: bring me back some tea as well/                                       -N&F
N: right then/                                                           -R
(Nasreen and Fara leave HC and go to 'the shops'.  Nasreen is
   carrying a shopping bag, on the way there Fara tries to take the
   bag)
N: chore de nai/              = leave it alone             -F
   chore de/                  = leave it                    "
F: ((CRIES))
(Nasreen and Fara return to HC)
N: been to shop/                                                        -R
```

232.5a

Nasreen is telling R about her families' recent house move.

```
N: I go (.) f. in the flat/                                             -R
R: you go in the flat/                                                  -N
N: flat/                                                                -R
   and my pussy cat/                                                     "
R: mm/                                                                  -N
N: mujay lai move/              = we have moved/                        -R
R: what?/                                                               -N
N: in a (.) in a (.) in a house/                                        -R
```

No language alternation occurs in the home corner with Marie (OCe).

SC2: Riaz

Language alternatiom in CLASSROOM

1.37.1a

Riaz joins OCp who is sitting at a table playing with a toy.

Ri:	eh thak/	= look	−OCp
	thawarey kol kai?/	= what have you got there?/	''
	mein tugi desain right/	= I'll give it to you right/	''
	mein tugi desain/	= I'll give it to you/	''
	mein eh desain tugi/	= I will give it to you	''

(Riaz takes the toy from OCp)

	mein eh desain tugi/	= I will give it to you	''
	TEACHER LOOK/		−T
	TEACHER/		''

(Holds up toy to show T)

1.63.1ai

Riaz and two native Panjabi-speaking children, Halima (H) and Kaniza (K), both 'major' friends, are playing in the home corner.

Ri:	eh ki chiz eh?/	= what is this?/	−H
H:	ek chizei/	= one thing/	−Ri

(T looks into the home corner)

T:	oh what a mess/		−Ri,H&K
	what a mess/		''
Ri:	look/		−T

(Riaz holds up a broken doll to T)

	look me teacher chizai/	look at something teacher/	''
K:	what a mess		
Ri:	eh ki eh?/	= what is this?/	−H
	mein eh teacher (3syl)	= teacher I will (3syl)	''

(T leaves home corner)

The three children continue to play together in the home corner, speaking in Panjabi.

1.76.1a

The children are playing with cooking pans

Ri:	eh thak mein kai kithai/	= look what I have done/	−H&K
	mein kai kithai thak/	= look what I have done/	''

```
K:   eh kai?/                              = what's this?/                   -Ri
Ri:  (2syl)/ Kaniza/ (2syl)/                                                 -K
     Kaniza/ Kaniza/                                                         "
K:   jai panni vich gudia (4syl)/          = go and take it out of the
                                             water/                          -Ri
Ri:  oh/ fill it/                                                            -K
K:   eh chiz bai dhio/                      = put this in as well            -Ri
     eh kai?/                               = what is?/                      "
H:   dhio/                                  = give/                          -Ri
Play continues in the home corner in Panjabi.
```

1.115.2

The children are standing near the sink in the home corner, Riaz wants
to do a plait on a doll.

```
Ri:  eh esai ni guthai kur/                = I'll do the plait/             -H&K
H:   tik eh/                               = o.k.                           -Ri
K:   panday thanni a/                      = I'm washing the dishes/        -Ri&H
Ri:  NO/                                                                    -H
     MARAY AU THAK MEIN GUTHAI/            = LOOK AT ME I'M DOING THE
                                             PLAIT/                         "
H:   ni/                                   = no                             -Ri
K:   (2syl) mein oh kurnai/                = I want to do that/             -Ri&H
Ri:  eh gaulai thak/                       = look at the round/            -K&H
(Riaz offers H & K a drink)
     phi ke that/                          = drink some/                    "
     look/                                                                  "
```

145.1.145

Riaz, Kaniza and Halima are playing in the home corner. Riaz and
Kaniza are at the cooker and are fighting over cooking pans.

```
Ri:  ((symb.noise: cooking))
     ahey/                                 = this thing/                   -K
     MEIN TWARE UPARA SATTAIN EH?/         = HAVE I TO THROW THIS ON YOU?/  "
(Riaz and Kaniza are arguing over the cooking pans)
K:   oh kundayai nai/                      = I've got that one/            -Ri
Ri:  alright/                                                              -K
K:   oh kundayai nai/                      = I've got that one/            -Ri
Ri:  thoon ke desain/                      = I'll give you/               -K
     thoon ke desain/                      =        "                      "
     thoon ke desain/                      =        "                      "
K:   EH MI DE NAI/                         = GIVE ME THAT/                 -Ri
(Riaz sits down next to a table)
Ri:  MEIN BETAI NAI/                       = I'M SAT HERE/                 -K
     eh saaf kur ithoon/                   = clean this from here/         "
     eh saaf kur ithoon/                           "                       "
     mein betai nai/                       = I'm sat here/                 "
     mein dulanai/                         = I've spilt it/               "
     ((Symb.noise: cooking))
```

(Kaniza leaves the home corner and Riaz shouts after her)
```
    CHABI DE KANIZA/              = GIVE ME THE KEY KANIZA/        "
```

Play continues in Panjabi in the home corner.

1.204.3

Riaz, Halima and Kaniza are playing in the home corner, a teacher comes along to talk to them.

```
T:   what are you doing?/                                       -Ri,H&K
     are you playing mummies and daddies?/                         "
     who's mummy and who's daddy?/                                 "
Ri:  apa/                       = daddy/                         -T
T:   are you?/                                                   -Ri
     are you mummy?/                                               "
     and that's baby?/                                             "
K:   yeh/                                                        -Ri
Ri:  look/                                                       -T
T:   are you daddy?/                                             -Ri
Ri:  yeh/                                                        -T
T:   are you?/                                                   -Ri
Ri:  dada gone* (.) kaame/      = daddy's gone to work/          -T
T:            daddy cooking?/                                    -Ri
(T leaves home corner and goes to another part of the class)
Ri:  oh kuthai chale/           = where is she going/           -K
     mein dad bhanu/            = I'll be dad/                     "
K:   oh kaam kurnai/            = he's doing work/              -Ri
Ri:  oh thak/(4syl)            = oh look/                       -K
K:   oh kaam kurna lagai/       = he's going to work            -Ri
     Panjabi unintel. uttr.(1)                                    "
TC:  migi thakeyai?/            = have you seen me?/            -K
     mein ider tareyai/         = I've put it here/               "
     eh pushchair/              = the pushchair/                  "
     (2syl)
     mein nai tarini/           = I will not put it/              "
     idher eh pushchair/        = the pushchair over here/        "
```

1.511.5a

Riaz, OCe and R are playing with a train.   Hoorum (H), a native Panjabi-speaking child approaches.

```
Ri:  LOOK THA:T/                                               -OCe
R:   mm/                                                        -R
Ri:  oh man/                                                    -OCe
     AAGH/                                                        "
R:   shall we see if this one runs down the bridge?/            -Ri&OCe
     lets have a look/                                            "
Ri:  look/                                                      -R&OCe
OCe:((symb.noise: train going along the track))
(Hoorum comes over to see what's happening)
```

```
Ri: HOORUM thoon ethai khedanai?/    = HOORUM do you want to play
                                       here?/                        -H
(Hoorum looks and goes away again)
Ri: look/                                                            -R
R:  who's that?/                                                     -Ri
Ri: Hoorum/                                                          -R
R:  is he your friend?/                                              -Ri
Ri: no/                                                              -R
    ((PT))/ look/                                                    "
(Riaz points to Hoorum)
    ((symb.noise: train going along the track))
    look/                                                            "
    ((sumb.noise: train going along the track))
    ((SCR))/
    broke/                                                           "
(the train has broken into separate parts)
    ((SCR))
R:  look what's happened/                                            -Ri
(Hoorum comes back)
Ri: thoon khel sain?/               = do you want to play?/          -H
    chu chu train/                                                   "
```

1.603.6a

All the children are sitting around a large table drinking milk.
Riaz is sitting next to Kaniza, a 'major' friend.

```
Ri: EH THAK KANIZA/                 = look Kaniza/                   -K
    EH THAK/                        = look/                          "
(Riaz holds out his cup to the teacher)
    LOOK/                                                            -T
Ri: eh thak au teacher/             = look at the teacher/           -K
    do you know (5syl)/                                              "
(Another child has spilt their milk)
    ee/ teacher look/                                               -T
    teacher/                                                         "
    tea*/                                                            "
T:    *I know/                                                       -Ri
```

2.150.9

All the children are playing out in the yard.   There are several
bikes, a pram, a see-saw and a toy car.   Riaz and his friends are
playing on the bikes.   R takes a bike over to a child in a corner of
the yard.

```
Ri: WHERE YOU GOING WITH THAT?/                                     -R
    OI TEACHER/                                                      "
    au tari bike eh/                = it's your bike/                -OCp
```

2.174.9

Riaz and OCp are playing at 'shops' in the yard.

```
Ri: mein shopai uppar jainai/     = I'm going to the shops/    -OCp
    mein shopai uppar jainai/           "                        "
    eh?/                                                         "
    au thoon kiythai/             = you've done that/            "
    au thoon kiythai/                   "                        "
(Riaz walks over to T, who is drinking a cup of coffee)
    what that doing?/                                           -T
    hello/                                                      "
    (3syl)
(Riaz joins OCp)
    mein tere nal chalsain/       = I want to go with you/      -OCp
```

2.240.9/10

Riaz is cycling round the yard and talks to R when he passes her.

```
Ri: hello/                                                     -R
(Riaz sees that the toy car is empty and calls to his friend)
    ah thak ah thai payai/        = look it's over there/      -OCp
(Riaz runs to the empty car.  Another child, who has had the car all
morning, tries to get in at the same time.)
R:  he's had it all morning/                                   -T
    Riaz wants a turn/                                          "
    he's*/                                                      "
Ri:     *my got/                                               -R
    my got/                                                     "
(Riaz rides round in the toy car)
```

2.545.11ai

Riaz and OCp are outside the class in the yard.   Riaz is carrying a
big cuddly dog.

```
Ri: come on/                                                   -OCp
    (1syl)
    go on/                                                      "
    come on/                                                    "
(Riaz & OCp go inside the class)
    eh dehka/                     = look there                 -OCp
    (4syl)
(T comes over)
T:  ruff ruff ruff/                                            -Ri
Ri: eh thak meray khol kiyai/     = look what I've got/        -OCp
```

3.23.13i

Riaz is riding round the yard in his toy car with a teddy bear in the
car.   His friend, OCp, is riding round on a bike.

Ri: mein authai kithai eh/   = I've done it here/   -OCp
    mein authai kithai eh/   "   "
    unintel uttr (1)
    look/   -R
    come here teacher/   "
    come here/   "
R: what Riaz?/   -Ri
Ri: look/   -R
(Riaz holds up his teddy)

3.64.13a

Riaz is in the cloakroom with OCe.

OCe:bye/   -Ri
(OCe leaves cloakroom)
Ri: what that do?/   -OCe
    come here/   "
    toilet jaanai/   = I want to go to the toilet/-SELF
    toilet jaanai/   "   "
    toilet/

3.76.13a

All the children are sitting in a circle ready to do some singing.
Riaz joins the group.

R: sit down Riaz/   -Ri
Ri: alright/   -R
    baa baa black sheep/   -T
T: yes if that's what you want/   -Ri .
    ((SI)) baa baa black sheep have you any wool/
(OCp joins the circle)
T: you sit here/   -OCp
(T directs OCp to sit on a chair next to Riaz)
OCp:eh thak beray/   = look at the chairs/   -Ri
    eh thak beray/   "   "
Ri: eh teacher ganai gasain/ = the teacher sings a song/   -OCp
    eh thakiyai/   = look at this/   "
    teacher look/   -R
(R is on the other side of the circle)
    teacher/   "
    come here teacher/   "
    come here teacher/   "

Riaz and Sameena (OCp)

70.2

Riaz wants to make R a cup of coffee

```
Ri: I want make it coffee/                                          -R
R:  oh yes/                                                         -Ri
    I'd love some coffee/                                            "
(Riaz walks over to the cooker, where Sameena is cooking)
Ri: ur koi ni juice/              = there's no more juice/          -S
S:  eh lasa/                      = I want this/                    -Ri
    e kothe lasa fer Shena?/      = what do you want then Shena?/"
    Shena eh lasa?                = Shena do you want this?/         "
Ri: eh hath cut/                  = cut this hand/                  -S
S:  no/ no/                                                         -Ri
(Riaz brings a cup over to R)
Ri: I make a coffee/                                               -R
```

154.4

Riaz and Sameena are playing with dolls.

```
S:  oh here/                                                        -Ri
    somebody's baby/                                                 "
Ri: here somebody baby/                                             -S
S:  eeee/
    eeee/
Ri: goo/                          = poo/                            -S
    eh thak goo/                  = look it's poo/                   "
(Riaz points to the doll's bottom)
    tati eh/                      = poo there/                       "
    MY baby/
    ((LF))
S:  naa/                          = no/                             -Ri
    dena/                         = give it/                        "
    dena/                             "                             "
    mein ba_ mura ana/            = my ba_ boy/                     "
    mein twara mura ehn/          = I'm your boy/                   "
    thoon mari ein/               = your my /                       "
Ri: look baby/                                                      -R
    look baby/                                                       "
```

<u>Riaz and Mark (OCe)</u>

270.1a

Riaz and Mark are making tea, they can't find the cups.

R:	oh there's a cup in there/		-Ri&M
	here you are/		"
M:	I pour some in/		-R
	can I have a cup of tea/		"
Ri:	eh dhood vada biyanea/	= I've put the milk in	
		something big/	-M
M:	I pour some cup of tea in there/	right?/	-Ri

596.7

Riaz and Mark are playing together, someone is banging on the door of the house/

M:	someone hit the door/		-Ri
	coming in/		"
Ri:	leave it/		-M
	leave it/		"
M:	it's raining/		-Ri
	((LF)) I cook the dinner/		"
Ri:	(2syl) uddar thoon kitya/	= you did it over there/	-M
(turns round to offer R some cake)			
	cake/		-R
R:	thankyou Riaz/ that's lovely/		-Ri

<u>SC3: Jameel</u>

<u>Language alternation in CLASSROOM</u>

<u>1.2.1</u>

Jameel is playing at a table with his older brother (B), aged 7 years, who stays in the nursery until the bell rings for the start of his afternoon class.   A teacher (T) is at a nearby table playing with a native English-speaking child (OCe).   Jameel and B are playing with a small construction toy.

B:	eh andairoon rukh ke jaisain/	= put this here and we will	
		go from there/	-J
	inai/	= here are/	"
	andairoon jaisain/	= go from there/	"
(Jameel turns round to address T)			
J:	hello/		-T
T:	hello Jameel/		-J
B:	alai eh chiz kus baniyai?/	= alright who made this thing/	-J

-485-

```
            mein pingai laisain/          = I want the swing/          "
            iderhai mere nal a/           = come here with me/         "
(Another teacher passes the table)
J: hello/                                                             -T
B: Panjabi unintel.uttr.(1)                                          -J
J: ke?/                                    = what?/                   -B
B: Panjabi unintel. uttr.(1)                                         -J
            au bell augi a/               = oh the bell has gone/      "
            teri teacher akhainiyai thoon = your teacher said put your
            coat/                         coat on/                     "
(B leaves to go to his infant class, Jameel wanders round the nursery
and goes to play with a train which another child (OCp) is already
playing with)
OCp:Jameel/ Jameel/ NO/                                              -J
J: (pretends to cry)
OCp:oh/                                                              -J
J: khoni/                                  = nothing/                -OCp
OCp:eh gori a/                             = she's (white) English/   -J
J: hello/                                                            -OCp
```

Jameel has joined a small group of children (native English-speakers
and native Panjabi-speakers) playing in the home corner with a
teacher, they are 'making tea'.

```
T: Shahid's made us some tea Jameel/                                 -J
   thankyou/                                                        -OCp
OCe:(4syl) crisps/                                                   -T
T: oh I like crisps/                                                -OCe
   thankyou very much/                                               "
J: (2syl)/                                                           -T
T: I've got a fork/                                                 -J
   I've got a fork here/                                             "
   what's for tea?/                                                  "
   what's for tea?/                                                  "
J: ee/                                                               -T
T: can Rona have some?/                                             -J
   can Rona have some?/                                              "
J: yeh/                                                              -T
T: give some to Rona/                                              -J
   here's Rona/                                                      "
   for Rona/                                                         "
J: fork/                                                             -T
T: another fork/                                                    -J
   are you going to have some?/                                      "
   or would you like me to have some?/                               "
(Jameel coughs)
   oh dear/                                                          "
J: KNIFE/                                                            -T
T: knife?/                                                          -J
T: yeh/                                                              -T
T: for Rona or for you?/                                            -J
```
-486-

```
(Jameel give the knife to Rona)
      for Rona/                                                          "
(Jameel is sitting at the table and turns to address OCp who is
standing up)
J:  [ɒn] knife/                   = I want knife/                        -OCp
OCp:hoonai ethoon uttai jaina/    = you get up from here in a
                                    minute/                             -J
T:  you have mine/                                                       -J
(T gives a knife to Jameel)
      for Jameel/                                                        "
OCp:who need that tea?/                                                  -T
      who need that tea?/                                                "
T:  well I'd like some more tea*  please/                               -OCp
J:                         *CHAMACHAI/ = spoons/                         -T
(Jameel gives spoon to T)
T:  I'd like more tea please if you have it/                           -OCp
OCp:unintel uttr.(1)                                                     -T
T:  put the kettle on/                                                   -AC
J:  EE/                                                                  -T
(The tea is ready and T serves it at the table)
T:  tea/ tea/                                                            -J
      would you like some milk?/                                        "
J:  yeh/                                                                 -T
      chini/                          = sugar/                          "
T:  tea/                                                                 -J
J:  (symb.noise: drinking tea)
T:  sugar?/                                                              -J
J:  yeh/                                                                 -T
```

2.268.10

Jameel and OCe are sitting at a table drinking their milk.   Jameel
has just finished his.

```
T:  have you had your milk?/                          .                  -J
J:  yeh/                                                                 -T
(T leaves the table)
J:  dhood/                         = milk/                              -OCe
      mine/                                                              "
```

3.365.14a

It is nearly the end of the nursery afternoon, T is playing with
Jameel while he waits for his mother.   T and Jameel are playing with
a puzzle.

```
J:  ee/                                                                  -T
(Jameel holds out a puzzle piece and then puts it in his pocket)
      chalo/                        = let's go/                         "
T:  no/ you can't take it home/                                          -J
      we'd have no toys to play with/                                   "
(The sun shines on Jameel's mirror-work jacket and produces lots of
```

```
reflections on the floor which move as he moves)
    Jameel/                                                    -J
J:  what?/                                                     -T
T:  look at the mirrors on your jacket/                        -J
    look/ look/                                                "
J:  ((LF))
```

Language alternation in HOME CORNER

Jameel & Farid (OCp)

211.6a

OCp has put the teddy bear to bed.   Jameel watches and fetches a
bottle.

```
R:  look Jameel/                                               -J
    they've gone to sleep/                                     "
(Jameel gives a bottle to the doll)
J:  dhood/                        = milk/                      -doll
    [mɪl]/                        = milk/                      "
```

There are no instances of language alternation in the home corner with
Jameel and Jamie (OCe).

SC4: SHAHID

Language alternation in CLASSROOM

2.115.1a

Shahid is playing alone in the sand tray.

```
S:  attani apoon ni/              = will not move herself/     -SELF
    ready steady go/                                           "
```

3.300.6a.

All the children are outside in the yard.   Shahid goes towards the
climbing frame.   A teacher is there and three other children, all
native English-speaking children.

```
S:  mein ethai churaisain/        = I'm going to get on that/  -SELF
(Shahid climbs to the top of the climbing frame)
    go way/                                                    "
    go away/                                                   "
    au aupaar ni/                 = he's not on top/           "
    go way/                                                    "
(Shahid does a 'circuit' on the climbing frame)
    eh laisai?/                   = do you want this?/         "
```

```
up/ up/                                                            "
mein apoon jainai/            = I'll go myself/                     "
((SI))
uppar/ uppar/                 = up/ up/                             "
jainai/                       = go/                                "
lai a/                        = bring it/                           "
thoon liyai/                  = you bring it/                       "
((LF))
```

3.663.7a.

Shahid is playing in the yard with a pushchair.

```
R:  oh you've got a pushchair/                                     -S
(OCe takes the pushchair away from Shahid, who doesn't say anything to
OCe.   Shahid walks away on his own.)
S:  unintel.uttr.(1)
    mein apoon ain/           = it's me/                           -SELF
    mein apoon ain/                "                                 "
    mein apoon ain/                "                                 "
    mein apoon ain/                "                                 "
(Shahid runs inside the class and then runs back into the yard)
    HEY/ AYE/                                                       "
```

Language alternation in HOME CORNER

No language alternation occurs in the home corner with Aziz (OCp)

Shahid and Danielle (OCe)

129.3a

Shahid puts two teddy bears into bed.

```
S:  eh teacher gaya/            = the teacher has gone/            -bear
    two (.) two teddy (.) bear bed/                                 "
    here/                                                           "
```

151.4

Shahid and Danielle are preparing some food.

```
R:  are you gonna make a chocolate cake?/                          -D
    oh lovely/                                                      "
S:  there chocolate/                                               -R&D
R:  Danielle's gonna make some chocolate cake Shahid/              -S
(Shahid gives R a cup)
S:  there/                                                         -R
R:  oh thankyou/                                                   -S
(Shahid goes to the cutlery tray and picks up several spoons)
```

```
S:   ((WH)) chamachai/              = spoons/              -SELF
     (Shahid gives a spoon to R)
R:   thankyou/                                              -S
S:   ((WH)) chamachai/              = spoons/              -SELF
D:   put this out/                                          -R
     put out/                                               "
     making dinner an all/                                  "
     that 'ns yours/                                        "
R:   oh thankyou/                                           -D
S:   there/                                                 -R
```

214.6

Shahid is tidying up and has some table mats which Danielle wants from
him.

```
D:   put them under there/                                 -S
     I want another one/                                    "
S:   no/                                                   -D
     panni/                          = water/               "
     [mæ] two tea/                                          "
     two TEA/                                               "
     two tea teacher/                                      -R
R:   what is it?/                                          -S
S:   two tea/                                              -R
R:   are we gonna have some tea?                           -S
S:   there tea/                                            -R
     there/                                                -R
     ((PRE: gives R a cup))
```

<u>SC5: Zahid</u>

<u>Language alternation in CLASSROOM</u>

1.566.5

Zahid and R are playing with a jigsaw puzzle.

```
R:   look/ that one in there/                              -Z
     (Zahid grabs R's pen from her pocket)
     ooh that's my pen/                                     "
Z:   my/                                                   -R
R:   my pen/ my pen/                                       -Z
     if you want one there are lots here/                   "
Z:   eh apanai pen a/              = it's your pen/         -R
R:   mm/                                                   -Z
```

Zahid & Nazir (OCp)

433.6

Zahid and Nazir have put two dolls to bed

```
Z:  this for my baby/                                       -R&N
R:  is it?/                                                 -Z
Z:  my baby/                                                -R&N
(the doll falls out of the bed, Zahid bends down to pick her up)
Z:  tagayai/                      = fallen/                 -SELF
```

No language alternation occurs in the home corner with Zahid and Dean (OCe)

Language alternation in CLASSROOM

2.511.5i

Qaseem is waiting in a line for his milk, OCp is behind him. T is talking to the head teacher.

```
Q:  five four six seven/                                        -SELF
(Qaseem turns round to address OCp)
     eh thoon e kariase?/        = did you do this?/            -OCp
     kutha sein?/               = where were you?/              "
OCp:eh jari emein ithe uppar (1syl)/= this I'll put up here/    -Q
Q:  eh five/                    = there's five/                -OCp
    five/                                                       "
    unintel.uttr.(1)                                            "
    eh rei gi ah/               = this one's left/              "
(Qaseem is at the top of the queue)
Q:  where's my bottle?/                                         -T
T:  Qaseem let me look for your bottle/                         -Q
```

Qaseem uses Panjabi in the playground with his friends (all boys) — this could not be picked up on the tape as the play was too rough.

Language alternation in HOME CORNER

Qaseem & Fazal (OCp)

179.5

Qaseem and Fazal are taking photographs of the teddy bear.

```
R:  who's gonna be in the photograph?/                          -Q&F
Q:  me/                                                         -R
F:  me/                                                         -R
    me too/                                                     "
    my teddy bear/                                              "
    ((symb.noise:taking photographs))
Q:  not yet/                                                    -F
    terien/                     =wait/                          "
F:  teddy bear/                                                 -Q
Q:  teddy bear's can't get it/                                  -F
```

Qaseem & Colin (OCe)

Qaseem & Colin are about to hold a birthday party and are moving the
furniture around in preparation

Q:	I'm putting it [itər]/	= heater	-R
	on there/		"
	that's [itər]/	= heater	"
R:	that's what/		-Q
Q:	[itər]/	= heater	-R
R:	[idər]?/		-Q
Q:	[gɛs]/	= gas	-R
	is a [gɛs]/	= gas	"
R:	ah right/		-Q
Q:	put on there/		-SELF
	put again/		"
	(2syls) on there/		"

SC7 ANISA

Language alternation in CLASSROOM

1.100.1a

Anisa and OCp are looking in drawers for OCp's apple. Anisa can't
open the drawer,

A:	can't get them/		-OCp
	((LF)) I can't/		"
	open the (1syl)/		"
	open the (3syl)/ ((LF))		"
OCp:	khani piye?/	= are you eating?/	-A
	(4syl) thoon khase?/	= (4syl) do you want to eat?/	"
	oh apple apple (1syl)/		"
	mein apple/	= my apple/	"
A:	na apple/		-OCp
(Anisa eats the apple. T comes over)
T:	what are you eating?/		-A
	why are you eating?/		"
	did you bring this to school?/		-OCp
OCp:	yeh/		-T
T:	well it's for you to eat not for Anisa to eat/		-OCp

1.323.2a**

Anisa is playing a dominoes game. One of the dominoes has pictures
of spoons.

A:	chamach/	= spoon/	-R
R:	what?/		-A

```
A:  chamach/                        = spoon/                      -R
R:  chamach/                                                      -A
    spoons/                                                       "
    is that your word for spoons?/                                "
    oh I didn't know that/                                        "
A:  (1syl) can I lik it chamach/    = can I draw it spoon/        -R
```

2.160.7a

A small group of children, one native Panjabi speaker and three native
English speakers are present.   The children are waiting for their
milk to be given out.

```
A:  I want sit there/                                             -OCe
    sit there/                                                    "
(Anisa sits next to OCp)
A:  nai/                            = no/                         -OCp
    halai ni bhar khednai/          = don't play out yet/         "
OCp:ni/                             = no/                         -A
A:  ni/ ni/                         = no/ no/                     -OCp
    phir khaloon hain?/             = play later alright?/        "
    Nahid/                                                        "
    Nahid/                                                        "
    esay Nahid/                     = we say Nahid/               "
    mein bholoon Nahid/             = I say Nahid/                "
    huh?/                                                         "
    there's a Nahid/                                              "
    there's a Nahid/                                              "
    there's a Nahid/                                              "
(This small group is joined by all the children in the class. T gives
out the milk)
T:  one for Anisa/                                                -A
    one for Khalda/                                               -K
    one for Yvonne/                                               -Y
    one for Danielle/                                             -D
    one for (2syl)/                                               -OCe
A:  Yvonne/                                                       -OCe
    Yvonne/                                                       "
    I'm not your friend I'm her friend/                           "
    (1syl) and me/                                                -OCp
    ((LF)) mine/                                                  "
OCp:please I be your friend/                                      "
A:  ((LF))
OCe:I be your friend/                                             -A
A:  you/                                                          -OCe
    you her friend/                                               "
    not your friend now/                                          "
OCp:ajai pinai ki ain/              = we'll bring the drink/      -A
    thai thoon ithai khulain rahase/= and you can stay here by    "
                                      yourself/
    thai ussain lagai julsain/      = as we're going/             "
    thoon pi ni nai phir phuto      = you drink it quickly/       "
    phatai/
```

-494-

mein ekdum pini ain/	= I drink quick/	"
pukarai/	= hold it/	"
pukarai/	"	"
ajai isski dhood ki ni lubai/	= today she did not get any milk/	"

Language alternation HOME CORNER

Anisa and Khalda (OCp)

184.5a

Anisa and Khalda have sent R off to school

A&K: bye/		-R
(R leaves HC and goes to 'school')		
A: opened/ pre: to open & close door		-SELF
locked/		"
locked/		"
K: tu jasai usski dasi/	= you go and tell her	-A
A: right/		-K
you stay here/		"
K: right (1syl)/		-A

No language alternation occurs between Anisa and Yvonne (OCp).

SC10 SHAMSHAD

Language alternation in CLASSROOM

Shamshad is sitting at a table with OCe and OCp.   The children are drawing.

S: is your picture?/		-OCe
Amelia/		"
is your picture?/		"
thoon teacher ki akhai thoon authai jailsain/	= ask the teacher if you can go over there/	-OCp
OCp:thoon authai banvi/	= you sit over there/	-S
S: don't/		-OCp
naughty boy/		"

Shamshad & Frozana (OCp)

380.3

Shamshad and Frozana are at the cooker.   Shamshad is getting some spoons.

S:	wait there/		-F
	got a two [tʃʊmz]/	= spoons	"
	got a two [tʃʊmz]/	= spoons	"
F:	no/		-S
	don't say [tʃʊmz]/		"
S:	what?/		-F
F:	you say spoons/		-S
S:	spoons/		-F
	one for you/		"

522.6

Shamshad and Frozana are giving a doll a bath.   Shamshad is shampooing the doll's hair.

S:	Suzanne/		-R
	give us some sh_ eh_ em*/		"
F:	*sabban/ = soap/		-S
S:	spoon/		-R
F:	spoon/		-R
(symb. noise: washing the dolls hair)			
S:	not the soap/		"
	I want the spoon/		"

There are no instances of language alternation between Shamshad and Alison (OCe).

Language alternation in CLASSROOM
1.84.3

Ameena and Firdos (F) and Jameel (J) both major friends, are sitting at a table doing a number activity which involves counting coloured buttons, drawing round them and colouring them in.

```
A:  oh housan likinee a/          = she's writing houses/        -F
F:  housan likinee/               = writing houses/              -A
A:  eh iderai khelane waasthai iyee/= she came over here to play/ -F
(F turns to call R who is sitting in the corner of the class)
F:  teacher/                                                     -R
    teacher/                                                      "
    teacher/                                                      "
A:  ((LF)) unintel.uttr.                                         -F
(R comes over to the table)
R:  what are you two doing here?/                                -A&F
A&F:((LF))
R:  can you show me?/                                             "
    oh that's very good/                                          "
(Ameena points to the recording equipment in the back of the jacket)
A:  what's in here?/                                             -R
R:  that's helping move the tape/                                -A
A:  ((LF)) thoon kai thakni aa?/   = what are you looking at?/   -R
F:  ((LF)) thoon kai thakni aa?/   = what are you looking at?/   -R
R:  come on then/                                                -A&F
    let me see you colour in/                                     "
F:  thari mundi paji gaiyai/       = your neck's broken/         -R
A:  thari mundi paji gaiyai/       = your neck's broken/         -R
(R walks back to a corner of the classroom)
(F throws a crayon over the table)
A:  thoon sutti aa?/               = did you throw it?/          -F
    oh teacher laiyee gaiyai eh/   = that teacher's gone away/    "
    ((LF))/
    oh teacher kudar jooli aa?/    = where's the teacher going    "
                                     now?/

    ((LF))/
    hain/                          = yes/                         "
    teacher book uper likinee aa   = the teacher is writing in    "
    house/                           houses/                      "
    ider bookai waasthai/          = for the books and there/     "
F:  ((SI)) teacher/XXXXXXXX*                                     -A
A:               *oh thak/= oh look/                             -F
    oh greedy eh/              = she's greedy/                    "
    gundi/                     = dirty/                           "
    oh smelly feet eh/         = oh she's smelly feet/            "
(T comes over to the group)
    bell going/                                                   "
T:  Firdos can you find your name?/                              -F
A:  bell kohni ring hogi/       = the bell hasn't rung yet/       "
F:  pathai kai Arun?/           = do you know Arun?/             -A
    pathai kai Arun?/                 "                           "
```

```
        unintel.uttr.(1)/
A:  pathai kai ummi kaar?/          = do you know my mum's at      -F
                                      home?/

    ussam ligi aa ummi/            = our mum's gone home/          "
J:  asaani ligi a ummi aa/         = our mum has gone home/       -F&A
    ((pretends to cry))
(The conversation continues in Panjabi while the teacher is at the
table encouraging the children to carry on with their work.  The
teacher then leaves.  The children then start to try to attract R's
attention.)

A:  bhoolai/                       = speak/                        -F
    bhoolai/                          "                            "
    teacher/                                                       -R
    teach*/                                                        "
F:        teacher aigigee eh*/     = the teacher is coming/        -A
A:                    *teacher/                                    -R
    teach/                                                         "
    ((LF))
(The children are 'fooling around' with the drawing materials, T comes
over)
A:  that's it/                                                     -F&J
    naughty/ naughty/                                              "
T:  now leave these please and get on with this colouring in/     -A,F&J
A:  why?/                                                          -T
T:  because you've got a beautiful pattern there to colour in/    -A
(T points to children's work)
    that's lovely and that's beautiful/                           -A,F&J
(T leaves the group)
F:  pattern/ pattern/ pattern/                                     -A&J
    pattern/                                                       "
    make a pattern/                                                "
    gori dadi/                     = white grandmother/            "
A:  tati goo alai/                 = poo poo/                       -F
F:  tati goo alai (1syl)/          = poo poo/                       -A
(The conversation continues in Panjabi, the children talk about
colouring in)
A:  mein sarai colour karsain/     = I'm going to colour it all/   -F
F:  un asain saira colour karsain/ = we're going to colour it all/ -A
    eh thak/                       = look/                         "
    mein colour kari karsain/      = I've coloured it all/         "
    eh thak/                       = look/                         "
    mein colour kari shoria/       = I've coloured it in/          "
    alai/                          = alright/                      "
    teacher/                                                       -R
    teacher/                                                       "
    teacher/                                                       "
A:  na/                            = no/                           -F
    mein sairai colour karsain/    = I want to colour it all/      "
    thoon colour nai kari kini/    = you must not colour/          "
    my ((SI)) COLOUR/                                              "
    Panjabi unintel.uttr.(1)/
(T comes over)
T:  that's lovely/                                                 -F
```

```
        what a good girl/                                              "
        what does this say?/                                           "
        Firdos/                                                        "
        is that your name?/                                            "
F:      yeh/                                                          -T
A:      look a/                                                        "
T:      are you finished Ameena?/                                     -A
        now you find lots of buttons Firdos/                          -F
        get lots of buttons for me and put them on this page/         "
A:      migi thakani a/              = she's looking at me/           -F
        ((LF))/
T:      right Ameena/                                                 -A
        let's have a look/                                             "
        what does this say?/                                           "
A:      Ameena Di/                                                    -T
T:      Ameena (.) Bi/                                                -A
        that's your name/                                              "
        Ameena Bi lots of/                                             "
        can you find lots of buttons and put them on that page/
```

1.256.11

Ameena, Firdos, Jameel and T are at a table.   A Malaysian child (OCm)
at the next table begins to cry.

```
A:   ((LF)) she's crying/                                         -T
T:   I know/                                                      -A
     she's been on holiday/                                        "
     haven't you/                                                 -OCm
A:   yeh/                                                         -T
     I go to the park today/                                       "
     I go to the park today/                                       "
T:   you're going to the park today?/                             -A
     when are you going to the park*/                              "
A:                                 *with you/                     -T
T:   with me/                                                     -A
     oh are we?/                                                   "
     that's interesting/                                           "
F:   teacher nal ussain parkai vich  = we're going to the park    -A
     jaisaan/                           with the teacher/
A:   mein aba thai teacher vi        = me daddy and the teacher are-F
     jaisain parkai vich/              going to the park/
F:   thoon thai aba parkai*          = you daddy and the park*    -A
T:                  *lots of buttons/                             -A&F
A:   Panjabi unintel.uttr.(2)                                     -F
T:   Firdos and Ameena come on/                                   -A&F
     lots of buttons please/                                       "
F:   lots of buttons/                                             -T
A:   ((LF)) mein thai b*/           = my and b*/                  -F
F:                 mein thai*/      = my and*/                    -A
T:   lots of buttons/                                             -A&F
     good girl Firdos/                                            -F
     look what Firdos has got/                                    -OCm
```
                              -499-

```
             lots of buttons/                                              "
(Ameena picks up a button)
A:  look at the square/                                                   -T
T:  look at/                                                              -A
    is it a square?/                                                       "
(Ameena continues a conversation with T in English)
T:  put some in the middle/                                               -A
    lots of buttons in the middle*/                                        "
A:                                  *there?/                              -T
T:  yes there please/                                                     -A
    good girl/                                                             "
A:  look/                                                                 -F
    mairai kinigayai eh/              = he's taken mine/                   "
T:  I think that's lovely Firdos/                                         "
    right Ameena/                                                         -A
    I think you've got lots of buttons there now haven't you?/           "
    it's full up/                                                         "
    now put those back in the box/                                        "
(Ameena puts the buttons back in the box)
A:  there's a button/                                                     -SELF
    there's a button/                                                     "
    there's a button/                                                     "
F:  teacher akhni a round and      = teacher says do round and           -A
    round karo/                       round/
A:  mm?/                                                                   -F
K:  teacher akhni a issrain karo    = the teacher is saying do           -A
    rounder rounder/                  round and round like this/
A:  kiyain?/                         = why?/                             -F
F:  Panjabi unintel.uttr./                                               -A
A:  khali gai nai/                  = wait a bit/                        -F
    migi pheloon a rukhan de nai/   = let me first put these away/       "
    (2syl) migi vi de nai/          = give me it too/                    "
    (3syl) mein aba*/               = (3syl) my dad/                     "
T:                      * sit down/                                       -A
    just a minute/                                                        "
    here's a pencil/                                                      "
    can you draw round these?/                                           "
    hold it in the middle/                                                "
    put your finger in the middle/                                        "
    good girl/                                                            "
    hold it still/                                                        "
    good/                                                                 "
    and put it back when it's done/                                       "
    now do the next one/                                                  "
    you hold it in the middle Ameena/                                     "
    now put your finger there/                                            "
    good girl/                                                            "
    good/                                                                 "
    right/                                                                "
    put it back/                                                          "
    and can you do lots of buttons?/                                      "
A:  yeh/                                                                  -T
T:  lots and lots of buttons/                                            -A
    very carefully/                                                       "
                        -500-
```

```
        that's a good girl/                                              "
        that's beautiful/                                                "
(T leaves the group, Ameena continues to draw round the buttons until
she has drawn round all the buttons on the page)
A:  hoow ruka ohyai/              = I've put them/          -F
    ((LF))
(Firdos is putting the buttons in the box)
A:  lots lots of BUTTONS/                                   "
    YEH/                                                    "
    I want to do/                                           "
    ussan sarey barasai tho khoini = we're going to make them  -J
    tharai munai eh/                 all and you're not/
J:  tati kha/                      = eat poo/               -A
A:  thoon tati kha/               = you eat poo/            -J
    thai thai tati/               = and and poo/            "
(T comes over to the table)
T:  how are you doing?/                                     -A,F&J
    have you got lots of buttons?/                          "
    Ameena this is lovely/                                  "
    Ameena watch what you're doing/                         "
(T leaves the group)
A:  itten lai kai/                = that many/              -F
    kai kurnai eh?/               = what are you going to do?/  "
(Conversation continues in Panjabi and R comes over to the table)
A:  looka/                                                  -R
    looka I did/                                            "
R:  Ameena that's lovely/                                   -A
A:  I make it the buttons/                                  -R
(Conversation continues in English, T comes over, R leaves - two
native Bengali-speaking children are now at the table as well)
T:  good girl/                                              -A
    lots of buttons/                                        "
    now can you colour in these buttons?/                   "
    lots of different colours/                              "
A:  all?/                                                   -T
T:  colour them all in/                                     -A
    now/                                                    -F
    no Firdos/                                              "
    you've got to colour them in properly/                  "
    look/                                                   "
    like this/                                              "
A:  ((SI))/
    hi thoon paarni jani en/      = oh you are tearing them/  -F
T:  good girl/                                              "
    and choose a different colour/                          "
```

1.461.20

Ameena and Firdos are colouring in their work. They are sitting at a
table with two native Bengali-speaking girls (OCb).

```
A:  ((SI))
    baji kailayi teek oh?/          = sister are you alright?/    -OCb
```

```
        hi/ hi/ hi/ hi/                 = hey/ hey/ hey/ hey/          "
        thoon kai kithai?/              = what have you done?/         "
F:      paperaan paarni a oh/           = she's tearing papers/        -A
A:      hain gundi a woh/               = she is dirty/                -F
F:      pathai oh gundi eh/             = do you know she's dirty/     -A
(T comes over to the table)
T:      that's lovely/                                                 -F
A:      looka/                                                         -T
T:      can you colour these in a little bit more?/                    -F
A:      kai paaraini lagioviyeh/        = what is she tearing?/        -F
T:      you try/                                                       "
        that's lovely/                                                 "
T:      right Ameena/                                                  -A
        you can choose some different colours/                         "
A:      why?/                                                          -T
(The conversation continues in English)
```

1.530.23

Ameena, Firdos and the two native Bengali-speaking children are at the table.   T is encouraging Ameena and Firdos to use different colours.

```
A:  I can choose THIS colour/                                          -T
T:  good/                                                              -A
A:  not a this/                                                        -T
    it's broken/                                                       "
    THAT colour/                                                       "
(Ameena sneezes)
    ((LF))
F:  thai thoon/                     = and you/                         -A
    thai thoon/                        "                               "
    thai thoon*/                       "                               "
A:          * teacher thakni lagi = the teacher is looking/            -F
    oyi vi eh/
    ((LF))
    teacher dassni eh*/            = the teacher is showing us/        "
T:                  *and put those up/                                 -A&F
A:  thakni lagi oyi vi eh/         = she is looking at us/             -F
T:  put those words up/                                                -F
(Ameena is trying to attract R's attention)
A:  hello/                                                             -R
    hello/                                                             "
F:  ((LF))
A:  ((LF))
(R goes over to the table)
A:  hello/                                                             -R
    ((LF))
    (4syl)
    I'm writing/                                                       -R
(the conversation continues in English)
```

1.594.26

Ameena & Firdos are colouring in, R is at the table.

```
R:  are you finished with that now?/                                        -F
F:  no/                                                                     -R
A:  yes/                                                                     "
    yes bibi/                        = yes sister/                          -F
F:  yes bibi/                        = yes sister/                          -A
A:  yes bibi/((LF))/                 = yes sister/                          -F
    mari dard hogiyai/((LF))/        = I'm getting a pain/                   "
    mari dard hogiyai/                         "                            "
R:  that's lovely/                                                          -A&F
    that's lovely/                                                          "
A:  ((LF)) mari dard hogiyai/        = I'm getting a pain/                  -F
F:  mari teacher eh liyvai a/        = my teacher got it put on/            -A
    teacher laiviyai/                = teacher had it put on/                "
A:  nai/                             = no/                                  -F
    mari ummi ne laiviyai a/         = my mother had it put on/             "
    ummi laiviyai/                   = mother had it put on/                "
F:  mari teacher laiviyai/           = my teacher had it put on/            -A
A:  AAGH/ ((LF))/
    AAGH/
R:  have you finished now?/                                                 -A
    Ameena that's lovely/                                                   "
A:  I making it all the buttons/                                            -R
(R leaves the table)
A:  hello/                                                                  "
(The head teacher comes into the class with some visitors)
A:  teacher lyai/                    = the teacher has come/                -F
    uss nal janai thai janani iyai/  = a man and a woman have come          "
                                       with her/
    janai thai janani/               = man and woman/                       "
    usan ne schoolai vich lyai/      = they have come to our                "
                                       schools/
F:  usan ne schoolai vich lyai/      = they have come to our                -A
                                       schools/

(The adults laugh)
A:  aseaan/                          = they're laughing/                    -F
    aseaan/                                 "                               "
    ((LF))
T:  Ameena come on now/                                                     -A
    that's a good girl now/                                                 "
(R comes back to the table)
R:  that's lovely/                                                          -OCb
    lots of buttons/                                                        "
    you've got lots of buttons/                                             "
A:  and round and round/                                                    -R
R:  that's right/                                                           -A
    what's she got to do Ameena?/                                           "
A:  round a round/                                                          -R
R:  draw round and round/                                                   -A
F:  another pencil/                                                         -R
R:  she's got a pencil/                                                     -F
A:  another pencil/                                                         -R
    look it/                                                                "
```

```
                 there's another pencil/                                              "
R:   what Ameena?/                                                                    -A
A:   there's another pencil/                                                          -R
R:   oh she has got a pencil/                                                         -A
A:   qori phar tai peiyai/            = the girl has fallen again/   -F
     whoops a daisy/ ((LF))/                                                          "
(T comes to the table)
T:   right/                                                                           -F
     you can stop when you've done this Firdos/                                       "
     lots of buttons/                                                                 "
     now go and get some glue/                                                        "
     now go and get some glue/                                                        "
A:   I choose DO colour/               = I choose TWO colour/        -R
     this colour/                                                                     "
     I want it this colour/                                                           "
(The conversation continues in English)
```

2.4.32

Ameena, Firdos and OCb are colouring their work. Firdos & Ameena are
having a mock argument in Panjabi about sharing sweets.

```
A:   mein thogi sweetie nai deni/    = I will not give you sweets/ -F
F:   thoon kini apple desan thoon?/  = how many apples will you     -A
                                       give?/

     bah nai/                        = tell me/                     "
     bah nai/                             "                         "
A:   mein thogi meow karsain (2syl)/ = I will say meow to you/      -F
     mein kaar karsain thai mein     = I will take it home and eat
     kiyai shar sain/                  it/                          "
F:   mein mai jadoon mari sweetanai  = when my sweets fall/         -A
     tesain/
     thoon tati/                     = you poo/                     "
A:   hain/                           = yes/                         -F
     oh tati a nai/                  = that is poo/                 "
F:   thai thoon guoow kayain/        = and you eat poo/             -A
(T comes over to the table)
     he has come for his tati/       = he has come for his poo/     "
T:   come on Ameena/                                                "
     sit down/                                                      "
     that's a good girl/                                            "
A:   no/                                                            -T
     no/                                                            "
     no/                                                            "
     why?/                                                          "
T:   because it's easier to colour in when you are sitting down/    -A
     now choose a different colour/                                 "
     show me a different colour/                                    "
     what colour's that?/                                           "
A:   red/                                                           -T
T:   right/                                                         -A
     you see if you can make me some nice red buttons/              "
```

-504-

(T leaves the table)

2.23.33

Ameena, Firdos and OCb are colouring in their pictures. R is on the other side of the class.

A:	mein bicycle baniyain nai/	I'm not making a bicycle/	-F
	hello/		-R
	hello/		"
	hello/		"
	((SI))/		
	mein uss wassthai party maine/	= we're giving her a party/	-F
	kai carnilagi howiwia?/	= what is she doing?/	"
	hain/	= yes/	"
	oh kutta/	= she is a dog/	"
	thoon pheloon colour in karnai	= you have to colour it in	"
	penai eh/	first/	"

(T & R come over to the group)

R:	are you finished?/		-A
	Ameena are you finished?/		"
	yeh/		"

2.95.36ai

The class are tidying away their work. Ameena is standing in the class watching the activity.

T:	come on Ameena/		-A
	come on/		"
	tidy up/		"
	Ameena put the crayons away please/		"

(Ameena goes to the table and puts the crayons away)

| | Ameena good girl/ | | " |

(Firdos & Jameel come over to help Ameena)

A:	that's marai kol/	= I have got that/	-J
	that's marai kol/	"	"
	eh wibble wobble eh/	= that wibble wobbles/	"
	marai tanee janai an/	= mine are falling/	"

F&J:((LF))

| A: | sarai tanee janai aw/ | = they're all falling/ | -F&J |

(Ameena pushes Jameel)

J:	cotti/	= bitch/	-A
	thoon cotti aw/	= you are a bitch/	"
	kutta/	= dog/	"
A:	(2syl)		

(R comes over to the children)

| J: | he pushed me/ | | -R |
| R: | that's not very nice/ | | -A |

2.116.37i

Ameena & Firdos are tidying up.

```
A:  eh kudar rukinai eh?/      = where do you put this?/    -F
F:  ider rukanai/             = put it here/               -A
A:  nai/                      = no/                        -F
    ider ni ruki nai/         = you don't put it here/      "
F:  chorai/                   = leave/                      -A
    kalli yai/                = hold on/                    "
(OCp joins the children)
OCp:what you doing?/                                       -A&F
F:  tidy up/                                               -OCp
A:  not tidy up/                                            "
```

2.140.37a

All the children are sitting on the carpet in class. R has told
Ameena to join the others on the carpet.

```
OCp:ider a/                   = come here/                  -A
    ((LF))
    ider a/                        "                        "
A:  thoon jai pehloon/ ((LF)) = you go first/              -OCp
    after/                         "                        "
    after this/                    "                        "
(Ameena sits on the carpet)
```

2.262.38i

T is trying to get the children to sit on the carpet before going into
assembly.

```
T:  everybody sit down on the carpet/                       -AC
    sit down on the carpet/                                 "
A:  sit down the carpet/                                    -OCp
(A child pulls Ameena's hair)
A:  meri ummi/                 - my mummy/                   "
    oh marai baal chikniyai si/ - someone has pulled my hair/ "
T:  everybody quickly sit down it's nearly time to go to assembly/-AC
    sit down/                                               "
A:  eh Jameel/                                              -J
    Jameel/                                                 "
    Jameel oh migi maray thai maray = Jameel someone's pulled my "
    baal chikan/                  hair/                     "
T:  Ameena Bi/                                              -A
```

2.351.38ai

The whole class is lined up at the door to go to assembly.   Three
native Panjabi-speaking children are in front of Ameena, they are
arguing in Panjabi.

```
OCp1:oh ni deni/                = she won't give it/      -OCp2
OCp2:kassame/                   = promise/                -OCp3
OCp3:kassame/                   = promise/                -OCp2
     kassame nai/               = I won't promise/        -OCp3
A:   no/                                                  -OCp1&2
     no/                                                    "
     (1syl) a thak/             = look at this/             "
T:   no talking when we go to assembly/                   -AC
OCp1:teacher two pens/                                    -T
     teacher two pens/                                      "
A:   why you taking book?/                                -R
     why you taking book?/                                  "
```

2.392.39

Ameena is in assembly, the entire infant school is present.   Ameena
is trying to find her sister who is in an older class.

```
A:   Fozia gudera?/              = where's Fozia?/         -OCp
OCp:eh?/                                                  -A
A:   Fozia gudera?/                    "                   -OCp
OCp:eh?/                                                  -A
A:   Fozia/                                               -OCp
OCp:eh?/                                                  -A
A:   meri phen kuderai?/         = where's my sister?/     -OCp
OCp:mi kai puttai/              = I don't know/           -A
A:   school [ə] vich giyai/      = she's in school/        -OCp
T:   Nasreen you come with me/                            -OCp
R:   Ameena you move along/                               -A
     just move along/                                       "
A:   [ɒn] sit beside beside [ə] you/                      -R
R:   what?/                                               -A
A:   sit beside you/                                      -R
```

3.176.42

Ameena & OCp are playing in the water tray.

```
A:   ((SI)) I got a jug/                                  -SELF
     I got a jug/                                           "
     I got a jug/                                           "
     I: got a jug/                                          "
     I gorra/                                               "
     migi gumainai/              = it keeps getting lost/  -OCp
OCp:taarai/                     = wait                    -A
A:   mein burra muna?/          = will I make a bigger one?/ -OCp
```
-507-

```
    thoon jai/                          = you go/                    "
    assaine aur pani chynai/            = we need some more water/    "
(Two other children (OCe) are watching Ameena & OCp)
    ehvi jaisi assaine pani anuyai/ = she will also go to get        "
                                        water/
    ((LF))
    you/                                                             "
    you/                                                             "
    baarai shoes layianeyain/          = she's got big shoes on      "
(T comes over to organise the children without a task)
T:  what job are you doing?/                                      -ACe
A:  no/                                                             -T
    he no want that/                                                 "
    oh kai kurain lagi oyiwi a?/        = what is she doing?/        -OCp
    LOTS OF PEOPLE/                                                 -OC
(Ameena is telling the other children that there are only two children
allowed at the water tray)
(Another child, Tahira (OCp) comes in from the next door class - she
is wearing a large pair of shoes from the dressing-up box)
A:  oh shoes laigiyai/                 = she has taken her shoes   -OCp
                                          off/
    eh horrible a/                     = this is horrible/          "
    (3syl)
    hello/                                                           -T
    hello/                                                           "
    thoon jai apaine schoolai vich/ = you go to your own school/     "
    thoon baarai shoes liyai           = you have come wearing big   "
    achainai a nai/                       shoes/                     "
    hain?/                             = pardon?/                    "
    omtari ummi thogi marsi nain/      = now your mother will hit    "
                                          you/                       "
    ((LF))
(Tahira goes back to her class - Ameena & OCp continue to play in the
water)
A:  AAGH/                                                         -SELF
    ((SI)) round and round the garden/                               "
    hiyai/                             = oh                          "
    hiyai/                             = oh                          "
    hiyai/                             = oh                          "
    ((LF))
```

3.259.43

Ameena is playing in the water tray, OCe walks past.

```
A:  hey you/                                                      -OCe
    ek kuri/                           = one girl/                   "
```

3.268.43

Tahira (OCp) from other class comes in and picks up a bottle of glue
from a table. Ameena is watching from the water tray.

-508-

```
A:  hi/ hi/                              = hey/ hey/                      -T
    ussainai glue a/                     = this is our glue/               "
    [næki] bum/                          = (nonsense word)                 "
OCp:you've got your own there/                                            -T
A:  [næki] bum/                          =        "                        "
    oi you/                                                                "
(Tahira goes back to her own class)
OCp:can I take (2syl)/                                                    -A
A:  (3syl) that outside/                                                 -OCp
    thoon kiyan waal kohli dithai        = why have you opened your        "
    annai?/                                hair?/
    a eh gundai pani a/                  = that is dirty water/            "
    horai baah/                          = put more in/                    "
    thoon apoon baah/                    = you put some in/                "
(Ameena sees R at other end of the class and waves)
    hello/                                                                -R
    hello Suzanne/                                                         "
    bye bye/                                                               "
```

3.425.45

Ameena & OCp are playing at the water tray.

```
A:  thoon/                               = you/                           -OCp
    thoon/                               = you/                            "
    thoon eh gimme/                      = you give me it/                 "
    eh kinsai/                           = I want it/                      "
OCp:eh?/                                                                  -A
A:  ni/ ni/                              = no/ no/                        -OCp
    you give me eh/                      = you give me it/                 "
    ander bhaar oui oss ouijaani aa/     = keeps going in and out/         "
    ((SI))
OCp:issairain kurainian/                 = you do it like this/           -A
A:  ((SI))
(OCe comes into the classroom from the toilet)
A:  what are you doing?/                                                   "
(OCe walks back to her table)
A:  ((SI))
OCp:sairai khol avaisi/                  = she's going to come to us/     -A
    chai      chai chai/                 = you want tea tea tea/           "
A:  eh (.) eh kiyaini kedinai?/          = why won't you play this?/      -OCp
(The conversation continues in Panjabi)
```

3.505.46

Ameena & OCp are playing in the water.   T comes over and asks them
togo to another activity.   The classroom assistant (AS) is also
present.

```
T:  you go with Mrs.M/                                                    -A
AS: I think you can stop playing with the water for a little while/"
A:  why?/                                                                 -As
```

```
AS: dry your hands and come and paint/                          -A
(Ameena goes into the toilet to dry her hands.   OCp is in the toilet)
A:  ((LF)) oh tati a/          = it's poo/                      -OCp
    tati guoon/                = poo/                           "
    oh tati guoon a/           = poo/                           "
    migi pathai/               = I know/                        "
(Ameena & OCp leave the toilet)
```

___

3.595.49

All the children are engaged in various activities in class.

```
T:  go and find your name /                                    -A
    see where your name card is/                               "
    in there or in there?/                                     "
    go and get your name card/                                 "
(Ameena goes off to find it, OCp is next to the name card stand)
A:  kuderai marai naam?/       = where is my name?/             -OCp
OCp:kuthai ann kai thairnai?/  = where have we to put it?/      -A
((Ameena can't find her name card - she goes back to see T)
A:  where's mine?/                                             -T
T:  where's yours Ameena?/                                     -A
A:  yeh/                                                       -T
T:  well you'll have to take a look/                           -A
    can you go and look on the carpet
    because there's lots of names there/                       "
A:  where's my name?/                                          -T
    where's my name?/                                          "
T:  on the carpet/                                             -A
(Ameena goes off to look on the carpet for her name card)
```

___

4.9.50i

Ameena is in the toilets with two other native Panjabi speaking
children (OCp1 & OCp2).

```
OCp1:jai Shanaz ki bhulai/     = go call Shanaz/               -A
A:   Sh (.) SHANAZ/                                            -OCp2
     SHANAZ/                                                   "
     CHUPPI JAI/               = HIDE/                         "
     CHUPPI JAI quickly/       = HIDE quickly/                 "
OCp1:Shanaz issrai nai kur/    = Shanaz don't do this/         "
A:   oh thoon kai kurnai       = what are you doing?/          "
     laghowiyain?/                                             "
     gundai corthai/           = dirty donkey/                 "
(Ameena leaves the toilet and goes back into the class)
```

Ameena and Firdos (OCp)

37.1a

Ameena & Firdos are playing with a doll

```
R:  has she had anything to eat yet?/                          -A&F
    or to drink?/                                               "
A:  dhood/ ((LF))                      = milk/                 -R
R:  are you going to give her some milk?/                      -A&F
A:  yes/                                                        -R
F:  dhood piaz/                      = she's drunk the milk/   -A
(Ameena hits the doll on the head with a bottle)
A&F:((LF))
R:  oh don't do that to the poor baby/                        -A&F
```

51.1aii

Ameena is commenting on a small group of children on the other side of
the class (most of the class are in the hall).

```
A:  there's some people/                                       -R
R:  yes/                                                        -A
    what are they doing?/                                       "
A:  he(.) he(.) he(.) he writing/                              -R
R:  they're writing/                                            -A
    yes/                                                        "
    with the teacher/                                           "
(Ameena picks up a black doll)
A:  look/                                                       -R
    a black (.) black mu/          = face                       "
R:  a black doll/                                               -A
F:  eh dehk milk/               = look here's milk/            -A
    eh botal pani eh thoon/      = here's a water botle for you/"
A:  ((LF))
F:  mein twari ummi naljai       = I'll go and tell your mummy  "
    tehasain kaar jai de/          when you go home/
A:  Panjabi unintel.uttr.(1)/
    ((LF))
F:  ((LF)) (2syl)/
A:  dhood pisei?/                = do you want to drink milk?/ -F
F:  thoon dhood pisai nikai jai  = do you want to drink milk   -A
    (2syl)/                        you tiny little (2syl)/
```

2.56

Ameena is 'the teacher'.

```
A:  sit in the carpet/                                         -R
R:  I'll sit on the carpet/                                    -A
```

```
                                                                  "
        o.k./                                                     "
        oh this is nice down here/
F:      thoon/                           = you/                   -F
        idher au/                        = come here/             "
R:      what shall we do?/                                        -A&F
A:      read the book/
```

2a.89

Ameena is interested in naming colours in the book.   R and Firdos are
sitting next to her.

```
A:      orange/                                                   -R
R:      orange yes/                                               -A
A:      black/                                                    -R
R:      brown/                                                    -A
A:      brown/                                                    -R
        orange/                                                   "
F:      eh ka kitai?/              = what have you done?/         -A
        baa baa black sheep/                                      "
A:      what is this colour?/                                     -R
F:      yes sir/ yes sir/                                         -A
R:      blue/                                                     -A
A:      this/                                                     -R
F:      eh fish vi pari shoriyei/   = you've torn the fish up as  -A
                                      well/
        fish eh na mu odher giya othe  = the fish's face has gone "
        eh/                              that way/
A:      what is this?/                                            -R
        what is this?/                                            "
        this?/                                                    "
R:      purple/                                                   -A
A:      purple/                                                   -R
        black/                                                    "
R:      mm/                                                       -A&F
F:      orange/                                                   -R
R:      well done Firdos/                                         -F
F:      bas/                        = finish/                     -A
        awr jai ona bookai?/        = shall I fetch more books?/  -A
(A page falls out of the book)
R:      look what you've forgotten/                               -A&F
        can you put that back into the book/                     "
        Ameena you've dropped something/                         -A
A:      not/                                                      -R
```

160.3a

Ameena & Firdos have given the doll a bath.

```
F:      towalai kuder kiyai?/       = where's the towel gone?/    -A
        towaliai karas?/            = where's the towel?/         "
        towaliai karas?/                    "                     "
```

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```
        towaliai karas?/                                    "                "
A:  yeh/                                                                    -F
(Ameena is looking through a box of clothes?
        (3syl) skirt/                                                       -R
R:  do you want to put a skirt on?/                                         -A
```

213.4

Ameena & Firdos are playing with a doll.

```
F:  baby ji gali kar/          = talk to the baby/              -A
A:  ((LF))
F:  twari jacket larniye/      = your jacket's coming off/      -A
    twari jacket/              = your jacket/                   "
    twari jacket leni janiye/  = your jacket's coming off/      "
    vich upar suji auji ain/   = inside it on it there's a      "
                                 needle/

(Firdos points to the microphone)
A:  eh ke?/                    = what?/                         -F
    what's this?/                                               -R
R:  a microphone/                                               -A
A:  what's in here?/                                            -R
R:  a box/                                                      -A
A:  what's in here?/                                            -F
R:  your tummy/                                                 -A
A&F:((LF))
```

287.5a

Ameena is playing with a railway track.

```
R:  can you ask Firdos if she wants to play?/         -A
A:  thoon kehd se?/           = do you want to play?/  F:
```

373.6a

Ameena & Firdos have been on the (toy) telephone to their relatives.
Firdos is speaking to Mohammed (a cousin in Bradford).

```
F:  hello Mohammed/                                           -M
    tik ho?/               = alright?/                        "
    teacher eh ki diyan?/  = have I to give it to the         -A
                             teacher?/

R:  hello Mohammed/                                           -M
    mera naam Suzanne hain/ = my name is Suzanne/             "
A:  tera naam ki hain?/      = what is your name?/            -R
R:  mera naam Suzanne hain/  = my name is Suzanne/            -A
    bye/                                                      -M
(R puts the phone down)
F:  Panjabi unintel.uttr.(1)
A:  bye/                                                      -M
```
```
                    -513-
```

385.7

Ameena & Firdos are on the (toy) phone to members of their families,

F:	my mum/		-R
R:	your mum?/		-F
F:	eh thoon/	= it's for you/	-A
	chap kai/	= shut up/	"
(Firdos talks into the phone)			
	bye aba/	= bye daddy	-PHONE
	teek ho?/	= are you alright?/	"
	mein teek hain/	= I'm alright/	"
	Allah ne wale/	= God be with you/	"
(Firdos hands the phone to Ameena)			
A:	Allah ne wale/	= God be with you (Mirpuri)	"
	kuda hafiz/	= God be with you (Panj/Urdu)	"
	hello aba/	= hello daddy/	"
	teek ho?/	= are you alright?/	"
	mein teacher e ki deni lagi eh/	= I'm going to give it to the teacher/	"
(Ameena gives the phone to R)			
R:	hello/		"
	gon he?/	= who is this?/	"
(Ameena & Firdos both look astonished)			
A:	eh Bengali te ni eh?/	= is she Bengali?/	-F
F:	my dad/		-R
R:	Firdos' dad/		-PHONE
	hello/		"
	mera naam Suzanne hain/	= my name is Suzanne/	"
F:	eh gori ke ekni?/	= what is this English-woman saying?/	-A
	eh Pakistani teni/	= she's not Pakistani/	"
	eh aknieh bye/	= she's saying bye/	"
A:	((LF))		

Ameena and Kate (OCe)

Ameena is in the Home Corner with Kate (OCe) and R.   Ameena is
speaking into a toy telephone.

1.	R:	who's on the phone?/	-A
2.	A:	my (.) my sister/	-R
3.	R:	your sister/	-A
4.		which sister?/	"
5:	A:	Shaida/	-R
6.	R:	Shaida/	-A
(R takes phone)			
7.		hello Shaida/	-phone
8.		it's Suzanne here/	"
9.		how are you?/	"

```
10. A:  eh ke bani eh?/           = what are you making?/      "
11. R:  alright/                                              -A
12. A:  ((LF))
13. R:  you want to speak to Kate?/                           -phone
14.     o.k./                                                 "
15.     here she is/                                          "
(R gives the phone to Kate,    Ameena takes it from her)
16: A:  hello/                                                -phone
17:     mara (.) mara aba/        = my (.) my dad/            "
18:     Panj. unintel. utterance (1)                          "
(Ameena gives the phone to R)
19: R:  hello Shaida/                                         "
20: A:  my dad/                                               -R
21: R:  oh it's your dad/                                     -A
21: A:  hello Ameena's dad/                                   -phone
```

278.6

```
A:  I go to the sweet shop/                                   -R&OC
(Ameena walks across the classroom picks up a plastic banana from a
market stall and on her way back passes a table where a group of
children are writing)
OCp:keila/                = banana/                           -A
    diyan keila/          = give bananas/                     "
A:  keila doodoo/         = banana not for you/               -OCp
    ((laughter- this is a rude way of refusing))
    apple doodoo/         = apple not for you/                "
(Ameena returns to HC)
K:  who wants to do the washing up?/                          -A
A:  me/                                                       -K
K:  alright then/                                             -A
```

SC9 TAHIRA

Language alternation in CLASSROOM

1.5.1

Tahira (Ta), her mother (M) and younger brother (B) have just come
into the class.

```
Ta: mein aur book choose kurain?/   = will I choose a book?/  -M
(Tahira kisses her brother, the teacher (T) comes over)
T:  isn't that lovely/                                        -Ta
Ta: this a my baby/                                           -T
T:  is that your baby?/                                       -Ta
Ta: yeh/                                                      -T
T:  hello/                                                    -B
Ta: ((LF))
T:  oh*/                                                      -Ta
M:    *little brother/ ((LF))                                 -T
Ta: you've got/ ((LF))                                        -T
```

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```
M:   little brother/                                                     -T
Ta:  I'm going to pay dinner money/                                       "
     dinner money ne hain/          = I don't have dinner money/         -M
M:   terai/                         = wait/                              -Ta
     muray mein desain nai/         = I will give it/                     "
Ta:  dinner money/                                                       -M
     dinner money/                                                        "
     dinner money/                                                        "
     I'm going to eat dinner money/                                       "
     (Pre: eating noise)
M:   dinner money/                                                       -Ta
(Tahira gets the dinner money from her mum)
Ta:  dinner money de/             = give the dinner money/              -M
     I'm going to eat all up/                                             "
M:   oh change morey desain nei/  = they will give you the              -Ta
                                    change back/
(Tahira goes over to T)
Ta:  dinner money/                                                       -T
(Tahira gives the dinner money to T)
T:   hang on a minute/                                                  -Ta
     I've got to find some change/((LF))                                  "
(Another child's mother (bilingual Panjabi/English speaker) comes
over)
A:   you staying for dinner?/                                           -Ta
     well fancy that/                                                     "
Ta:  yes I am/                                                           -A
T:   you want some change as well/                                      -Ta
     don't you/                                                           "
Ta:  yeh/                                                                -T
T:   ask your mum if she's got any change from this/                    -Ta
Ta:  amaa/                          = mummy/                             -M
     change deyai migi/             = give me some change/                "
```

<u>1.195.2</u>

Tahira & OCp are at a table cutting out pictures and sticking them onto paper.

```
Ta:  mi dikain koi kaam thai chai   = tell me if there is any          -OCp
     nai/                             work to be done/
     mein here/                      = I'm here/                          "
OCp: thoon de/                       = you give/
(T comes over)
Ta:  can I have some glue?/                                             -T
T:   yes/                                                               -Ta
     wait a minute/                                                       "
     that's lovely/                                                     -OCp
     good girl/                                                           "
Ta:  I want that/                                                       -OCp
(Tahira reaches for the glue, OCp won't let her have it)
     kotiye/                         = you bitch/                         "
```

1.488.5ai

Tahira is deciding what activity to do.

```
Ta: I wanna play in the water/                                          -T
T:  well I'm not putting water in there today/                          -Ta
    have you done a picture?/                                           "
Ta: you put it water/                                                   -T
(T goes off to see some other children)
Ta: I'm going paint/                                                    -SELF
(Tahira goes over to the painting corner and joins OCp, who is talking
to Umima (U) a native Panjabi-speaking child)
OCp:Umima just leave em (.) teri    = Umima just leave (.) em your-U
    bhaan sigi eh halayai/            arm is still wet/
    dinner nai jainvi/              = don't go to dinner yet/        "
Ta: mein here game liyai/          = I've got your game here/       -OCp
    lai/                           = take it/                       "
    lai/                           "                                "
OCp:alai name likhai/              = here write a name/             -Ta
(The children continue to paint)
```

1.698.7

Tahira & OCp are painting

```
Ta: look/                                                               -OCp
(Tahira holds up a paint pot)
    kala pot/                      = black pot/                      "
OCp:eh vi chalain anyway/          = it works anyway                -Ta
Ta: look/                                                               -OCp
    I no left/                                                          "
(Tahira tries to take OCp's paint pot)
    oi/                                                                 "
    gimme it/                                                           "
OCp:phelain mi kurain de/          = let me do it first             -Ta
(Tahira successfully grabs a pot from OCp)
Ta: I got greens/ ((LF))                                                -OCp
OCp:I got more colours/                                             -Ta
Ta: ((LF))
```

2.60.8

T has asked Tahira, OCe & OCp to tidy up the chairs in the home corner

```
T:  well I'd like you to put the chairs away neatly/                -AC
(T leaves the children in the home corner)
Ta: one there/                                                      -OCe&OCp
    one here/                                                          "
(OCp plays with a doll, while Tahira & OCe tidy up)
OCe:there's a (5syl)/                                               -Ta
Ta: right/                                                          -OCe
    one here/                                                          "
```

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```
    one here/                                                          "
    one here/                                                          "
    that better/                                                       "
(Tahira goes over to OCp who is holding a doll, OCe leaves home
corner)
    baby jaanai baby/              = baby go baby/               -OCp
(Tahira takes the doll)
OCp:meinu de/                      = give it to me/              -Ta
Ta: baby jaigai/                   = baby has woken up/          -OCp
OCp:mein oh rindai thoon chukai/   = you go and pick it up       -Ta
                                     because it is crying/
```

3.6.10

Teacher is reading a story to all the children (AC). Tahira & OCp
are playing with cars at the back of the group.

```
Ta: hi/                            = hey/                        -OCp
    nai kur/                       = don't do that/              "
    nai kur/                       = "                           "
    eh mein teek kitai/            = I've just repaired it/      "
    a beyain thoon/                = you sit down/               "
    thoon ithai beyaiai/           = you sit down here/          "
    that (2syl)/                                                 "
    that/                                                        "
OCp:lookit/                                                      -Ta
    I build a house/                                             "
```

3.34.11

Tahira is in the home corner with OCp

```
Ta: mein owai jee ain/             = I'm the same/               -OCp
    oh no/                                                       "
    hi/                            = hey/                        "
    jai choria chaiyai ain/        = go and get the knife/       "
    jai marai ki ackhai chori      = tell the boy to go and get  "
    chaiyai ain/                     the knife/                  "
OCp:kiyain?/                       = why?/                       -Ta
Ta: a kholnai/                     = to open this/               -OCp
    othai door vich painiyani/     = it's near to the door/      "
    (4syl)
    HEY TEACHER/                                                 -T
    OI/                                                          "
    (2syl)/
    oulai jumper chai ain/         = go bring the jumper/        -OCp
    jai chai ain/                  = go bring it/                "
    oh nai chuppai jai man/        = don't hide it man/          "
    phir gundi oujassi ain/        = then it will get dirty/     "
    jai ou kuch chai ain/          = go bring that thing over    "
                                     there/
(OCe comes into the house)
```
                            -518-

```
OCe:in the house/                                              -Ta
Ta: why?/                                                      -OCe
    na/                                                        "
    not going/                                                 "
    (3syl)
(OCe leaves the home corner)
Ta: beyia/                            = sit/                    -OCp
(the conversation continues in Panjabi)
```

3.67.13

Tahira & OCp are in the home corner and pretending to bein a car.

```
Ta: ehaal beyain/              = let's sit down/          -OCp
    ehaal/                     = come/                    "
    enjai kur/                 = let's do this/           "
    brrr/ brrr/ brrr/ brrr/
    jaitiain/                  = I'm going/               "
    na/                        = no/                      "
    eh thoon rukai/            = you put this away/       "
(OCe runs over to home corner)
    OI/                                                   -OCe
    GET OUT/                                              "
OCp:eh?/                                                  -Ta
Ta: unintel. uttr.(1)
OCp:unintel. uttr.(1
Ta: eh thai teek eh oow/       = this is the right place/ -OCp
    nai uttain ethai/          = don't get up/            "
    eh mi thakai/              = look at me/              "
OCp:unintel.uttr.(1)
Ta: no/                                                   "
OCp:unintel.uttr.
Ta: thoon jai oon/             = you go away/             "
    kaal/                      = wait                     "
    oi/                                                   "
    eh uttai nai/              = don't get up/            "
    *brrm/ brrm/ brrm/
OCp:*jainiyum hoon chaalaiyai  = the women drive cars now/ -Ta
    ooniyai ain car/
Ta: eh lai/                    = here are/                -OCp
(conversation continues in Panjabi)
Ta: brr brrrm/
    NAI KURAI/                 = don't do that/           "
    brr brrr/
    thoon kurai hoon/          = you can do it now/       "
OCp:nai/                       = no/                      -Ta
    thoon karai hoon/          = you do it/               "
    brr brr*
Ta:       *nai/               = no/                      -OCp
    nai/                       "                          "
    NO/                                                   "
    don't do that/                                        "
```

(conversation continues in Panjabi)

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3.134.18

Tahira & OCp are playing in the home corner - they have a big pair of sunglasses from the dressing-up box.

Ta: ain glasses lai/   = put the glasses on/   -OCp
    ain eh lai/   = put them on/   "
(Tahira puts the glasses on OCp)
    eh teacher (4syl)/   = here teacher (4syl)/   "
    look/   "
    migi try kurunde/   = let me try/   "
    eh nai lai/   = don't put that on/   "
    eh nai lai/   "   "
    Panjabi unintel.uttr.(1)
    (3syl)/
    (5syl)/
    migi de mein/   = give it to me/   "
    utthai rukh chore ain/   = I will put it over there/ "
    mein ithai rukh chore ni ain/   = I will put it here/   "
    nai ehai thai thakiyain/   = don't pick it up to look at it"
    look/   "
    eh ruhkiyain/   = put it/   "
    eh ruhkiyain/   "   "
    eh ruhkiyain idhere/   = put it here/   "
    look/   "
    eh chamach knife/   = this spoon knife/   "
    eh ithai ruhkiyain chamach/   = I've got to put this knife "
                                          here/
    balian jollen nain/   = take it slowly/   "
    thoon nai baiyain/   = you don't tell/   "
    mein bai sain/   = I will/   "
    stop it/   "
    chaiaina/   = get it/   "
    jai paint chaiaina nai/   = go get the paint/   "
OCp:(2syl)
Ta: (5syl)/
    bye bye/   "
OCp:no/ no/   -Ta
Ta: mein school jollian/   = I'm going to school/   -OCp
OCp:ithai buyain nai/   = sit here/   -Ta
Ta: mein school jollian/   = I'm going to school/   -OCp
OCp:school?/   -Ta
Ta: yeh/   -OCp
    mein ithai dinner khasain/   = I'm going to eat dinner here/"
    mein ithai dinner khasoon a   = I'm going to have dinner at "
    school everyday/   school everyday/

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3.203.23

Tahira & OCp are playing with a doll in the home corner. They have
been conversing in Panjabi.

Ta: ithai khollsain/   = open it here/   -OCp
    ithai khollsain/   "   "
(Tahira picks up the doll)
    there/   "
    oh:/   "
(T comes over to the home corner)
    heavy/   "
T: oh Tahira that's lovely/   -Ta
    are you looking after the baby?/   "
Ta: yeh/   -T
T: yeh/   -Ta
(T leaves and OCe comes over to the home corner)
Ta: wanna go in the house?/   -OCe
OCe:yeh with you/   -Ta
(OCe tries to pick up the doll)
Ta: no/   -OCe
    you can't have my baby/   "
OCe:unintel.uttr.(2)
    o.k./   -Ta
Ta: no/   -OCe
    I'm not your friend/   "
Ta: eh babyain/   = these babies/   -OCp
    come on/   -OCe
OCe:I wanna sit in this chair/   -Ta
Ta: what?/   -OCe
    no/ no/no/no/   "
    eh baby ithai baisi/   = the baby will sit here/   "
    thoon baisain?/   = do you want to sit down?/   -OCp
    ithai khulai/   = stand here/   "
    ithai ni bainai/   = we won't sit/   "
    thoon ithai lattain vai?/ = do you want to lie here?/   "
    mein thovi akhayai eh deyain/ = I said give me that/   "
    khull/   = wait/   "
    mein iss ki kurniyai/   = I will do it/   "
    thoon thajkai chai/   = you pick up the pen/   "
(Tahira pretends to give OCe & OCp a lolly)
    here lolly/   -OCe&OCp
    here lolly/   "
    lolly/   "
(OCe leaves the home corner)
OCp:urgh/   -Ta
    lolly ni khuch aur eh/   = it's not a lolly it's   "
                                  something else/
(Tahira hits OCp, who hits Tahira back)
Ta: ((CR))
    TEACHER/   -T

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3.260.25

Tahira, OCp & OCe are playing in the home corner.

```
OCe:mamma/                                                    -Ta
    mammy look what I found/                                  "
Ta: don't want it/                                           -OCe
    chuppai kur/              = be quiet/                     "
```

3.400.30

Tahira, OCe1, OCe2 & OCp are playing in the home corner.

```
OCe1:I'm daddy/                                               -AC
Ta:  you're not/                                             -OCe1
OCe2:you're not playing/                                     "
OCe1:I'm dad/                                                -AC
OCe2:you're not playing/                                     -OCe1
Ta:  you drive it car then/                                  "
OCe2:baba                                                    -AC
    I'm the baby man/                                        -OCp
OCp: you're the baby man/                                    -OCe2
    why are you drinking the dhood?/ = milk/                 "
    ((LF))
    why are you drinking the milk for?/                      "
OCe2:mum I want milk/                                        -OCp
    I want (2syl)/                                           "
Ta:  ((SI)) ah ha ha ha/
(Tahira makes a rude gesture at OCp, who hits her/
Ta:  ((CR))
    cuttiyai/                = bitch/
```

3.434.33

Tahira, OCe & OCp (both girls) are in the home corner.   OCe is
pretending to be the baby, and OCp to be her mum.

```
Ta: morai pheni eh nikia kuriya/   = the boy's trying to be a   -OCp
                                      little girl/
OCp:Panjabi unintel.uttr.(1)
Ta: look baby/                                                  -OCe
    look baby/                                                  "
    oh kuri ehai khani vini/       = that girl doesn't even eat -OCp
                                      here/
OCp:look baby eh/                  = look the baby's there/     "
OCe:ga ga/                                                      -AC
OCp:thoon marai baby ki mariayai?/ = have you hit my baby?/     -Ta
Ta: na/ na / na/ na/                                           -OCp
    eh*                                                         "
OCp   * eh pehlain inaiansi/       = it was theirs first/       -Ta
OCe:and I fell asleep/                                          -AC
    and I fell asleep/                                          "
```

```
OCp:inai ussain ki pesai denaisi/      = they have to give us money/ -Ta
(Tahira hits OCp & OCe)                                                 "
OCe:I'm gonna tell on you Tahira/
(T is in far corner of the room)
    Tahira's hitting us/                                               -T
OCp:Tahira hit/                                                         "
(Tahira hits OCe again)
    hey/                                                               -Ta
OCe:teacher/                                                           -T
OCp:Miss Jones/                                                         "
    Tahira hit her/                                                     "
    Miss Jones/                                                         "
Ta: mein nai iss ki baby deni/        = I'm not giving her the baby/-OCp
OCp:alai/                             = alright/                       -Ta
    alai/                                  "                            "
    nai deyain/                       = don't give it/                 "
(Hoorum (OCp) comes into the home corner, Tahira hits him)
OCp:Miss Jones/                                                        -T
    Miss Jones/                                                         "
    she hit him/                                                        "
    she hit him/                                                        "
H:  I'll hit you back then/                                            -Ta
Ta: I hit you back/                                                    -H
(Tahira & Hoorum are fighting0
H:  I'm not your friend/                                               -Ta
    AAGH/
    ((CR))
Ta: cuttiyai/                         = bitch/                         -H
(Tahira & Hoorum stop fighting)
Ta: I'm going to dinner/                                               -OCp
    I'm going to dinner/                                                "
```

<u>Language alternation in HOME CORNER</u>

<u>Tahira & Shaida (OCp)</u>

Shaida is trying to get Tahira to eat her dinner.

```
S: eat your dinner/                                    -T
T: don't want eat my dinner/                           -S
   I have eat my dinner/                                "
R: I'm just going to get something/                    -T&S
   I'll be back in a minute/                            "
(R leaves HC and goes to the other side of the classroom)
S: (1syl) khaa/           = eat                         -T
T: mein ni khaana/        = I don't want to eat         -S
   mein khai rakhsain/    = I've eaten                   "
   mein khai rakhsain/         "                         "
   bye/                                                  "
   mein jalia an/         = I'm going                    "
S: pakat lena?/           = you want a packet?          -T
T: pakat lena?/           =        "                    -S
S: a jal bhar (1syl)/     = let's go out                -T
```
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```
    (1syl) lena?/              = you want          "
    unint. uttr.                                   "
(T and S leave HC to find R)
T: let have that monies/                          -S
    lets have that money/                          "
(S sees R)
S: look/                                          -T
T: I'm going shopping/                            -R
```

No language alternation occurs in the home corner between Tahira and
Louise (OCe).