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

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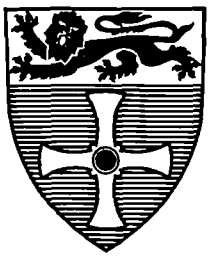

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It is language more than anything else
that reveals and validates one's existence,
and if the language we actually speak is
denied us, then it is inevitable that the
form we are permitted to assume historically
will be one of caricature, reflecting
someone else's literary or social fantasy.

Alice Walker (1984)

ABSTRACT

This is a sociolinguistic study of the language patterns of ten young mother tongue Panjabi-speaking children. The children are exposed to English on entry into nursery school around the age of three years. Thus their bilingualism is acquired sequentially and develops within a basically monolingual and monocultural educational system.

Participant observation in school was the methodology utilised to collect the child language data. The same method was not suitable for collecting naturalistic child language data at home. Instead, mothers' reports of the families' language use at home were gathered by means of informal interviews. Teachers' opinions on various aspects of the education of children becoming bilingual in their classrooms were also obtained by interviews.

Considerable variation was found to exist in the classroom communication of the ten children, all from very similar cultural, socio-economic and socio-cultural backgrounds. In three different school settings - classroom, home corner and picture description - all the children used more English than Panjabi. Clear patterns of language choice emerged from the data; code choice was found to be affected by certain characteristics of the interlocutor, audience, domain and activity; various types of language alternation were identified. Most of the time the children showed that they had acquired the necessary skills to function adequately as bilingual speakers.

Mothers' and teachers' opinions about linguistic and educational issues provided a useful context to supplement the extensive child language data obtained.

This sociolinguistic study of bilingualism in the current British educational context highlights the children's linguistic skills. However, in doing so, many questions are raised about the adequacy of current provision for non-native English-speaking children growing up in Britain today.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

In 1981, I became a volunteer English tutor on the Manchester Asian Women's Home Tutor Scheme. I was introduced to Bina, a Bangladeshi woman. She was fairly recently widowed and she and her four young sons lived when I first met her, with her sister in law's family. We would meet every week in her home, by then a small council house and tackle some useful English. As Bina and I became friends, I became more aware of the difficulties faced by a single Black woman solely responsible for her children, unable to communicate well in English. However, none of this prevented her from caring for her children and furnishing her house from scratch on a shoestring budget. Shabash the oldest boy was eight and even at this young age he had an important role in the family. I used to listen with amazement when, on occasions he would translate my English into Bengali and then tell me what Bina had said. When he and his younger brothers played together they would speak mainly in Bengali, with, to my ignorant ear at the time, quite a few English words. They always addressed me in English and the youngest, Moklish who was three and a half, used to take great delight in greeting me with a 'hello', his favourite English word, every time I came.

Two years later, my first job as a speech therapist was in Newcastle upon Tyne, in the North East of England. By then I had an established interest in ethnic minority issues. At the time I was informed by (white) natives of Newcastle (then living in Manchester) that I wouldn't be able to follow up my interest there, I'd need to go down south or to Leeds or Bradford. One of the first cases I was

referred was a boy from a Bangladeshi family. As I was working in an area where there were several linguistic minority groups, I tried to clarify the role that speech therapists have in treating children from linguistic minority backgrounds with communication impairment. While I was clear in my own mind that this was the same as for everyone else, it became increasingly apparent that there were difficulties in identification, assessment, diagnosis and treatment due to our lack of knowledge about bilingualism in the British context and poor resources. This population seemed to be referred, if at all, when they were much older than monolingual children with the same problems. At the time, 1983, resources within the NHS for people living in Newcastle from linguistic minority groups were pretty minimal. Since then things have changed slightly for the better, but not nearly enough.

In January 1985, I took the opportunity to work in a school for the deaf and deaf-blind in Bombay. Although the children attending the school came from several linguistic backgrounds, the medium of communication was either Hindi or English. A combination of Indian and American sign language was also taught and used throughout the school. I met with several Indian speech therapists and visited the training college in Bombay hoping to find some information about the development of some of the South Asian languages to take back to Britain. The therapists there faced the same problems - almost all the research on language development concerned English or other European languages. There was also very little about bilingual language development. Here was another place which would benefit from research into South Asian languages and bilingualism.

My next job, in 1986, was in South London. Part of my responsibilities concerned a school with pupils who had severe learning difficulties. Approximately one third of the pupils came from homes where English was not the mother tongue. In the senior class, where the teacher spoke English, Italian and Spanish, it was commonplace to hear her conversing with pupils with Down's Syndrome in for example Spanish, and for these young people to switch into English to talk to their friends. Yet, lower down the school, it was an effort for all the staff (including myself) not to view children's non-English home environment as a problem in terms of their development of communication skills to their fullest potential. One six year old child was developing, albeit relatively slowly, English at school, and at home, Italian with his older siblings and Eritrean with his mother. Bilingualism, for many of these children was a normal aspect of their lives and their learning difficulties did not appear to prevent them learning and using appropriately two or more languages to the same, albeit limited degree.

My recurring interest in bilingualism took me back to Newcastle to undertake this research project. Here I had the opportunity to find out more about the communication of young normally developing children who start school without English, but with a mother tongue which has minority language status. This thesis is the result.

I have attempted to show the children's communication at school in relation to home and also within the wider context of our education system and within the historical context of migration and current status of minority groups in Britain.

Chapter 1 provides a theoretical overview of sociolinguistics,

research methodology and discusses bilingualism from a linguistic and socio-political perspective. Chapter 2 is concerned with providing, for the most part, non-linguistic information relevant to the speech community involved in the study and deals with issues such as migration, racism and the Pakistani Community within Newcastle upon Tyne. In Chapter 3, there is a fairly detailed outline of the methodology employed for the study and Chapter 4 deals with the theoretical framework for the analysis. Chapters 5 - 9 outline the results of the child language data, Chapters 10 and 11 give the mothers' and teachers' views on various aspects of the children's lives in relation to education and home. In Chapter 12, there is a discussion of the results in relation to current theories of bilingualism and Chapter 13 outlines the practical implications of this study. It is hoped that the findings of this study will make some contribution to theoretical issues and be of practical value to those who work with, and those who are bilingual in Britain today.

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY

This thesis is concerned with a small group of children from a linguistic minority community acquiring English as a second language on entry to nursery school. The approach adopted for the study is drawn chiefly from sociolinguistics.

Within the last decade there has been a growing body of literature from North America and North Western Europe related to the language and education of children from linguistic minorities growing up and receiving their education within a different cultural and linguistic tradition to that of their home. The chief purpose of this chapter is to outline relevant aspects of the literature on sociolinguistics, bilingualism, language alternation, linguistic minorities and education. These areas of research provide the theoretical context for this study.

1.1 SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Sociolinguistics is the study of language within a social context. Its aim is to discern patterns of variability among speakers of the language or languages, the 'organization of diversity' as Hymes (1977:5) states. Predictions about the patterns of language use of real speakers are made on the basis of material gathered by means of well thought out observational and data collection techniques. The data is subsequently analysed within a relevant framework that will

yield useful information. This tradition arose from a dissatisfaction with theoretical linguistics which used the concept of an ideal speaker-hearer to make claims about language. Chomsky (1965:3) sums up the main concerns of the field:

> Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogenous speech community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance.

In contrast to this, Trudgill states that:

> Sociolinguistics ... is that part of linguistics which is concerned with language as a social and cultural phenomenon. It investigates the field of language and society and has close connections with the social sciences, especially social psychology, anthropology, human geography and sociology. (Trudgill 1983:32)

Sociolinguists adopt approaches to language research that attempt to examine the actual language of particular groups. William Labov pioneered work in the field of sociolinguistics challenging the views held by theoretical linguists:

> It is difficult to avoid the common sense conclusion that the object of linguistics must ultimately be the instrument of communication used by the speech community, and if we are not talking about <u>that</u> language there is something trivial in our proceeding. For a number of reasons, this kind of language has been the most difficult object for linguists to focus on. (Labov 1972a:187)

Here, Labov touches upon the problem which sociolinguists have given a great deal of time - capturing vernacular speech. Sociolinguistics has amassed a large body of literature on the subject of access to the vernacular which is of enormous use in a study such as this. We examine this in Section 1.2, but first we look at the notion of 'speech community', another concept central to sociolinguistics.

1.1.1 Speech community

There is some dispute over the notion of speech community defined by Labov (1966:125), as 'united by common evaluation of the same variables that differentiate the speakers'. Labov's definition implies the existence of discrete groups differentiated from each other by the way they attach social meaning to language in everyday use. This is a rather simplistic notion and while not altogether incorrect, Romaine points out:

> The imbrication of social and linguistic structure in a given speech community is a matter for investigation and cannot be taken as given. We scarcely know how heterogenous some speech communities are. (Romaine 1982:15)

In relation to the group in this study, we can begin by examining the various levels at which the concept of community operates. The same individuals may, at different times regard themselves as members of the Asian Community, the Black Community or the Pakistani Community. Indeed, the (majority) White Community usually identify people as belonging to the Asian Community but often do not make any finer distinctions. In this study children were drawn from the Pakistani Community, who do 'have an image of coherence about themselves as a group' (Thornton & Ramphele 1988:38). This identity comes about through a shared national, religious, cultural and linguistic identity and through their status as a minority community on Tyneside.

Language use within the Pakistani Community is not necessarily the same for all community members, and the codes (Panjabi, Urdu, Arabic and English) are not always understood by everyone in the community (see Chapters 2 & 10). However there is general agreement

about what constitutes appropriate language use for various purposes and occasions. Agreement on this constitutes one of the criteria for regarding a group as a speech community (Gumperz 1972:16). A strong sense of linguistic identity binds this group together and they can be viewed as a single speech community.

Having identified this community as a single speech community it is important to find out what linguistic knowledge is necessary for an individual to become a 'communicatively competent' member of the community. This involves adopting methods of data collection which allow the researcher 'into' the community. In studying the communication of individuals within multi-lingual communities, not only is a knowledge of 'language appropriateness' required but also a knowledge of the *attitudes and values attached to each of the* languages used. We will now look at a research methodology which allows a researcher to gain access to a particular community for the purposes of analysing natural behaviour, and in Section 1.2.1 we will see how this technique has been used successfully by some sociolinguists.

1.1.2 Participant observation

Participant observation was originally an anthropological technique and involved the researcher becoming part of the community under study in order to observe and document another culture or social group. Schwartz & Schwartz (1955:343) define participant observation as 'A process in which the observer's presence in a social situation is maintained for the purpose of scientific investigation.' The

technique has been used effectively by anthropologists (Pettigrew, 1982), sociologists (Burton, 1978) and sociolinguists (Gal, 1979; Blom & Gumperz 1972; Milroy 1980). Participant observation can thus be used in a wide range of situations and allows the researcher a flexible approach in obtaining the data. The application of the technique depends largely on the community being studied and the characteristics and personality of the researcher. Schwartz & Schwartz summarize much of this:

> The observer is in a face to face relationship with the observed, and, by participating with them in their natural life setting, he gathers data. Thus, the observer is part of the context being observed, and he both modifies and is influenced by this context. The role of participant observation may be either formal or informal, concealed or revealed; the observer may spend a great deal or very little time in the research situation; the participant observer role may be an integral part of the social structure or largely peripheral to it.
> (Schwartz & Schwartz 1955:343)

Participant observation allows the researcher to record instances of particular behaviour, and yields qualitative information (and usually quantitative information in sociolinguistic studies). The aim for all users of the technique, whatever their discipline, is to gain access to natural behaviour.

Participant observation is not a technique without problems in its application. Firstly, and perhaps most obviously is the point summed up by Vidich (1955), that the researcher by joining a social situation, disturbs a scene s/he would like to hold constant. The 'observer's paradox' will be discussed further in Section 1.2.1 in relation to obtaining natural language data, this section will examine general problems related to the use of participant observation.

Burton (1978:168) discusses the problem of observer effect in

relation to his participant observation study carried out among a working class Belfast community and makes the following point about the observer, 'whatever he or she does, the situation has changed'. However two factors seem to mediate this problem and these will be illustrated from Burton's fieldwork experiences. Burton believed that the quality of his relationships with informants from the community he was studying became dependent 'on the same factors as any relationship: personality, time, situation and so on' (Burton 1978:168). The same people who were initially suspicious and made disparaging remarks about Burton's status as a researcher, later talked freely on a whole range of issues that clearly only 'insiders' would hear. The second and associated factor that mitigates observer effect is that, 'apart from the building of trust, participant observation's efficacy lies in the inability of respondents to be constantly aware that they are in the presence of a researcher'. This is the central issue and on which the success or failure of participant observation can rest. Section 3.5.3 illustrates that the children in this study were sufficiently unaware of the researcher's presence in the school domain, but that this did not apply to home (Section 3.5.4). Without denying that the observer's presence has an effect, research such as Milroy's (1980), Gal's (1979) and Burton's (1978) shows that valid and valuable data can be collected using participant observation.

A second problem is the effect that the values of the researcher may have on interpreting and selecting behaviour for description or further study (Schwartz & Schwartz 1955). This is obviously an issue when the researcher is recording behaviour or conversations after the

events, and the researcher must make clear their perspective on the data selection process. The data in this study however, is tape-recorded language augmented by written records of the context (see Appendix 6), which largely offset the problem of researcher bias in selecting what to record. We shall see, in Section 3.5 that the main problem in this study was to reduce observer effect. The researcher's ideas and opinions undoubtedly influence the study. It should be expected that the researcher will be explicit about reasons for selecting particular approaches to, for example, data collection or analysis, and these should be based on fieldwork experience and an appropriate theoretical framework. The personal influence of the researcher(s) is a factor in all research, although it is not usually acknowledged when experimental methods are used. Chapter 2 has the dual purpose of providing information about the researcher's perspective and giving background details relevant to the study: in Chapter 4 the theoretical framework for the analysis of data is outlined.

We have seen that sociolinguists draw on other traditions in order to gain access to their study of the vernacular. One of the topics of the next section is an examination of how some sociolinguists have attempted to achieve this objective.

1.2 THE THEORETICAL BASIS FOR DATA COLLECTION

The chapter so far has dealt with one branch of linguistics which emphasises the importance of gaining access to the vernacular. We have seen that in order to do this data collection techniques rooted

in an anthropological tradition have been adopted. We now examine in more detail the work of some sociolinguists who have used these and other data collection techniques and briefly touch upon data analysis.

1.2.1 Data collection

Labov (1972a, Chapter 8) drew attention to the 'observer's paradox'. The problem confronting the researcher is how to collect natural language data, when her or his very presence prevents informants speaking naturally (see also Section 1.1.2). Labov tried to overcome this problem in New York by asking his 'danger of death' question (ibid.:92), designed to make the informant forget the nature of the situation because s/he became so involved in the topic under discussion. An illustration of the culturally specific nature of such methods is outlined by Milroy (1980), who carried out a sociolinguistic study of language use within an urban community in Belfast, Northern Ireland. If Labov's research technique were to be applied in Belfast, Milroy found that the same question would have stopped the informant talking, it being assumed that the questioner would want to know information about the troubles where discussion of such topics requires an enormous amount of trust.

Milroy (1980) utilised participant observation to obtain natural language data. Her method of introduction to the community was through a 'friend of a friend' and her acceptance among the community allowed her access to the vernacular and allowed the study of language variation within its social context. Her description of the fieldwork methods highlights their importance - they dictate the type

of language samples obtained. This type of data collection method, carefully and sensitively applied, worked with a monolingual working class community. Gal (1979) and Blom and Gumperz (1972) successfully used this technique among bilingual and bidialectal European communities i.e. they gained access to the vernacular and observed language behavior as it naturally occurred.

Smith (1985) gives a full and personal account of broad ethical issues that are raised when white academic researchers study poor non-white minority communities in Britain. Examining the relationship between language , ethnicity, employment and education for the Sylheti-speaking people in London, Smith worked with Sylheti-speaking fieldworkers. His status as a white English-speaking monolingual outsider prevented him from carrying out the fieldwork. He outlines the criteria necessary for suitable fieldworkers, the most essential being understanding of and acceptability within the local situation, (this is discussed further in Section 3.3). Stokes (1988) carried out research into the language development of Bengali-speaking children under five. The language data was collected by a Bengali-speaking Research Assistant who recorded the children in their homes. For both investigations, white researchers would have invalidated the data as their presence is likely to affect the amount of Sylheti and English spoken. Scothern (1985) carried out a single case study of a Panjabi child's development of English at home using a modified participant observation technique. In this case her status as a white monolingual researcher and her background as a student allowed her access to the language she was studying, but, as with all participant observation generally, we can never reach certain

conclusions about the effect of the researcher's presence. These studies illustrate that the researcher must be very clear about the effect of his/her presence on the informant(s), particularly when the researcher comes from a different linguistic, cultural and class background. Bearing this in mind, the present study has aimed to collect natural language samples from young mother-tongue Panjabi speaking children. The most favourable setting for a white, non-Panjabi speaking female researcher was found to be school (see Section 3.6) and for this reason most data is collected within a school setting.

A combination of data collection techniques are sometimes utilised in sociolinguistic research, for example, Gal (1979), Scothern (1985), Gibbons (1987). We will now outline the other method of data collection involved in this study.

1.2.3 Using an interview/questionnaire technique

Interviewing people is a common means of collecting data, particularly in the field of social sciences. This method of collecting data has come under criticism recently from some researchers concerned that the data obtained is not as reliable as has been claimed (Hall et.al. (1981); Roberts (1981).
Bearing this in mind, interviews were carried out, but attempts were made to avoid some of the pitfalls of interviewing (see Section 3.6). Mothers and class teachers were the two groups of people interviewed.

Romaine (1983) has usefully examined the validity of self-reported language behaviour via interviews and questionnaires. Gal

(1979) used a questionnaire format to obtain information on language use among a German-Hungarian bilingual community and then verified the responses by personal observation.

In order to find out about each study child's communication at home with their family members, it was necessary to carry out an interview with the children's mothers. This information was related to the researcher's observations and any discrepancies were pointed out. It will be shown that this method of data collection provided useful information about communication within the family. A study concerning the communication of young children cannot be carried out in isolation from their home and family (Tizard & Hughes, 1984). Teachers were also interviewed, enabling their perspective on aspects of the children's education to be viewed in relation to the child language data obtained.

Through the interviews we are able to find out something about mothers and class teachers, two groups who have enormous influence on the lives of the children we are concerned with in this study.

1.2.3 Analysis of the data

The analysis adopted for this study evolved from the data obtained. Such a post-hoc interpretive analytical approach to observations and language data obtained was used by Blom & Gumperz (1972) in their study of the bilingual community of Hemnetsberget. This approach was particularly suited to the data obtained by Blom & Gumperz and in this present study mainly because no hypotheses were generated prior to data collection precisely because the researchers

did not know what they would obtain.

It was important to utilise an approach to the data which took account of the characteristics of everyday speech. Crystal (1979) writes about the difficulties involved in this and in Chapter 4 we outline the theoretical basis for the analysis of the data.

We turn now to examine issues in bilingualism which are important in this study and begin by discussing bilingualism itself.

1.3 BILINGUALISM

Baetens-Beardsmore (1982) provides the interested reader with many definitions and typologies. He sums up the problem of definition by saying that 'bilingualism as a concept has open-ended semantics. Definitions are numerous' (ibid.:1). Skuttnabb-Kangas (1981:81) states that, 'there are almost as many definitions of bilingualism as there are scholars investigating it'. Such definitions vary greatly from Bloomfield (1935:55-56) who saw bilingualism as 'native-like control of two languages', to MacNamara (1969:82) who defined bilingualism as the ability to understand, speak, read or write in a second language, 'even to a minimal degree'. More recently several writers on this subject have attempted to take into account the differential use of languages commonly found among bilingual individuals and within bilingual communities. Baetens-Beardsmore states that any definition:

> ...must be able to account for the presence of at least two languages within one and the same speaker, remembering that ability in these two languages may or may not be equal and that the way the two or more languages are used plays a highly significant role. (ibid:3).

Auer (1984) emphasises aspects which, linguists have until fairly recently ignored in their attempts to define bilingualism:

> Dozens of attempts have been made to come to a definition, ranging from minimal ('use of two languages') to maximal ones ('native-like control of two languages'). The impasse can only be over-come if bilingualism is no longer regarded as 'something inside speaker's heads', i.e. a mental ability, but as a displayed feature of participants' everyday linguistic behaviour.You cannot be bilingual in your head, you have to use two or more languages 'on stage', in inter-action, to show others that and how you can use them. (Auer 1984:7)

Grosjean (1985) takes this a stage further by defining bilingualism *in* terms of communicative competence in relation to community norms and discusses some quite specific issues related to the skills a bilingual person may have:

> The bilingual is a fully competent speaker-hearer; he or she has developed competencies (in the two languages and possibly a third system that is a combination of the two) to the extent required by his or her needs and those of the environment. The bilingual uses the two languages - separately or together - for different purposes in different domains of life and with different people. Because the needs and uses of the two languages are usually quite different, the bilingual is rarely equally or completely fluent in the two languages. Levels of fluency in a language will depend on the need for that language and will be extremely domain specific. Because the bilingual is a human communicator (as is the monolingual) he or she has developed communicative competence that is sufficient for everyday life. This competence will make use of one language, of the other language or of the two together (in the form of mixed speech) depending on the situation, topic, the interlocutor etc. (Grosjean 1985:471-472)

Grosjean's perspective of bilingualism is the one adopted in this study as it moves away from the preoccupation of bilingualism as a problem or deviation from some sort of monolingual norm. This definition is also particularly useful because it emphasises bilingualism as it functions in everyday life.

Any introduction to the field of bilingualism is not complete without some reference to attitudes towards bilinguals. Some idea of

the extent to which negative attitudes prevail towards bilingualism (and also bilinguals) can be found in the following letter written to the 'Sydney Morning Herald' in 1981 and cited by Saunders (1982:113):

> Nothing annoys me more than two or more 'ethnics' jabbering away in their native language in the company of English-speaking people, particularly in a work environment. Is it really too much to ask them to observe simple politeness by refraining from resorting to their native language in the company of English speaking persons ?

Such attitudes do not yet appear to be uncommon, particularly in the 'English speaking world'. Romaine (1989), in her book on Bilingualism, devotes some attention to the 'attitude' dimension of bilingualism, and it is worth quoting her at some length:

> Ideas about bilingualism have been adversely influenced by the use of terms such as 'the ideal bilingual', 'full bilingualism', 'balanced bilingualism' etc., because they imply that there are other kinds of bilingualism which are not ideal, full or balanced. Given the emphasis on describing the linguistic competence of the ideal monolingual, it is perhaps inevitable that bilingualism has been regarded as inherently problematic and that it represents an undesirable mode of organisation for a speech community and the individual. It is, however, no accident that linguistic theory has its origins in the cultural ideology of western Europe and the major Anglophone countries, which attach some special significance to monolingualism and the ethos of 'one state - one language'. At various stages in their history most of these nations have felt that minority groups were threats to the cohesion of the state and have therefore tried to eradicate both the speakers and their language.
> (Romaine 1989:6)

This has specific relevance to this study which deals with bilingualism in a linguistic minority community (Section 1.5 below).

Having examined some definitions of bilingualism, and attitudes to this phenomenon, we will now look at some sociolinguistic parameters which help provide a framework within which to investigate bilingualism.

1.3.1 The sociolinguistic parameters of domain and setting

The concept of domain, (Fishman, 1972) allows us to look into the social reality of bilingualism rather than thinking in purely abstract terms about 'native-like' control of one, two or more languages. Fishman stated that language use in different 'domains' eg. home, school, workplace, official institutions, place of worship, would vary, each domain reflecting its particular kind of locality, interaction and topic. Thus within a particular bilingual community there is language differentiation according to different domains. It is not necessary for the bilingual speaker to have 'native-like control of two languages' but to use the right language in the right place at the right time to the right person, according to the community norms. This knowledge is an aspect of communicative competence. Fishman (1965:67) has it as a requirement for bilingual speakers that they should possess the knowledge governing 'who speaks what to whom and when'.

We will be examining the relationship between language choice and domain, taking into account the work of the Linguistic Minorities Project (LMP) who state that,

> The concept of domain ... was obviously an attempt to link discussion about language choice with wider social constraints on language use. Most fundamentally, the concept of domain cannot take into account the essentially conflictual nature of the relationship between a minority language and the language of a dominant society. (LMP 1985:124)

> At a very general level of analysis it is possible to say that, in England, there is a functional separation of majority and minority languages. Minority languages are rarely used in 'official' public interactions, institutions or the media, etc. This is a statement about overall societal bilingualism, with no explanation of why this should be the case. (ibid:125).

The institution of school, an 'English language domain' is where child language data will be collected (Section 3.6 below). Findings from the school domain are compared with home, another important language domain for a young child. However, in order to examine the variation within the school domain, the sociolinguistic variable of setting will be used. Using this framework, interesting patterns in the children's communication are found (Chapters 5,6,7,8).

Chapter 9 is concerned with describing the patterns of language mixing in the various settings. Some theoretical background to this aspect of bilingual communication will now be given.

1.4 LANGUAGE ALTERNATION AMONG BILINGUAL SPEAKERS

The mixing of two languages, a common feature of speech within bilingual communities, goes by many names, for example, code-switching, code-mixing, code-changing, language alternation and language mixing. These extracts quoted by Romaine (1989:2) illustrate language alternation within different communities in various parts of the world.

> Kio ke six, seven hours te school de vich spend karde ne, they are speaking English all the time.
> 'Because they spend six or seven hours a day at school, they are speaking English all the time'
> (Panjabi/English bilingual adult in Britain)

> Kodomotachi liked it.
> 'The children liked it'
> (Japanese/English bilingual recorded by Nishimura 1986.)

> Won o arrest a single person.
> 'They did not arrest a single person.'
> (Yoruba/English bilingual recorded by Amuda 1986.)

Language alternation has almost always occurred where different

languages have been in contact (Timm, 1975). However, the acceptance of this phenomenon as a valid aspect of bilingual communication is not widespread among bilingual or monolingual individuals in spite of recent sociolingustic investigation which reveals language alternation as a natural phenomenon of bilingual discourse (Lavandera 1978 ; Poplack 1980 ; Genishi 1981 ; McLure 1981). A commonly held belief is summed up by the following extract from a bilingual Panjabi/English speaker:

> I mean ... I'm guilty in the sense ke ziada asi English e bolde e fer ode nal eda hoonda ke too hadi jeri zooban e na? Odec har ek sentence ic je do tin English de word hoonde ..but I think that's wrong, I mean, me khood cana ke me, na, jado Panjabi bolda e, Pure Panjabi bola asi mix karde rene a, I mean, unconsciously, subconsciosly, kari jane e, you know, par I wish you know ke me pure Panjabi bol saka.

Translation

> I mean ... I'm guilty as well in the sense that we speak English more and then what happens is that when you speak your own language you get two or three English words in each sentence ... but I think that's wrong, I mean, I myself would like to speak pure Panjabi. We keep mixing (Panjabi and English) I mean unconsciously, subconsciously, we keep doing it, you know, but I wish, you know, that I could speak pure Panjabi.
> (Chana & Romaine 1984:451)

Grosjean (1982:148) also mentions the derogatory opinions held by many bilinguals about this aspect of their communication, a sample of whom are represented below:

> 'This whole process of code-switching is done mainly out of laziness, for if I searched long enough for the correct word, I would eventually find it ... I try to avoid code-switching ... one would quickly end up speaking a language of its own'
> (A French/English bilingual)

> 'When I switch (inadvertently), I usually realize soon afterward and correct myself, but it is still embarrassing'
> (A Kurdish/Arabic bilingual)

> 'Code-switching is not very pure'
> (A Hebrew/Arabic/English trilingual).

McCormick's sociolinguistic study of the bilingual community of District Six in Cape Town reported that attitudes towards mixing Afrikaans and English varied, as the following extracts illustrate:

> Ek dink dis all right so nogal
> (I think it's all right like this actually)
>
> Ek dink nie dis stupid nie. Kyk heir: ons coloureds het so opgegroei om te praat kombuistaal, ne? Which is Afrikaans en Engels gemix. So, ons kan maak daaraan.
> (I don't think it's stupid. Look here, we coloureds grew up like this to speak kombuistaal, didn't we? Which is Afrikaans and English mixed. So we can't do anything about it)
>
> Ek dink dis silly, man, want - kyk: jy praat stupid want jy kan nie Engels en Afrikaans - en dan praat jy met die kinders because why? Daardie kinders sal nooit reg kan leer nie. Jy moet either kies: either Engels of Afrikaans, you know.
> (I think it's silly, man, because - look: you talk stupidly because you can't ... English and Afrikaans, and then you talk to the children, because why? Those children will never be able to learn properly. You must choose either English or Afrikaans)
>
> Mixing messes up language. (...) If you really sit down and think about it, it's not really nice and it's - it's - I mean you confusing yourself all the time and you not trying to go forward in any language. (McCormick 1989:106-7)

Monolinguals have long had negative attitudes towards the speech of bilinguals if it incorporates two different codes. Grosjean (1982:146) states that many think of it as 'a grammarless mixture of two languages, a jargon or gibberish that is an insult to the monolingual's own rule-governed system'. Pejorative names such as 'Franglais' (a mixture of French and English) and 'Tex-Mex' (a mixture of Spanish and English) have been assigned to language alternation. The assumption among monolinguals generally being that those who mix languages know neither language well.

Linguists themselves have taken various stances about language alternation, negative views were held by, for example, Bloomfield (1927) and Biggs (1972). The unacceptance and downgrading of code-

switched speech can be traced back to the ideas promulgated about ideal bilingual speakers discussed in Section 1.3 above. Weinreich's (1953:73) views are similar:

> The ideal bilingual speaker switches from one language to another according to the appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics etc.) but not within an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence.

Martin-Jones and Romaine (1986:33) show that statements such as these are at odds with the sociolingustic facts and that such beliefs are commonly held and can lead to theories about bilingualism that are wrong and have serious educational implications. These issues will be taken up in Chapters 12 and 13. Recent investigation of language alternation has shown it to be an additional means by which members of bilingual communities can communicate. It is meaningful, rule-governed and certainly not random (Poplack (1980); Gumperz (1982); McClure (1981); Romaine (1989)).

1.4.1 Language alternation defined

Poplack & Sankoff (1988) discuss some of the issues involved in an examination of language alternation:

> The mixing of two languages in bilingual discourse may take many forms and be the result of several processes: code-switching, borrowing on the community and individual levels, incomplete language acquisition, interference, among others. Because they all result in sentences containing elements of two languages, these different bilingual behaviours are often confounded. In what is by now a formidable body of literature on the subject, all have been used as evidence about code-switching patterns. But since these outcomes of language contact are based on fundamentally different mechanisms, it is misleading to use data generated by one as evidence about the other. (Poplack & Sankoff 1988:99).

In this attempt to describe language mixing by young children within

some sort of framework, all the factors mentioned by Poplack & Sankoff (above) must be taken into account. However, the literature on the subject is full of the difficulties inherent in differentiating between these language contact phenomena, for example, deciding between a single-word switch and a borrowed word (see Section 1.1.4 below). Romaine (1989:145) after examining much of the literature argues that 'there are no unambiguous criteria which will decide in all cases what type of language contact phenomena we are dealing with'. All that can be put forward is an explicit account of the data in terms of the framework chosen, and problems acknowledged when they arise (see Chapter 9).

Code-switching is the label usually given to language alternation investigated by most sociolinguists. Gumperz (1982:59) defines this as 'the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems'. It is in working with such a definition that the difficulties in assigning bilingual speech to particular categories occurs. Grosjean says about this:

> Code-switching can involve a word or a phrase or a sentence. It can also involve several sentences. What is important is that switching is differentiated from borrowing a word from the other language and integrating it phonologically and morphologically into the base language. In code-switching, the switched element is not integrated. Instead there is a total shift to the other language. (Grosjean 1982:145).

'Language alternation' will be the term used in this thesis to refer to language mixing. This term is used by Auer (1984:1) and defined 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'. This definition fits our purposes and will allow a clear description of the language alternation produced by the children (see Chapter 9 below).

1.4.2 Why investigate language alternation ?

Language alternation is studied by people for a number of different reasons. For example, Gal (1979) is interested principally in patterns of language shift; Gumperz (1982) and Auer (1984, 1988) in the rhetorical and general communicative functions of code-switching, and Poplack (1980, 1981) and Romaine (1986) in linguistic constraints on code-switching. Arguably the greatest influence within this field of study to date, is the work of Gumperz and Poplack. Working within two completely different traditions, their viewpoints are radically different. However, their work on language alternation is of enormous importance and it will be briefly outlined.

Gumperz (1982) begins his study of code-switching by looking directly at interactions between speakers and the discourse function which code-switching serves. He describes two main types of code-switching. The first, 'situational switching' is affected by shifts in factors such as topic, participants and setting. Such switching, he maintains, is highly unlikely to occur within a sentence, occuring instead between structurally identifiable stages or episodes of a speech event. Gumperz (1982:59) illustrates this with an example of Chicano professionals in California exchanging goodbyes.

A: Well, I'm glad I met you.
B: Andale pues (O.K. swell).

The 'situations' which affect this type of switching can be examined in terms of topic, participant and setting.

The second, termed metaphorical (also conversational) switching is described as follows:

> The items in question form part of the same minimal speech act, and message elements are tied by syntactic and semantic relations apparently identical to those which join passages in a single language, the relationship of language to social context is much more complex. While linguists, concerned with grammatical description as such, see the code alternation as highly salient, participants immersed in the interaction are often quite unaware which code is used at any one time. Their main concern is with the communicative effect of what they are saying ... rather than claiming that speakers use language in response to a fixed, predetermined set of prescriptions, it seems more reasonable to assume that they build on their own and their audience's abstract understanding of situational norms, to communicate metaphoric information about how they intend their words to be understood. (Gumperz 1982:61).

A number of important points about code-switching are raised here: firstly that code-switching does occur intra-sententially; secondly, that it occurs at an unconscious level; a third stresses the communicative function of code-switching which allows the bilingual particular expressive function when speaking to another bilingual and fourthly the determining role of the 'audience' in the use of code-switching (see Chapter 9).

Gumperz (1982) utilized a discourse analytic approach to isolate the conversational functions of code-switching and isolated six functions: quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification and personalization versus objectivization.

Gumperz' research highlighted the expressive function and

pragmatic meaning of code-switching. Until his work, code-switching was viewed mostly in terms of its referential function, Romaine (1989). However, categorisation into 'situational' and 'metaphorical' switching is very difficult. For example, examination of the data in this study shows that there is rarely a simple one-to-one relationship between language and the extra-linguistic situation; it is much more dependent on relationships between speakers and who is present or absent from the conversation (see Chapter 9). Only one of the functional categories was found to hold any validity for the children's conversational switching (see Section 9.3). However, Gumperz was the first to use the notion of stategic/communicative functions of code-switching. In doing so he highlighted the important role of language alternation in bilingual communities and opened up the area for further sociolinguistic investigation.

Poplack (1980), on the other hand, approaches the study of code-switching through an examination of the linguistic system rather than the speaker. Aiming, ultimately, to specify a set of universal linguistic constraints on code-switching, she distinguishes types of code-switching according to the point in the structure at which they occur: tag, intersentential and intra-sentential. Tag-switching involves the insertion of a tag in one language into an utterance which is entirely in the other language. Romaine (1989:112) illustrates this with an example from Panjabi/English code-switching:

> I mean, unconsciously, subconsciously, kari jane eh, you know [English tag] par I wish, you know [English tag] ke ma pure Panjabi bol saka.
> (I mean, unconsciously, subconsciously, we keep doing it, you know, but I wish, you know that I could speak pure Panjabi)
> (see Section 1.2.3 for the entire extract).

Tags can be inserted easily at a number of points in a monolingual utterance without violating syntactic rules and are thought by Poplack (1980) to be the 'easiest' type of code-switching.

Intersentential switching involves a switch at a clause or sentence boundary, where each clause or sentence is in one language or another. It may also occur between speaker turns. An example from Puerto-Rican bilingual Spanish/English speech is given by the title of Poplack's (1980) paper, 'Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English y termino en Español' (Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English and finish it in Spanish). This type of switching is thought to require greater fluency in both languages than tag-switching since major parts of the utterance must conform to the rules of both languages.

Intrasentential switching occurs within the clause or sentence boundary. Romaine (1989:113) cites the following example,

> Tok Pisin/English - What's so funny? Come, be good. Otherwise, yu bai go long kot.
> 'What's so funny? Come, be good. Otherwise, you'll go to court'

Switching within this category can also include mixing within word boundaries as in the following Panjabi/English word cited by Romaine:

'shoppa' = shops

The English lexical item 'shop' takes the Panjabi plural '-a', so the language alternation is at the level where English lexis and Panjabi morphology are mixed. Intrasentential switching, it is argued, requires the greatest fluency in both languages, and may be avoided by all but the most fluent bilinguals.

All three types of switching may be seen within the same stretch of discourse, the extract in Section 1.4 illustrates all three by a Panjabi/English bilingual. Poplack (1980) states that this style of

code-switching is common among the Puerto-Rican community of New York City.

Poplack (1984) has used this categorisation to identify styles of language mixing between two different bilingual communities: French/English bilinguals in Canada and Puerto-Rican Spanish/English bilinguals in New York City. Differences have been reported by other researchers on the subject. Berk-Seligson (1986:325) found in Spanish/Hebrew code-switching that intra-sentential switching accounted for a higher proportion of all switches than in Poplack's Spanish/English data. Romaine (1989) points out that it is still difficult to say whether such differences are real or artefacts of differing methodologies and ways of analysing the data. She discusses the general disagreement which still exists about appropriate definitions concerning the various effects of language contact. She favours the idea of viewing the different aspects of language-mixing such as borrowing, mixing and switching as 'constituting a continuum ranging from whole sentences, clauses and other chunks of discourse to single words'(Romaine 1989:114).

The children in this study are at a relatively early stage in their acquisition of English. For this reason it is not particularly useful to examine the syntactic constraints on code-switching as they are likely to be influenced by language learning errors. Data which is of interest in the light of Poplack's findings will be highlighted, but like Auer (1984; 1988) we will be focusing more on the interactional perspective of language alternation.

1.4.3 Language alternation in children

The context within which a child becomes bilingual is an important consideration when examining the literature on code-switching in young children. Fantini (1985), Saunders (1982), Taeschner (1983) and Vihman (1985) give accounts of code-switching in young, middle class children acquiring two languages more or less simultaneously (see Section 1.6.1 below) for a discussion on types of bilingualism). McClure (1977; 1981), Genishi (1981) Di Luzio (1984), Auer (1984; 1988) and McCormick (1989) however, deal with code-switching in young children with a minority first language, who acquire their second language on entry to school. Most accounts of code-switching in young children, exceptions being Auer's and Di Luzio's, examine young children in their early years of nursery or school. A further point worth noting is that these studies (except Fantini's) take place in bilingual nursery or school environments, so there are very few settings which exactly mirror the British educational context (Section 1.6.2 below).

Fantini (1985) found that by the age of 3.0, code-switching on the basis of addressee was well established in his Spanish/English bilingual son Mario. Saunders (1982) reported that his two German/English speaking children code-switched depending on their addressee. He also found that the children did not engage in code-switching if monolingual speakers were present. Code-switching at this age is also reported by Taeschner (1983) and Vihman (1985).

Most of the literature on code-switching among children acquiring a second language on entry to school deals with children over the age

of 7;0, except for McClure (1981) and McCormick (1989). McClure (1977; 1981) noted differences in code-switching based on childrens' proficiency in both languages. Generally, the more fluent bilinguals, usually the older children, code-switched predominantly at the constituent level, predominantly sentential-level constituents, while the less fluent bilinguals switched mainly at the single word level, exceptions are noted in Section 9.5 below. McClure (1981:92), whose sample matches this study most closely concludes by saying, 'Children's code-switching is neither random nor the result of a linguistic deficit. In fact children's code-switching conveys extralinguistic information about participants, setting, discourse type and topic'.

In describing the language-mixing of the children in this study it is hoped that we will find what purpose, if any, it serves for the children (see Chapter 9).

1.4.4 Borrowing versus language alternation

Perhaps one of the greatest problems in any study of language alternation is deciding on what constitutes the most minimal language-switch. It is necessary to differentiate between borrowed words and language alternation and this can be extremely difficult when the switch is a single word. Consider the following examples:

1. Ameena: teacher thakni lagi/ = the teacher is looking/
2. Tahira: eh baby ithai baisi/ = the baby will sit here/
3. Ameena: mein sairai colour karsain/ = I want to colour it all/

These examples could be categorised as single word intrasentential

code-switches by someone without any knowledge of the norms of community language use by Panjabi speakers on Tyneside. However, the words 'teacher', 'baby' and 'colour' are among a large number of established loanwords within this particular speech community (see Section 9.2 below).

It is not easy to make this distinction in all cases of language alternation involving single words, especially in a situation such as this where Panjabi is currently undergoing continual change through its recent contact with English as a 'majority' language (Chana & Romaine 1984). In addition, Panjabi and English have a history of contact going back several hundred years, both languages being influenced by each other mainly in terms of noun vocabulary. Panjabi, therefore has some well established loanwords together with more recent borrowings as a result of the Panjabi-speaking communities now established in Britain since the 1950's. Romaine (1989:132) notes that 'many Panjabi/English bilinguals use words for what would be traditionally called 'core' vocabulary, where Panjabi equivalents exist and are widely used, eg. children, parents, language, etc.. Thus we could not say that Panjabi needed to borrow these words; nor is it sufficient to invoke prestige.' In general, it cannot be said that fluent bilingual adults mix languages to fill lexical gaps. It is often the case that switching occurs most often for items which people know and use in both languages (Zentella 1981).

The criteria which have been most often cited to differentiate between loanwords and code-switching are: frequency of use, native language synonym displacement, morphophonemic and/or syntactic integration, and acceptability to native speakers (Poplack & Sankoff,

1984). Borrowed words are those, according to Poplack (1984:56), which are frequent and which 'conform with recipient language linguistic patterns'.

In practice, the picture is not always so clear cut. Romaine (1989) points out that a great many Panjabi/English mixed compound verbs are not phonologically integrated, and they differ to the extent to which they are morphologically and syntactically integrated. Pfaff (1979) and Scotton (1988) reject morphological and syntactic integration as reliable criteria. Pfaff (1976:297) maintains that one must determine whether or not a base language equivalent exists, and if so whether or not it is in use in the community, whether the individual knows it and regards it as belonging to one language or another, in order to ascertain the status of a certain word. Poplack & Sankoff (1984) and Romaine (1989) reiterate the importance of understanding the accepted community norms of word usage.

Part of an understanding about community word usage must be an awareness on the part of the researcher, of the continual process of change regarding the status of words. Haugen (1956) noted that borrowed items tend to have an uncertain linguistic status for some time after they are first adopted and before a particular loan becomes generally socially accepted, each individual may adapt to it to differing degrees. Moreover, as Poplack, Sankoff & Miller (1988) noted, one individual may use different phonological forms of the same loanword from one occasion to the next.

Frequency of use, and adult bilingual-speaker judgement were the main criteria used to judge whether an utterance contained a single-word switch or a borrowing, and to a lesser degree morphological and

phonological integration. The aim was certainly to base any judgement firmly within the norms of usage within the community (see Section 9.2 below).

Language mixing involving single words was particularly common among some of the children in this study (see Section 9.2). McClure (1977) found that children who were not equally proficient in both languages tended to switch predominantly at the word level. Detailed analysis of code-mixing by the children in this study can be found in Section 9.2.

1.5 SOCIOPOLITICAL ISSUES IN BILINGUALISM

It would be impossible to discuss bilingualism in Britain today without referring to wider sociopolitical issues which affect, for example, language maintenance and shift, the education which bilingual children receive and the level of resources which exist to deal with a multi-lingual population. In this section we examine some of the sociopolitical issues which are relevant to the speech community involved in this study.

1.5.1 Minority language issues

Britain regards itself as a monolingual country (Romaine 1983), but it has a substantial population of non-native English speakers, many of whom are bi- or multi-lingual. In examining minority language issues, one must consider the present context of the dominant English language and values within Britain. The Linguistic

Minorities Project (1985) carried out the first major sociolinguistic survey of minority languages in Britain. Their definition of the term 'linguistic minority' deserves to be outlined in full:

> A category of people who share a language that is not the language of the dominant majority - in the British context, English .... the quantitative connotations of the term 'minority' to be interpreted with reference to the population as a whole. (LMP 1985:18)

In addition to acknowledging the status of English as the dominant language of Britain it should be recognised as an increasingly important world language. It could be said that at present in Britain, minority languages, whether indigenous like Scottish Gaelic and Welsh or, like Greek and Ukrainian spoken by migrant workers and subsequent generations, are legitimate only within certain domains: the home, places of worship and ethnic sectors of the economy. At this point in time, minority languages in Britain have much lower status than English.

LMP outline the difficulties in operating their definition of minority language. In particular, they found interpreting linguistic data collected from bilingual families who have their origins in Panjab the most complex sociolinguistic issue of the survey. The families in this study have their origins in that region and the sociolinguistic history of the Panjab is described in Section 2.3.3 below.

Since the object of this study is to investigate the communication of young children whose first language (L1) is a minority language, we will examine the LMP's view of carrying out research into this field and then some of the research which exists (Section 1.5.3).

1.5.2 A view on minority language research

The LMP (1985) made two important statements about doing research into the languages of minority groups:

> (doing) research is often used as an excuse for not taking practical steps on the ground ... minorities were wrongly singled out as the cause of a problematic situation which must be elaborately defined before beginning to be remedied. (ibid.:16)

These statements reflect the fact that minority groups in the U.K. and throughout North Western Europe are discriminated against at all levels and they voice the conviction that if language is to be singled out for scrutiny as one of the channels through which discrimination occurs, it is the duty of the researcher(s) to ensure that steps are taken, not only to highlight the situation, but to do something to change it. It is essential that research is thorough so that practice arising from research concerning education policies on mother tongue teaching for example, can be based on sound research principles. Proponents of participatory action research (for example Hall, 1981; de Oliviera & de Oliviera, 1981; Friere 1981) and feminist research (for example, Oakley, 1980; Roberts 1981; Wilkinson, 1986; Stanley & Wise, 1983) also embody a similar philosophy in their work, always attempting to link sound research to practice. The LMP (1985:108) also discuss the lack of research within the field of minority languages and state that '...many issues call for observational research and longitudinal studies.'

We will now consider what research there has been into minority languages in the British context since this information will have an important bearing on this study.

1.5.3 Minority language research

We saw that the Linguistic Minorities Project was the first large scale survey into Britain's minority languages. A schools language survey, research into adult language use and mother tongue teaching provision was carried out in London, Coventry and Bradford. The work of the LMP emphasises the diversity of experiences among speakers of minority languages in Britain today. This project is still the only large-scale in-depth study of linguistic minority communities currently in Britain.

In this study we are concerned with young children, so we will examine some of the information and research which relates to this population.

The 1987 Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) census found that twenty-three percent of pupils in ILEA schools come from homes where a language other than English is spoken. One hundred and seventy different mother tongue languages were recorded. There are no recent figures for Newcastle schools, but a survey carried out in 1984 found that 4.9 per cent of school children had a mother tongue other than English (City of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1985). While there is a difference between these two local education authorities in the numbers of their potentially bilingual pupils, both authorities have pupils entering school with a mother tongue other than English.

There is very little research on how a second language is acquired in this particular context in which a child is immersed in a predominantly English speaking environment, especially when compared with, for example, the information about acquisition of French in

language immersion programmes in Canada, Cummins (1984).

Most of the research examines the second language abilities of children becoming bilingual in British schools and utilizes formal assessments standardized on the monolingual population to do this. Rampton (1983) and Taylor & Hegarty (1985) review much of this research. Not surprizingly the findings of the studies show differences, often perceived as deficits, among non-native English speaking children.

Thus, this study was undertaken against the background of a complete absence of reliable information about developing bilingual children's use of language in school or at home. We deal now with the context of bilingualism in children from a linguistic minority.

1.6 ISSUES IN THE BILINGUALISM OF CHILDREN FROM LINGUISTIC MINORITIES

The concern in this study is young children whose mother tongue is a minority language and who come into contact with English on entry to nursery school. The term 'mother tongue' will be defined as the language the child first learns, that s/he communicates in at home prior to shool entry, and identifies with at this young age. Skuttnabb-Kangas (1982, Chapter 2) defines the concept in some detail.

We have discussed in some detail already certain definitions of bilingualism (Section 1.3 above) and have attempted to put these into the context of actual language use, rather than portray some idealised notion of a bilingual speaker. We will now examine some of the issues in bilingualism other than its definition.

1.6.1 The context of second language acquisition

Much of the literature on childhood bilingualism, eg. Leopold (1970), Volterra and Taeschner (1978), Imedadze (1967), Bergman (1976) looks at the bilingual language development of children acquiring two languages simultaneously, a phenomenon commonly referred to as simultaneous bilingualism.

The type of bilingualism that this study is dealing with is sequential bilingualism. MacLaughlin (1978) refers to this as successive acquisition and uses an age criterion of three years to distinguish between sequential and simultaneous bilingualism. Since we are taking account of the social context surrounding the acquisition of bilingual skills, the distinction between simultaneous and successive bilingualism is an important one. Fitzpatrick (1987) points out that in addition to the chronology of acquisition, relevant factors are also whether the languages are acquired in a 'natural' unstructured way or in an 'artificial' structured way and whether they are acquired in a more or less monocultural context as opposed to a clearly bicultural context.

Currently in North Western Europe minority languages are accorded less status than the prestigious European languages of the dominant majority. The relative status of each language is therefore another factor to consider for a bilingual individual and it is important to realise that there is a difference between becoming bilingual in two prestigious languages and becoming bilingual in a minority and a majority language. Furthermore, most accounts in the literature of children becoming bilingual are of those where two parents have

different mother tongues so that the children for example acquire German by speaking to their mother in German, and Italian by speaking to their father in Italian (Volterra and Taeschner, 1978). In most of these documented accounts one of the languages is the majority language of the country and the other a prestigious European language. Such studies are of limited relevance to the children in this study who become bilingual in a minority and majority language. It is the educational consequences of this particular type of bilingualism we examine in the next section.

1.6.2 Bilingual education

The children in this study have a minority language as their mother tongue and go to school where the medium of communication is English. There were no 'formally' recognized opportunities to use their mother tongue in school at the time this study was carried out (Section 2.3.6). The children we are concerned with here, and most children from a minority linguistic background in Britain do not have the opportunity to use their mother tongue as part of their formal education (Fitzpatrick, 1987; Baker, 1988) . Romaine (1989: Chapter 6) gives a full and very useful account of the relationship between bilingualism and education and places educational policies within a historical context,

> The traditional policy, either implicitly assumed or explicitly stated, which most nations have pursued with regard to various minority groups who speak a different language, has been eradication of the native language/culture and assimilation into the majority one. It was not so long ago that minority children in countries like Australia, the United States, Britain and the Scandanavian countries were subjected to physical violence in schools for speaking their home language. Often the education of

> these children entailed moving them from their parents and their own cultural groups. The Statutes of Iona in Scotland, which date from 1609, might well be the first instance of legislation designed to promote linguistic and cultural assimilation. The Statutes had the express purpose of separating Highland children from their native Gaelic culture and language and educating them in English in the Lowlands, where they would learn not only the dominant language, but would do so in an environment where their own culture was seen as barbaric (Romaine & Dorian 1981). It required 'everie gentilman or yeaman within the said Illandis to put his eldest son (or daughter) to the scuillis on the lawland, and interteny and bring thame up thair untill they may be able to sufficientlie to speik, reid and wryte Inglische.' (Romaine 1989:217-8).

The various educational policies in countries which attempt to address minority language issues reflect several different goals. For example, in Canada, the aim of the immersion programmes in French and English is the enrichment of majority language children and bilingual/bicultural education (Swain & Lapkin, 1982). In the United States the aim is not bilingualism or biculturalism but assimilation and transitional bilingual education programmes is the method by which this is achieved. Teaching in a child's mother tongue is only an aid to enable the child to enter into monolingual mainstream education. The most common experience for minority language children in Europe is 'submersion' (Skuttnabb-Kangas, 1982). The children are placed in schools with monolingual teaching policies and may or may not receive some teaching in their mother tongue. This is the experience of most children from linguistic minority groups in Britain (Baker, 1988). In Bavaria some children of migrant workers are taught in their mother tongue for segregationist reasons (Cropley, 1983). The children are given very little instruction in German because the aim is to repatriate them and their families.

Due to the variety of contexts in which children from linguistic

minorities are educated, research carried out on the language learning and education of other minority language groups eg.Spanish mother tongue speakers in the USA (Rivera, 1983), French mother tongue speakers in Canada (Cummins, 1984), Finnish mother tongue speakers in Sweden (Skuttnabb-Kangas, 1982) must be viewed with these differences in mind. To date there has been only one experimental bilingual educational programme carried out within the British educational context (Fitzpatrick, 1987). The education of children from linguistic minority backgrounds is discussed further in Section 12.4.2.

1.6.3 The acquisition of English as a second language

Children in this study all acquire English as a second language in a mainly monolingual, monocultural school environment. There has been a considerable amount of research into the syntax of second language English (E2L). for example Dulay, Burt & Krashen (1982). Duncan & Gibbs (1987) and Duncan et.al.(1987) have carried out a considerable amount of investigation into the E2L syntax of children with Panjabi as their mother tongue. The findings are summarised by Duncan (1989:13),

> One of the fundamental linguistic findings is that early emerging morphology and syntax seem to develop in a similar pattern in both first and second language English, in primary school children, with mother tongue and gender not presenting as significant variables.

Cummins (1984), a leading figure in the debate about second language acquisition and educational achievement has proposed a division between language for communication and language which is

closely related to literacy and cognitive skills. In his opinion many minority students develop communicative skills within two years, but lag behind by up to seven years in the skills which allow them to achieve academically. Romaine's critique of this view makes some very important points,

> Cummins still does not resolve the paradox which he (1979:222) himself points out: 'Why does a home-school language switch result in high levels of functional bilingualism and academic achievement in middle class majority language children ... yet lead to inadequate command of both first and second languages and poor academic achievement in many minority language children?' I see no rationale for recognising a view of language proficiency which is compartmentalised in this way. Cummins appears to be equating semantic development with cognitive development. (Romaine 1989:238-9)

In addition to Romaine's points, it cannot be said that all children from linguistic minorities do not achieve academically, or leave school with inadequate command of first and second languages (Taylor & Hegarty, 1985).

Very little work has been carried out on the development of minority bilingual children's other language systems, vocabulary, semantics, functions and phonology (cf. Duncan, 1989b) or their metalinguistic development (Baker, 1988).

It should be said at this point that theoretical aspects of bilingualism will not be examined in this thesis. Theoretical bilingualism is largely concerned with identifying language universals and contributing towards theoretical linguistics through the study of bilingualism. The interested reader is referred to Kessler (1971), Dulay and Burt (1974), Tremaine (1975), Sankoff (1980) and Paradis and Lebrun (1984) for work in this area.

We turn finally to deal with some current ideas and views about bilingualism and minority languages.

1.6.3 A perspective on bilingualism in the present British context

The general feeling now among some writers on the subject is that bilingualism is a useful skill and resource and a valuable asset to the bilingual individual. The LMP (1985:6) present bilingualism as 'a normal feature of social life and an individual and societal resource'. However this is not the case for many bilingual speakers whose mother tongue is a minority language, the many millions of migrant workers in Western Europe for example. The LMP refer a great deal to how 'monolingual perspectives and policies in the field of education reinforce the prevailing view of bilingualism as a problem'. We will discuss this further in chapters 12 and 13.

More recently, as a response to the changing social and linguistic conditions, European researchers have been paying closer attention to the language skills of many minority language groups, (Skuttnabb-Kangas (1982); Appel and Muysken (1987); Linguistic Minorities Project (1985); Tosi (1984); Auer & di Luzio (1983) and Romaine (1989)). It is generally agreed that there is a need for more socially based research which will allow the bilingual individual's range of skills to be highlighted, and also that this view should be reflected in education systems which support the development and maintenance of bilingual skills.

1.7 SUMMARY

In this chapter we have outlined a framework for researching into the language of young children from a linguistic minority learning English in school. We examined various definitions of bilingualism and also language alternation - an aspect of bilingualism which has been viewed very negatively. It was also made clear that the context in which bilingual skills develop is an extremely important consideration in a study such as this.

We turn now to examine this context in more detail outlining the background to the Pakistani Community in Newcastle upon Tyne, the subject of Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND TO THE PAKISTANI COMMUNITY IN NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

This chapter discusses, for the most part, non-linguistic information particularly relevant to the community involved in this study. A second purpose of this chapter is to make explicit my own perspective on the background information that will be discussed in the following sections.

The study aims to investigate and describe children's communication at school. We have seen in Section 1.5.3 that little information exists about this type of sequential bilingualism which is becoming increasingly common in Britain and that there is a need for research. It is important to stress that mother-tongue Panjabi speakers are not viewed as "a problem" that requires attention and therefore research. The "problems" that exist derive from the inadequate response of institutions to the needs of a multi-lingual population (see Sections 10.4 & 11.2.3). It will be one of the purposes of this chapter to discuss some of the reasons why many aspects of the lives of people from ethnic minority groups are regarded from the dominant (white) viewpoint as "a problem". This is perhaps most readily apparent from an examination of the background to some of the non-white communities in Britain. Much of this discussion will focus on racism, the major reason for the disadvantages facing black linguistic minority groups in Britain (Wilson, 1978; Brown, 1984; Sivanandan 1982).

This chapter will be divided into two main parts. The first

part is concerned with outlining important issues related to post-war minority communities in Britain, highlighting racism as a major issue. The second part deals with information specifically related to the Pakistani Panjabi Community in Newcastle upon Tyne.

To avoid any confusion, it is necessary to outline the terminology adopted when referring to the various groups of people discussed in this thesis. 'Minority', ethnic minority or 'linguistic minority' will be used as general terms referring to members of the population who regard themselves as having a different cultural, linguistic or racial background from the majority white monolingual British population. This would include for example, people of Eastern and Southern European origin, Chinese origin, Latin American origin as well as people with family origins in the Indian Sub-continent and West Indies. Section 2.1 which discusses background issues to particular minority communities and racism will highlight why it is necessary to differentiate between the vastly heterogenous groups of people subsumed under the title '(ethnic) minorities'.

In 1983 the Policy Studies Institute published the findings of a large scale survey into many aspects of life in Britain for people from some ethnic minority groups. The term 'black' was used to refer to groups of people whose 'family origins are in the West Indies ... the Indian sub-continent or in Africa - (who) are all vulnerable to the prejudice and discrimination based on skin colour' (Brown 1984:4). The distinction between 'black' and 'white' is a widely used one. The term 'black' will be used in this thesis to refer to people originally from Africa, the Caribbean or the Indian Sub-

continent. This use of 'black' is in preference to 'coloured' or 'non-white'. It is in this sense that, for example the five black Members of Parliament use the term. Section 2.1.2 in the discussion on immigration and immigration control makes use of the term 'black' in the same sense and is specifically referring to people of Asian and African/Caribbean origin as opposed to other members of minority groups or members of the white community who do not receive prejudice based on skin colour - although they may be discrim inated against in other ways. Section 2.2 discusses racism directed at members of the black communities. When not discussing aspects of life which affect all black communities, such as particular forms of racism or immigration control, communities will be referred to by country of origin. Therefore, people with family origins in the Indian Sub-continent will be referred to as Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi or Asian collectively; people with family origins in the Caribbean will be referred to as Afro-Caribbean.

One final point to be made at this stage is about the language used in relation to minority communities. Expressions associated with the experiences of people from minority communities can acquire negative connotations. Consider the connotations of the word 'immigrant' as it has been used in the past and still is now, often with words such as 'illegal', 'swamping' and 'flooding'. Pilkington (1988:97) cites an extract from the People written in 1958 and titled 'For Their Own Sakes Stop Them Now' which begins,

> With the greatest possible urgency, the 'People' now asks the Government to put up a bar against the free admission of coloured immigrants to Britain. We are not yielding to colour prejudice. But the wave of immigration rolling all over our shores has now risen to threatening proportions. (May 25th., 1958:7)

It is not particularly accurate to describe people who have come from overseas and settled in Britain for many years as immigrants, and certainly not their children, but the word persists and with it, it s negative connotations. 'Migrant' will be the term used to refer to an individual who has travelled earlier in life and settled in a second country for several years.

The next section aims briefly to illustrate the interplay between the historical, economic, political and social forces that have influenced the migration of groups from developing countries to the highly industrialised countries of North-Western Europe. The focus will be on Britain.

2.1 BACKGROUND TO THE BLACK COMMUNITIES IN BRITAIN

2.1.1 Migration to Britain - a brief overview.

The nineteenth century was the period in which many European nations had a large number of colonies, the British Empire being the biggest, covering a quarter of the world. The colonies were sources of cheap raw materials and provided large markets for the products of the industrializing countries. Views differ on the legacy of colonialism. One view is that the colonies achieved industrial and commercial expansion, acquired administative and legal systems based on sound (ie.Western) principles (Parker, 1975). Another view is that countries were impoverished by colonial rule which never developed an adequate economic or political base for ongoing development (Chandra, 1984). Despite the conflicting arguments, the

facts are that there were countless incidents of brutal repression throughout this period and opposition to the ruling power always existed (Parker 1975). In many countries, but particularly in India, opposition to colonial rule gathered force at the beginning of the twentieth century (Gandhi, 1927; Nehru, 1946). The struggle for Indian independence was won in 1947 and the nations of India and Pakistan emerged. There were still very close ties with Britain through the establishment of the Commonwealth. Indeed, all Commonwealth citizens continued to be 'British subjects' through the passing of the British Nationality Act in 1947 (Gordon & Klug, 1985).

After the second world war, Britain had severe labour shortages in certain areas, particularly in textiles, the hotel and catering trade and in the newly formed National Health Service, generally low-paid, low-status jobs not wanted by the white population. People were recruited from overseas to come to Britain for work. It was in this context that the post-war emigration of people from the West Indies and Indian Sub-continent began. Many of the people who came were skilled or with professional qualifications, yet did not obtain jobs commensurate with their qualifications (Pilkington, 1988).

2.1.2 Migration and settlement

Since 1945 there have been several different groups of migrants to the U.K. This section will describe the main groups of people that came and briefly examine the circumstances of their arrival in the U.K. and will put the migration of black people within a clearer context.

Many Irish citizens came to Britain after the war and emigration from the Irish Republic continued on a fairly large scale until the sixties, the social and economic situation in the Republic and the promise of better prospects in Britain being the main factors affecting migration to Britain (Jackson, 1963).

Many European countries had thousands of refugees, displaced persons and unemployed people following the war. Not all the Europeans who came settled permanently, or were allowed to as Castles points out.

> These workers were needed to fill the temporary needs created by the post-war boom and the loss of British labour in the war. Only single people were eligible. They were not regarded as permanent settlers and their civil rights were severely restricted. Tied for three years to a specific job chosen by the Ministry of Labour, they were liable to deportation for misconduct or ill-health and single men and women recruited were rarely allowed to bring other family members with them. (Castles 1984:41)

During the 1950's, many Italians came to Britain, most on work permits which were renewable every year. Once a migrant worker had stayed in Britain for four years, employment restrictions were dropped, and they could settle. Further migration from Spain and Portugal occurred on quite a large scale in the 1960's.

The common factors producing migration are labour shortages and economic growth in one country, in this case post-war Britain, coupled with slower economic growth, surplus labour and lower economic prospects for individuals in another country. As discussed in Section 2.1, this was the relationship between Britain and the newly independent Commonwealth countries, in the post-war period.

Migrants came from the West Indies, India and Pakistan. Some people came as a direct result of recruitment by London Transport or

The British Hotels and Restaurants Association or the NHS, but most people came in response to the demands of British industry for labour. Commonwealth Citizens could freely enter and settle in Britain if they wished. Immigration from the West Indies, India and Pakistan at this time was closely correlated with the availability of work (Peach, 1968). It is these groups of black people that have received far more attention from the Government, media and white population than any other group of immigrants to Britain. The reasons for this will be examined in the next section where the focus will be on the issues of immigration and immigration control as they have affected the lives of black people who came and settled in Britain.

2.1.3 Immigration and immigration control

In response to the threat of the introduction of immigration controls, immigration from the West Indies, India and Pakistan rose considerably from 1959 (Runnymede Trust & Radical Statistics Group, 1980). At the same time as active recruitment of black people in Commonwealth Countries was taking place, Governments were expressing concern over the presence of a sizeable black population in Britain. In 1950 Attlee's Labour Government discussed 'the means of preventing any further increase in the coloured population of this country' one of their reasons being that, 'the higher standards of social service in this country should attract an undue proportion of the surplus population of the West Indies and other colonial territories' (Cabinet Paper 113, 1950, cited by Pilkington, 1988). In fact, people from minority groups in Britain under-use services they are entitled to

(Rack, 1982; Wilson, 1978; Littlewood & Lipsedge, 1982). In 1955 the Central Council of the Conservative Party passed a motion calling for controls on the immigration of Commonwealth Citizens, bowing to pressure from certain factions in the party, most notably Cyril Osbourne MP who,

> Between 1954 and 1958 orchestrated innumerable debates on the issue of immigration, arguing that the unrestricted entry of black people was a threat to the country's moral, social and economic well-being ... he talked in terms of the spectre of shiploads of lepers arriving from Africa and of a 'coffee coloured' Britain. (Pilkington 1988:68).

In 1958 there were anti-black riots in London and Nottingham. Much of the press coverage blamed this outbreak of white violence on the black population, for example an article on the riots in the Daily Mail on 2nd. September 1958 was titled, 'Should We Let Them Keep Coming In ?'. Members of Parliament did not wholeheartedly condemn acts of violence by whites towards blacks. Gordon & Klug (1985:4) note that Conservative MP Cyril Osbourne declared in Parliament, 'It is time someone spoke out for the white man in this country and I propose to do so'. It was in this climate that the first piece of legislation limiting immigration to Britain from the Commonwealth was passed.

> Just as the hostility to Jews had led to the control of Jewish immigration through the 1905 Aliens Act, so the racist hostility of the 1950s had a similar result. In October 1958 Commonwealth Minister Alec Douglas-Home announced in Canada that curbs would have to be put on the 'unrestricted flow of immigration in Britain from the West Indies'. Four years later the first controls on Commonwealth Immigrants were implemented. (Gordon & Klug 1985:4)

The Commonwealth Immigration Act was passed in 1962, it aimed to reduce the number of people who came to Britain to settle, and so reduce the supposed threat of social disorder and cut down on the

social costs of immigration. The act qualified the right of free entry for Commonwealth Citizens. After the act, Commonwealth and U.K. citizens whose passports were not issued in the U.K. had to obtain a Ministry of Labour employment voucher, of which there were three categories. Category A was for Commonwealth citizens who had a specific job to come to; category B vouchers were for those who possessed a recognized skill or qualification in short supply in Britain; category C vouchers were available to all other applicants (i.e. semi and unskilled) with priority given to those who had served in the British Armed Forces in World War II, and thereafter on a first come first served basis (Runnymede Trust & Radical Statistics Group, 1980). Immigration openly became an election issue in 1964 when Peter Griffiths, a Conservative, fought an overtly racist campaign and defeated a former Labour cabinet minister. One of Griffiths' slogans was, 'If you want a nigger for a neighbour, vote Liberal or Labour', (Foot, 1965). Successive Labour and Conservative governments brought in increasingly restrictive immigration controls. The 1971 Immigration Act, which came into effect under the Conservative government in 1973, remains the basis for immigration controls today. This Act introduced the distinction, 'patrials' and 'non-patrials'. Broadly speaking, patrials were largely of British descent and therefore white, non-patrial citizens of the U.K. and colonies were most likely to be black. The Act made patrials free from immigration control, deportation and restrictions on taking employment, whereas non-patrials could only enter Britain to settle if they were considered to be dependents of people already settled. If not, they could enter only as work permit holders to do specific jobs for

specific periods. This Act marked the end of black immigration for settlement. It was followed by the British Nationality Act of 1981 which established three classes of citizenship. British citizenship can now only be acquired by birth, descent or through naturalization at the discretion of the Home Secretary. Various 'categories' of citizenship have been created, for example, British Dependent Territories Citizens (BDTCs) for people connected to a British colony like Hong Kong. This citizenship does not entitle most BDTCs to live anywhere other than their place of birth. The exceptions to this rule are the people of Gibraltar and the Falkland Islands who can become British citizens if they apply. British Overseas Citizens (BOCs) is the category for all other non-patrial citizens who had the right to settle in Britain until 1968. To enter Britain, BOCs have to queue for special vouchers which can take nearly eight years to obtain (Gordon & Klug, 1985:9).

In summary, this section has shown that black British citizens and Commonwealth citizens who once had a right to enter and settle in the U.K. have had these rights increasingly restricted and then withdrawn altogether and that these restrictions operate selectively on black people (Gordon & Klug, 1985). Politicians linked (black) immigration control to improving race relations and exploited the issue for electoral gain. This 'reasoning' has earned a position of respectability within British society for the idea that if you restrict the number of black people by imposing selective immigration controls you will then have good race relations (Sivanandan, 1982). This viewpoint ignores the racism of whites towards blacks. Immigration legislation has had serious effects among many black

communities in Britain and in some cases resulted in deportation, families remaining split for years and prevented refugees who are seeking asylum gaining permission to enter Britain (see for example The Times, 8.9.86; The Observer, 8.10.89). These laws also affect the white populations' views of black people in Britain and may well reinforce discriminatory beliefs which are reflected in the discriminatory practices of individuals and institutions (see Brown, 1983). It is important to bear in mind the possible effects immigration law can have on the black and white population of Britain. It is my own view that these laws help to produce a climate which allows black people to be portrayed in ways that reinforce prejudices and which affect their status and well-being in Britain. It can be argued that the premise on which Britain's immigration laws are based is racist (Wilson, 1978; Sivanandan, 1982; Gordon & Klug, 1985). The purpose of the next section is to enlarge on the subject of racism and show how an understanding of racism is important in the context of this study.

2.2 RACISM

Brown (1988) states that racism is a very loosely defined term, and specifies instead the different ways in which discrimination is manifest by whites towards blacks:

1)in individual acts of personal discrimination
2)in individual acts of non-personal discrimination
3)through indirect discrimination
4)by organizations serving to exclude black people
5)through deliberate organizational policies

There are therefore many aspects to discrimination. Racism is the term usually used when one group who are prejudiced against another have power over that group and discrimination occurs on the basis of nationality or culture (Fuller & Toon, 1987). However, in the West today,

> There is ... one example of racial prejudice allied to an inequality in power that predominates over all others: the polarization between black and white, based not on nationality or culture (though these factors come into it) but on skin pigmentation. (Fuller & Toon 1987:11)

In discussing the position of black communities in Britain it is necessary to recognize that this form of racism exists particularly because black people experience the effects directly and indirectly. It is also important to realize that white people are taught the values of an inherently racist society and absorb these values to differing degrees (Milner, 1983).

A distinction is often drawn between individual acts of racism, and institutional racism. An example of an individual act of racism was the incident in a Manchester school where a white boy stabbed and killed a Bangladeshi boy (The Times 4.2.87). The effects of institutional racism are seen in, for example, the higher rate of unemployment among black people (Brown, 1983). The distinction is in reality, artificial, as Carmichael & Hamilton writing about the U.S.A. point out.

> When a black family moves into a home in a white neighbourhood and is stoned, burned or routed out, they are victims of an overt act of individual racism which many people will condemn - at least in words. But it is institutional racism that helps keep black people locked in dilapidated slum tenements, subject to the daily prey of of exploitative slumlords, merchants, loansharks and discrimminatory real estate agents. The society either pretends it does not know of this latter situation or is in fact incapable of doing anything meaningful about it ... Institutional racism relies on the active and pervasive operation of anti-black

> attitudes and practices. A sense of superior group position prevails: whites are 'better' than blacks: therefore blacks should be subordinate to whites. This is a racist attitude and it permeates society on both the individual and institutional level, covertly and overtly. (Carmichael & Hamilton 1967:45)

Milner (1983:2) continues on this theme,

> The individual manifestation of social, political and economic forces ... has been styled 'institutional racism' and refers to all those social processes, overt and covert, by which black people are (intentionally or effectively) devalued and dispriviledged in a systematic way ... in the final analysis, racism (even institutional racism) is mediated by and to individuals, alone and in groups. Individual and institutional racism should be seen as indivisible counterparts, mutually reinforcing and regenerating each other.

In Britain today, black people face discrimination at all levels and in all institutions. This has been extensively researched by, for example, Brown (1983). Many researchers are concerned that research highlighting the existence and effects of racial discrimination in Britain is not used to alter the policies and practices which maintain discrimination, for example, Nanton (1988), LMP (1985) and Ali (1988), even though change is usually the motivation for the research in the first place.

Milner (1983) provides an excellent account of the effects of racism and children, focusing particularly on education. The forces of institutionalised racism within the education system put black children at a severe disadvantage, much of this discrimination, by its very nature is covert. However, one does not need to look far to find examples of overt racial abuse in schools throughout Britain. A recent article in the Newcastle Times revealed the reported level of overt physical and verbal abuse which black children suffer:

> Since 1985 over 70 per cent of Secondary and 40 per cent of Primary schools have encountered racial problems ... verbal abuse predominates, with name calling representing 60 per cent of the studies figures. Most frightening, however, is the level of

> violent assaults which make up nearly a quarter of the recorded incidents. The City's West End is named as the worst area for racial attacks - accounting for two thirds of the 107 cases reported for the year 1988/89. Newcastle Times 16.11.89.

This continues within a system which Milner (1983) believes is unwilling to confront the issue of racism 'or even to accept that it should do so' (ibid.:224). Some of these issues are examined further in relation to vocational training in Section 13.2.1.

An understanding of racism is important in the present context for three main reasons. Firstly, it emphasises that racial discrimination is a reality for all black people, including children, living in Britain. Secondly, for white researchers working in black communities, an awareness of the possible methodological implications involved in collecting data from a black community requires an understanding of racism and related issues . This point will be discussed further in Chapter 3. Finally, it is important to realize that the manifestations of racism will affect the take-up of any research findings that may recommend changes to current practice. This will be discussed in Chapter 13 and related specifically to the findings of this study.

Having presented some general background information related to the position of minority communities in Britain, the following sections provide further information about the community from which the informants in the study were drawn.

2.3 BACKGROUND TO THE PAKISTANI COMMUNITY IN NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

This section aims to provide information about the Pakistani Community in Newcastle. There is a relative absence of scholarly work on the South Asian Communities in Newcastle upon Tyne and nothing to my knowledge specifically about the Pakistani Community. Taylor (1976) documented the experiences of adolescent Indian and Pakistani boys, while Telang's (1967) survey work is now out of date and serves only to give a historical perspective. There is in progress some work by the West Newcastle Multi-Cultural History Project documenting the history and current situation of minority communities on Tyneside and one worker has focused particularly on the experiences of women. This account of the Pakistani Community on Tyneside is necessarily selective and details background information relevant to this study.

2.3.1 Newcastle as a multi-racial and multi-lingual city

The first record of people from Pakistan living in Newcastle is documented in the 1951 Census (Telang, 1967), therefore members of the community have lived in the city for over thirty-seven years at the time of writing. Even if there were reliable figures, it would not be the purpose of this section to enter into great detail about the relative numbers of the different ethnic minority communities in Newcastle, but some use will be made of information from the 1986 Household Survey (City of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1986).

There has been and continues to be great debate about the 'ethnic

question' on the census (Sillitoe, 1988). The reason for including a question about 'ethnic origin' is to gather information about the demography and numbers of people from different ethnic minority groups so that policy makers can adapt to the needs of the communities (that they will actually do so can not be assumed). The question used in the 1981 and previous censuses to obtain this information concerned the 'country of birth of the head of the household'. This has produced an increasingly inaccurate picture of people from ethnic minority groups as many heads of households are members of an ethnic minority group and British. The 1986 Household Survey used the categories 'European origin', 'Asian origin', 'African/Caribbean origin' and 'Other', and classified the family according to the origin of the head of the household. The term 'Asian origin' includes people of Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi origin. One in ten households were surveyed to gather this and other information, so the findings are still likely to be an underestimate of the different ethnic populations in Newcastle because the number of ethnic minority households is small and relatively unevenly distributed, but will be more accurate than findings based on 'country of origin' from the 1981 census.

Table 2(i) below shows that, city wide an (approximate) average of 3 percent of households were headed by a person of 'Asian origin'. Benwell, Elswick, Fenham, West City and Wingrove are the wards where the informants lived, and are part of what is referred to locally as the 'West End' of the city (Map 1). Elswick and Wingrove wards have a higher than average number of 'Asian Origin' heads of household. Benwell, Elswick, West City and part of Wingrove are designated

'priority areas' and are areas of relatively high unemployment and poor housing (Table 2(ii) below).

These maps and figures contain information which serves to give the reader some idea of the type of environment that the children come from. However they do little to convey the day to day environment that the children experience. Taking an aspect of community life that we are concerned with here, namely language, Table 2(iii) better reflects the multi-racial and multi-lingual nature of the West End of the city. From Table 2(iii) we can see that Panjabi is the minority language with the largest number of speakers within the children's classrooms, it is also the minority language with the largest number speakers throughout the city. The Pakistani Community, most of whom speak Panjabi as their first language, are the largest ethnic minority community in the West End of the city.

The remaining sections examine particular aspects of Pakistani community life that are relevant to the informants and their families; religion, language, Community Organizations and education.

Table 2(i)

Ethnic Origin of the Head of the Household as an Average Across Newcastle upon Tyne

	City	Benwell	Elswick	Fenham	West City	Wingrove
Asian	3	3	15	2	3	8
African/ Caribbean	0	0	0	0	2	
Other	0	0	0	0	1	0
European	97	96	84	98	94	92

Figures are percentages

Table 2(ii)

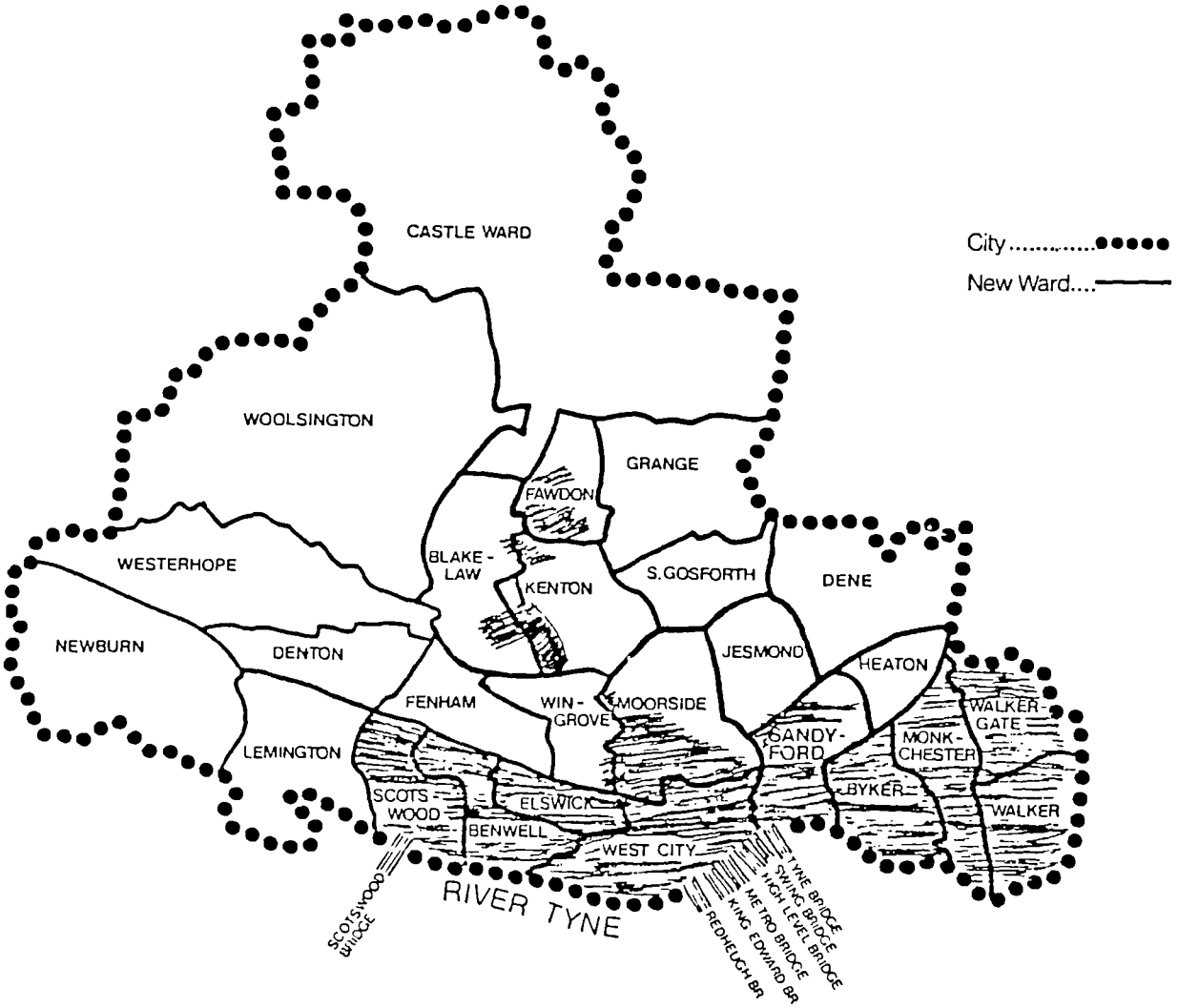
Average Rate of Unemployment in the City of Newcastle upon Tyne and Five West End Wards

	City*	Benwell*	Elswick*	Fenham	West City	Wingrove
Male	27	37	38	14.3	58	17
Female	14	16	15	6.9	33	17
All	21	29	29	11.3	50	17

Figures are percentages
* Indicates a 50% rise in unemployment since 1981

This information is taken from the Household Survey (City of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1986).

MAP 1



Map 1 shows the wards of Newcastle upon Tyne. The 'priority areas' are shaded.
Adapted from 'City Profiles', City of Newcastle upon Tyne (1986)

Table 2(iii)

Mother Tongue Languages Spoken By Children In Nine Classes Within Five Schools In The West End Of Newcastle

Language	Number of Speakers
English	113
Panjabi	85
Bengali	24
Urdu	11
Arabic	6
Cantonese	3
Malay	3
Hindi	2
Farsi	2
French/Ewondo	2
Vietnamese	1
'Chinese'	1
Turkish	1
Norwegian/German	1
Yoruba	1
TOTAL	256

2.3.2 Religion

The great majority of Pakistanis in Newcastle are Muslims, and religion plays a central role in the cultural life of the community. Morrish gives a brief outline of the basic tenets of the religion:

> The five pillars of Islam represent the essential supports of the Muslim belief and faith: they are the creed (kalima), prayer (salat), charity and almsgiving (zakat), fasting (saum) and pilgramage (hajj). The creed of Islam is simple, staightforward and memorable - 'There is no god but Allah, and Muhammed is his prophet'. (Morrish 1971:188)

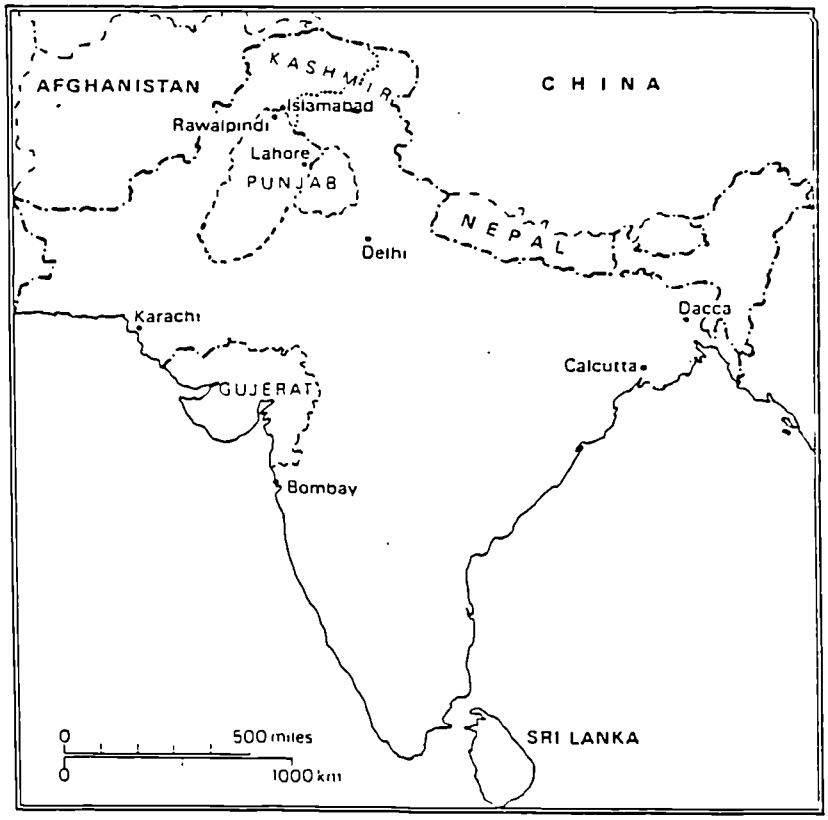
There is a large mosque in Elswick with a community centre attached and this is used for community events such as weddings, but also for mother-tongue and religious teaching. By the time most children are seven years old, they attend classes after school most days of the week to read the Quran, the holy book of Islam, which is written in Arabic. There is a strong emphasis within the community on the children learning valued religious traditions and linguistic skills. This will be discussed further in Chapter 10. The sociolinguistic history of the Panjab provides a context for further discussion of the children's language environment.

2.3.3 Sociolinguistic History Of Panjab

The region of Panjab in Northern India that existed before partition (Map 2) had three religious traditions, Hinduism, Sikhism and Islam and three associated literary traditions. Speakers in this region speak one of the local dialects of Panjabi as their mother tongue. After partition in 1947 (Map 3) Panjab was split and

Pakistan created to the West of Indian Panjab. Thus religious divisions became institutionalized. Pakistan became the predominantly Muslim country and Indian Panjab became predominantly Sikh and Hindu.

MAP 2



Indian Sub-continent before partition
(Adapted from Rack, 1982)

MAP 3

Indian Sub-continent after partition
(Adapted from Rack, 1982)

Urdu became the national language of Pakistan. Almost all education, official business and literacy is carried out in Urdu. Generally, people from Pakistan speak a dialect of Panjabi as their mother tongue, and read and write in Urdu, which is written in Perso-Arabic script. Many Pakistanis in Britain regard Urdu as their mother tongue (LMP,1985:45) (see also Section 10.1 below).

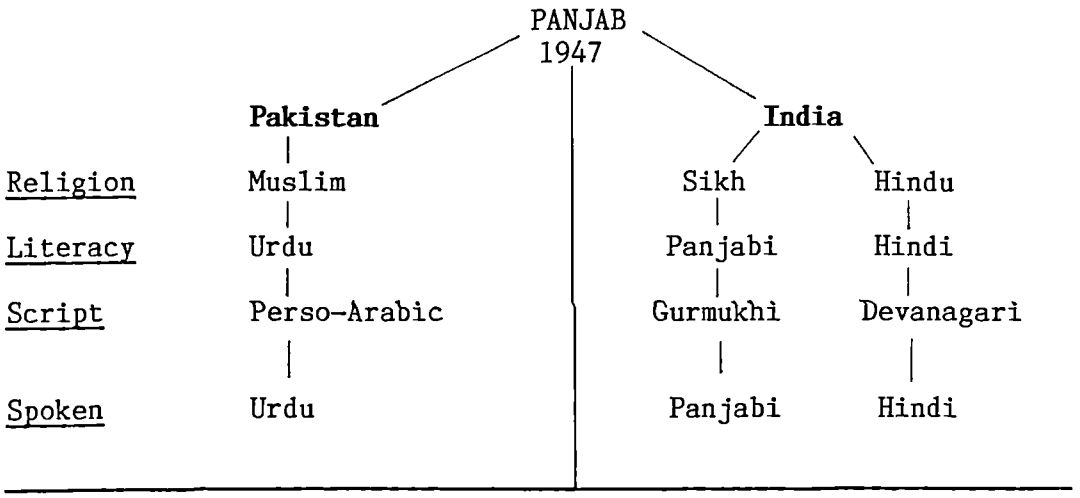
In the Indian Panjab, people of the Sikh religion speak Panjabi and write it in the Gurmukhi Script, a script developed by the scribes who first wrote down the Sikh scriptures in the sixteenth century. Hindus living in Panjab speak Panjabi and write in the Devanagari Script which is derived from the script used for Sanskrit, the classical language of the main Hindu scriptures. In the 1960's the Indian part of Panjab was divided into Haryana in the south where Hindus are the majority and Hindi is the official language and Panjab the northern part which has Panjabi as its official language. The LMP (1985:47) summarize this situation,

> The result of the sociolinguistic history of this area of South Asia is that most families in England with origins in the Panjab, whether in India or Pakistan, and whether they are Muslim, Sikh or Hindu by religion, will use spoken varieties that are likely to be mutually intelligible.

Many linguists refer to this area of the subcontinent as the Hindi-Urdu-Panjabi area or dialect continuum (Khubchandani,1979) The situation is summarized in Table 2(iv).

Table 2(iv)

The Relationship Between Religion, Language & Literacy in Panjab



2.3.4 The children's language experience

Mother tongue Panjabi-speaking children of Pakistani origin experience a particular interplay between vernacular, written language and religious language. The Panjabi used by Pakistanis is a spoken language and does not have a written form. Urdu is the written form used by Panjabi speakers of Pakistani origin and is the medium of education in Pakistan. Many children attend weekend Urdu classes, and learn to speak, read and write the language. Urdu, being the official language of Pakistan, has very high status within the community - oral and literacy skills in Urdu are greatly valued. Members of the Pakistani community are likely to speak Panjabi and English, read the Quran in Arabic and may read and write in Urdu. All these skills are actively maintained for the children and young

people. Much of this is possible through the activity of the community organizations.

2.3.5 Community organizations

Most of the larger minority communities in Newcastle, for example, Sikhs, Hindus, Afro-Carribeans, Chinese, have their own social and cultural organizations, and the Pakistan-Muslim Association is well established among the Pakistani community. The Association aims to 'Meet the social, cultural and religious needs of the community' (Community Relations Council Annual Report, 1980)

Tyne and wear Community Relations Council (CRC) was set up in 1973 with responsibility for all the ethnic minority communities in the district. The CRC's role is to act as a link between ethnic minority and white communities, and also to encourage statutory bodies to respond to the needs of ethnic minority groups. Another function the CRC provides is a translation and interpreting service, originally on a voluntary basis, but which is now paid for by the agencies using these services. The CRC has various working parties, and the CRC Education sub-Committee has attempted to gain improved facilities for mother-tongue teaching and language support in school generally. The CRC remains an advisory body in policy related areas.

There is an active Asian Women's Centre which provides advice and support for women in many areas, for example immigration, health and welfare. The centre also takes up campaigns over these important issues.

2.3.6 Bilingual children in Newcastle schools

In 1985 several recommendations were made by the Department of Education Schools sub-Committee and the Racial Equality sub-Committee in response to the Schools Language Survey of 1984 (see Section 1.5.3), which showed that over 2000 or 4.9 percent of the city's school population has a mother tongue other than English. One recommendation was to increase the recruitment of bilingual teachers who would be able to support mother tongue and the development of bilingual skills. In fact, none of the recommendations were carried out, in spite of the acknowledgement that the numbers of children with a mother tongue other than English on entry to school are increasing. The current situation for children becoming bilingual in the city's schools depends very much on the response of the individual schools and teachers (see Chapter 11, below), rather than planned policies based on current educational research.

2.4 SUMMARY

This chapter has aimed to provide general background information about Britain's minority communities, specifically focussing on issues that relate to black communities, highlighting the reasons why this information is important particularly for a white researcher carrying out investigations within a black community. The latter part of the chapter presented relevant background details to the Pakistani Panjabi Community in Newcastle upon Tyne. The next chapter, which deals with methodology shows how this information enabled the researcher to

collect the child language data and carry out interviews with children's mothers and class teachers.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter will examine the process of obtaining the data. All the factors that were important in gathering the data will be described, both at the pilot stage and in the final study.

An ecletic approach was taken in choosing research methods, combining anthropological, sociolinguistic and sociological methods (see Section 1.2 above). The central data gathering technique adopted was participant observation (Section 1.1.2). The next section illustrates the reasons for choosing participant observation as the main data collection technique. The chapter will then outline the data gathering process. A chronology of the fieldwork is given in Appendix 1.

3.1 WHY USE PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION ?

The rationale for the use of any research method must be that it allows the researcher to meet the general aims of the research. Participant observation was chosen because it permits flexiblity in accessing informants and has, as its basic rationale, the aim of observing natural behaviour. Therefore, participant observation is the most suitable method for the data gathering process.

Observing and documenting natural behaviour or language is important. Spradley (1980:162) writes that 'in order for a reader ... to see the lives of the people we study, we must show them through particulars, not merely talk about them in generalities.' This is

extremely important in relation to minority communities as generalisations and stereotypes about them abound (for example Lobo, 1978).

As discussed in Section 1.6, participant observation is not without its problems. The major problem is summarized by Burton (1978:167) as 'the stages and processes of becoming an insider' which allows the observation of naturally occuring behaviour. The term 'insider' is used in opposition to the notion of 'outsider', someone from outwith a community. This is a useful perspective from which to examine how an outsider (a researcher) reaches a position where s/he can observe and record behaviour in its natural setting. The next section examines the process of applying participant methodology to this particular study.

3.2 APPLYING PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION METHODOLOGY

Differences in language, race, religion and background between myself (the field worker), a white mono-lingual English-speaking Scottish woman, and the informants and their families meant that I would never reach the position of becoming an 'insider'. However, the following sections will show how it became possible to collect samples of the children's naturally occuring communication at school and interview parents and teachers, thus building up a picture of the children's communication in context.

The starting point for the research was the general aim of finding out more about the emerging bilingualism of young Panjabi-speaking children from the Pakistani community. The first six

months of the project had involved making contacts within the Community and schools and piloting research methods, only after this stage did the most appropriate domain for data collection become clear (see Section 3.6).

The procedures adopted for gaining access to the informants, carrying out the pilot study, and decisions concerning the final study design will be discussed in the following sections.

3.2.1 Gaining access to the informants

The 'way in' to the community involved in the study was dependent on previous links I had built up as a Community Speech Therapist in the West End of the city. I had left this job two years prior to the start of the study to work in India. My interest in bilingualism was known to head, class and advisory teachers who were all extremely helpful when I initially approached them. It was my strong impression that my previous job in the West End made it possible to pursue this avenue for contacting informants; had I not been known to the school staff in the area, it would have been considerably more difficult to make initial contacts with parents in the Pakistani Community.

A fairly regular procedure was followed for meeting families and children who might take part in the study. After approaching the head teacher by letter, outlining the aims and rationale of the project, a meeting was requested to discuss the selection of children for the study, and any queries arising from the initial letter. Most of the teachers who became involved knew me personally from my

previous work in the area and all were interested and supportive of the research. After this meeting, a list of selection criteria for the informants was drawn up (Section 3.4.1 below), enabling the head or class teacher to select suitable children and families.

In addition to meeting members of the Pakistani Community through schools I took the opportunity to become involved in several community schemes: a home-tutor scheme, teaching English to Asian women: Urdu classes; girls groups and women's groups. I was subsequently invited to teach on an access course for Asian women and at local women's health groups. Therefore, in addition to schools, contacts in the community were initiated through the more informal women's networks. I gradually became friendly with several women and their families within the community. Gender was probably the most crucial characteristic in becoming accepted by the children's families. It would not have been possible for a man to have contacted mothers informally in this way because of the social norms of the community regarding contact between men and women (Section 3.3.4 below).

Once teachers had selected possible families and children to take part in the study, I contacted parents and children at school, introducing myself and explaining the reasons for the study, what the children's involvement would be, and other details. Such a task is fairly straightforward with English-speaking informants, but impossible for a non-Panjabi speaking person to manage successfully when the informants and their parents speak Panjabi. It is necessary to work with a bilingual person.

3.3. THE ROLE OF A BILINGUAL CO-WORKER

It is essential for a monolingual person to work with a bilingual co-worker, in order to communicate with people when there is no shared language. Many people are forced to rely on relatives or chance encounters with bilingual people to explain what may be important matters to non-English speaking people (see Sections 10.4 & 11.2.3). Relying on someone who may not be sufficiently aware of the situation can lead to misunderstanding and the consequences are potentially dangerous (Ahmad, 1989). In this case, misunderstanding could have led to bad feeling on the part of community members, which would have endangered the goodwill on which so much depends in a research project such as this.

The bilingual co-worker was paid for all services, in recognition of the fact that interpreting and translating are very skilled activities and should be recognized as such.

Unavoidably, situations occurred when there was no-one to interpret, but it was essential to know that time with the bilingual co-worker could be arranged. Children were never asked to interpret. Only through working with a bilingual co-worker could I be sure that parents, particularly mothers, fully understood and agreed to their child's involvement with the project.

Just as certain personal characteristics of the researcher are important when undertaking research using participant observation methods, the same applies to any individual associated with the project. Racial identity is not sufficient to ensure good relationships with the informants. Firstly, someone had to be

contacted who had the skills and also the time to work on an infrequent, but occasionally intensive basis.

There were various ways of contacting people who could act as a bilingual co-worker for the study. 'Asking around' in schools and community groups, I would be told of people known to work as interpreters. The major problem in working with such people was that they were unlikely to be available at the times necessary. The most successful point of contact was personal, through meeting bilingual women in community groups, in schools and playgroups and social events, such as weddings. Many of the women met in this setting were able to work on a short term sessional basis, and during school hours as most of the women had children at school.

The main factors that had to be considered in choosing a suitable person to interpret who was also an insider were gender, religion, class and language, and of course, that person's personality and desire to do the work.

Most of the discussions with parents occurred with the children's mothers. All but one of the fathers worked (Section 10.1), and were therefore out during the day. It was essential that the bilingual co-worker was a woman as the social norms of the community would not allow a strange man to enter a home and discuss issues with a woman (see Section 3.3.4).

For the bilingual co-worker to be accepted as an insider she had to be a Muslim, and from the same class background as the informant's families. With respect to language, the bilingual co-worker had to understand different dialects of Panjabi, especially Mirpuri, the dialect spoken by half the informants and their families in the final

study (Section 10.1). It was also important that the bilingual co-worker had respected status within the community. In addition, an awareness of language and dialect, experience of interpreting and an interest in the project would all be helpful.

It was not easy to find a person fulfilling all these criteria, and who was available to do the work. However, I met informally, a Pakistani woman who could speak Panjabi, Mirpuri and Urdu, was Muslim and had two children in local schools. Sameera taught Urdu to women in a local school, and had assisted teachers by doing domiciliary work aimed to help children with reading at home, she also often worked as an interpreter both officially (paid) and unofficially (unpaid). Sameera held a respected position within the community, and was an ideal person to assist during the fieldwork.

3.3.1 Fieldwork with a bilingual co-worker

The initial stages of the fieldwork had to proceed without the services of a bilingual co-worker, as there was no money available at first, and it took several months to find the right person. This meant being forced to work in the same way as many of the children's teachers when they wanted to talk to Panjabi-speaking mothers, by relying on bilingual staff or other parents or other Panjabi-English speaking relatives (see Section 11.2.3).

It was in this ad hoc way that I was introduced in school to some mothers, and a brief explanation of the project given. A home visit was then arranged when it was known that there was an adult relative at home who could translate my explanation of the project for the

mother. Two children selected as informants at this stage attended a playgroup where they were taken and returned in a car, so it was not possible to meet the mothers at the playgroup. However, a bilingual worker at the playgroup explained the project to the mothers and arranged a home visit so that the parents could meet me. Through my association with the playgroup worker, whomthe mothers knew and trusted, I became very friendly with these mothers in a short space of time. One mother who had most ability in English (Section 10.1) did not want an interpreter to visit, and the initial explanatory visit was in English.

From the outset it was striking how helpful and interested the children's parents were. Very few problems occurred in spite of the haphazard interpreting arrangements. The bilingual worker from the playgroup was concerned that the dialect difference between herself, a Panjabi speaker and the mothers, Mirpuri speakers, would cause difficulties, but this was not the case. However, on one occasion I visited a mother I had previously seen six times, but on this occasion with a Pakistani Muslim woman from an upper-middle class family, whose children went to private school. While the message was communicated, it was clear that neither of the women felt comfortable with each other because of the social distance between them created by their class difference. These instances show that the effects of gender, language, religion and class can vary depending on the people involved, but the person requiring the translation and the bilingual worker must be aware and sensitive to the factors involved in successful interpreting (Ahmed, 1982).

In September 1987 the final study fieldwork started (Appendix 1)

and I was able to work with Sameera. The procedure for meeting a new parent was for myself and Sameera to visit school when the mother was bringing or collecting her child, and the teacher would make the introductions to the child's mother. Sameera would explain the aims and procedure of the study and ask if the mother agreed to the child's participation. The mother was then free to ask any questions, or to have time to think about her decision. A home visit would be arranged to discuss any further queries the parents may have about the study. The main aim of this introduction was to meet the mother, and explain the purpose of the study. It was a procedure that worked well, we could be sure that the mother was happy about her child's involvement because of Sameera's translation to the mother, and her account of the meeting afterwards.

The role of the bilingual co-worker is vital on a project such as this. However, there were certain restrictions imposed upon her, because of her position within the community and the conventions of this particular community. It will be useful to outline these briefly, as it illustrates other issues that must be considered when working with people from cultural and linguistic backgrounds which differ from being white, British and monolingual. In addition, this also illustrates the relative merits of outsider and insider status.

3.3.2 Considerations for the 'insider' and 'outsider'

This section will outline certain issues that arose for the bilingual co-worker carrying out fieldwork among a section of the Newcastle Muslim Community originating from rural areas of Pakistan

(see Section 10.1). These issues cannot be generalized to every Pakistani, Indian or Bangladeshi community in Britain,. However, the points being discussed illustrate certain issues that can arise when a fieldworker is an insider.

There were no difficulties when the bilingual co-worker was meeting family members in schools, a fairly neutral domain. In fact, the mothers were very clearly delighted to be able to speak in their own language, rather than trying to understand and be understood in English. However, because of the restrictions placed on many women in this Pakistani Muslim Community on entering situations where they may meet men who are not family members, care had to be taken when carrying out home visits. Basically, the bilingual co-worker was not as free to enter into homes as the white researcher. Milroy (1980) documents a similar situation within white working class Belfast communities, she as an outsider, had more freedom to come and go into homes than insiders. However, in practice, when carrying out fieldwork for this study, it was quite easy to overcome restrictions and ensure that male members of the family would not be present during a visit as they were usually working very long shifts.

My status as an outsider meant that I was free from these restrictions, but had a major disadvantage in being unable to communicate with the younger informants and their mothers to any great degree. Another reason for there being greater restrictions on an insider is summed up by Pettigrew (1982:77), '... a stranger ... has greater freedom in breaking as well as renewing his (sic) ties [with the community]'. The insider will have to bear the consequences of any actions that may seem to overstep the accepted social norms,

whereas the outsider need not. In practice, however, my association with Sameera allowed me to become more of an insider, and Sameera's association with the project allowed her to step outside some of the community's conventions on occasions.

Pettigrew (1982) gives an account of how the usefulness of her insider status as the wife of a Sikh Jat was countered by her gender. The social values attached to women in her adopted community almost totally restricted her ability to carry out an anthropological study (concerning the role played by rural factions in building up the power of state-level political leaders in the Indian Panjab during the late sixties). She gives a very interesting account of the relative merits of 'insider' and 'outsider' status, and their effects on research.

In many ways the respective status and skills of myself, an outsider and Sameera, an insider were complementary. Labov (1972b) used varying combinations of insiders and outsiders to access speakers of Black English Vernacular. Milroy (1980:41) emphasises how both can have a role, 'the significant notion of <u>both</u> insider <u>and</u> the outsider as fieldworkers ... Between them, they may have access to greater stylistic range than either can have, working alone'. However, there is undoubtedly the need for more people from minority groups to lead research among minority communities but it is also necessary to consider the relative merits of outsider and insider status in relation to the community. 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 language from the position of an "outsider". (Edwards 1986:8)

Working with a bilingual co-worker overcame most of the barriers between the researcher and informants.

Thus far, we have examined the nature and applications of participant observation; outlined how the researcher initially gained access to the informants and was introduced to parents, and the essential role of the bilingual co-worker. The next section will focus on the children - the criteria for their selection and the pilot study procedure.

3.4 THE CHILDREN IN THE STUDY

Two groups of children were selected from one particular linguistic and cultural background. This was done in order to reduce the variation due to cultural and linguistic factors among a relatively small sample. The selection criteria were drawn up to ensure this also taking into account Wells' findings about the effects of gender and family position on monolingual children's language development. Wells (1986) long itudinal study showed no differences in language development due to gender, contrary to the findings of many older studies. With regard to position in the family, by and large this did not have a great effect on language development although there was a slight tendency for only children or those without a sibling close in age to develop more rapidly.

The selection criteria are outlined on Table 3(i). Children from two age groups were involved in the study. Group 1 aged 3-3;6 and Group 2 aged 4-4;6. Part of the pilot study became an integral part of the final study and some children originally involved in the

pilot study formed Group 2 in the final study.

Table 3(i)

Selection Criteria for Children in the Study

	GROUP1: Nursery/Playgroup	GROUP 2: Infant/Reception
1)	Age 3-3;6	Age 4-4;6
2)	Starting nursery/ playgroup Sept.'87	Starting infant/ reception Sept.'87
3)	Speaks little or no English *on entry to* nursery/playgroup.	Started nursery/play *group with little or* no English and completed one year there.
4)	Mother tongue Panjabi	As for Group 1
5)	No interruptions to pre-school education for more than 3 months	As for group 1
6)	Family are Muslim	As for group 1
7)	Both parents native Panjabi speakers & speak Panjabi at home	As for group 1
8)	Child has at least 2 older siblings	As for group 1
9)	Child has no hearing, speech or language problems.	As for group 1

Items 4 - 9 in Table 3(i) are those which keep the group similar in terms of language, culture and family. For example, if the sole criterion in terms of language and culture was that the child's mother tongue was Panjabi, Hindu and Sikh children would also be included. Panjabi speaking Hindu and Sikh children have different sociolinguistic and cultural backgrounds, (Section 2.3.3) and it was decided to reduce variation due to these particular factors as much as

possible.

Item 5 was included because it is very common for young children to return to Pakistan with one or both parents to visit relatives. It was decided to exclude children who had been away for over three months, as this would be likely to affect the child's language development relative to other children in the group.

The children were required to have two older siblings for two major reasons. Firstly to offset the observer's presence in the home (Scothern, 1985) and secondly because several teachers reported that they felt there was a difference in the English language development of children who had older siblings compared to those who had none. It was not possible to control for the child's position in the family or the age difference between siblings, but all the children in the final study had at least two older siblings or one older sibling and an older cousin (see Section 3.5.1 below).

It will be shown in the next section how these criteria were applied to select children for the study.

3.5 THE PILOT STUDY

The pilot study will be reported in some detail firstly because it highlights the difficulties encountered in selecting suitable children for the study and secondly because part of the pilot study formed the final study.

3.5.1 Informant selection

The first step was to select children fulfilling the criteria outlined in Table 3(i) above. In practice, this was not particularly straightforward. Information on each child in school or playgroup is contained on a form usually completed prior to, or on admission of the child. Thus, information such as the home language, number of siblings, religion, any dietary considerations and other useful information is contained on a form. For many of the children with a mother tongue other than English, the forms were incomplete, mainly because of communication difficulties between the parents and member of staff collecting the information (see Section 11.2.3). However, many of the staff were able to provide the missing information because of their knowledge of the families. Accurate information about the language spoken at home was the most difficult to obtain, largely because of discrepancies in names assigned to a given language. Many Pakistani Panjabi speakers name their language as Urdu (Section 10.1) because of the higher status accorded to Urdu (Section 2.3.4). Only with the help of bilingual Panjabi-English speaking staff at one school and one playgroup, was it possible to assess accurately the language spoken at home, prior to meeting the parents with a bilingual co-worker.

It was therefore essential to have the full co-operation of school and playgroup staff in selecting suitable children as this was quite a time-consuming task, and could not have been done simply by consulting the class forms.

Of the eight schools and single playgroup approached, five

schools and the playgroup had suitable children. The remaining three schools all had bilingual children, but the children were not suitable for the study as they did not fufil the selection criteria.

Eight children attending nursery and one child at infant school were put forward by staff for inclusion in the pilot study. At this stage in the fieldwork, no funding had yet been obtained for a bilingual co-worker. I was forced to rely on the two bilingual staff and other parents or the child's other adult relatives to explain the study to the child's mother, and to find out if the child actually did fulfil all the criteria. This was unsatisfactory (see Section 3.2.1), but there was no alternative at this stage. It must also be pointed out that it is by such ad hoc arrangements that many teachers and health workers, for example, are forced to communicate with people who do not speak English (Sections 11.2.3 & 13.2). Relying on these arrangements is not satisfactory, but it reflects the current situation in many institutions throughout the country.

Table 3(ii)

Details of Children Approached for Inclusion in the Pilot Study

Nursery*	Child	Parental permission	Fulfils all criteria	Reason for exclusion from final study
1	Ameena	Yes	Yes	NA
1	Tahira	Yes	Yes	NA
1	Anwar	No	Yes	No parental permission granted
3	Tariq	Yes	Yes	Would not wear jacket at home or at school
4	Rabina	Yes	Except 8	
5	Shafiq	Yes	Except	Spoke English on entry to nursery
5	Anisa	Yes	Except 8	
Playgroup*				
6	Qaseem	Yes	Yes	NA
6	Shamshad	Yes	Yes	NA
Infants*				
9	Rafiq	Yes	Yes	NA

* Numbers of the school/playgroup correspond to details of the schools involved in the final study given in Appendix 2.

This table shows that only one parent refused their permission. It transpired that the child, Anwar, had previously been hospitalized and his mother, worried about his health, did not want him involved.

Anwar would in any case have been excluded because of his medical history. Shafiq was excluded because he spoke fairly good English on entry to nursery school, and the parents spoke both English and Panjabi at home.

The criterion which excluded most children was that of having two or more older siblings. From Table 3(ii), we can see that Rabina and Anisa would have been excluded on these grounds, both children having only one older sibling. However, both children live in extended families and live with an older cousin, whose relationship with them is very similar to that of a sibling. At this stage, it was decided to include Rabina and Anisa in the pilot study rather than reduce the group to six children.

No children were excluded on medical grounds (but see the comments on Anwar above). The children's health visitors consulted their medical records to ensure the child had a normal developmental history. There was no record of hearing screening tests for four of the children. Tahira and Qaseem were born in Pakistan and had missed out on the screening procedure, a third child's mother failed to attend the appointments, and there is no record for the fourth child. None of these children had any hearing problems.

At this stage in the pilot study, we can see that the selection procedure excluded two children, Anwar and Shafiq. There were therefore eight children involved in the pilot study in four different nursery classes, one playgroup and one infant class.

The next section will describe the equipment used to collect the data.

3.5.2 The equipment

The aim of the study was to record naturally occuring language, so it was important to have equipment which allowed the child freedom of movement, and which allowed me freedom to observe from a distance. A mono radiomicrophone provided the best opportunity for the collection of natural language data from the child. A radiomicrophone and transmitter are worn by the child, a separate receiver connected to a tape-recorder picks up the signal which is then recorded onto tape. This eqipment has been successfully used by Wells (1981), Tizard & Hughes (1984), Lewis (1987) and Duncan (1989b) to record children's language. This method overcomes the necessity for the observer to follow a young active child around the class with a microphone, a method which is both obtrusive and very difficult to manage.

There remains the problem of ensuring that the child will wear the radiomicrophone and transmitter (a small light box weighing 100g, of dimension 5cm by 10cm by 1.5cm). I observed children's responses to wearing and seeing the equipment in a school unconnected with the study. None of the children had any hesitation in wearing the microphone and transmitter, but its presence on the child attracted great attention from the other children in the class. It was necesary, therefore to find a way of concealing the equipment. This was done by enclosing the microphone and transmitter into a traditional mirror-work jacket, often worn by Pakistani children, both boys and girls. The microphone was almost completely hidden by the black background of the jacket, and the transmitter was totally

concealed in the lining of the jacket. Neither the equipment nor the jacket drew the attention of the other children.

3.5.3 Pilot data collection in schools

I began visiting the children in nursery in order to acquaint children and staff with my presence, to allow the children to become familiar with wearing the recording equipment, and to generally weigh up the effectiveness of this method of recording the children's language.

On the first visit to each class, I acted like any other adult helper in the nursery, joining in games, assisting children, reading stories and acting as an 'extra pair of hands'. On subsequent visits I was often asked about children whose communication worried the teachers, and I was able to offer appropriate advice. In this way I was able to return a favour. Consequently, good relationhsips were built up with the teachers, which allowed me to carry out further investigations (Section 3.6.1).

On the second visit, usually one week after the first, I asked the child in the pilot study, hereafter referred to as study child (SC) to wear the jacket . This involved a considerable amount of interaction with each SC, and the individual children's responses to the request varied considerably. Rabina and Qaseem wore the jacket for the entire nursery session on the first request; Anisa, Ameena and Shamshad wore it for over an hour and then removed it; Tahira and Tariq wore it briefly. It was then decided to ask the parents to dress the child in the jacket containing the recording equipment at

home before coming to nursery or playgroup. This worked well, all the children wore the jacket containing the equipment for the whole session except Tariq who would not wear the jacket for more than a few minutes at a time. The children did approach me with questions about the equipment, particularly about the transmitter box concealed in the lining of the jacket. Their questions were answered in a straightforward way and this usually satisfied their curiosity. Occasionally other children spotted the microphone and asked the child what it was for, the SC s usually ignored the question or gave their own explanation, like Ameena in response to a curious native Panjabi-speaking friend:

A:	eh speak English hain/	= I speak English/
OCp:	English eh?/	= is it English?/
A:	mein gaane gaanai eh/	= I want to sing songs/

Transcription conventions are noted in Appendix 4. In section 4.1.2 there is a discussion on the transcription of Panjabi.

In the following extract, Colin, a native English-speaking classmate (OCe) is rather more persistent about Qaseem's jacket.

The children are playing on the carpet and are surrounded by boxes of toy cars and animals.

OCe:hey/
    have you got mirrors on your coat?/
Q: no/
OCe:nice/
    where did you buy it from?/
    Fenwicks?/ (a local department store)
    (2sec)
    where?
Q: no/
OCe:did you find it?/
Q: no/
OCe:where did you get it from then/
    you must have bought it/
(Qaseem pick up a car and pushes it across the carpet)
Q: Symbolic noise:car noise
OCe:pardon?/

Q: uh?/
OCe:where did you get the money from?/
Q: I'm (.) I'm you're friend/
(Qaseem picks up some toy animals, another native Panjabi-speaking child (OCp) joins them)
they eating/
eating/
OCp:you not playing with them/
Q: they eating/
aah/
come on/
eating/
aagh/
come on/
AAAAGH/
(Qaseem knocks the toy animals together)
he's hitting/
he hitting/
aagh/
aagh/
brrm/
aagh/
OCp:you don't fight on you/
OCe:did you steal that coat?/

The quality of tape-recorded speech was good. While conscious of the equipment at times during the recorded session, the children were unaware of the equipment for most of the time. This can be seen as the equivalent for the study children of Burton's (1978) point about the inability of informants to be constantly aware of the researcher's presence (see Section 3.1.2 above). The children were unable to be aware of the recording equipment and my presence all the time. Apart from their questions about the equipment, the SCs generally treated me like any other staff member.

The nursery and playgroup staff were very co-operative, and generally pleased to have another adult present in class. While participating in the class activities when requested by staff and children, I carefully observed the SC's activities, and recorded these on a form in order to contextualize the language recordings. The

contextual notes had to be structured in some way, and an observational framework adapted from Sylva et.al.(1980) and Blatchford et.al.(1982) was evolved during the school pilot study. The observational framework chosen allowed a record to be made of SC's activity; social situation, i.e. alone or in a small or large group; interlocutor, and any other relevant contextual information. The observational record forms are outlined in full in Appendix 3, and the observational codes in Appendix 4.

Rafiq who attended infant school, Table 3(ii) above, was included in the pilot study. This was to ensure that the data collection methods suitable for nursery age children could also be applied to children of infant school age, and were suitable for the infant classroom, which has a slightly more formal organization than nursery. This also meant that School 9 (see Appendix 2), which did not have a nursery, could be involved in the pilot study. It was found that the data collection methods were equally applicable in infant classes, but recording in infant school playgrounds was unsuccessful. This was due to the rougher games played by the children which made the recording conditions useless for the equipment.

The seven nursery age children were visited on three separate occasions in the summer term, their third term in nursery. Table 3(iii) below shows the different pre-school experiences of these children.

Table 3(iii)

Differences in Pre-school Education of the Children in the Pilot Study

Nursery	Child	Full/Part-Time	No. of hours/days per week
1	Ameena	Part-time,p.m.	2 hrs / 5 days per week
1	Tahira	Part-time,p.m.	2 hrs / 5 days per week
3	Tariq	Full-time	5 hrs / 5 days per week
4	Rabina	Part-time,p.m.	2 hrs / 5 days per week
5	Anisa	Full-time	6 hrs / 5 days per week
Playgroup			
6	Qaseem	Part-time,a.m.	2 hrs / 5 days per week
6	Shamshad	Part-time,a.m.	2 hrs / 5 days per week

All children attended playgroup or nursery five days a week, but the actual number of hours at playgroup or nursery in each day varied among the group. These differences reflect the variety of preschool provision within the area, and no attempt was made to control for these differences. However, each group of children in the final study attended school or playgroup for the same number of hours.

With regard to the success of this section of the pilot study within the domain of the classroom, I would conclude that participant observation was a successful method of obtaining natural language data. Undoubtedly, the presence of a researcher had some effect, but my distinct impression, backed up by discussion with the staff, was

that natural behaviour, activities and language were taking place during the pilot study visits. The SCs were not singled out as being 'special' in any way. The researcher could merge in with teachers and classroom assistants. Thus there was minimal, if any, disruption to the normal classroom routine.

It was decided to follow the nursery children in the pilot study into their first term of infant school, and to select a new group of children entering nursery school for the final study. The procedure discussed previously in Section 3.5.1 for selecting the children in the pilot study would be used to select children entering nursery or playgroup in September 1987, but with the assistance of a bilingual co-worker.

3.5.4 Pilot study at home

It is generally recognized that the home environment is the most important factor in a child's development (Tizard & Hughes, 1984). Some studies of child language development have focused solely on the home to collect child language data, for example Stokes (1988) and Volterra & Taeschner (1978). In keeping with the view that the home has a fundamental influence on a child's development of communication, and bearing in mind that there is very little information on the home language environment of children from minority language backgrounds, it was decided to include data collection in the home as part of the pilot study. This would have the dual purpose of enabling a fuller description of the children's communication and of providing a comparison with the data collected at school.

One obvious methodological problem was that the 'observer effect' was immediately more pronounced when I was in the children's homes. At school, children and parents expect to see white women of the researcher's age, but not at home. Therefore, at home it was extremely difficult for me to be sufficiently unobtrusive. In practice, the attention of children and parents was on me and it was very difficult from the outset to take on a non-initiating role. Closely related to this, was the issue of how the family initially viewed my role. My first approach to parents had been at school, and I was therefore seen as having links with school, particularly as the children saw me regularly at school. At first I was accorded some sort of 'teacher' status. This association with school provided the advantages of access to informants, but the first home visits were quite formal because of my associations with school and because I did not know the families very well at this point. It was also difficult to clarify any misunderstandings about my role without the help of a bilingual co-worker. For example, one study child's older brother thought I was there to teach the child English because he had seen me at school.

Families differed considerably in the ease with which they reacted to my presence. It became possible to define the characteristics of the family and house which made participant observation more or less difficult from my point of view as a researcher.

The first of these was family size. If the study child had older brothers or sisters present during my visit, they were then much more at ease. For example, on one visit I found Tariq in floods

of tears because his older brother and sister had gone to Mosque School and he had to stay at home because I had arranged to visit. The visit proceeded to involve Tariq clinging to his father, and my vain attempts to cheer him up only succeeded when I made for the door.

A second important factor in successful participant observation at home was house size and number of living rooms. If there was a living room and a 'best room', I would initially be shown into the best room, and the child, usually totally silent would be ushered in, while everyone else in the family remained in the other room. According to Shaw (1988) the front room of Pakistani households in Britain functions like the 'baithak' in Pakistan. The 'baithak' is a room kept solely for receiving visitors or for the men in the family to use, it is an indication of status and wealth. Fortunately, all children except Tariq and Qaseem lived in houses with only one living room. These living rooms were the centre of family life, where everyone sat, ate their meals, watched T.V. and had visitors. This was particularly the case in small houses with few bedrooms, as there was no-where else for children or other family members to go.

In order to divert attention from me, I brought some materials and toys for the children to play with among themselves, usually paper, crayons and pencils and well-known games. These were very popular with the children and parents, and I was at least assured that the visits were enjoyable when I was always asked to come back. However, I did not feel that sufficiently representative language data was being recorded for most of the children because my presence had too great an effect on the situation.

The most successful time for collecting naturalistic language data was when a 'usual' event was going on, such as a meal or a visitor arriving. The focus of attention was then removed from me, although this never lasted for very long, as the first question from the visitor was usually about my presence in the house.

A brief account of the relevant factors for each child will be given to show how they interacted to affect the language data collected. Each child was visited three times at home as part of the pilot study, except Rafiq. Table 3(iv) summarizes three important factors affecting the data collection process for each child in the pilot study at home.

Table 3(iv)

Major Factors Affecting Child Language Data Collection at Home

Child	No. of older sibs.	No. older sibs present	One living room	Wore jacket
Ameena	5	5	Yes	Yes
Tahira	4	3	Yes	No
Tariq	2	0	No	No
Rabina	2(1 cousin)	2(1 cousin)	Yes	Yes
Anisa	2(1 cousin)	2(1 cousin)	Yes	Yes
Qaseem	4	1	No	Yes
Shamshad	2	0	Yes	Yes

It can be seen from Table 3(iv), and the above discussion that

the nature and characteristics of some children and families were more conducive to collecting naturalistic home language data than others. This was in fact the case, but I felt that participant observation in the home was only successful with Ameena's family. The main reasons for this were that in the other homes my presence remained too novel and I recieved a great deal of attention from the children and parents. I concluded therefore that my presence significantly increased the amount of English used and altered the situation too much. Home data collection thus differed from data collection in school, due to my inability to blend into the background and go unnoticed for considerable periods during the recording session because of my outsider status. I concluded that 'an insider' was required for this particular domain for participant observational methods to be successful. Edwards discusses this point,

> In some situations, however, structural constraints, such as the sex or ethnicity of the investigator, will make it impossible to achieve acceptance by all or even most members of the group. It is certainly possible to obtain authentic vernacular speech in interracial situations (cf. Sutcliffe, 1982) but a great deal of time, effort and sensitivity needs to be spent in "establishing credentials" ... the picture which emerges from interracial or even intersexual fieldwork techniques is thus inevitably partial, and, in order to ensure that the data base faithfully reflects authentic language behaviour in a wide range of situations, it is essential to use an "insider". (Edwards 1986:70)

The factors that contributed to the difficulties collecting natural language data were the differences between myself and informants i.e. racial, cultural, linguistic and age. This study differs from Milroy's (1980) and Burton's (1978) participant observational studies in people's homes, where the main differences were class, nationality and culture. In those studies the differences between the researcher and informants were of a much

lesser degree than between the researcher and informants in this study. An important point to be made is that the success of participant observation can be very domain specific. In this pilot study I found data collection in school relatively unproblematical, but could not personally collect useful data at home.

The ease with which an insider would be able to collect natural data at home among the Panjabi-speaking families in Newcastle would depend very much on finding someone who fulfils all the criteria to be an 'insider' and who would be acceptable to the community. Considerable time and care would have to be spent in doing this. A Bengali-speaking fieldworker successfully collected language samples of young children at home for a study on the development of Bengali carried out by Stokes (1988). 'Insiders' and 'outsiders' working together in this way can tap into 'language behaviour in a wide range of situations', as V.Edwards has commented above.

The home visits carried out as part of the pilot study were also very useful by providing the parents with an opportunity to get to know me, and they allowed me to gain some insight into the children's family lives. Through the home visits I became a friend of each family, and was also in a much better position to carry out structured interviews with the mothers later in the year (see Chapter 10) as the mothers had got to know me in their own homes, a situation in which they felt comfortable. With hindsight I had indeed created 'a context in which low-status speakers felt their language was valued' (Edwards 1986:30) before collecting self-reported data on language use in the home.

It was however, decided not to pursue data collection in the home

situation as, collected in the manner described above, it would not yield useful data. However, a description of the home pilot study was included to show that it is regarded as a very important domain for the study of children's language and also to show the constraints on data collection in this domain for a white researcher working with informants from a different linguistic and cultural background. The usefulness of a dual approach utilizing the personal characteristics and skills of both an insider and an outsider in the data collection process has been acknowledged.

It will be observed in Section 3.6.1 that data collection at home was indeed carried out. However, it was decided that self-reported data collected within an interview format allowed the documentation of relevant aspects of family life and communication. This, rather than tape-recorded data was used to augment the child language data collected in school. It was found that this type of data collection could be carried out by someone outside the community who had some links with the family, such as I had built up during the pilot study home visits, while working with a bilingual co-worker. The results of this aspect of the study are outlined in Chapter 10.

3.6 THE FINAL STUDY DESIGN

Following the experiences reported in Section 3.5, it was decided that the most appropriate domain for a white non-Panjabi speaking researcher to record natural language data from young Panjabi-speaking children was school. Since the study would therefore no longer incorporate home language data as the other major variable factor, it

became necessary to concentrate on potential sources of language variation within the school domain.

One obvious aspect of variation in a bilingual population is language choice and related to this is language alternation (Section 1.4 above). Hymes' (1962) framework of i) participant, ii) topics/activities, iii) settings was utilised by Spann (1987) in her examination of code-switching among young Panjabi-English bilinguals using this framework. *In this study each of these factors* were examined in the school setting, in addition to recording the study child during a full morning or afternoon session in nursery or infant class. This provided the following recordings for each nursery and infant class child:

1) the child's communication during a morning or afternoon session in school
2) the child's communication while playing in the home corner with a child whose first language is Panjabi.
3) the child's communication while playing in the home corner with a child whose first language is English.
4) the child 'telling' three picture story books to a toy. (see Appendix 5)

It was envisaged that this framework for data collection would produce a corpus of natural language data that could be analysed according to the participant - topic/activity - setting paradigm (see Section 8.1 below) and yield useful information about the two groups of emerging bilingual children in the study.

The group of children participating in the final study were five nursery children and five infant children, who started their respective schools in September 1987. The data for the study was collected during their first term at school. Table 3(v) below contains details about the children.

Table 3(v)

Details About the Children in the Final Study

School	Child	Sex	Chronological age in Sept.'87
Group 1: Nursery/playgroup			
1	Nasreen	F	3.8
6	Riaz	M	3.1
2	Jameel	M	3.6
2	Shahid	M	3.6
3	Zahid	M	3.1
Group 2: Infant/reception			
9a	Qaseem	M	4.3
8	Anisa	F	4.1
7a	Ameena	F	4.2
7b	Tahira	F	4.6
9b	Shamshad	F	4.8

3.6.1 Feedback to parents and teachers

Parents and teachers had all expressed great interest in the project and in hearing the tape-recordings of the children in class. After collecting and transcribing a data corpus for each child, particularly interesting sections of tape were found and Sameera and myself visited the mothers (sometimes the fathers were present) and played back their child's recordings. It transpired that the parents knew very little, if anything, about what their children were likely to do ,or which language they were likely to use, in school, and that

the mothers felt very cut off from their children's education. It was very rewarding that even this basic information served such a useful purpose for the parents.

The teachers, all responsible for 25-30 children, found it quite naturally impossible to view a single child's experiences as closely as I had been able to do. The children's teachers, without exception, found listening to sections of the tape-recordings to be very interesting, and allowed them greater insight into the communication of children becoming bilingual in their classes. Feedback sessions with the teachers formed the basis of further training sessions with teachers who were not directly involved with the project, but who worked with bilingual children.

As a direct result of these sessions with parents and teachers, it was decided to collect information from them on a more systematic basis. A questionnaire was compiled and the mothers and teachers were interviewed by Sameera and I (see Chapters 10 & 11).

Feedback of data collected through research is a principle used in much feminist research for example, Oakley (1981), Roberts (1981) and in Participatory Action Research (Hall et.al. 1981). The principles embody the philosophy of working with people and using research to empower informants rather than treating them as mere objects in a study. Working in this way can be a very useful process for those receiving the information and can provide the researcher with a new perspective on the research data.

In this study the children's parents and teachers were informed about the data that was obtained from the children and were able to benefit from it. In this case they saw its usefulness themselves, and

were assured that neither they, or their children as participants would be exploited. In terms of the quality of the research, the process of feeding back the data amply demonstrated the usefulness of feedback from the point of view of the parents, teachers and the researcher. It also pointed to the need for further data collection in the form of structured interviews which provided very useful information about the context of the children's acquisition of English.

3.6.2 A short note on ethics

One further aspect of data collection which is an issue here are the ethical issues involved when a white researcher undertakes research within an underpriviledged ethnic minority community. Milroy (1987:92) writes,

> Fundamentally, the low status of these groups is a consequence of their position in societies whose political systems do not attend to the equal and impartial distribution amongst all citizens of power and advantage. Generally speaking, academic researchers have no power to alter such a system, and can do little more than respond to their own feelings in a manner appropriate to the norms of the community and their own consciences.

Labov (1982) gives an example of how linguistic findings were used in court as evidence by the defendants in the Black English Trial in Michigan. The judge ruled in favour of the plaintiffs and Labov is understandably pleased that his research has been of real use to the community he worked with for such a long time. However, he stresses the important role of black linguists in research into (in this case) Black English Vernacular. This is certainly also an issue in minority language research in Britain.

We discuss further issues about the usefulness of research and the role of the researcher in disseminating research findings in Chapter 13.

3.7 SUMMARY

This chapter has outlined in considerable detail the methodological procedure for the study precisely because it has such a great bearing on the quality of the data collected. The final study design arose out of a consideration of the constraints on a white researcher working with informants from a different linguistic and cultural background. The final study procedure fulfils the aim stated from the outset - to record samples of natural language from young Panjabi speaking children. The setting where this is possible is school. The recorded data is augmented by self-reported data from mothers, and the context of the children's education is put into a wider perspective by interviews with their teachers.

CHAPTER 4

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS

The type of analysis suitable for the examination of the language data in this study is one that takes into account the characteristics of everyday speech. Not all linguistic description does this. This chapter will begin by examining the relationship between theory, data and goals of description in recognition of Greenbaum's point:

> Every grammatical description presupposes some descriptive framework, however rudimentary, which reflects the goal of description and the theoretical inclinations of the authors. (Greenbaum 1979:17)

In this chapter, the aim will be to give an explicit account of the goals of description (Section 4.1). Having established the goals, Section 4.1.1 will outline the theoretical background. The remaining sections will provide details of transcription and the theory and final practice of the analysis.

4.1 GOALS OF DESCRIPTION

The aim of transcribing and describing the child language data collected has been to present an accountable picture of the children's communicative behaviour during particular periods at school. This is in keeping with Labov's (1972a:72) 'Principle of Accountability', in which all the data in a given stretch is analysed and any omissions are justified in a principled way. It has been possible to describe the child's verbal and non-verbal output; their interlocutors and

audience (a term used by Bell (1984) which will be discussed further in Sections 6.3 & 9.4); their activities (e.g.painting, sandplay, conversation etc.) and the social setting (e.g.solitary, large group etc.). Thus an account of what the children actually do in their normal school setting is provided. Much attention is paid to context, both social and situational, since in a project of this kind child language devoid of any context cannot be meaningfully described or analysed.

4.1.1 Theoretical standpoint

The description of the children's language requires a theoretical framework that will allow for the analysis of naturally occurring speech. This aim is in contrast to the goals of many linguists. Milroy (1987:2) states that there is a

> ... widely accepted principle of scientific linguistics: (that) the language itself is an abstract object not amenable to direct observation.

She has shown how language behaviour can be accessed, observed, recorded and described (Sections 1.1 & 1.2), but different viewpoints about how this should be done are held. One major dichotomy within the field of linguistics will be outlined by looking at the methods of investigation adopted by Chomsky, Labov and Gumperz and then by examining how their approaches are similar or different to those of this study.

In Section 1.1 we discussed Chomsky's belief that the goal of a grammar is not to account for all the details of naturally occurring language. Working from this theoretical framework, the investigator

produces a linguistic description based on his or her own intuitions about the language. Generally speaking, this produces descriptions of standard varieties of languages as the majority of academic linguists speak the standard form. Labov does not investigate his own language, but examines linguistic variables and their distribution within a large corpus of data, (1966, for example). Milroy (1987:1) makes an important point in relation to Labov's work:

> Although the models produced by sociolinguists are often felt, in some sense to be closer to the data base than those of other types of linguist, it is important to remember that a representation such as Labov's famous graph of the realization of the variable /r/ in New York City is actually an idealized model of sociolinguistic structure, the figures upon which it is based are the product of a long process of sociolinguistic, mathematical and linguistic abstraction.

Chomsky and Labov may be said to share the view of language as an object. Where they differ is in their relationship to the data. Chomsky and proponents of his method directly access the target language themselves. The methods adopted by Labov involve accessing the natural language of a native speaker and recording and sometimes, by controlled experiment, systematically manipulating informants' responses. While this latter approach does allow access to non-standard varieties of the language, for example Labov's (1972b) seminal work on Black English, neither of these approaches yield optimal information about how speakers use their language in everyday life because Labov starts with linguistic categories rather than speaker strategies.

In contrast to this approach, some linguists, notably Gumperz (1982) and Hymes (1977) choose to start with the speaker and examine their linguistic behaviour in its naturally occurring context.

Gumperz (1982:35) states that:

> A speaker-oriented approach to conversation ... focuses directly on the strategies that govern the actor's use of lexical, grammatical, sociolinguistic and other knowledge in the production and interpretation of messages in context.

Implicit in this approach is accessing what the speaker actually does rather than postulating in advance an abstract linguistic system. As Gumperz has stated above, analysis of the data corpus can take place at any level.

This approach, which is rooted within the traditions of anthropology and ethnography and has become an important subsection of sociolinguistics, starts with the speaker and the context and looks at the linguistic behaviour appropriate to that speaker or group of speakers. It is this type of approach which has been adopted for this study as it is particularly suited to collecting language data from children and allows the researcher to follow a child-centred tradition, thus gaining access to what the children actually say and do. Within this framework, the children's language behaviour will be described and analysed.

The following section deals with transcription, a crucial aspect of description.

4.1.2 Transcription

Transcription is an important stage in the process of analysis. This point has been taken up by some linguists and particularly by Ochs (1979:44) who states, 'transcriptions are the researcher's data'. Ochs goes on to make some very important points

about transcription and it is worth quoting her in full.

> One of the important features of a transcript is that it should not have too much information. A transcript that is too detailed is difficult to follow and assess. A more useful transcript is a selective one ... But selectivity should not be random and implicit. Rather the transcriber should be conscious of the filtering process. The basis for the selective transcription should be clear. It should reflect what is known about the child's communicative behaviour ... it should draw on existing studies of children's cognitive, linguistic and social development. Furthermore the transcript should reflect the particular interests - the hypothesis to be examined - of the researcher. (Ochs 1979:44)

This study started without a hypothesis, but had a clear aim - to document the communication of young mother tongue Panjabi-speaking children.

The transcription of the data in this study is orthographic as opposed to phonetic. Scollon (1976) recommends the use of phonetic script for children's utterances at the single-word stage but maintains that it is less critical as children's speech approaches adult norms. It is not necessary for the transcription in this study to be phonetic as it would add irrelevant detail unneccessary in the analysis. However, phonetic transcription is used when unintelligible utterances and sound play occur as Keenan (1974) and Ochs (1979) recommend. A modified orthography is also used following Sacks et al. (1974) so that for example, 'going to' is transcribed as 'gonna', 'give me' as 'gimme', so that pronunciation can be indicated approximately.

Thus orthographic script has been selected rather than phonetic script for most of the transcription and this is justified on the grounds that other than for sound play sequences and unintelligible speech phonetic detail is unneccessary.

There is no standard Roman orthographic transcription for Panjabi (Duncan, Malik, personal communication), and the Panjabi was transcribed following the conventions used by the bilingual co-worker to write Panjabi in Roman script.

Everything said by the study child was transcribed as accurately as possible with attention to conversational phenomena such as false starts, fragments of words or phrases, hesitations and filled pauses, non-lexical expressions, interruptions and overlapping speech. Everything said to the child by staff and other children was also transcribed. See Appendix 6 for extracts from CLASSROOM, HOME CORNER and STORY-TELLING transcripts.

The actual transcription conventions used draw on the work of Crystal et.al.(1976), McTear (1985), Ochs (1979) and are outlined in Appendix 4 .

As well as the transcription conventions of child language researchers, and in keeping with Ochs' point about drawing on cognitive and social development studies, it has been necessary to look to the work of psychologists and educationalists involved in studying children in school and nursery. Sylva et.al. (1980) and Blatchford et.al. (1982) have evolved useful ways of carrying out observations and coding young childrens' behaviour in the educational setting. Their observational schedules have been usefully adapted for this study, as discussed in Section 3.5.3, so that activity and interlocutors can be documented (see Appendix 4).

Most child language researchers interested in language acquisition give some attention to context. The detail with which this can be transcribed depends on the recording method. Video-

recording obviously allows data to be examined in great detail but is usually achieved at the expense of obtaining naturally occuring behaviour. While certain detail is sacrificed by relying on audio recording, less disruption occurred in this study and the naturalism of the situation was to a large extent preserved. In concentrating on the social situation and activity of the study child, a large amount of sufficiently detailed contextual information was obtained by a procedure selected in accordance with an underlying theory.

Using linguistic and behavioural transcription a description of the child's communication and its context was obtained that provides sufficient information to enable the analysis of children's naturally occurring communication.

4.2 ANALYSIS

The aim of the analysis is to enable the investigation of variation within a large body of child language data. The first outcome of applying the method of analysis is to allow the quantification of the data corpus. Once achieved, we can then go on to examine in more detail, aspects of syntax (Sections 8.3) and language alternation (Chapter 9).

Crystal showed that there are 'enormous difficulties' in analysing spoken language using the methods of theoretical linguistics, that is in terms of structure and function, remarking that features exist in spoken language that theorical linguists do not account for. Crystal (1979:155) outlines three main factors which are:

1) indeterminate connectivity, making it difficult to analyse the utterance as either a single complex sentence or as a set of simple sentences. Crystal's example of this is:

> "he gets on the wrong train and ends up in the wrong place and finds that he's in a place that's perfectly quiet and perfectly innocent and there's no story and so he just writes one" (ibid:155)

An example from the data in this study:

Context: Nasreen is describing a picture she has just drawn:

N: and this mouse and this going up and this mouse up and this house and this door and I'm not like and this a picture

2)ellipsis, the ommission of sentential elements that are unneccessary in conversational speech because of the context.

Crystal's example (p.157):

eg."lunch?" = do you want lunch?

Some examples from the study data:

Context: Shamshad & R are doing a puzzle. Shamshad cannot find *the puzzle piece she wants.*

R: have a look/
S: there?/ = do you mean there?

Context: T is asking children what they are doing at lunch time

T:Are you going home for lunch today/
Q:home today/ = I'm going home today.

3)intercalation of structures, an utterance which contains two interlaced sentences. Crystal's example (p.158)

> "I'm very suspicious of the press generally and I can tell you because not only I mean that's one case that you've given but also in their reporting of erm affairs foreign affairs"

There are no examples of this in the data as the children are not yet at this level of linguistic complexity.

Both Crystal's and this study's data highlight difficulties in analysing spoken language data by applying the analytical procedures

of descriptive linguistics. These rules are not designed to handle unidealized language data. Concentrating on the benefits which can be derived from descriptive linguistics will provide a more useful outcome. Lyons (1977:25) summarizes the difficulties as follows:

> It is not generally realized ... how indirect is the relationship between observed (or observable) utterances and the set of grammatical sentences postulated (and cited by way of example) by the linguist in his description of any particular language.

In this section on analysis considerable attention will be given to the relationship between naturally spoken language and the set of grammatical sentences postulated by descriptive linguists. This is necessary in order to derive the analysis from a sound theoretical basis, a point which will be dealt with in the next section. The remaining sections will examine the utterance, which is the unit of analysis. The complexity of this notion will be discussed, and conclusions will be drawn about a definition of the utterance and how it fulfil s the initial objective of the analysis, which is to quantify the data as fully as possible.

4.2.1 Definitions of the utterance

The term 'utterance' occurs frequently within the linguistic literature. It tends to be used as a pre-scientific or pre-theoretical notion, without definition. Crystal et al. (1976) note that the utterance is more difficult to define than the sentence and that it is also more rarely defined. There are many general definitions. For example Graddol et.al. (1987:15) state that 'utterances are sequences actually produced by speakers'; Brown and

Yule (1983:19) that 'utterances are spoken'. Such definitions do not provide any basis on which to actually analyse the data into utterances. More information is required if spoken language is to be adequately dealt with.

A more specific definition by Harris (1951:14) is, 'any stretch of talk, by one person, before and after which there is silence on the part of that person'. This gives some more detail but bears insufficient relation to an underlying theory of language on which to base an analysis of data. However, Lyons (1977) takes this definition as a starting point and then provides detailed discussion on the relationship between spoken language and the grammars of theoretical linguistics. The fundamental point which emerges is that utterances are derivable by rule from underlying sentences. In her investigation of the acquisition of register by Anglo-American children, Andersen (1986:160) utilises this notion of the utterance in her analysis, 'the conversational equivalent of a written sentence'

It is this sense of utterance that shall be used to analyse the spoken language data in this study. It allows the data to be examined within the firmly established criterion of 'derivability by rule'. Each utterance can be analysed thus achieving the aim of quantifying the spoken language data. The following section will examine in more detail the relationship between utterances and sentences.

4.2.2 The relationship between utterances and sentences

Lyons makes the point that:

> Most linguists failed to give account of the way the sentence as a theoretical construct within the linguists model of the language system is related to the sentence as a contextualized product of language behaviour. (ibid.,1977:629)

Lyons comments on this issue provides a very useful perspective from which to view the relationship between utterance and sentence as well as providing a theoretically based terminology, as the following extracts show:

> We can now distinguish between the sentence as something that can be uttered (ie. as the product of a bit of) language behaviour and the sentence as an abstract theoretical entity in the linguist's model of the language system. When it is necessary to distinguish terminologically between these two senses we will use text sentence for the former, and system sentence for the latter. (ibid., 1977:29)

> Text sentences are either utterances (whether written or spoken) or parts of utterances. Text sentences may be complete or incomplete. (ibid., 1977:30)

> A system sentence is a theoretical construct whose principal function in the linguist's model of the language system is to define the concept of grammaticality. (ibid., 1977:632)

Clearly there is a distinction between text sentences and system sentences. Text sentences (utterances) are the data of this study and can be related to system sentences by rule.

In dealing with the child language data in this study, there is a need to be explicit about what constitutes an utterance. Lyons notes that,

> An utterance may be of any length ... it may also consist of one or more grammatically incomplete sentence fragments and it may have one sentence or sentence fragment parenthetically included within another ...utterances of everyday conversation tend to be in some sense grammatically incomplete or elliptical, that is in relation to the sentence. (Lyons 1977:27)

It is necessary, therefore to account for utterances that are full, ellipted or incomplete (that is in relation to the sentence). The next section will examine how the study data was categorized into various utterance groups. This forms the basis of the analysis, and is grounded in the theory that has already been discussed in this chapter.

4.3 CATEGORIZING THE DATA

The framework discussed in the previous section was used to categorize the data and is applicable to English. Panjabi and Mixed utterances. Each utterance will be categorized in one of five ways as discussed in the sub-sections below. Throughout the section, the term sentence will be used to denote a particular category and utterance will be used to refer to actual tokens of the category in question. Each sentence type will be illustrated by examples from the literature and from the study data.

4.3.1 Full and elliptical

A sentence is, by defintion, complete, but an utterance need not be. However, a full sentence has a subject-predicate structure. Ellipsis however, is very common in conversational speech. Burton-Roberts (1986) gives a definition of ellipsis in terms of the relationship between sentence and utterance which is very useful when considering the analysis of data in this study:

> When a sentence is actually used by a speaker (ie.when a speaker actually utters it) almost anything can be omitted,

> provided that the omitted elements can be understood from the context in which it is used. The omission from sentences of required elements capable of being understood in the context of their use is called ellipsis, ellipsis creates acceptable, but nonetheless grammatically incomplete sentences ... In saying that certain constituents are necessary (obligatory) I have been relying implicitly on a distinction that is important in language description. This is the distinction between the grammaticality of a sentence and the acceptablity of an utterance (that is the acceptability of a sentence uttered by a speaker in context) ... in saying that a constituent is necessary and not optional, I am talking about sentences, not utterances. The fact that a necessary constituent can be omitted, by ellipsis, in an utterance does not indicate that it is grammatically optional. (Burton-Roberts 1986:101)

Some examples will illustrate this clearly. From Crystal et al. (1976:50),

A:Where are you going?
B:To town.

A:Who's in the bathroom?
B:John.

From these examples we can see that ellipted sentences are often responses that avoid repetition of a previous utterance. In elliptical sentences, the elided words are uniquely recoverable, or the context allows a very small set of alternatives, eg. Lunch? (ie. Are you ready for lunch etc.)

Some examples from the study data are:

Context: Ameena and two other children are involved in a counting activity

T: put some in the middle/
lots of buttons in the middle/
Am: there/ = shall I put them there?

Context: T is asking Tahira's class to be quiet

T: who's shouting/
Ta: Naruzzamin/ = Naruzzamin is shouting

Context: A small group of children are doing a colouring activity

(Ameena reachers out for a crayon)
Am :THAT colour/ = I want that colour

Context: Ameena knocks her arm on the table

Am: meri baan/ = my arm

Context: Tahira & OCp are having a conversation in the home corner

OCp:kiyain?/ = why
Ta: a kholnai/ = to open this

4.3.2 Reduced sentences

A considerable number of the children's utterances are not full or ellipted, but 'reduced' in some way that does not follow the normal rules of ellipsis as the following examples illustrate:

Context: Ameena asks OCe a question

Am: where you working/

Context: Qaseem is describing a picture in a story book

Q: they eating/

Context: Shahid's straw has fallen into his milk bottle

Sh: that down/

Context: T & Riaz are in the yard

T: What do you want/
Ri: bike

Context: Ameena & OCp are calling each other names

Am: tati vich/ = in poo

Context: Tahira is in the home corner with OCp

Ta: eh ruhkyain/ = I've put them

These utterances are reduced, but not according to the rules of ellipsis. For these utterances it is necessary to introduce the

category of reduced sentence, extending the notion of utterance relationship to an underlying sentence to include ellipted and reduced sentences. Interpretation of reduced utterances tends to be even more reliant on context than ellipted utterances. In Section 8.1.3 the results of a detailed examination into the patterns of 'reduction' in the English utterances within this category are presented. The following list illustrates the 'types' of reduction found.

REDUCED AT CLAUSE LEVEL

Subject	Ameena:	not tidy up/	
	Jameel:	want knife/	
	Shahid:	go away/	(subject = 'the straw')
Verb	Qaseem:	I not that/	(verb = 'got')
	Riaz:	this off/	(verb = 'take')
	Jameel:	what this/	(verb = 'is')
Object	Qaseem:	there is/	(object = 'the book')
	Riaz:	open/	(object = 'the door')
	Nasreen:	take off/	(object = 'the jacket')
Concord	Shamshad:	that go in there/	
	Ameena:	my sister go to big school/	
	Nasreen:	he *fall* down/	

REDUCED AT PHRASE LEVEL

Noun Phrase

Determiner	Nasreen:	gimme bag/	
	Ameena:	I can choose black colour/	
	Shamshad:	where's hat/	
Preposition	Shamshad:	you come back my seat/	(prep:'to')
	Qaseem:	pick it like that/	(prep:'up')
	Nasreen:	I get a cake Monday/	(prep:'on')
Pronoun:	Riaz:	me want this/	
	T:	whose turn is it now?/	
	Qaseem:	him/	
Noun	Nasreen:	the fall down there/	(noun = book)
	Tahira:	I got red/	(noun = medicine)
Auxiliary	Riaz:	where you going with that/	
	Nasreen:	this going/	
	Ameena:	I writing/	

Copula	Tahira:	you a naughty boy/
	Nasreen:	this mine/
	Ameena:	what this/
Part of verb phrase	Qaseem:	I'm home dinner/ (verb = going)
	Shamshad:	my mummy's teeth off/(verb = came)
	Tahira:	will you off me/ (verb = get)
	Ameena:	I don't wear it/ (VP = want to)

REDUCED AT WORD LEVEL

Plural	Anisa:	I gonna have some other one/
	Jameel:	some chip/
	Shahid:	two (.) two teddy (.) bear/

OMISSION OF MORE THAN ONE CLAUSE ELEMENT

Ameena:	this/	(=I want this off)
Riaz:	toilet/	(=I'm going to the toilet)
Tahira:	heavy/	(=it is heavy)

INCOMPLETE UTTERANCES

Shamshad:	teacher c_/
	my daddy's em/
Nasreen:	shall I do my _/

4.3.3 Major and minor sentences

Major and minor sentence categories are used by Crystal et. al.(1976) in their syntactic profile, LARSP. Major sentences essentially have subject-predicate structure while minor sentences do not. This is again best illustrated by examples from Crystal et.al. (1976:44)

Major	Minor
John kicked the ball	Yes
All the children came in	Oh
when the teacher called.	First come first served

Examples from the study data:

Major	Minor
N: I want more milk/	Oi/
Ri: watch me/	Hey/

Q: eh tu e kariase?/ Oops a daisy/
= did you do this?

Ta: eh uttai nai/ hain/
= don't get up = yes

The major / minor distinction will be used when analysing the data into utterances; minor utterances are categorised separately.

4.3.4 Problem Section

Where there are difficulties categorizing the children's utterances into full (major), minor, ellipted or reduced categories, a problem section will be used. This is a common feature of child language analysis. Crystal et.al.(1976) utilize a problem section for utterances which do not fit in with their analysis categories. Examination of the data revealed the existence of some distinct patterns within the problem category. Six sub-categories of problem utterance could be clearly identified; these involved pronoun, determiner, auxiliary, verb, word order, and unintelligible element within the utterance. Two further sub-categories were required to fully analyse the utterances; other, when the problem did not fall into any of the above sub-categories and more than one problem element. This sub-categorisation scheme allowed the problem 'types' to be quantified and in Section 8.3.2 we examine the utterances which fall into the problem section both quantitatively and qualitatively. Examples of each problem sub-category are given below.

Pronoun Sh: you bring it bike?/
N: I make it chips/

Utterances within the pronoun sub-category are those in which a

pronoun is used with the noun phrase it would normally replace. From the examples above and those in Section 8.3.2 both a pronoun and noun phrase are used in the same utterance.

Determiner N: I'm doing a this/
An: can I have a that one?/
Z: where's a my car?/
Am: now I put it in the there/

Within the determiner sub-category a determiner is 'slotted in' usually before the noun phrase (but see ex.106 & ex.107. in Section 8.3.2). It is most commonly the indefinite determiner, but there is one example of the definite determiner being used as shown above.

Auxiliary T: where's is?/
An: that's goes in the house/
Am:that's one mine/

In this sub-category there are difficulties in the correct use of auxiliary verbs.

Verb Q: he's smellening/
An: now eat your drink of coffee/
T: like to do a bath/
Am: I'm chop it/
Sh: now he's get it/

Anisa and Tahira illustrate problems within this sub-category in their use of the wrong lexical verb; Qaseem uses an idiosynctratic verb form which we discuss further in Section 8.3.2.; Ameena and Shamshad's examples highlight the omission of the necessary verb inflection while at the same time having the correct form of the auxiliary verb.

Word order Sh: goes down there glass/ = glass goes down there
Am: my sister's got as well that/
= my sister's got that as well

This sub-category contains utteances in which it is clear that the word order rules of English have been violated.

Unintelligible element(s) within the utterance

Q: (3syls) one more/
Am:eh eh eh eh you speak (2syls)/
Sh: he's got it (3syls)/

Other Sh: alls get it pencil/
Sh: I do not do this my shop in my house/

This sub-category deals with elements which do not fall into any of the other sub-categories and for which there is no pattern.

More than one 'problem' element

Sh: I got it a this jacket/	pronoun/determiner
Q: I'm a two finished/	determiner/word order

Within this sub-category we find utterances in which there are clearly more than one of the above mentioned sub-categories present.

4.3.5 Non-Verbal Communication

Non-verbal communication occurs in the data with varying frequency and has been noted in the analysis. It is acknowledged that,

> ... non-verbal behaviour is such a complex phenomenon that it presents many problems of description and analysis to researchers. (Graddol et.al. 1987:149)

There are obvious difficulties in recording non-verbal communication when the data is recorded on audiotape and not videotape. While it is not possible to state categorically that all non-verbal communication was noticed and transcribed by the researcher, the children were watched closely and all observed instances of non-verbal communication were noted. It was necessary to decide beforehand what actually constituted non-verbal communication. It was decided only to record instances in which the child responded or initiated non-verbally when a verbal move would also have been appropriate as the following examples show,

(See Appendix 4 for a full account of non-verbal notation)

Context: T and a small group of children (including Shahid) are at the milk table,

T: do you wanna have the rest of it later/
have it later/
Sh:((ND)) = nods head
T: you can put it on there/
come back and have it later/

Context: Jameel is painting and T comes over to ask him about it

T: are you doing a black and silver picture or one of these pictures/
J: yeh/
T: which one/
J: yeh/
T: or that one/
J:((PT)) = points to the picture he wants to do.

There were, in fact, only a small number of occasions in which non-verbal communication was used. Two of the younger children however, used a considerable amount of non-verbal communication in relation to their verbal communication (see Sections 5.5 & 6.6).

4.3.6 Symbolic noise and sound play

It is very common for children, especially young children, to accompany their play with some sound representing the activity. Each example of this is noted in the transcription and some examples from the data are:

Context: Playing in home corner

An: (symb.noise: pouring out tea) (1syl) sugar/

Context: Standing at the cooker with a frying pan on the stove

Ri: me dulainai/ = I've spilt it
(symb.noise:cooking food in pan)

Sound play occurs when children use sounds and/or words without intending any particular communicative function other than to 'play'

with the sounds. This has been noted to occur with individual children and also between children. Schiefflin (1983:178) writes:

> In these exchanges, children pay attention to the phonetic shape of one another's utterances and repeat or modify slightly a sequence of sounds just produced.

Sound play has been reported in a number of different cultures, (Schiefflin, 1983). It has occured in the data and is therefore noted in the transcription as the examples below show,

Context: Children sitting at the table waiting for other children to finish their milk before they can go outside to play

Ri:kala kuthai/ = black dog
(said repeatedly in a sing-song voice)
This is an insult in Panjabi and he is joking with another Panjabi-speaking child while chanting this.

Context: A group of children are playing a lotto game

OCE:wishy washy/wishy washy/wishy washy/ (sing-song voice)
S: wishy wishy washy/

Sound play or synbolic noise did not play a significant role in the communication of any of the children and is therefore not discussed in the following chapters.

4.4 SUMMARY

Data was quantified in a way which related naturally occurring spoken language to the underlying grammar thus providing an accountable and replicable description of the children's language. The categories and the criteria for their use have been discussed. Each of the childen's utterances will be assigned to one of the following categories: FULL; ELLIPTED; REDUCED; MINOR; PROBLEM and NON-VERBAL. Symbolic noise and sound play are noted in the

transcription. Having obtained a means of analysing the data, Chapters 5,6,& 7 will illustrate how this particular analysis has allowed certain patterns of communication used by the children in each of the four settings, CLASSROOM, HCp, HCe and STORY-TELLING, to be identified. Chapter 8 will examine the results of the four settings within a sociolinguistic framework and Chapter 9 will conclude the child language analysis by examining language alternation.

CHAPTER 5

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS 1: A SESSION IN THE CLASSROOM

Ten children were involved in the final study (see Section 3.6). Nasreen, Riaz, Jameel, Shahid and Zahid in Group 1 aged between 3 and 3;6 were in their first term of nursery school; Qaseem, Anisa, Ameena, Tahira and Shamshad in Group 2 aged between 4 and 4;6 were in their first term of infant school, having completed a year at nursery. The purpose of this chapter is to present the results obtained from analysing language data which was recorded during a period of between one hour fifty-five minutes and two hours twenty-five minutes (see Tables 5i(a&b) below).

The final data collection procedure produced four data collection 'sets' (see Section 3.6). The first of these was language data collected during a morning or afternoon classroom session. The second and third 'sets' were collected in the home corner when the study child (SC) was playing, firstly with a native Panjabi-speaking child (OCp), and on another occasion with a native English-speaking child (OCe) (see Chapter 6). The fourth 'set' concerned a story-telling activity which involved 'telling' three short picture storybooks to a toy (see Chapter 7). All the language data described in this and subsequent chapters was collected in the domain of the classroom.

The data was coded according to the description given in Chapter 4. In this chapter, the coded data is examined along three major dimensions. The first dimension, (Section 5.1) examines the language

data according to utterance type. This involves quantifying the number of utterances that are in the following categories: FULL, TAG, REDUCED, ELLIPTED, MINOR, PROBLEM (see Tables 5ii(a&b)below). Secondly, in Section 5.2 code choice is examined, in which the data is quantified in terms of the number of Panjabi, English and Mixed Code utterances used by each child. Interlocutor effect is the third aspect of investigation (Section 5.3). The use of non-verbal communication is also examined (Section 5.4). Within this framework, the results from Group 1 and Group 2 are presented together allowing comparison between groups to take place.

Information on the children's communicative behaviour at home is included in Section 5.5. In spite of reliance on different methodological techniques to collect the information on language use at home (see Section 3.6.1), useful comparisons between the domains of school and home can be made.

The *quantitative results are given mainly in the form of* percentages to allow comparison between the children. However, numbers are given when N is low to show when necessary, the amounts of any particular structure or category actually produced.

A number of trends will emerge from the results. Some are clear, some less clear, but full discussion of important trends will take place in Chapter 8.

Section 5.1 will be preceded by Tables 5i(a&b) which show, for each child, the length of time spent in school prior to data collection, the length of the session from which the data was collected and the total number of utterances spoken by each child. Throughout this chapter, Table 5a refers to Group 1 and Table 5b to

Group 2.

Time in School, Length of Session and Total Number of Utterances For Each Child

Table 5i(a)

Child	Time in school	Length of session	Total uttr.
1) Nasreen	4 weeks	2hrs.25mins.	586
2) Riaz	5 weeks	1hr.55mins.	334
3) Jameel	5 weeks	2hrs.7mins.	251
4) Shahid	6 weeks	2hrs.14mins.	83
5) Zahid	3 weeks	1hr.54mins.	111
Average	5 weeks	2hrs.12 mins.	273

Table 5i(b)

Child	Time in school	Length of session	Total uttr.
6) Qaseem	1 weeks	2hrs.54mins.	171
7) Anisa	2 weeks	2hrs.40mins.	413
8) Ameena	2 weeks	2hrs.30mins.	572
9) Tahira	3 weeks	2hrs.30mins.	507
10)Shamshad	3 weeks	2hrs.49mins.	670
Average	2 weeks	2hrs.40 mins.	466.6

Tables 5i(a&b) give details related to the first data collection 'set'. Group 1 had attended nursery for an average of five weeks

prior to the recording session, while Group 2 had been in infant class an average of two and a half weeks. The variation in the length of the class session reflected differences between each class and the fact that younger children attend school for a slightly shorter period of time than the older children. Differences in the number of utterances spoken by each child are however, much greater than could be accounted for by discrepancies in length of time in nursery and recording session. The greatest difference between the groups is in the average number of utterances spoken, Group 2, as perhaps would be expected, using a much greater average number of utterances than Group 1.

In the next section the data is examined in terms of utterance type.

5.1 UTTERANCE TYPE

The data was coded according to the number of FULL, TAG, REDUCED (Red), ELLIPTED (Ell), MINOR (Min), and PROBLEM (Prob) utterances produced by the children (see Section 4.5 above). Tables 5ii(a&b) below show the occurences of each utterance type expressed as a percentage of the total number of utterances used by each of the children.

Occurrences of Utterance Type Expressed as a Percentage of the Total Number of Utterances

Table 5ii(a)

Child	FULL	TAG	RED	ELL	MIN	PROB
Nasreen	19.5	0.5	42.8	10.8	19.3	7.2
Riaz	53.0	0.3	18.9	4.2	19.2	4.5
Jameel	13.9	0	39.0	10.0	35.5	1.6
Shahid	44.6	0	21.7	3.6	24.1	6.0
Zahid	2.7	0	47.7	3.6	31.5	14.4

Table 5ii(b)

Child	FULL	TAG	RED	ELL	MIX	PROB
Qaseem	26.9	0	19.9	21.1	15.8	16.4
Anisa	23.0	1.0	18.2	15.3	21.8	20.8
Ameena	46.9	0	20.6	8.9	18.2	5.8
Tahira	47.7	0.6	14.2	8.9	21.7	6.9
Shamshad	16.3	0.4	30.6	9.9	18.8	24.0

Dealing with Group 1 first, Table 5ii(a) shows that there is considerable variation between the children in the amount of each utterance category used. In particular, Riaz and Shahid use a larger proportion of FULL utterances than any other category; Nasreen, Jameel and Zahid use a larger proportion of REDUCED utterances than any other category; Jameel and Zahid use relatively high proportions of MINOR

utterances. A small number of TAGS are used by Nasreen and Riaz. Among the other children the proportions of ELLIPTED and PROBLEM utterances are relatively small.

Table 5ii(b) shows that for all but one of the children, the largest proportion of utterances fall within the FULL category. The exception is Shamshad who has almost twice as many REDUCED as FULL utterances in her speech. TAGS are used the least and not at all by Anisa. Considerable amounts of speech fall into the remaining ELLIPTED, MINOR and PROBLEM categories. Anisa and Shamshad have the highest proportion of PROBLEM utterances.

Taking both groups together, the average amounts of each utterance category is shown on Table 5(iii) below.

Table 5(iii)
Average Amounts of Each Utterance Category

Group	FULL	TAG	RED	ELL	MIN	PROB
1	26.7	0.2	34.0	6.4	25.9	6.7
2	32.2	0.4	20.7	12.8	19.3	14.8

There are some general differences between Groups 1 and 2. Group 1 use less FULL, TAG, ELLIPTED and PROBLEM utterances and more REDUCED and MINOR than Group 2. Given the differences in age and exposure to English between Groups 1 and 2, this pattern is not particulary surprising, except perhaps the higher number of PROBLEM utterances used by children in Group 2. This could be due to the greater number of utterances used by Group 2, thus increasing the likelihood of problems (by far the largest proportion of utterances in the PROBLEM category are English). The REDUCED category is the one

where there is the largest difference between groups. Most of the REDUCED utterances are English and they indicate some difficulty in producing grammatical English utterances (see Sections 4.3.2 & 8.3.1) and the difference between Groups 1 and 2 is in a predictable direction, given that Group 1 have had less exposure to English than Group 2 and therefore less time to learn it.

Further exploration of the data involves looking at code choice, whilst relating it to the utterance categories discussed in this section.

5.2 CODE CHOICE

An examination of the relative amounts of the various language codes in each of the utterance categories reveals a more detailed picture of the children's communication. Categories FULL, REDUCED (Red) and ELLIPTED (Ell) will show the percentages of English, Panjabi and Mixed Code used by each child. However, for category MINOR (Tables 5vii (a&b) below) the additional 'codes' of VOCATIVES (Voc) and OTHER (Oth) are included as these cannot be coded into either English, Panjabi or Mixed Code. UNINTELLIGIBLE (Unt) is added to the PROBLEM category (Tables 5viii(a&b)below), again this could not be categorised as English, Panjabi or Mixed code.

Percentage of English, Panjabi & Mixed Utterances in Category: FULL

Table 5iv(a)

Child	Engl	Panj	Mix
Nasreen	53.5	*39.5	6.1
Riaz	52.5	42.9	4.5
Jameel	91.4	8.6	0
Shahid	32.4	62.2	5.4
Zahid	66.7	33.3	0

Table 5iv(b)

Child	Engl	Panj	Mix
Qaseem	95.7	4.3	0
Anisa	82.1	5.3	12.6
Ameena	38.8	50.0	11.2
Tahira	38.0	58.7	3.3
Shamshad	95.4	0.9	3.7

* 0.9% Urdu, not included in the Panjabi figure

Dealing with Group 1 first, only Shahid produces more FULL Panjabi utterances than FULL English utterances. While Nasreen and Riaz produce more FULL English utterances they still produce a fairly substantial proportion of FULL Panjabi utterances. Jameel produces a very small number of FULL Panjabi utterances and no FULL Mixed utterances. Zahid also produces no FULL Mixed utterances, but a higher proportion of FULL English utterances than FULL Panjabi utterances. Within Group 2, a clear division exists between the children. Ameena and Tahira both produce more FULL Panjabi than FULL English utterances, while the other children in the group produce very few FULL Panjabi utterances. All the children in this group, except Qaseem, produce FULL Mixed utterances, Anisa and Ameena producing the greatest proportions.

We saw on Tables 5ii(a&b) that only five of the ten children used TAGS, and also that only a very small number of TAGS were produced.

Nasreen and Shamshad produced three TAGS, Anisa, four TAGS and these were all English. Riaz produced one Mixed Code TAG and Tahira produced one Panjabi, one English and one Mixed Code TAG. The significance of language alternation in TAGS will be discussed in Section 9.2.

Tables 5v(a&b) show the percentages of each code within the REDUCED category.

Percentage of English, Panjabi & Mixed Utterances in Category: REDUCED

Table 5v(a)

Child	Engl	Panj	Mix
Nasreen	94.0	4.0	2.0
Riaz	74.6	22.2	3.2
Jameel	95.9	4.1	0
Shahid	88.9	5.6	5.6
Zahid	100	0	0

Table 5v(b)

Child	Engl	Panj	Mix
Qaseem	100	0	0
Anisa	92.0	4.0	4.0
Ameena	87.3	11.9	0.8
Tahira	93.1	5.6	1.4
Shamshad	98.0	0	2.0

Among Group 1, the proportion of REDUCED Panjabi compared with REDUCED English utterances is much lower than in the FULL category. One would perhaps expect a much larger number of REDUCED English utterances compared to REDUCED Panjabi utterances as these children have only very recently begun to communicate in English (they have been in nursery for an average of five weeks at the time this data was collected). Only Riaz produced a considerable proportion of REDUCED Panjabi utterances. Within Group 2, a there is more uniformity among the proportions of each code used than there was in the FULL category.

Shamshad and Qaseem produce no REDUCED Panjabi utterances, while Anisa and Tahira produce only a few. Ameena produces the greatest proportion of REDUCED Panjabi utterances among Group 2.

Percentage of English, Panjabi & Mixed Utterances in Category: ELLIPTED

Table 5vi(a)

Child	Engl	Panj	Mix
Nasreen	90.5	9.5	0
Riaz	78.6	14.3	7.1
Jameel	88.0	12.0	0
Shahid	100	0	0
Zahid	100	0	0

Table 5vi(b)

Child	Engl	Panj	Mix
Qaseem	97.2	0	2.8
Anisa	96.8	0	3.2
Ameena	92.2	7.8	0
Tahira	80.0	17.8	2.2
Shamshad	100	0	0

Within Group 1, Shahid and Zahid produce no Panjabi in the ELLIPTED category, while Jameel produces his highest proportion of Panjabi within this utterance category. In Group 2, Tahira and Ameena again use greater proportions of Panjabi in this category than the other children in the group.

Below we examine the proportions of each code and also the proportions of Vocative (Voc) and Other (Oth) found on analysis of the MINOR category.

Percentage of Eng, Panj. Mix, Voc & Oth. Utterances in Category: MINOR

Table 5vii(a)

Child	Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth	Urdu
Nasreen	68.1	3.5	0	4.4	21.2	2.7
Riaz	51.6	12.5	0	14.1	21.9	
Jameel	79.8	1.1	0	3.4	15.7	
Shahid	30.0	5.0	0	25.0	40.0	
Zahid	83.0	0	0	0	17.0	

Table 5vii(b)

Child	Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth
Qaseem	44.0	0	0	0	55.6
Anisa	72.2	5.6	0	14.4	7.8
Ameena	66.3	16.3	1.9	4.8	10.6
Tahira	54.5	24.5	1.8	10.0	8.2
Shamshad	42.9	0	0	50.8	6.3

Of Group 1, Zahid produces no Panjabi MINOR utterances, and Jameel very few. Shahid and Nasreen produce slightly more, with Riaz, again producing the highest proportion. Interestingly, Nasreen produces some Urdu, the only child to do so (see also Table 5iv(a)). None of Group 1 use any Mixed Code. Again a clear division in the use of Panjabi within the MINOR category exists among Group 2.

Qaseem and Shamshad using none, Anisa a small proportion and Ameena and Tahira, much larger proportions of Panjabi MINOR utterances.

Percentage of Engl,Panj, Mix & Unintel. Utterances in Category: PROBLEM

Table 5viii(a)

Child	Engl	Panj	Mix	Unt
Nasreen	90.5	7.1	2.4	0
Riaz	86.7	13.3	0	0
Jameel	100	0	0	0
Shahid	60.0	20.0	20.0	0
Zahid	37.5	0	0	62.5

Table 5viii(b)

Child	Engl	Panj	Mix	Unt
Qaseem	100	0	0	0
Anisa	90.7	0	9.3	0
Ameena	100	0	0	0
Tahira	85.7	14.3	0	0
Shamshad	96.3	0	3.7	0

Zahid produces a large amount of totally unintelligible utterances within the PROBLEM category. All the other children in Group 1 produce the largest proportion of PROBLEM utterances in English, although the children are also producing amounts of PROBLEM

utterances in Panjabi and Mixed code. This can be compared with Group 2 (see Table 5viii(b) above) in which only Tahira produces PROBLEM utterances in Panjabi, and Anisa, Tahira and Shamshad produce some amounts of PROBLEM utterances in Mixed Code. None of Group 2 produce any totally unintelligible utterances.

Taking Group 1 and considering all the utterance categories, this examination shows that all the children use some Panjabi, some English and all but Zahid use some Mix. However, there is tremendous variation in the relative amounts of each of these three codes within each category, particularly in the amount of Panjabi relative to English, given that the children come from similar linguistic backgrounds and have been exposed to English for a relatively similar period in nursery.

Among Group 2, a reasonably clear pattern has emerged; Ameena and Tahira use a much greater amount of Panjabi in all of the utterance categories than the other children and they use more Panjabi than English within the FULL category. On the other hand, Qaseem, Anisa and Shamshed always use more English than Panjabi. Among Group 1 the pattern is not so clear cut. It has been shown however, that Zahid and Jameel use little Panjabi; Nasreen and Riaz use considerable amounts; only Shahid uses more Panjabi utterances than English in the FULL category.

The pattern which emerges when we examine the use of the various codes for all the children is that more English than any other code is used, as is shown on Tables 5ix(a&b) and Table 5(x) below.

Percentage Utterances in Each Code
for the Entire Data Corpus

Table 5ix(a)

Child	Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth	Unt
Nasreen	80.5	*12.3	2.2	0.9	4.1	0
Riaz	59.0	30.5	3.6	2.7	4.2	0
Jameel	88.4	4.8	0	1.2	5.6	0
Shahid	48.2	31.3	4.8	6.0	9.6	0
Zahid	87.7	0.9	0	0	5.4	9.0

* Nasreen uses 0.7 Urdu utterances (included in the Panjabi figure)

Table 5ix(b)

Child	Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth	Unt
Qaseem	89.5	1.2	0.6	0	8.7	0
Anisa	86.0	3.1	6.1	3.1	1.7	0
Ameena	62.1	29.5	5.6	0.9	1.9	0
Tahira	56.4	37.1	2.6	2.2	1.8	0
Shamshad	87.2	0.1	1.9	9.5	1.2	0

Tables 5ix(a&b) show that taking the entire data corpus into account, all the children use more English than any other code while in the nursery and infant class. It has been shown however, that this pattern of communicating predominantly in English is not constant across all categories. Shahid in Group 1 and Ameena and Tahira in Group 2 use more Panjabi than English in the FULL category (see Tables

5iv(a&b)), while Nasreen and Riaz use considerable proportions of Panjabi in this category. Conversely, Jameel and Zahid in Group 1 and Qaseem, Anisa and Shamshad use very little Panjabi in their classromm communication. Overall, little Mixed Code is used, but it does occur in all but Zahid's speech, and will be discussed in Chapter 9.

Comparing both groups according to the average amounts of each code used, as on Table 5(x) below, Group 1 use only slightly more Panjabi than Group 2. It is perhaps surprising, given that Group 1 have only recently started school that there is such a small difference between both groups in the average amounts of Panjabi used. However, we have seen that considerable individual differences exist within the groups, some children using very little Panjabi and some children using a great deal more.

Table 5x

Average Amounts of Each Code Used

Group	Eng	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth	Unt
1	72.2	15.8	2.1	2.2	5.9	1.8
2	76.2	14.2	3.4	3.1	3.1	0

In order to examine some of these individual differences further we will be examining the effect of interlocutor and general environment (classroom peers). The next section outlines the linguistic backgrounds of the informants' classmates, which is relevant for further investigation of the children's use of different linguistic codes.

5.3 THE LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT OF EACH STUDY CHILD'S CLASSROOM

As we have seen, Newcastle is a multi-racial and multi-lingual city (see Section 2.3.1). Table 2(iii) showed that there were sixteen mother tongue languages spoken by children in the nine school classes involved in the study. Since this entails a great deal of variation in individual linguistic experience, it is useful to examine the linguistic environment for each child. This provides additional information relevant to the analysis of the child's communicative behaviour (see Appendix 2 for further details about the schools).

Mother Tongue Languages Spoken By The Childrens' Classmates

Table 5xi(a)

	Sch	B-staff	Engl	Panj	Beng
Nasreen	1	1 Teach.	5	10	5

	Sch	B-staff	Engl	Panj	Urdu	Arabic
Riaz	6	1 C.P	8	9	2	2

	Sch	B-staff	Engl	Panj	Hindi	Arabic
Jameel Shahid	2	0	7	5	1	1

	Sch	B-staff	Engl	Panj	Beng	Farsi	Yoruba
Zahid	3	0	17	1	1	1	1

B-staff denotes the number of bilingual staff in the class.
Teach = teacher; C.P = worker employed by the Community Programme.

Table 5xi(b)

	Sch	Engl	Panj	Urdu	Viet	Cant	Malay	Turk	G/N
Qaseem	9a	28	10	6	1	2	1	1	1

	Sch	Engl	Panj	Malay	Arab	F/E
Anisa	8	12	2	1	1	2

	Sch	Engl	Panj	Beng	Malay	Arab
Ameena	7a	3	10	6	1	1

	Sch	Engl	Panj	Beng	Cant	Chin	Arab	Farsi
Tahira	7b	6	8	6	1	1	1	1

	Sch	Engl	Panj	Beng	Urdu	Hindi
Sham-shad	9a	15	5	1	3	1

Key to abbreviated names:
Viet. = Vietnamese; Cant. = Cantonese; Turk. = Turkish;
G/N = German/Norwegian (this child spoke both these languages at home); Arab. = Arabic; F/E = French/Ewondo (these children spoke both these language at home); Chin. = 'Chinese' (this is an incorrect label, but this was the only information available to the teacher about this child's home language)

Considering Group 1 first, Table 5xi(a) shows that Panjabi is the numerically dominant language in the nurseries of Nasreen and Riaz. For Jameel and Shahid, there are almost equal numbers of mother tongue Panjabi and English speakers. On the other hand in Zahid's nursery there are only two children with Panjabi as their mother tongue and a large number of native English speakers.

There seems to be no definite relationship between the number of Panjabi speakers in the class and the amount of Panjabi used by the children. It might be expected that Zahid would use little Panjabi. This is indeed the case, a very small proportion of his utterances are

Panjabi, compared with eighty-four percent English utterances (see Table 5ix(a)). However, examination of the relative amounts of each code used by Jameel and Shahid, show differences which cannot be explained merely by class composition. Both children attend the same class, yet there are considerable differences in the amount of Panjabi spoken by each child. Jameel uses mainly English to communicate, only four percent of his utterances are Panjabi, while a considerable amount, thirty-three percent, of Shahid's classroom communication is in Panjabi. Similarly, there are considerable differences between Nasreen and Riaz although the linguistic environment in the class is fairly similar, having a majority of native Panjabi-speakers and bilingual staff being employed by both schools. Thirty-one percent of Riaz's utterances are Panjabi compared to only eleven percent of Nasreen's. In fact, with the exception of Zahid, it would appear that all the children have considerable opportunity to use their mother tongue in class in terms of speaking to native Panjabi-speaking peers, yet at this very early stage of exposure to English, the children use mainly English (Table 5ix(a)).

Moving on to consider the second group, there are a considerable range of mother tongue languages amongst the classmates of Group 2. Overall, English is the numerically dominant language, but in both the classes of School 7, Panjabi is the most common mother tongue language. It is against this background that we need to interpret the information shown on Table 5ix(b), Ameena and Tahira who use most Panjabi attend classes in school 7. However, it should be noted that the other children who do have native Panjabi-speaking classmates, use

little of their mother tongue in class. Further examination of another variable is necessary as classroom composition alone does not explain the patterns of code choice found in the analysis. The effect of interlocutor is examined in the next section.

5.4 THE INTERLOCUTOR VARIABLE

Tables 5xii(a&b) below, show the number and proportion of utterances addressed to adults, other children and to self. The information about classroom interlocutors is expressed in terms of one variable with three values and these are: ADULT - which includes the teacher and auxiliary staff, the researcher and parents (only present at the beginning and end of sessions in some schools); CHILD - includes all the study child's classmates and other children who may come into the class; SELF - refers to talk the children direct at themselves. Talk to SELF was identified as talk which occurred when the child was alone or playing in parallel with another child and observed not to direct talk to the child or engage in interaction in which there was an exchange structure.

Number and Percentages of Total Utterances Addressed to Different Interlocutors

Table 5xii(a)

Child	Total utterances	Adult	Child	Self
Nasreen	588	44.6% n=262	9.5% n=56	45.7% n=269
Riaz	333	45.3% n=151	51.1% n=170	3.9% n=13
Jameel	251	88.8% n=223	8.0% n=20	3.2% n=8
Shahid	83	33.7% n=28	0.4% n=7	57.8% n=48
Zahid	111	76.6% n=85	18.9% n=21	4.5% n=5

Table 5xii(b)

Child	Total utterances	Adult	Child	Self
Qaseem	171	36.3% n=62	56.1% n=96	7.6% n=13
Anisa	413	67.6% n=279	24.0% n=99	8.5% n=35
Ameena	572	53.7% n=307	44.4% n=254	1.9% n=11
Tahira	507	28.6% n=145	68.6% n=348	2.8% n=14
Shamshad	670	89.9% n=602	9.0% n=60	1.2% n=8

The information on Tables 5xii(a&b) suggests that each child has a particular preference or set of preferences for communication with the various interlocutor types. Tables 5xiii(a&b) below summarise each childs' preferred interlocutor types, based on the relative proportions of talk adressed to either ADULT, CHILD or SELF. For example, from Table 5xiii(a) we can see that Nasreen directs forty-

four percent of her talk to ADULT; forty-two percent to SELF and only fourteen percent to CHILD. Nasreen can therefore be said to show a preference for ADULT and SELF. Jameel shows a very clear preference for talk to ADULT. Shahid, on the other hand, clearly has a preference for talk to SELF and very little preference for talk to CHILD, but he addresses thirty-four percent of his utterances to ADULT. Looking at Tables 5xiii(a&b)below, a particular preference is given a 'yes' (Y) value if the figures are within ten percent of the highest of the three values, otherwise a 'no' (N) value is assigned. While it is important to note the actual percentages, the summary on Tables 5xiii(a&b) is useful and highlights some important trends.

Preferred Addressee

Table 5xiii(a)

Child	Adult	Child	Self
Nasreen	Y	N	Y
Riaz	Y	Y	N
Jameel	Y	N	N
Shahid	N	N	Y
Zahid	Y	N	N

Table 5xiii(b)

Child	Adult	Child	Self
Qaseem	N	Y	N
Anisa	Y	N	N
Ameena	Y	Y	N
Tahira	N	Y	N
Shamshad	Y	N	N

A clear distinction between Groups 1 and 2 occurs in the amount of talk addressed to SELF. None of Group 2 show this preference, whereas Nasreen, Riaz and Shahid direct a considerable proportion of their utterances to themselves. Other trends in interlocutor preference are particular to individual children and cannot be

contrasted between groups.

Analysing the figures on Tables 5xii(a&b) further, it is interesting to note the amount of talk addressed to children in terms of the linguistic background of the addressee (see Tables 5iv(a&b) below).

Percentage of Total Utterances to CHILD Interlocutors

Table 5xiv(a)

Child	Total uttr to OC	OCp	OCe	OCb
Nasreen	56	91.1	8.9	
Riaz	170	89.4	10.6	
Jameel	20	40.0	60.0	
Shahid	7	100	0	
Zahid	21	0	95.0	5.0

Table 5xiv(b)

Child	Total uttr to OC	OCp	OCe	
Qaseem	96	18.8	81.3	
				OCm
Anisa	99	27.3	63.6	9.1
				OCb
Ameena	254	95.3	2.8	2.0
				OCc
Tahira	348	77.0	22.7	0.3
Shamshad	60	26.7	73.3	

Key to abbreviations:
OCm = mother tongue Malay; OCb = mother tongue Bengali; OCc = mother tongue 'Chinese'.

Within Group 1 (Table 5iv(a) above), talk was either to another native Panjabi-speaking child (OCp), another native English-speaking child, (OCe) or another native Bengali-speaking child (OCb). Additional addressees amongst Group 2 were a native Malay-speaker (OCm) and a native 'Chinese'-speaker (OCc). As in Section 5.3 and Table 5xi(b), we are acknowledging the inaccuracy of the label 'Chinese'. The child in question did, however, speak one of the Chinese languages although the actual language was unknown to the school. Interestingly, there are a greater number of speakers of various different languages as possible interlocutors than are actually chosen (see Tables 5xi(a&b) above). By far the most talk is directed to other native English or native Panjabi-speaking children, and it appears that the children have clear preferences in their choice of interlocutor, summarised on Tables 5xv(a&b) below.

Preferred CHILD Interlocutor

Table 5xv(a)

	OCp	OCe
Nasreen	Y	N
Riaz	Y	N
Jameel	N	Y
Shahid	Y	N
Zahid	N	Y

Table 5xv(b)

	OCp	OCe
Qaseem	N	Y
Anisa	N	Y
Ameena	Y	N
Tahira	Y	N
Shamshad	N	Y

Examination of each study child's preference towards different interlocutors provides a better explanation why the children vary so much in their use of their first language (L1), than an explanation related to the linguistic environment in each class. Taking Group 1 for example, Jameel communicates mainly with adults (mono-lingual English) and other native English-speaking children, while Shahid, in the same class, communicates predominantly with himself or with other native Panjabi-speaking children. This can be related to the information in Table 5ix(a) which shows that Jameel communicates mainly in English while Shahid uses a much higher proportion of Panjabi speech in class. It would seem that the variation between these children is related closely to individual preferences for interlocutors (Tables 5xiii(a) & 5xv(a) above). Wong-Fillmore (1976) finds a close link between second language learning strategies and personality as a reason for differences in communication style, and there is evidence of the same in this data. Table 5xiii(a), above,

also suggests that among the nursery-age children there is a group tendency towards communication with adults as opposed to age peers, and some children are inclined to communicate with SELF. A relatively small proportion of utterances are addressed to age peers. However, among the class peer group, three out of the five children communicated more with other native Panjabi-speaking children than native English-speaking children (Table 5xv(a) above). Interestingly, these three children, Nasreen, Riaz and Shahid use more Panjabi than the others. Zahid had little choice, there only being one other native Panjabi speaker in the class. Since the number of utterances which Jameel directed towards other children was quite small it is difficult to to know whether Table 5xv(a) reveals a real preference for native English-speaking adressees.

Considering Group 2 now, none of these children use much talk to themselves; Ameena uses relatively equal amounts of talk to both children and adults; Qaseem and Tahira are oriented more to their peers, whereas Anisa and Shamshad are very adult oriented. Choice of communication partner among peers would seem to be an important factor governing the amount of Panjabi relative to English that is used. Those children oriented towards native Panjabi-speaking peers, Ameena and Tahira, are those who use a large proportion of Panjabi in class. The other children use relatively little Panjabi, and are oriented more towards other native English-speaking peers.

This tendency appears to be common to both groups, and will be explored further by examining the relative amounts of each code used with the interlocutors, OCp (OCb), OCe and SELF. Talk to adults was always in English, except on one occasion when Nasreen had a short

conversation in Panjabi with a bilingual teacher.

Number and Percentages of Engl, Panj, Mix, Voc, & Oth, Utterances Used With OCp

Table 5xvi(a)

Child	Tot.Uttr	Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth
Nasreen	51	39.2% n=20	*47.1% n=24	5.9% n=3	3.9% n=2	2.0% n=1
Riaz	152	21.7% n=33	63.2% n=96	7.9% n=12	3.9% n=6	3.3% n=5
Jameel	8	12.5% n=1	50.0% n=4	25.0% n=2	0	12.5% n=1
Shahid	7	28.6% n=2	42.9% n=3	14.3% n=1	0	14.3% n=1
Zahid(to OCb)	1	100% n=1	0	0	0	0

Nasreen uses 2.0%(n=1) Urdu with OCp

Table 5xvi(b)

Child	Tot.Uttr	Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth
Qaseem	18	44.4% n=8	11.1% n=2	5.6% n=1	0	38.9% n=7
Anisa	26	42.3% n=11	38.5% n=10	0	15.4% n=4	3.8% n=1
Ameena	242	16.5% n=40	63.2% n=153	16.9% n=41	0.8% n=2	2.5% n=6
Tahira	268	20.9% n=56	60.1% n=161	14.2% n=38	3.0% n=8	1.9% n=5
Shamshad	16	68.8% n=11	6.3% n=1	0	25.0% n=4	0

Among Group 1, Table 5xvi(a) above, there is great variation in the amount of speech used to other native Panjabi-speaking children. At the extremes, Zahid uses none and Riaz uses 152 utterances. Excluding Zahid, all the children in Group 1 use more Panjabi than

English in their communication with other native Panjabi-speaking peers.

On the other hand, Qaseem, Anisa and Shamshad in Group 2, use relatively little speech to other native Panjabi-speaking children, and they all use more English than Panjabi when communicating with these peers. This is in distinct contrast to Group 1, and is perhaps evidence of a shift in code choice between the two age-groups. In contrast to this is the pattern of code choice among Ameena and Tahira. Both children communicate mainly in Panjabi with their native Panjabi-speaking peers, they also use a considerable proportion of Panjabi utterances (Table 5ix(b) above) and have many opportunities among their classmates to communicate in Panjabi (Table 5xi(b) above).

Tables 5xvii(a&b) below show the relative amounts of each language code used in the childrens' communication with native English-speaking peers.

Number and Percentages of Engl, Panj, Mix, Voc, & Oth. Utterances Addressed to OCe

Table 5xvii(a)

Child	Tot.Uttr	Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth
Nasreen	5	100% n=5	0	0	0	0
Riaz	23	65.4% n=15	0	0	26.1% n=6	8.7% n=2
Jameel	12	58.3% n=7	8.3% n=1	0	8.3% n=1	25% n=3
Shahid	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zahid	20	100% n=20	0	0	0	0

Table 5xvii(b)

Child	Tot.Uttr	Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth
Qaseem	78	89.7% n=70	0	0	0	10.3% n=8
Anisa	63	92.1% n=58	0	0	7.9% n=5	0
Ameena	7	85.7% n=6	14.3% n=1	0	0	0
Tahira	78	92.3% n=72	1.3% n=1	5.1% n=4	0	1.3% n=1
Shamshad	44	95.5% n=42	0	0	2.3% n=1	2.3% n=1

Amongst Group 1, the children use English, Vocatives or Other (MINOR) utterances in their communication with native English-speaking peers. The one exception to this is Jameel's use of one Panjabi utterance to a mono-lingual English peer, shown in the following extract:

Extract ONE

Jameel (J) and OCe are at the milk table

J: dhood/ = milk -OCe
J: mine/ "

Within Group 2 Ameena and Tahira use codes other than English with OCe's as the following extracts show.

Extract TWO

Ameena (A) is playing in the water tray, OCe walks past.

A: hey you/ -OCe
ek kuri/ = one girl "

Extract THREE

Tahira (Ta) and OCe are in the home corner

OCe:mamma/	-Ta
mammy look what I found/	"
Ta: don't want it/	-OCe
chuppai kur/ = be quiet	"

These examples are rare occurences in the data as a whole, and will be discussed further in Chapter 9.

Tables 5xviii(a&b) show the language codes used when the children address talk to themselves.

Number and Percentages of Engl, Panj, Mix, Voc, & Unt Addressed to SELF

Table 5xviii(a)

Child	Tot.Uttr	Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth	Unt
Nasreen	269	78.1% n=210	*14.1% n=38	2.2% n=6	1.9% n=5	2.2% n=6	0
Riaz	13	76.9% n=10	23.1% n=3	0	0	0	0
Jameel	8	75.0% n=6	12.5% n=1	0	0	12.5% n=1	0
Shahid	48	39.6% n=19	45.8% n=22	8.3% n=4	0	6.3% n=3	0
Zahid	5	0	0	0	0	40.0% n=2	60.0% n=3

Nasreen uses 1.5% (n=4) Urdu utterances to SELF

Table 5xviii(b)

	Tot.Uttr	Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth
Qaseem	13	100% n=13	0	0	0	0
Anisa	35	97.1% n=34	0	0	0	2.9% n=1
Ameena	11	81.8% n=9	9.1% n=1	0	0	9.1% n=1
Tahira	14	92.9% n=13	0	0	0	7.1% n=1
Shamshad	8	75.0% n=6	0	25.0% n=2	0	0

Of the two children in Group 1 who use a high proportion of self-oriented communication, Nasreen shows a strong preference for English, and Shahid uses more Panjabi, but still a considerable proportion of English. Riaz and Jameel produce a smaller amount of self-oriented communication, mostly in English, while Zahid uses minor or unintelligible utterances to himself.

A substantially smaller amount of talk is directed to SELF among the children from Group 2 and a striking feature of Table 5xviii(b) above is that most of it is in English, even among Ameena and Tahira.

It can be seen that, with the exception of Shahid, the children prefer English as the code for talk to SELF. This finding is surprising as it could be expected that Panjabi would be the code chosen for this. Fantini (1985:67) found that the language used for 'private speech' by his son whose L1 ('home' language) was Spanish and L2 ('school' language) English was almost always Spanish.

The final analysis of the CLASSROOM data is an examination of the amount of non-verbal communication used by the children.

5.5 THE USE OF NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION

Non-verbal communication was discussed in Section 4.3.5. It was found that the children used non-verbal communication to varying degrees. The tables below show the amount of non-verbal communication used as a percentage of the total utterances spoken in the CLASSROOM.

Percentage of Non-Verbal Communication Used

Table 5xix(a)

Nasreen	Riaz	Jameel	Shahid	Zahid	Average
0.2	0.6	0.8	17	13	6.3

Table 5xix(b)

Qaseem	Anisa	Ameena	Tahira	Shamshad	Average
1.7	0.7	0	0.2	0	0.5

Shahid and Zahid in Group 1 are the only children to use considerable amounts of non-verbal communication. The other children use little non-verbal communication. For this particular group of children, it would seem that a greater use of non-verbal communication is associated with a smaller amount of verbal communication (Table 5i(a) above). Additionally, Shahid and Zahid have in common with their reliance on non-verbal communication the fact that they use little English with adults, OCe's and OCp's and little Panjabi with OCp's. Common to Group 2 is negligible use of non-verbal communication possibly because of their greater facility with verbal communication and particularly English.

The chapter so far has outlined quantitative information obtained from analysis of CLASSROOM language data. There is considerable variation between the all the children and on some parameters, between the groups. However, there are also some patterns emerging. For example, considering language code, all the children use more English than Panjabi when the CLASSROOM session is taken as a whole. However, within the FULL utterance category and with native Panjabi-speaking peers some children use more Panjabi than English. It should also be pointed out that while English is used more overall, five out of the ten children use considerable amounts of Panjabi during the classroom session, mainly with Panjabi-speaking peers, but one child uses mostly Panjabi to communicate with himself. Within Group 2 two distinct styles emerge. One is used by Qaseem, Anisa and Shamshad, who are oriented mainly towards adults and native English-speaking children; the other by Ameena and Tahira who are oriented towards native Panjabi-speaking children, and whose communication with these interlocutors is predominantly in Panjabi.

An attempt is now made in the following section to compare language behaviour in the classroom with code choice at home.

5.6 CODE CHOICE AT HOME

In this section, we will present some information about the children's use of language at home. Unlike the CLASSROOM data, this information was obtained primarly by reports from the children's mothers, and augmented by my own observations (see Section 3.6.1). These interviews took place approximately four months after the class

recordings, when the children had been in nursery and school for one term (see Chapter 10 for a detailed outline of the results).

It is important to specify the levels of English spoken by the parents, as this influences the possibilities of code choice for each of the children. Among the mothers of both groups, only Anisa's mother used English at a functional level, the other mothers did not communicate functionally in English and could not, for example, use English when shopping or arranging an appointment. The fathers of Nasreen, Jameel, Qaseem, Anisa, Ameena and Tahira had a functional use of English and the fathers of Riaz, Shahid, Zahid and Shamshad used English fluently (see Table 10(ii) below).

A six-point scale was used to record the childrens' use of Panjabi and English as follows:

1 = always Panjabi
2 = mostly Panjabi
3 = equally Panjabi and English
4 = mostly English
5 = always English
6 = other (eg. Urdu)

No discrepancies occurred between reports of code choice from the mothers of Group 1 children and my own informal observations (see Section 3.6.1 above). Regarding Group 2 however, reports by the mothers of Anisa and Tahira differed at times from my observations and these discrepancies are indicated on Table 5xx(b) below.

Children's Code Choice at Home

Table 5xx(a)

Interlocutor	Nasreen	Riaz	Jameel	Shahid	Zahid
Mother	mostly Panj	mostly Panj	always Panj	mostly Panj**	mostly Panj
Father	mostly Panj	mostly Panj	mostly Panj	always Panj	always Panj
Older sibs	equally P & E	mostly Panj	mostly Panj	always Panj	mostly Panj**
Younger sibs	NA	NA	NA	always Panj**	always Panj
Grand-parents	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	NA
Aunts/ Uncles*	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj
Friends/ Cousins (same age)	mostly Panj	mostly Panj	NA***	always Panj	always Panj

* Term used by Pakistanis to refer to familiar adults, not necessarily relatives.
** Use some Urdu
*** No friends/cousins visit the house
NA = not applicable

Table 5xx(b)

Interlocutor	Qaseem	Anisa	Ameena	Tahira	Shamshad
Mother	always Panj	mostly Panj	always Panj	mostly Panj	mostly Panj
Father	mostly Panj	*mostly Engl	always Panj	mostly Panj	mostly Panj
Older sibs	mostly Panj	mostly Engl	equally P & E	equally P & E	mostly Panj
Younger sibs	always Panj	always Panj	NA	mostly Panj	always Panj
Grand-parents	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	NA	always Panj
Aunts/ Uncles	always Panj	always Panj	always Panj	mostly Panj	always Panj
Friends/ Cousins (same age)	mostly Panj	always Engl	equally P & E	**always Engl	mostly Panj

*Researcher observed 'mostly Panj'
**Researcher observed 'equally P & E'

Examining Group 1 first, there is striking uniformity in the code choice of the children at home. Panjabi is the code normally used, with the partial exception of Nasreen who is reported as using equal amounts of Panjabi and English with older siblings. However, this may reflect a greater use of English by Nasreen's older sibling in addressing her (see Table 10vi(a) below). Full results of the mothers' interviews will be outlined and discussed in Chapter 10, however for the moment we may conclude that there is a major dichotomy between language codes used at home and at school among Group 1.

Turning now to Group 2, again strong similarities occur in code

choice at home and Panjabi is the dominant code. However, there appears to be some evidence of a tendency towards using more English with older siblings and with friends and cousins of the same age, Anisa is following this pattern more than any of the other children. Interestingly, Qaseem and Shamshad tend towards Panjabi almost exclusively at home, while at school communicate almost always in English.

Regarding the discrepancies between reported and observed behaviour, both are in the direction of mothers perceiving their children use more English than I observed. It is possible that mothers, hearing their children use English at home, which they do not understand very well and which necessarily excludes them, perceive that the children are using more English than they actually are.

Both within and between groups, there is more similarity in communication at home than at school. However, there is evidence of differences between the groups mainly with two groups of interlocutors: older siblings and friends and cousins the same age. It appears that Group 2 children are using more English in the domain of the home with these interlocutors than the children in Group 1. This can be attributed to the fact that Group 2 have been exposed to more English and are more likely to use English with older siblings and same-age peers. Likewise, the older siblings and peers are increasingly likely to use English to the study children. However, with other interlocutors, the groups are very similar, in that Panjabi is the preferred code.

5.7 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The results presented in this chapter have shown that considerable variation occurs in the childrens' communicative behaviour in the classroom and this has been set within the context of communication at home which is predominantly in Panjabi.

Some broad general trends between Groups 1 and 2 have emerged. Once the children have been a year in school, there is a tendency to use more English with other native Panjabi-speaking peers; a trend towards communication with other children and adults and away from communication with SELF. Group 2 on average use less non-verbal communication than Group 1. However, in addition to these group trends there also appear to be individual preferences in Group 1 for using larger amounts of non-verbal communication. There is considerable variation in the language codes used by the children. In order to explore this further the Home Corner was chosen as a suitable setting in which to contrast the study child's communication with a native Panjabi-speaking peer and a native English-speaking peer. These findings are the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS 2: SESSIONS WITH NATIVE PANJABI & ENGLISH SPEAKING INTERLOCUTORS IN THE HOME CORNER

The purpose of this chapter is to present results from two data collection sessions in the home corner. These sessions involve the study child and, on separate occasions, a native Panjabi speaking interlocutor and a native English speaking interlocutor. The results will be presented in a similar format to those in Chapter 5, detailing the context of the data collection, and then presenting the results in terms of utterance type, code choice, interlocutor, and because of its relevance to this particular set of data, friendship ties between the children. The results from both groups will be presented together, and comparison between Groups 1 and 2 will be made. In Chapter 8 there will be a discussion drawing on the results of the four data collection 'sets': CLASSROOM; HOME CORNER with a native Panjabi speaking interlocutor (HCp); HOME CORNER with a native English speaking interlocutor (HCe), and STORY TELLING. Chapter 8 will focus particularly on the patterns which emerge when the data is taken as a whole while in this chapter we will concentrate on the two sets of data from the HOME CORNER.

6.1 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE IN THE HOME CORNER

From the classroom data (hereafter referred to as CLASSROOM) in Chapter 5 it appears that the mother-tongue of the study child's (SC) interlocutor had an effect on the chosen language of communication.

The emerging pattern seemed to be that with native English-speaking interlocutors, English is almost always the language of communication, exceptions to this rule are outlined in Section 5.4. However, when communicating with native Panjabi-speaking interlocutors, two patterns emerge. The first being that some children use mainly Panjabi, second that some children almost always use English with native Panjabi-speaking interlocutors. This variation in code choice did not appear to be attributable to any single factor. However the variables of linguistic composition of the class (see Section 5.3) and L1 of the interlocutor did have some effect on code choice although this was different for each child. It was decided to investigate further the relationship between code choice and interlocutor as this certainly seemed to have some bearing on code choice. A free play situation was chosen to do this. Consultation with the class teachers and analysis of the CLASS data led to the selection of the HOME CORNER as the most suitable setting for this data collection set.

Each nursery and infant class had a home corner, a space containing items to be found in the children's homes, for example, a cooker, sink, crockery, cutlery, table, telephone, dressing-up clothes. The home corner was therefore ideal for recreating everyday scenes in the children's lives, and facilitating imaginative play. During the CLASSROOM data collection session, four children in Group 1 freely chose to play in the home corner. Group 2 had more structure in their class sessions and did not have similar opportunities to play in the home corner, but it appeared to be a popular choice when the children had a 'free choice'. The home corner therefore, appeared to be a comfortable setting in which to have a free-play session, and

this prediction was proved correct.

Each class teacher was asked to select a child to play in the home corner with the study child on two separate occasions. The SC's partner had Panjabi as their mother tongue (OCp) on one occasion and English as their mother-tongue (OCe) on the other occasion. The data collection session was arranged beforehand with the teacher, but the interlocutor was selected on the day of recording as potential absences from school prevented advance selection. After collecting all the data, the teacher was asked to rate both the OCp and OCe as having 'major', 'minor' or 'null' ties with the SC. These ratings were used by Spann (1987) and the same definitions were adopted in this study. These were:

major - good friend

minor - intermediate acquaintance

null - comparative stranger.

It was not possible for all the interlocutors to have the same ties with each of the study children as the SCs differed so widely in the type of ties they had with their classmates (see Section 6.4). Ratings were ascribed retrospectively by the teacher.

The researcher (R) was present throughout the session, and aimed to stay in the background as much as possible. It was found that the younger group needed considerable adult involvement to 'keep the session going', and to facilitate communication between the two children; the older children spontaneously played together and conversed with each other, requiring much less involvement from R. This finding has also been replicated among monolingual children by Baerselman (in progress). Each session was started by R asking the

children if they would make her a cup of tea. From this beginning, the children became involved in a variety of play themes. These were mainly around cooking, serving and eating meals; trips to the shops, hospital, doctor; telephone calls; being the teacher. All activities were rooted within the childrens' experiences, and gave them the opportunity to 'act out' what they saw around them everday. In the following extracts the right hand column indicates addressee, (see Appendix 4 for transcription conventions and Appendix 6 for further extracts from HOME CORNER).

Extract ONE: Nasreen & Marie (OCe)

The children have decided to make the dinner.

N: her make a roti/	-R
I make a chips/	-R
R: o.k./ lovely/	-N
N: I *I I make a fish finger/	-R
M: *unintel. uttr.	-R
R: right/ what's this here?/	-N
M: unintel. uttr.	-R
N: I'm go/	-SELF
I go make a (.)/	"
I get a sugar/	"
R: what have you got Nasreen?/	-N
N: sugar/	-R
R: oh great/ you going to put it there then?/	-N
M: ((SYMB. NOISE))	
Nasreen can have a little bowl instead of a little bowl/	-N
((SYMB. NOISE))	
like that/	"
N: make it chips/	-M
M: there's enough for you/	-N
N: big plate mine/	-M
mine big plate/	"

Extract TWO: Tahira and Louise (OCe)

The children decide to take their sick teddy to the doctor

T: we going now in the in the doctors/	-R
R: you're going to the doctors/	-T&L
T: *yeh/	-R
L: *aye we have to go now/	-R
R: oh what's the matter/	-T&L

T: em they sick/	-R
they eaten too much *eh sweetie/	"
L: *eaten too much/	"
R: the babies have eaten too many sweeties?/	-T&L
T: you get a baby/	-L
L: no/	-T
R: you both gonna take that one?/	-T&L
T: yeh/	-R
R: I'll wait here then/	-T&L
you go off to the doctors/	"
T: here hold the baby/	-L
L: no/ cos cos em I just need*	-T
T: *I don't know need it/	-L
he's stand up sit down/	"
L: have to wait in this seat/	-T
T: you have to wait (1syl)/	-L
I have to/	"
L: have to wait in the waiting room/ X/	-T
T: no doctor there/	-L
doctor there/	"
(R comes over to the 'waiting room')	
R: I'm the doctor/	-T&L
would you like to come in/	"
T: yeh/	-R
R: now then what's the matter/	-T&L
T: babies eaten too much sweetie/	-R
R: oh dear/ and what's happened to baby/	-T&L
T: they they got headache/	-R
R: she's got a headache/ anything else/	-T&L
T: he'd not eaten anything/	-R
L: she got a bad throat/	"
R: why do you think that baby's got a bad throat?/	-T&L
L: cos she swallow*/	-R
R: *oh dear/	-T&L
T: he eat soap powder/	-R
R: he's got what/	-T
T: soap eat/	-R
he eat soap powder/	"
R: Well em let me see/	-T&L
I'll write you a prescription/	"
and you take it to the chemist/	"
T: I get a prescription/ that's it/	-L

No extra toys were added to the home corner in each class, the children therefore played in familiar environment. Among Group 1, with the exception of Jameel and Shahid, the home corner session took place within the nursery class while the other children were present in the main classroom area. In Jameel and Shahid's class, the home

corner was open and very popular with almost all the children in the nursery, so it was moved temporarily into a small room separate from the main classroom. For Group 2, the session took place at a time when the class was usually divided for different activities. Some children would be at music or P.E. and small groups would remain in the class. This produced a quiet environment in which to carry out the data collection.

The length of each session varied, and was generally shorter for the younger children, reflecting their shorter attention span. Within the groups, differences in session length were due to the varying amounts of time the majority of the class were at music or P.E. The data was collected towards the end of the childrens' first term in school. A summary of background information relating to the data collection is outlined on Tables 6i(a&b) below. Throughout this chapter, Table 6a refers to Group 1 and Table 6b to Group 2. OCp refers to 'other native Panjabi-speaking child'; OCe to 'other native English-speaking child' and these terms will be abbreviated to (p) and (e) respectively on the tables which follow.

Length of Time in School, Length of Session and Total Utterances in HOME CORNER

Table 6i(a)

Child		Time in school	Length of session	Total uttr.
Nasreen	OCp	10 weeks	23 mins	128
	OCe	11 weeks	23 mins	171
Riaz	OCp	10 weeks	18 mins	78
	OCe	11 weeks	23 mins	93
Jameel	OCp	12 weeks	18 mins	69
	OCe	11 weeks	13 mins	61
Shahid	OCp	11 weeks	22 mins	37
	OCe	11 weeks	17 mins	72
Zahid	OCp	11 weeks	22 mins	49
	OCe	13 weeks	17 mins	14

Table 6i(b)

Child		Time in school	Length of session	Total uttr.
Qaseem	OCp	10 weeks	28 mins	215
	OCe	9 weeks	28 mins	258
Anisa	OCp	9 weeks	21 mins	270
	OCe	8 weeks	28 mins	328
Ameena	OCp	9 weeks	28 mins	126
	OCe	10 weeks	28 mins	246
Tahira	OCp	8 weeks	29 mins	263
	OCe	9 weeks	26 mins	227
Shamshad	OCp	9 weeks	28 mins	280
	OCe	8 weeks	19 mins	232

There is little difference between the children in the length of

time in school prior to the home corner data collection, Group 1 having had slightly longer than Group 2. The number of utterances used by the children, appears to be considerable, bearing in mind the relatively short length of data collection time, between 13 minutes and 29 minutes. Only one child, Zahid in Group 1, uses a very small number of utterances (with OCe). On average, the children in Group 1 use less utterances than Group 2. Comparisons between these aspects of the HOME CORNER and CLASSROOM data will be discussed in Section 8.2.

The home corner data will now be examined in terms of utterance.

6.2 UTTERANCE TYPE

In the same way as the CLASSROOM data (Section 5.1), HOME CORNER data was coded according to the number of FULL, TAG, ELLIPTED (E11), MINOR (Min) and PROBLEM (Prob) utterances used by the children. The results of this analysis are shown on Tables 6ii(a&b) below.

Occurrences of Utterance Type Expressed as a Percentage of the Total Number of Utterances

Table 6ii(a)

		FULL	TAG	RED	ELL	MIN	PROB
Nasreen	OCp	13.3	0.8	47.7	10.9	3.9	23.4
	OCe	18.7	0.6	29.8	8.2	13.4	29.2
Riaz	OCp	23.1	0	21.8	15.4	28.2	11.5
	OCe	12.0	0	32.5	12.0	27.7	15.7
Jameel	OCp	15.9	0	37.7	2.9	34.8	8.7
	OCe	18.0	0	44.3	8.2	21.3	8.2
Shahid	OCp	2.7	0	51.4	0	24.3	21.6
	OCe	2.7	0	56.8	17.6	8.1	14.9
Zahid	OCp	16.3	0	30.6	8.2	16.3	28.6
	OCe	7.1	0	50.0	7.1	35.7	0

Table 6ii(b)

		FULL	TAG	RED	ELL	MIN	PROB
Qaseem	OCp	22.3	0	27.0	10.2	10.7	29.8
	OCe	20.9	0	39.5	6.6	8.5	24.4
Anisa	OCp	31.9	0.4	24.8	7.0	20.0	15.9
	OCe	28.0	1.8	16.8	10.4	29.3	13.7
Ameena	OCp	38.1	0	19.0	15.1	22.2	5.6
	OCe	26.0	0	28.5	8.1	26.4	11.0
Tahira	OCp	31.6	0	28.5	5.7	18.6	15.6
	OCe	30.4	0	29.5	7.9	15.4	16.7
Shamshad	OCp	26.3	0.4	17.6	10.8	10.4	34.5
	OCe	15.2	0	25.7	10.9	12.6	35.7

Examining Group 1 (Table 6ii(a) above) first, few definite patterns emerge when the data is analysed according to overall utterance type. One point to note is that within all the communication dyads, except Riaz with OCp, SC's use more REDUCED utterances than FULL. Considering aspects of variation that occur between OCe and OCp, three children, Riaz, Jameel and Zahid use a greater percentage of REDUCED utterances with OCe's than with OCp's. However, only Riaz and Zahid use a greater percentage of FULL utterances with OCp's than with OCe's.

Among Group 2, with the exception of Qaseem, SC's use more FULL utterances than Reduced with OCp's and, with the exception of Anisa, use more REDUCED than FULL utterances with OCe's. A greater percentage of FULL utterances are used with OCp than with OCe and conversely, a greater percentage of REDUCED utterances are used with OCe than OCp, except between Anisa and OCe.

While some patterns seem to be emerging, further analysis of the data is required to identify any clear variation in communication between the two groups of interlocutors and to examine possible reasons for such differences.

The next analysis examines code used with each utterance type and allows us to examine the effect of interlocutor's native language on code choice.

6.3 CODE CHOICE

This section outlines the amount of English (Engl), Panjabi (Panj) and Mixed Code (Mix) used by the children in each of the

utterance categories and with each interlocutor. The section will be concluded by examining the amounts of each code used across the entire data corpus and with each interlocutor.

Tables 6iii(a&b) show the variation in code choice as a function of FULL utterances for each communication dyad.

Percentage of English, Panjabi & Mixed Utterances in Category: FULL

Table 6iii(a)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix
Nasreen	(p)	82.4	11.8	5.9
	(e)	100	0	0
Riaz	(p)	50.0	33.3	16.7
	(e)	90.0	10.0	0
Jameel	(p)	100	0	0
	(e)	100	0	0
Shahid	(p)	100	0	0
	(e)	50.0	50.0	0
Zahid	(p)	100	0	0
	(e)	100	0	0

Table 6iii(b)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix
Qaseem	(p)	85.4	2.1	12.5
	(e)	98.1	0	1.9
Anisa	(p)	100	0	0
	(e)	100	0	0
Ameena	(p)	56.3	37.5	6.3
	(e)	95.3	4.7	0
Tahira	(p)	94.0	0	6.0
	(e)	100	0	0
Sham-	(p)	95.9	0	4.1
shad	(e)	100	0	0

Taking Group 1 first, only Nasreen and Riaz use Panjabi and Mix with OCp's. While 50% of Shahid's utterances in the OCe dyad are Panjabi, this percentage actually represents only one utterance. In conclusion, among Group 1, the FULL utterances to OCe are almost always in English,. To OCp on the other hand, three children use no Panjabi or Mix, while two children use some Panjabi and some Mix.

Among Group 2, English is used with OCe's and only Ameena uses a substantial proportion of FULL Panjabi utterances with OCp. Three

children use some Mix with OCp's and no Mix is used with OCe's. This is a significant point, as we will see in Chapter 9 during an examination of various aspects of language alternation.

Code choice in the REDUCED utterance category will now be examined on Tables 6iv(a&b) below.

Percentage of English, Panjabi & Mixed Utterances in Category: REDUCED

Table 6iv(a)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix
Nasreen	(p)	98.4	0	1,6
	(e)	100	0	0
Riaz	(p)	94.1	0	5.9
	(e)	100	0	0
Jameel	(p)	92.3	3.8	3.8
	(e)	100	0	0
Shahid	(p)	100	0	0
	(e)	92.9	7.1	0
Zahid	(p)	93.3	6.7	0
	(e)	100	0	0

Table 6iv(b)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix
Qaseem	(p)	94.8	0	5.2
	(e)	98.0	0	2.0
Anisa	(p)	100	0	0
	(e)	100	0	0
Ameena	(p)	95.8	4.2	0
	(e)	98.6	1.4	0
Tahira	(p)	100	0	0
	(e)	100	0	0
Sham-	(p)	100	0	0
shad	(e)	100	0	0

Both groups of children use very little Panjabi in this utterance category, and it is almost always with OCp's. Mix is only used with OCp's and will be discussed in some detail in Section 9.2.

Tables 6v(a&b) below show that only Riaz in Group 1 uses ELLIPTED Panjabi utterances, and Anisa and Qaseem in Group 2 use Panjabi in this utterance category. Interestingly, Qaseem uses Panjabi only when in a dyad with OCe. However, the Panjabi within this dyad is not used with OCe, as it is directed to SELF and not to OCe (see

Section 6.5 below).

Percentage of English, Panjabi & Mixed Utterances in Category: ELLIPTED

Table 6v(a)

	Engl	Panj	Mix
Nasreen (p)	100	0	0
(e)	100	0	0
Riaz (p)	83.3	16.7	0
(e)	100	0	0
Jameel (p)	100	0	0
(e)	100	0	0
Shahid (p)	0	0	0
(e)	100	0	0
Zahid (p)	100	0	0
(e)	100	0	0

Table 6v(b)

	Engl	Panj	Mix
Qaseem (p)	90.9	0	9.1
(e)	82.4	11.8	5.9
Anisa (p)	100	0	0
(e)	100	0	0
Ameena (p)	94.7	5.3	0
(e)	100	0	0
Tahira (p)	100	0	0
(e)	100	0	0
Sham- (p)	93.3	0	6.7
shad (e)	100	0	0

MINOR and PROBLEM are the final utterance categories to consider and Tables 6vi & 6vii(a&b) show that only Ameena uses Panjabi in the Minor category when addressing OCp. Some Mix occurs in the problem category, only Riaz using a considerable percentage. As might be expected, Group 1 use more unintelligible utterances than Group 2.

Percentage of Eng, Panj. Mix, Voc & Oth. Utterances in Category: MINOR

Table 6vi(a)

		Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth
Nasreen	(p)	100	0	0	0	0
	(e)	87.0	0	0	0	13.0
Riaz	(p)	40.9	0	0	31.8	27.3
	(e)	78.3	0	0	0	21.7
Jameel	(p)	100	0	0	0	0
	(e)	84.6	0	0	0	15.4
Shahid	(p)	66.7	0	0	33.3	0
	(e)	83.3	0	0	16.7	0
Zahid	(p)	62.5	0	0	0	37.5
	(e)	100	0	0	0	0

Table 6vi(b)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth
Qaseem	(p)	43.5	0	0	13.0	43.5
	(e)	68.2	0	0	9.1	22.7
Anisa	(p)	88.9	0	0	3.7	7.4
	(e)	86.5	0	0	6.3	7.3
Ameena	(p)	71.4	10.7	0	14.3	3.6
	(e)	76.9	0	0	7.7	15.4
Tahira	(p)	87.8	0	0	8.2	4.1
	(e)	82.9	0	0	5.7	11.4
Shamshad	(p)	89.7	0	0	6.9	3.4
	(e)	82.8	0	0	13.8	3.4

Percentage of Engl, Panj, Mix & Unintel. Utterances in Category: PROBLEM

Table 6vii(a)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix	Unt
Nasreen	(p)	86.7	0	3.3	10.0
	(e)	88.0	0	6.0	6.0
Riaz	(p)	44.4	0	33.3	22.2
	(e)	30.8	0	0	69.2
Jameel	(p)	33.3	0	0	66.7
	(e)	20.0	0	0	80.0
Shahid	(p)	62.5	0	0	37.5
	(e)	54.5	0	0	45.5
Zahid	(p)	14.3	0	0	85.7
	(e)	0	0	0	0

Table 6vii(b)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix	Unt
Qaseem	(p)	82.8	0	4.7	12.5
	(e)	90.5	0	0	9.5
Anisa	(p)	95.3	0	0	4.7
	(e)	95.6	0	0	4.4
Ameena	(p)	71.4	0	0	28.6
	(e)	92.6	0	0	7.4
Tahira	(p)	92.7	0	2.4	4.9
	(e)	89.5	0	0	10.5
Shamshad	(p)	90.6	0	3.1	6.3
	(e)	92.7	0	0	7.3

Tables 6viii(a&b) below show the code choice across the entire data corpus for each child in the study.

Percentage Utterances in Each Code for the Entire Data Corpus

Table 6viii(a)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth	Unt
Nasreen	(p)	93.8	1.6	2.3	0	0	2.3
	(e)	94.7	0	1.8	0	1.8	1.8
Riaz	(p)	61.5	10.3	9.0	9.0	7.7	2.3
	(e)	81.9	1.2	0	0	6.0	10.8
Jameel	(p)	91.3	1.4	1.4	0	0	5.8
	(e)	90.2	0	0	0	3.3	6.6
Shahid	(p)	83.8	0	0	8.1	0	8.1
	(e)	86.5	5.4	0	1.4	0	6.8
Zahid	(p)	67.3	2.0	0	0	6.0	24.4
	(e)	100	0	0	0	0	0

Table 6viii(b)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth	Unt
Qaseem	(p)	83.3	0.5	6.5	1.4	4.7	3.7
	(e)	92.6	0.8	1.6	0.8	1.9	2.3
Anisa	(p)	97.0	0	0	0.7	1.5	0.7
	(e)	95.4	0	0	2.0	2.0	0.6
Ameena	(p)	74.0	18.3	2.3	3.2	0.8	1.6
	(e)	91.5	1.6	0	2.0	4.0	0.8
Tahira	(p)	94.7	2.0	0.4	1.5	0.8	0.8
	(e)	95.6	0	0	0.9	1.8	1.8
Shamshad	(p)	94.0	0	2.9	0.7	0.3	2.0
	(e)	95.3	0	0	1.7	0.4	2.5

For both Groups, little Panjabi is used with OCe's, as could be expected from the CLASSROOM data. Regarding communication with OCp's, overall little Panjabi is used by the SC's when comunicating with a native Panjabi-speaking partner with two notable exceptions: Riaz in Group 1 and Ameena in Group 2. Ten percent of Riaz's total communication is Panjabi, rising to thirty-three percent of his FULL utterances; seventeen percent of Ameena's total communication and thirty-three percent of her FULL utterances are in her mother-tongue.

A similarity between CLASSROOM and HOME CORNER data appears to be emerging in relation to code choice. Certain children in each data collection set have shown a preference for Panjabi when communicating with native Panjabi-speaking interlocutors. In the class situation, Riaz, Shahid, Anisa and Tahira showed a strong preference for Panjabi, while in the home corner only Riaz and Ameena preferred to use their mother-tongue when communicating with OCp.

There are at least two possible reasons why fewer children use Panjabi in the Home Corner than in the class and each will be considered separately in the sections below. The first, and perhaps most obvious reason is the effect of the researcher's presence which is extremely likely to have inhibited the use of Panjabi between SC and OCp. A clear illustration of this is given by the following two extracts.

Extract THREE: Tahira and Shaida (OCp)

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 FOUR: Nasreen and Fara (OCp)

Nasreen and Fara 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

In both of the above extracts, the children switch to Panjabi when they are away from R and switch back to English when R is within earshot. It should be pointed out that this did not occur particularly frequently. Even less frequent however, was the situation where one member of the native Panjabi-speaking dyad switched, once R was out of earshot, and the other did not. There was in fact, only one occurrence of this in the data, Extract five below.

Extract FIVE: Anisa and Khalda (OCp)

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

R leaving the HC prompted OCp to switch to Panjabi. However, Anisa does not respond in Panjabi and the conversation continues in English.

It would appear that the presence of a monolingual adult does inhibit the use of Panjabi among some of the children. We have noted three occassions, Extracts three, four and five (above), where the absence of R prompts a switch to Panjabi. This is one example of what Bell (1984) terms the 'audience effect' and it will be explored further in Chapter 9. However, if the presence of a monolingual adult was the only reason why children used little Panjabi, none of the children would have used their mother tongue at all in the HOME CORNER setting. We have seen that both Riaz and Ameena did produce considerable amounts of Panjabi in the Home Corner when playing with a native Panjabi-speaking friend. A second possible factor affecting the use of mother tongue is the closeness of the friendship between the two children. It could be predicted that children who are close friends would use their mother tongue more in class and also in the presence of a non-Panjabi speaker. These issues will be dealt with in the next section.

6.4 FRIENDSHIP TIES WITH HOME CORNER COMMUNICATION PARTNERS

In Section 6.1 the idea of describing the strength of friendship ties between the children was introduced. The terms used are Major, Minor and Null. The tables below show the ties between each of the SC's communication partners as rated by the class teacher. Where these are Null the table indicates whether or not SC had any Minor or Major ties with other children in the class.

Teacher Rated Friendship Ties

Table 6ix(a)

Child	OC	Friendship Tie	Comments
Nasreen	p: Fara	Minor	
	e: Marie	Minor	
Riaz	p: Sameena	Major	
	e: Mark	Minor	
Jameel	p: Farid	Null	No major/minor ties, friendly with all children/adults
	e: Jamie	Null	
Shahid	p: Aziz	Null	No major/minor ties, 'a loner'
	e: Danielle	Null	
Zahid	p: Nazir	Minor	
	e: Dean	Minor	

Table 6ix(b)

Child	OC	Friendship Tie	Comments
Qaseem	p: Colin	Minor	
	e: Fazal	Minor	
Anisa	p: Khalda	Null	Not major/minor with any OCp's
	e: Yvonne	Major	
Ameena	p: Firdos	Major	
	e: Kate	Minor	
Tahira	p: Shaida	Minor	
	e: Louise	Null	Not major/minor with any OCe's
Shamshad	p: Frozana	Null	Not major/minor with any OCp's
	e: Alison	Minor	

Riaz and Ameena are the only children who have Major ties with their native Panjabi-speaking interlocutors and they are the two children who show a considerable preference for using their mother-tongue. The other children in Groups 1 and 2 use little Panjabi and have either Minor or Null ties with their native Panjabi-speaking interlocutors.

It would appear that for the children in this study there is some link between the strength of the childrens' friendship ties and their use of mother-tongue in the presence of a monolingual English speaker. Another point to mention is that both Riaz and Ameena play with Sameena and Firdos, respectively their close Panjabi friends, outside of the class, in each others homes. Presumably this not only strengthens their friendship, but makes it more likely that they will use Panjabi when addressing each other in school. In network analysis terms it can be said that both dyads have close network ties

(Milroy, 1980). The finding here is in keeping with Milroy's assertion that network structure is an explanatory factor in language variation. It does appear that network ties play a role in language choice, and that strong network ties overcome certain preferences of language choice such as the preference for English in school. This will be discussed further in Section 12.5.

It is likely that Panjabi was used by a larger number of children during the CLASSROOM session because the children could spend more time together without the near presence of monolingual English-speaking adults, in this case either the teacher or the researcher. The next example shows Tahira in the home corner playing with a native Panjabi speaking classmate (not a 'Major' friend). The conversation is mainly in Panjabi and there are no adults near.

Extract SIX: Tahira and OCp in the home corner during CLASSROOM

T: baby/		-OCp
marai baby/	= my baby/	"
baby ki sawalsain/	= put the baby to sleep/	"
main baby ki sawalsain/	= I'm going to put the baby to sleep/"	
OC:chorai/	= leave/	-T
chorai/	"	"
chorai/	"	"
T: thoon hoon Allah ki mari hosi/	= now God will not like you/	-OCp
OC:kiyan?/	= why/	-T
T: hoon thoon baby ki marain/	= you hit the baby now then see/	-OCp
OC:ni/ marainai eh/	= no/ I won't hit it now/	-T
(The class teacher (Te) approaches the home corner)		
T: baby akhai thai lumbai pethai/	= the baby can lie down/	-OCp
iss ni khoni akhi kuch ni/	= this one hasn't lost it's eye/	"
ithai/	= here/	"
ithai kholsain/	= open it here/	"
ithai kholsain/	"	"
there/ oh:/ heavy/		-SELF
Te:oh Tahira that's lovely/		-T
are you looking after the baby/		"
T: yeh/		-Te
Te:yeh/		-T

In contrast to Extract six which occurred in the home corner during the CLASSROOM session, we have seen (Extract three) that while in the HOME CORNER with R present, Tahira used very little Panjabi with her native Panjabi-speaking interlocutor, and in fact switched to Panjabi when R left the Home Corner. Such patterns of language alternation will be discussed further in Chapter 9.

6.5 INTERLOCUTOR CHOICE

In this section we will examine more closely the relationship between interlocutor and code choice. First, the percentage of utterances directed to different interlocutors during the home corner sessions will be shown and second, the amount of each code used with native Panjabi and English-speaking peers will be given.

Tables 6x(a&b) below show the percentage of total utterances to different interlocutors. The column headed 'OC' refers to utterances addressed to either native Panjabi or English-speaking peers. The category 'R & OC' refers to utterances which SC addressed to both the researcher and OC; utterances addressed only to the researcher are in column 'R'; utterances addressed to toys, usually dolls or toy animals are in column 'Toy'; utterances addressed to SC are in column 'self'. 'Other' refers to utterances addressed to anyone not involved in the home corner situation who SC addressed during the session, this was usually members of staff or other children staying in the class to do extra work. For example on her way to the shops as part of a pretend play sequence, Ameena stops to talk to some children who are receiving some help with their writing.

Extract SEVEN: Ameena and Kate (OCe)

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 banana/ "
A: keila doodoo/ = banana not for you/ -OCp
(laughter- this is an impolite 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

Extract EIGHT: Nasreen and Fara (OCp)

A Panjabi-speaking teacher (Tp) enters HC and Nasreen starts to talk to her

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 to the house with us/ -Tp
Tp:teri nal isi/ = she came with you/ -A
(Tp walks into the class)
R: Nasreen are you gonna help Fara?/ -N
see what she's made/ "
N: I make a cake/ -R&F

In both Extracts seven and eight, the children switch from English to Panjabi in order to address their respective interlocutors in the appropriate code. These examples of language alternation indicate an aspect of the communicative competence of children who become bilingual in school and they are among the topics covered in Chapter 9, which deals with language alternation.

Percentage of Total Utterances To Different Interlocutors

Table 6x(a)

Child		No.Uttr	OC	R & OC	R	Toy	Self	Other
Nasreen	(p)	128	12,5	18.8	59.4	2.3	5.5	1.6
	(e)	171	9.3	11.1	57.3	3.5	18.7	0
Riaz	(p)	78	24.3	0	56.4	0	1.3	18
	(e)	83	37.3	8.4	53	0	0	1.2
Jameel	(p)	69	8.7	17.4	63.8	7.2	2.9	0
	(e)	61	13.1	5	78.6	1.6	0	1.6
Shahid	(p)	37	46	8.1	32.4	8.1	5.4	0
	(e)	74	39.2	1.4	50	9.5	0	0
Zahid	(p)	49	8.2	4.1	81.6	0	0	6.1
	(e)	14	28.5	0	42.8	28.5	0	0

Table 6x(b)

Child		No.Uttr	OC	R & OC	R	Toy	Self	Other
Qaseem	(p)	215	33	24.7	21.9	5.6	14.9	0
	(e)	258	19.8	21	36.4	16.7	6.2	0
Anisa	(p)	270	14	22.2	54.4	8	1.5	0
	(e)	328	33.6	7	53	3	1.8	1.2
Ameena	(p)	126	26.1	7.1	63.4	0.8	2.4	0
	(e)	246	28	19.5	44.7	0.8	4.1	2.9
Tahira	(p)	263	38	6.5	40.3	2.5	6.9	6.1
	(e)	227	45	1.3	51	0.9	0	1.8
Shamshad	(p)	278	32.3	23.7	41.7	1.4	0.7	0
	(e)	230	46	10	40.9	0.4	2.6	0

There appear to be no clear patterns emerging from these quantified data that can be related either to the mother tongue of the

interlocutor or the type of friendship tie with the interlocutor. The only general pattern is that excepting Shamshad and OCe, more speech is addressed to R than OC. The overall proportion of speech directed solely to R is higher for Group 1 than Group 2 and this is consistent with the findings from the CLASSROOM data that younger children direct more speech to adults (see Section 5.4). However, we have seen from extracts such as seven and eight that certain aspects of language alternation can be explained by interlocutor variables and these are discussed further in Chapter 9.

Tables 6xi(a&b) below examine the speech addressed to OCp in terms of the code used. It was shown in Section 6.4 above that there is a link between the amount of mother tongue used and the extent of the friendship ties between the children. The tables below show that Riaz and Ameena, who have major ties with their Panjabi interlocutors, communicate mainly in Panjabi with them. The other children use little or no Panjabi.

Number and Percentages of Engl, Panj, Mix, Voc, & Oth, Utterances Used With OCp

Table 6xi(a)

Child	Tot.Uttr	Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth	Unt
Nasreen	16	87.5% n=14	12.5% n=2	0	0	0	0
Riaz	19	5.3% n=1	42.1% n=8	21.1% n=4	0	31.6% n=6	0
Jameel	6	66.7% n=4	0	0	0	0	33.3% n=2
Shahid	17	76.5% n=13	0	0	11.8% n=2	0	5.9% n=1
Zahid	4	100 n=4	0	0	0	0	0

Table 6xi(b)

Child	Tot.Uttr	Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth	Unt
Qaseem	71	84.5% n=60	1.4% n=1	5.6% n=4	0	8.5% n=6	0
Anisa	38	100% n=38	0	0	0	0	0
Ameena	33	21.2% n=7	60.6% n=20	12.1% n=4	3% n=1	3% n=1	0
Tahira	100	90% n=90	5% n=5	0	0	5% n=5	0
Shamshad	90	94.4% n=85	0	4.4% n=4	1% n=1	0	0

Comparing the proportions of each code used by Riaz and Ameena and the other children, we can see a striking difference. Riaz and Ameena address their native Panjabi-speaking interlocutors in Panjabi most of the time, while all the other children address their native Panjabi-speaking interlocutors mainly in English. It could be concluded that for these children to use mother tongue in the presence

of a monolingual English adult, the friendship tie between them and their communication partner must be Major. This will be discussed further in Section 8.4.

The occurrence of a code other than English with either OCe, R or Self is very rare. It does not happen at all with Zahid, Anisa, Tahira or Shamshad. The other children use one or two Mixed utterances or Panjabi utterances with either OCe, R or Self. In Extract nine Qaseem uses a combination of Mix and single Panjabi words when explaining something to R.

Extract NINE: 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
(Qaseem turns away from R and puts a pan on the cooker)		
Q: put on there/		-SELF
put again/		"
(2syls) on there/		"

In Extract ten Shahid addresses both his teddy bear, himself and OCe in Panjabi.

Extract TEN: Shahid and Danielle (OCe)

Shahid is putting two teddy bears (TB) to bed

S: eh teacher gaya/	= the teacher has gone	-TB
two (.) two teddy (.) bear bed/		"
here/		"
(shortly after, Shahid goes to the sink to do the washing up)		
S: ((WH)) chamachai/	= spoons	-SELF
(Shahid gives spoons to R)		
R: thankyou/		-S

S: ((WH)) chamachai/ = spoons -SELF
(Shahid and Danielle are clearing up, there is some disagreement over who should do what)
D: put them under there/ -S
I want another one/ "
S: no/ -D
panni/ = water "
(1syl) two tea/ "
two TEA/ "

A final analysis of the Home Corner data is in terms of the amount of non-verbal communication used, this is outlined in the next section.

6.6 THE USE OF NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION

Some of the children used non-verbal communication in place of a verbal response or initiation. The following extract shows Shahid using this as a response.

Extract ELEVEN: Shahid and Danielle (OCe)

R is on the toy telephone, Danielle and Shahid are listening to the conversation:
R: I was just ringing up to ask if you'll be having a Christmas party soon in the nursery?. -S&D
D: yeh/ -R
S: NODS -R
R: Suzanne would like to come/ -S&D
will that be alright?/ "
D: yeh/ -R
S: NODS "
R: uhuh/ o.k./ bye then/ -S&D

Non-verbal communication was also used to augment verbal communication on some occasions as in Extract twelve.

Extract TWELVE: Zahid and Nazir (OCp)

Zahid decides to clear up the table

Z: I go wipe it/ -R
R: o.k. then/ -Z

Z: I got two/	-R
R: yes/ you've got two/	-Z
Z: that one/ that/ POINTS	-R

Tables 6xii(a&b) show the occurences of this in the data. A number preceded by an asterisk indicates non-verbal communication augmenting verbal communication.

Occurrence of Non-verbal Communication

Table 6xii(a)

	Nasreen	Riaz	Jameel	Shahid	Zahid
(p)	0	4	0	*3	1,*10
(e)	1	*10	*1	0	3

Table 6xii(b)

	Qaseem	Anisa	Ameena	Tahira	Shamshad
(p)	*2	0	0	0	0
(e)	0	0	*1	0	0

There is no pattern regarding the use of non-verbal communication which relates to the mother tongue of the study child's interlocutor. There is, however, a difference between the groups, the younger children using more non-verbal communication than the older children, this is consistent with the findings from the CLASSROOM data (see Section 5.5 above).

6.7 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

It appears that for almost all the older children and some of the younger children, the Home Corner is a setting in which play and communication occurs easily. Relatively short sessions produced a

large data base particularly for the older children. This allowed analysis of the data in terms of code choice with interlocutors from two different linguistic backgrounds.

It was found that the children generally used very little mother tongue when playing in the home corner. It is likely that the major reason for this is the close proximity of a monolingual adult. However, when there were strong friendship ties between native Panjabi-speaking children the study child communicated mainly in Panjabi, and the effect of a monolingual English speaking adult's presence was largely overcome.

It could be concluded that strength of friendship tie with the interlocutor predicts mother tongue choice better than either domain or the existence of a common mother tongue between a group of children.

Many of these issues will be explored further in Chapters 8, 9, 12 and 13. In the next chapter findings from the *STORY TELLING* data collection 'set' will be presented.

CHAPTER 7

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS 3: STORY-TELLING

In this chapter, results from the final data 'set' will be presented. The language data in this chapter differs from the previous 'sets' (see Chapters 5 & 6) by being collected in a more structured way. It reflects the type of task often used to assess children's language. While the STORY-TELLING data can be compared with CLASSROOM and HOME CORNER, it is particularly useful to have this data as it will provide some information about the effect of a more structured context on the children's linguistic performance. The following sections will provide more detail about the data collection, and results will be presented according to utterance type and code choice.

7.1 BACKGROUND TO THE DATA COLLECTION

A story-telling / picture description task was adopted to examine the children's language in a more structured situation. Three books were chosen from the 'Photo-talk' Series (ILEA, 1984) which most reflected the childrens' experience. The three themes were: going shopping; eating dinner at home and a family outing to the park. The books depicting these themes were titled 'Saiqua and Shan Go Shopping'; 'Eating Dinner With Badre and Nabil' and 'Going To The Park' respectively. The books are made up of nine or ten 8" by 8" brightly coloured photographs of scenes from everyday life (see Appendix 5). The children were asked to tell a toy (a favourite doll

or teddy) about the pictures in the book. When necessary, as indeed it sometimes was, the children were encouraged by R to tell something about the picture if they were not spontaneously forthcoming. This is illustrated by Extracts one and two.

Extract ONE: Riaz reads from 'Saiqua & Shan Go Shopping'

Page 2
R:Look Riaz/
Riaz:a teddy bear/
bara/ = big
yes/
bara/ = big
look/
bara pussycat/ = big pussycat
car/

Extract TWO: Qaseem reads from 'Saiqua & Shan Go Shopping'

Page 5
R: can you see all the different things?/
can you tell teddy what they are?/ (2.sec)
Q: a keera/ = melon
keera/ = melon
R: uhuh/(10.sec)
and what's this/
Q: keila/ = bananas
R: uhuh/
and this here/
Q: murchain/ = chillies
R: uhuh/
and this one/
Q: gobi/ = cauliflower

The session was carried out in a quiet space in the classroom as, in my experience as a speech therapist, removing children from the class often alters their performance and the most talkative children can be overcome with silence.

All utterances were transcribed and analysed, most were related directly to the pictures, but some were not, although they were often closely related to the topic in the picture as the following two

examples illustrate.

Extract THREE: Shahid reads from 'Going To The Park'

Page 9
S: (2syl)/ That's a mine backyard/ (2syl)/

Shahid is referring to the railings in his own backyard.

Extract FOUR: Zahid reads from 'Saiqua & Shan Go Shopping'

Page 3
Z: my dad/
my daddy shop/
shop/
daddy shop/
mammy shop/
my shop/
mine/

Zahid's family run a shop and he is obviously relating his own experience to the picture in the book.

The younger children, all with relatively little English, did enjoy the activity, and produced a considerable amount of speech (Table 7i(a) below). However, some of the older children appeared slightly uncomfortable at times, appearing to perceive that they were in some sort of 'test' situation and used certain tactics to stop the activity. Tahira and Shamshad did this most noticably, as Extracts five and six show.

Extract FIVE: Tahira reads from 'Saiqua & Shan Go Shopping'

Front cover
R: can you tell the baby about this one/
T: he cannot read it/
R: you can read it/
T: I cannot/

Later on Tahira uses another strategy to stop.

Page 3 ('Going To The Park')
R: can you tell the baby what they're doing?/
T: no/
   he's sleeping/

However, Tahira continues to talk about all the pictures in each of the three books, although this task does not reflect the complexity of her communicative abilities found in both the CLASSROOM and HOME CORNER settings (see Sections 8.2 & 8.3).

Extract SIX: Shamshad reads from 'Saiqua & Shan Go Shopping'

Page 2
R: tell dolly what's happening here/
S: water/
R: mm/
S: and they go to shopping/
R: mm/
Page 3
(6.sec)
S: I don't know/
R: well let's have a look/
   are there any that you know that you can tell dolly?/
(6.sec)
R: rice/
S: rice/ (.sec)
R: and pickle/ (3.sec) and papad/
(4.sec)
Page 4
R: and tell dolly what's happening here?
S: I don't/

Shamshad was not a reluctant communicator in HOME CORNER or CLASSROOM settings, but appeared to be when engaged in this STORY-TELLING activity. Anisa, on the other hand, was very keen and took on the role of teacher in order to do a 'proper job'.

Extract SEVEN: Anisa reads from 'Saiqua & Shan Go Shopping'

Front cover
A: and I be the teacher/
   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?/
R: you just tell us about the pictures/
Page 1
   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 shops/
   now then/

(see Appendix 6 for Anisa's entire STORY-TELLING extract)

My impression was that at least two of the the older children, Tahira and Shamshad, perceived this as a somewhat 'difficult task', while the younger children enjoyed the story-telling activity. This may be because the older children are becoming used to more 'knowledge-performance' type tasks and are aware that demands are being placed on them. It may be that for some children placed in this situation their true competence is masked. This phenomenon of under-performance in test situations has been documented by Labov (1972b), Wald (1981) and Setchell(1988) and is discussed further in Section 12.4.1.

Background details to the STORY-TELLING data are presented on the tables below.

Length of Time in School and Total Number of Utterances
In STORY-TELLING Setting

Table 7i(a)

Child	Time in school	Total utterances
Nasreen	11.5 weeks	75
Riaz	11.5 weeks	98
Jameel	11.5 weeks	82
Shahid	11 weeks	40
Zahid	10 weeks	74
Average	11.1 weeks	75.4

Table 7i(b)

Child	Time in school	Total utterances
Qaseem	9 weeks	57
Anisa	9.5 weeks	79
Ameena	10 weeks	87
Tahira	9.5 weeks	70
Shamshad	10 weeks	90
Average	9.7	76.6

There is little difference in the amount of speech produced by the children in each group, especially compared with CLASSROOM and HOME CORNER data sets (see Section 8.2 below). However, these simple

frequencies mask differences in the length and complexity of utterances which exists between both groups as the extracts below show.

Extract EIGHT: Riaz reading from 'Going To The Park'

Page 1
Riaz: look/
aeroplane/
aeroplane/
Page 2
Riaz: ah/ eees/ ah/
R: on the climing frame/
Riaz: climbing frame/
Page 3
Riaz: cricket bat/
my ball/
my ball/
my ball/
Page 4
Riaz: cricket bat/
my ball/
where's the ball?/
R: look where's the ball?/
Riaz: where [dɹt]
R: ooo/ ((points to ball in the air))
Riaz: where [dɹt]?/
R: there's the ball/
Page 5
R: look Riaz/
Riaz: coffee/
mein e coffee intha/ = I'm going to have this coffee
cake/
Page 6
Riaz: (2syl)
eh coke/
where the coke?/
R: he's drunk it/
Riaz: drunk it/
R: it's gone/
Riaz: is gone/
R: mm/ coffee/
Page 7
R: look Riaz/ Riaz/
Riaz: look/
unintel. uttr.
Page 8
Riaz: phool/ = flower
Page 9
R: see Riaz/
Riaz: look/
e nika munda o garden giya/= the little boy's gone in the garden

Page 10
Riaz: unintel. uttr.
pussy cat/
Page 11
Riaz: unintel. uttr.

Extract NINE: Qaseem reading from 'Going To The Park'

Page 1
Q: doing a cricket/
playing cricket/
R: yes/
Page 2
Q: playing swing/
R: what's this?/
Q: go upside get down/
Page 3
Q: (2secs)
R: and what are they doing?/
Q: getting it upside/
R: yes/
Page 4
Q: playing [ə] cricket/
Page 5
R:look/
Q: him gorra up football/
R: mm/
Page 6
Q: eating a biscuit/
R: yes/
Q: co-cola/
Page 7
Q: eating co-cola/
eat biscuit/
R: mm/
Page 8
Q: get phools/ = flower & English plural marker
Page 9
R: and look/
Q: he's picking a phool/ = flower
R: mm/
Page 10
Q: kukaur/ = chick
R: mm/
Page 11
Q: kukori/ = chickens
R: and look what she's doing/
Q: giving it dinner/

Qaseem's verbal responses to the pictures are generally longer

and more complex than Riaz's. Although mean length of utterance (MLU) is a crude measure (Bennet-Kastor,1988) it does give a better impression of the differences between the Riaz's and Qaseem's language than an account of the number of utterances produced (see Tables 7i(a&b) above). The MLU of Riaz's twenty-five intelligible utterances is 2.0, and that of Qaseem's sixteen intelligible utterances is 3.3.

Tables 7ii(a&b) below show the MLU of the intelligible utterances produced for each story and calculated using Brown's (1973:54) rules.

Total MLU and MLU for Each Story

Table 7ii(a)

Child	Total utt	Total MLU	MLU Story 1	MLU Story 2	MLU Story 3
Nasreen	68	2.5	1.7	3.3	2.6
Riaz	93	1.8	1.4	2.1	2.0
Jameel	82	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.2
Shahid	36	1.5	1.9	1.0	1.5
Zahid	63	1.4	1.8	1.2	1.1

Table 7ii(b)

Child	Total utt	Total MLU	MLU Story 1	MLU Story 2	MLU Story 3
Qaseem	57	2.6	2.3	2.3	3.3
Anisa	78	4.6	3.9	7.6	3.9
Ameena	86	2.3	1.9	2.7	2.6
Tahira	66	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.6
Shamshad	86	3.1	2.7	3.5	3.2

The children in Group 2 have a longer Total MLU than children in Group 1, except Ameena, whose Total MLU is 2.3, very slightly smaller than the total MLU of Nasreen. There is conflicting opinion as to whether there is a relationship between MLU and age in monolingual children (French, 1988:297). Taking this very small sample of utterances there appears to be a difference in the expected direction of the children's Total MLU. There is quite a lot of variation in the MLU values across the different stories , but there appears to be no clear pattern to this variation. It would appear that it is due to differences in the children's knowledge, experience and enjoyment of the three stories.

Having seen that there are group differences in the length of utterances rather than in the number of utterances produced, we will look now at the utterance types, and examine any patterns of variation which arise from the analysis.

7.2 UTTERANCE TYPES

The tables below show the number and percentages of utterances produced in each of the utterances categories, FULL, REDUCED, ELLIPTED, MINOR, PROBLEM and UNINTELLIGIBLE.

Occurrences of Utterance Type Expressed as a Percentage of the Total Number of Utterances

Table 7iii(a)

Child		FULL	RED	ELL	MIN	PROB	UNT
Nasreen	n=75	n=5	n=38	n=15	0	n=9	n=8
	%	6.7	50.7	20	0	12	10.7
Riaz	n=98	n=22	n=41	n=22	n=6	n=2	n=5
	%	22.4	41.8	22.4	6.1	2	5.1
Jameel	n=90	n=1	n=48	n=18	n=12	n=3	n=8
	%	1.1	53.3	20	13.3	3.3	8.9
Shahid	n=39	n=4	n=24	n=7	n=12	n=3	n=8
	%	10.3	61.5	17.9	13.3	3.3	8.9
Zahid	n=74	0	n=54	n=6	n=3	0	n=11
	%	0	73	8.1	4.1	0	14.9

Table 7iii(b)

Child		FULL	RED	ELL	MIN	PROB	UNT
Qaseem	n=57	n=1	n=21	n=19	0	n=16	0
	%	1.8	36.8	33.3	0	23.8	0
Anisa	n=80	n=11	n=35	n=9	n=4	n=19	n=2
	%	13.8	43.8	11.3	5	23.8	2.5
Ameena	n=87	n=4	n=47	n=24	n=7	n=4	n=1
	%	4.6	54	22.6	8	4.6	1.1
Tahira	n=68	n=11	n=21	n=19	n=6	n=9	n=2
	%	16.2	30.9	28	8.8	13.2	2.9
Shamshad	n=90	n=13	n=48	n=11	n=1	n=13	n=4
	%	14.4	53.3	12.2	1.1	14.4	4.4

For both groups there are more REDUCED utterances than any other utterance category. ELLIPTED utterances are also a considerable proportion of most children's utterances, a reflection of the data collection procedure which can often encourage the production of ellipted utterances (Crystal et.al.1976). The following extracts illustrate this.

Extract TEN: Qaseem reads from 'Saiqua & Shan Go Shopping'

Page 5
R: look what he's doing/
Q: smellening/ = smelling
R: yes/ smelling it/
Page 6
R: can you see all the different things?/
can you tell teddy what they are?/
Q: a keera/ = melon
keera/ = melon
R: do you know what this is?/
Q: piyaaz/ = onion
R: uhuh/
and what's this?/
Q: keila/ = bananas
R: uhuh/
and this here?/

Q: murchain/ = chillies

Extract ELEVEN: Anisa reads from 'Saiqua & Shan go Shopping'

Page 6
R: what's over here?/
A: nothing/
he said to mammy I want a banana/

Extract TWELVE: Tahira reads from 'Going To The Park'

Page 6
T: he's eating/
R: yes/
and what have they got?/
T: coffee and juice/

The above extracts show how R's prompts often elicit ELLIPTED utterances.

Children in Group 1 produce more UNINTELLIGIBLE utterances than those in Group 2, but the older children produce more PROBLEM utterances than the younger children, probably due to their attempts at more complicated structures.

MINOR utterances occurred in relatively low proportions, again, this context is not one which encourages the use of this utterance category. Minor utterances generally have a social function and could not be expected to figure highly in this data set.

Turning now to code choice, the results in the next section will show the proportions in which English, Panjabi and Mixed Code were used. It could be predicted from the previous sets of data that English will be used most because of the researcher's presence and the type of task the child is engaged in. This will now be investigated.

7.3 CODE CHOICE

The childrens' utterances will be presented in terms of the number of English, Panjabi and Mixed Code utterances produced in each utterance category. Tables 7(iv)a&b below show the numbers and percentages of FULL utterances produced by the children during STORY-TELLING.

Number & Percentage of English, Panjabi & Mixed Utterances in Category: FULL

Table 7iv(a)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix
Nasreen	N	5	0	0
	%	100	0	0
Riaz	N	19	1	2
	%	86.4	4.5	9.1
Jameel	N	1	0	0
	%	100	0	0
Shahid	N	1	0	3
	%	25	0	75
Zahid	N	0	0	0
	%	0	0	0

Table 7iv(b)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix
Qaseem	N	1	0	0
	%	100	0	0
Anisa	N	11	0	0
	%	100	0	0
Ameena	N	4	0	0
	%	100	0	0
Tahira	N	11	0	0
	%	100	0	0
Sham-shad	N	13	0	0
	%	100	0	0

English is the most widely-used code within the FULL utterance category. Only one FULL Panjabi utterance is produced by Riaz and Riaz and Shahid use a small number of mixed utterances. The children in Group 2 use only English in the STORY-TELLING situation.

Tables 7(v)a&b below show the codes used for REDUCED utterances.

Number & Percentage of English, Panjabi & Mixed Utterances in Category: REDUCED

Table 7v(a)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix
Nasreen	N	38	5	3
	%	78.9	13.2	7.9
Riaz	N	32	3	6
	%	78	7.3	14.6
Jameel	N	35	4	9
	%	72.9	8.3	18.6
Shahid	N	20	1	3
	%	83.3	4.2	12.5
Zahid	N	49	4	1
	%	90.7	7.4	1.9

Table 7v(b)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix
Qaseem	N	18	2	0
	%	90	10	0
Anisa	N	34	1	0
	%	97.1	2.9	0
Ameena	N	38	8	1
	%	80.9	17	2.1
Tahira	N	21	0	0
	%	100	0	0
Sham-	N	48	0	0
shad (e)		100	0	0

Panjabi and/or Mix is used in this category by all the children, except for Tahira and Shamshad, although English is still used more overall.

The tables below show the code choices for ELLIPTED utterances - considerable amounts of Panjabi are used by seven of the ten children.

Number & Percentage of English, Panjabi & Mixed Utterances in Category: ELLIPTED

Table 7vi(a)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix
Nasreen	N	3	10	2
	%	20	66.7	13.3
Riaz	N	9	11	0
	%	40.9	50	0
Jameel	N	8	10	0
	%	44.4	55.6	0
Shahid	N	7	0	0
	%	100	0	0
Zahid	N	2	3	1
	%	33.3	50	16.7

Table 7vi(b)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix
Qaseem	N	4	9	6
	%	21.1	47.4	31.6
Anisa	N	9	0	0
	%	100	0	0
Ameena	N	15	8	1
	%	62.5	33.3	4.2
Tahira	N	16	3	0
	%	84.2	15.9	0
Sham-	N	11	0	0
shad	%	100	0	0

It has been seen (Section 7.2 above) that this method of collecting language data tends to produce a considerable amount of ELLIPTED utterances. Seven of the ten children use Panjabi or Mixed code when producing ELLIPTED utterances. The following extracts illustrate this point.

Extract THIRTEEN: Nazreen reads from 'Eating With Badre & Nabil'

Page 1

N: andi/ = pans
andi/ = pans
there two [ges]/ = cooker
two andi on/ = pans

Extract FOURTEEN: Jameel reads from 'Eating With Badre & Nabil'

Page 1

R: look/
J: [ges]/ = cooker
R: R: yes/
J: this/

here andi/ = pans

Extract FIFTEEN: Riaz reads from Saiqua & Shan Go Shopping'

Page 5
R: look/
Riaz: keila/ = bananas
kusht/ = meat
adeh/ = halves

Extract SIXTEEN: Zahid reads from 'Saiqua & Shan Go Shopping'

Page 5
R: look Zahid/
Z: keila/ = bananas
R: yes/
Z: kaki/ = melon
R: yes/
Z: tamatər/ = tomatoes

These utterances show that the children's knowledge of vocabulary associated with particular domains is a factor in code choice. As the examples illustrate, cooking and naming vegetables are, at the moment, for many of the children 'Panjabi domains'. McCormick (1989) made a similar finding in her work with young native Afrikaans-speaking children in an English medium nursery. In fact, in her study, both the Afrikaans dominant and the Afrikaans/English bilingual children almost always named fruit and vegetable items in Afrikaans, while all technological and mechanical items were given English labels. Among adults, topic of interaction has been stated as a factor in code choice (Blom & Gumperz 1972), the finding here that a particular topic (cooking and fruit and vegetables) is usually in Panjabi, may not indicate an actual language choice. Rather, the use of Panjabi in the STORY TELLING setting is more likely to occur when the children do not know the English lexical item for the topic in

question. We return to this point later in the section.

Number & Percentage of Eng, Panj. Mix, Voc & Oth. Utterances in Category: MINOR

Table 7vii(a)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth
Nasreen	N	0	0	0	0	0
	%	0	0	0	0	0
Riaz	N	1	0	0	0	5
	%	16.7	0	0	0	83.3
Jameel	N	12	0	0	0	0
	%	100	0	0	0	0
Shahid	N	0	0	0	0	0
	%	0	0	0	0	0
Zahid	N	3	0	0	0	0
	%	100	0	0	0	0

Table 7vii(b)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth
Qaseem	N	0	0	0	0	0
	%	0	0	0	0	0
Anisa	N	4	0	0	0	0
	%	100	0	0	0	0
Ameena	N	7	0	0	0	0
	%	100	0	0	0	0
Tahira	N	6	0	0	0	0
	%	100	0	0	0	0
Shamshad	N	1	0	0	0	0
	%	100	0	0	0	0

On the whole, very few MINOR uterances are used which is to be expected in this utterance category. English is the code used.

Turning finally to PROBLEM utterances, we see that English and Mix are the codes used for utterances n this category (Tables 7viii(a&b) below).

Number & Percentage of Engl, Panj, Mix & Unintel. Utterances in Category: PROBLEM

Table 7viii(a)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix	Unt
Nasreen	N	8	0	1	8
	%	47.1	0	5.9	47.1
Riaz	N	1	0	1	5
	%	14.3	0	14.3	71.4
Jameel	N	2	0	1	8
	%	18.9	0	9.1	72.7
Shahid	N	1	0	0	3
	%	25	0	0	75
Zahid	N	0	0	0	11
	%	0	0	0	100

Table 7viii(b)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix	Unt
Qaseem	N	16	0	0	0
	%	100	0	0	0
Anisa	N	16	0	1	2
	%	84.2	0	5.3	10.5
Ameena	N	4	0	0	1
	%	80	0	0	20
Tahira	N	9	0	0	2
	%	81.8	0	0	18.2
Shamshad	N	13	0	0	4
	%	76.5	0	0	23.5

Taking the data as a whole, it can be seen from Tables 7ix(a&b) below that English is the code most used. However, with the exception of Shahid, Group 1 use considerably more Panjabi than Group 2.

Number and Percentage Utterances in Each Code for the Entire Data Corpus

Table 7ix(a)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth	Unt
Nasreen	N	47	14	6	0	0	8
	%	62.7	18.7	8	0	0	10.8
Riaz	N	64	15	9	0	5	5
	%	65.3	15.3	9.2	0	5.1	5.1
Jameel	N	58	14	10	0	0	8
	%	64.4	15.6	11.1	0	0	8.9
Shahid	N	29	1	6	0	0	3
	%	74.4	2.6	15.4	0	0	7.7
Zahid	N	54	7	2	0	0	11
	%	73	9.5	2.7	0	0	14.9

Table 7ix(b)

Child		Engl	Panj	Mix	Voc	Oth	Unt
Qaseem	N	41	11	4	0	0	0
	%	71.9	19.3	7	0	0	0
Anisa	N	76	1	1	0	0	2
	%	95	1.3	1.3	0	0	2.5
Ameena	N	77	8	1	0	0	1
	%	88.5	9.2	1.1	0	0	1.1
Tahira	N	63	3	0	0	0	2
	%	92.6	4.4	0	0	0	2.9
Shamshad	N	86	0	0	0	0	4
	%	95.6	0	0	0	0	4.4

Perhaps what is surprising is that so much Panjabi and Mixed Code is

used given the situation and the presence of an English-speaking monolingual adult. This is probably due to the subject matter of the pictures, which is close to the children's home experiences. Their use of Panjabi or Mixed Code reflects the language in which they have had particular experiences and have probably not yet learned the English vocabulary. In addition to this, they are in a sense being 'pinned down' to use a particular word, they have little choice and may use any appropriate word regardless of the code. However, we have noted some difference between the older and younger children in their readiness to use Panjabi in this situation. This has been reported before:

> McClure reports that children rarely chose the inappropriate language with a monolingual ... when they first entered school, some Mexican-American children addressed the teacher in Spanish, but within a month they stopped doing so. They then resorted to one of two strategies: silence and passivity, or the use of non-verbal communication devices. (Grosjean 1982: 202)

The behaviour of some of the older children shows that their knowledge of English being the most appropriate code for this task shows that they may indeed resort to 'silence and passivity'. For example, Shamshad chooses not to use Panjabi or Mixed Code at all, her entire speech output is in English and from the STORY-TELLING data alone would appear to be a very reluctant communicator (see Extract six). The younger children generally appeared readier to use Panjabi words during STORY-TELLING (see Extracts 8,13,14,15 & 16 above).

Non-verbal communication was used only once by Shamshad and on three occasions by Shahid, for example:

Extract SEVENTEEN: Shahid reads from 'Saiqua & Shan Go Shopping'

Page 2
R: look/ here's a boy/
S: points to page
Page 3
R: look/
S: points to objects on each shelf

Extract EIGHTEEN: Shamshad reads from 'Saiqua & Sahn Go Shopping'

Page 7
S: mammy/
what is it (1syl) there?/
R: it's a ring in her nose/
do you like it?/
S: shakes head

Clearly then, the use of non-verbal communication is not a major feature of this type of communication situation compared to CLASSROOM and HOME CORNER (Sections 5.5 & 6.6), although it may be used by children, as an alternative to speech or to avoid talking.

7.4 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

This data collection set has provided some useful information about the children's communication in a more structured setting. The major difference in the language of the two groups of children is in the length and complexity of utterances produced, rather than in the amount of speech produced. Some of the older children appeared slightly reluctant in this communication setting and this may have impaired their performance in terms of the amount of speech produced. It did appear therefore, that this data collection setting is the least useful for accessing the children's linguistic competence, certainly for the older children when compared with CLASSROOM and HOME

CORNER. It is possible that the younger children respond well to the shared context of the picture books which may place less demands on their communication. Some of the older children do not respond well to STORY-TELLING. By this I mean that their linguistic competence is not reflected in their responses to this task. It does not appear that a 'traditional measure' like the STORY-TELLING task, and the way it was carried out is suitable for accessing the communicative competence of these young children who are becoming bilingual in school.

In order to explore this idea, and others further, it is necessary to compare the results of Chapters 5,6 and 7, to identify patterns of variation across the data sets, and subsequently the sources of this variation. This is the purpose of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 8

A COMPARISON OF QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

The aim in this chapter is to examine contrastively the quantitative data presented in the previous three chapters and to show in more detail, the characteristics of REDUCED and PROBLEM utterance categories. Comparisons between the two groups of children have already been made and attention was drawn to certain differences due to age, developmental level and educational experience. For example, differences in the use of non-verbal communication between older and younger children (Section 5.5) may reasonably be attributed to these factors. However, there was also considerable variation in the communciation of the children which was related not to age and experience, but to individual differences and/or friendship ties with communication partners. This was particularly apparent in relation to code choice. Some children used considerable amounts of Panjabi, and seemed to prefer communication with native Panjabi-speaking peers (Sections 5.4 & 6.3), while other children used very little Panjabi at all. In this chapter, patterns of variation will be examined within a framework which considers how certain factors vary in each of the settings, in order to find out what, if any, effect they have on the children's communication.

8.1 A FRAMEWORK FOR COMPARISON

It is useful for the purposes of this chapter to consider a sociolinguistic framework within which to view the data. The topic

activity/ participant/ setting framework (Hymes, 1962) is a useful one to adopt. This has been used successfully by Spann (1987) in her study of code-switching in young Panjabi-English bilinguals (Section 3.6). The domain throughout is the classroom (linguistic behaviour in the home domain was discussed briefly in Section 5.6 and will be examined further in Chapter 10). The four data collection 'sets' can be regarded as different settings, within which variation of topic (activity) and participant occurs. Within the CLASSROOM setting, there is considerable variation of interlocutor and topic - most of the children have several communication partners and engage in different activities. In the HOME CORNER settings there is variation only in the native language of the study child's interlocutor while in the STORY-TELLING setting the main cause of variation is related to the three different stories used (see Appendix 5). The resulting framework is summarised on the table below.

Table 8(i)

Sociolinguistic Framework For Comparison Of The Results

SETTING	TOPIC	INTERLOCUTOR
Classroom	Varied	Varied
Home corner (HCp & HCe)	Same	Varied
Story-telling	Varied	Same

The sections which follow will look at aspects of the data in terms of this framework. The present analysis will thus be taken a stage further in allowing aspects of variation in the children's communication due to setting, topic and interlocutor to be examined.

The first section deals with variation in the amount of speech produced by the children in each of these settings.

8.2 AMOUNT OF SPEECH PRODUCED IN EACH SETTING

The variation in the amount of speech produced in each setting is best shown by considering the average number of utterances for each data set.

Table 8(ii)

Average Number Of Utterances Produced In Each Setting

	CLASS	HCp	HCe	STORY
Group 1	273	72.2	82.2	75.4
Group 2	466.6	230.8	258.2	76.6

The table above shows that among Group 1, there is a large difference in the average number of utterances produced between CLASSROOM and the three other settings, while there is very little differences between the amount of speech produced in HOME CORNER and STORY-TELLING sessions. For Group 2, the most marked differences between the settings is with the relatively small amount of speech in the STORY-TELLING setting. Bearing in mind the comparatively short period of data collection for HCp and HCe, 28 minutes and 19 minutes respectively, the number of utterances produced in this setting by the older children is considerable.

It appears that there is a relationship between age and setting when considering the amount of speech produced. Firstly, younger children generally produce less speech in class, even when account is

taken of differences in the length of the session (Tables 5i(a&b)). Secondly, it seems that play in the home corner with a class peer is not necessarily a good source of language data collection for emerging bilingual children below age three-and-a-half, but it appears to be a very good setting in which to collect language data among children aged four and above. Wald (1981) and Setchell (1988) also found that the presence of a friend facilitated the use of language among bilingual primary school children. The third conclusion which can be drawn from the table is that STORY-TELLING does not facilitate a great deal of speech from the older children relative to other settings, but appears to be useful with the younger children. It is possible that for the younger children in school a loosely structured setting in a shared context with materials relating to their own experiences is more useful when trying to examine their linguistic abilities than the freedom of a free-play situation. In the case of the older children, the effect of keeping them to a particular topic and their inhibitions about using a code other than English (see Sections 7.3 & 7.4) in the presence of a monolingual English-speaking adult limits quite extensively the amount of speech the children use compared to the other settings. Although measures of the amount of speech are rather crude, these quantitative patterns in relation to each setting are particularly striking and do provide useful pointers to effective language sampling. This issue will be discussed further in Chapters 12 and 13.

8.3 UTTERANCE TYPES PRODUCED IN EACH SETTING

In this section we examine the proportions of each utterance type across the settings and then look in detail at REDUCED and PROBLEM utterances. Comparing the proportions of each utterance type within the various settings will enable us to examine any patterns which emerge across the settings. The tables below deal in turn with the percentages of FULL, REDUCED, ELLIPTED, MINOR and PROBLEM utterances occuring in each of the settings.

Percentages of FULL Utterances In Each Setting

Table 8iii(a)

Child	Class	HCp	HCe	Story
Nasreen	19.5	13.3	18.7	6.7
Riaz	53.0	23.1	12.0	22.4
Jameel	13.9	15.9	18.0	1.1
Shahid	44.6	2.7	2.7	10.3
Zahid	2.7	16.3	7.1	0

Table 8iii(b)

Child	Class	HCp	HCe	Story
Qaseem	26.9	22.3	20.9	1.8
Anisa	23.0	31.9	28.0	13.8
Ameena	46.9	38.1	26.0	4.6
Tahira	47.7	31.6	30.4	16.2
Shamshad	16.3	26.3	15.2	14.4

The trend across the settings for this utterance type is clearer for Group 2 than Group 1. What emerges for the older group is that there are a considerably smaller proportion of FULL utterances for the STORY-TELLING setting than either CLASSROOM or HOME CORNER. Three children in Group 1 follow the same pattern, while Riaz uses slightly more FULL utterances in the STORY-TELLING setting than in HCe and Shahid uses considerably more FULL utterances in STORY-TELLING than in both HOME CORNER settings. A difference in the proportion of FULL utterances in STORY-TELLING compared with other settings has been identified as a pattern for most of the children.

We examine now the REDUCED utterances on Tables 8iv(a&b) below.

Percentages of REDUCED Utterances In Each Setting

Table 8iv(a)

Child	Class	HCp	HCe	Story
Nasreen	42.8	47.7	29.8	50.7
Riaz	18.9	21.8	32.5	41.8
Jameel	39.0	37.7	44.3	53.3
Shahid	21.7	51.4	56.8	61.5
Zahid	47.7	30.6	50.0	73.0

Table 8iv(b)

Child	Class	HCp	HCe	Story
Qaseem	19.9	27.0	39.5	36.8
Anisa	18.2	24.8	16.8	43.8
Ameena	20.6	19.0	28.5	54.0
Tahira	14.2	28.5	29.5	30.9
Shamshad	30.6	17.6	25.7	53.3

A clear trend emerges which separates, once again, the STORY-TELLING setting from the three other settings. A far greater proportion of REDUCED utterances emerge in the STORY-TELLING setting than in any other setting. However, for CLASSROOM, HCp and HCe there is variation in the relative proportions of REDUCED utterances, some children using more in CLASSROOM and some more in HCp and/or HCe.

This difference for the STORY-TELLING setting continues when

considering ELLIPTED utterances, as can be seen on Tables 8v(a&b) below.

Percentages of ELLIPTED Utterances In Each Setting

Table 8v(a)

Child	Class	HCp	HCe	Story
Nasreen	10.8	10.9	8.2	20.0
Riaz	4.2	15.4	12.0	22.4
Jameel	10.0	2.9	8.2	20.0
Shahid	3.6	0	17.6	17.9
Zahid	3.6	8.2	7.1	8.1

Table 8v(b)

Child	Class	HCp	HCe	Story
Qaseem	21.1	10.2	6.6	33.3
Anisa	15.3	7.0	10.4	11.3
Ameena	8.9	15.1	8.1	22.6
Tahira	8.9	5.7	7.9	28.0
Shamshad	9.9	10.8	10.9	12.2

With only one exception, Ameena, the children use more ELLIPTED utterances in the STORY-TELLING setting than in any of the other settings. We noted in Section 7.2 that the STORY-TELLING activity encourages this particular utterance category. The combined effects of shared context and response speech mean that the children are more

likely to produce utterances in which elements are elided, while still producing acceptable utterances for the context. There are no particular trends across the other settings.

We consider now the proportions of MINOR utterances used.

Percentages of MINOR Utterances In Each Setting

Table 8vi(a)

Child	Class	HCp	HCe	Story
Nasreen	19.3	3.9	13.4	0
Riaz	19.2	28.2	27.7	6.1
Jameel	35.5	34.8	21.3	13.3
Shahid	24.1	24.3	8.1	13.3
Zahid	31.5	16.3	35.7	4.1

Table 8vi(b)

Child	Class	HCp	HCe	Story
Qaseem	15.8	10.7	8.5	0
Anisa	21.8	20.0	29.3	5.0
Ameena	18.2	22.2	26.4	8.0
Tahira	21.7	18.6	15.4	8.8
Shamshad	18.8	10.4	12.6	1.1

Again we find a difference between the STORY-TELLING setting and the other data collection settings. For all the children, except Shahid, fewer MINOR utterances are used during STORY-TELLING than in

any other setting. It is reasonable to assume that the STORY-TELLING activity is least like everyday conversation, it does not require social/interactional speech and therefore MINOR utterances do not feature highly.

Finally, we consider PROBLEM utterances on Tables 8vii(a&b) below.

Percentages of PROBLEM Utterances In Each Setting

Table 8vii(a)

Child	Class	HCp	HCe	Story
Nasreen	7.0	23.4	29.2	22.7
Riaz	4.5	11.5	15.7	7.1
Jameel	1.6	8.7	8.2	12.2
Shahid	6.0	21.6	14.9	12.2
Zahid	14.4	28.6	0	14.9

Table 8vii(b)

Child	Class	HCp	HCe	Story
Qaseem	16.4	29.8	24.4	0
Anisa	20.8	15.9	13.7	2.5
Ameena	5.8	5.6	11.0	1.1
Tahira	6.9	15.6	16.7	2.9
Shamshad	24.0	34.5	35.7	4.4

Slight differences exist in the variation across settings for the

two groups. Group 2 have a smaller number of PROBLEM utterances in the STORY-TELLING setting than in any other. However, for most of the children in Group 1, CLASSROOM appears to be the setting in which fewer PROBLEM utterances are produced. It is difficult to account for these differences, one possibility being that particular settings may encourage the children to attempt new constructions which they have difficulty with. We saw that some of the older children were reticent in the STORY-TELLING setting. It is likely that they produce less novel and creative language during that particular setting and consequently less PROBLEM utterances.

So far, this examination of the data has shown that with regard to setting, STORY-TELLING stands out from both CLASSROOM and HOME CORNER as yielding different patterns of utterance type. Broadly speaking, these are fewer FULL and MINOR utterances and more REDUCED and ELLIPTED utterances. Group variations from these trends were discussed as they arose. In terms of utterance type, CLASSROOM and HOME CORNER appear to produce similar profiles, which is not particularly surprising given that each setting incorporates similar activities: both involve a combination of small group and individual activity; are fairly loosely structured, in that children follow activities they enjoy; conversation often occurs between children during activities. No nursery activities resembled the STORY-TELLING setting, and at this stage in infant school there were only a few occurrences of the STORY-TELLING type of activity. It is possible that one of the reasons for some of the older children's apparent reticence in this setting (see Section 7.1) is that they have an awareness that something is expected of them, and this is in

considerable contrast to their other experiences in nursery and infant school. This type of structured 'performance' type task is likely to become more frequent as the children progress through school. Their linguistic performance in such settings is likely to be as much due to their knowledge of what is expected as their actual abilities (Edwards, 1979 ; Tizard & Hughes, 1984 ; Milroy & Milroy, 1985 ; Motteram, 1985). This issue will be taken up in Chapter 13 in relation to assessment procedures.

In the previous three chapters, patterns of variation in the use of the five utterance categories have been outlined. We will now examine in more detail the patterns which emerge within the REDUCED and PROBLEM categories. Several examples of these utterance types will be given because they outline particular characteristics found in the L2 English of children becoming bilingual which are not generally found in the L1 English of monolingual children.

8.3.1 Reduced utterances

REDUCED utterances were analysed in terms of the level at which elements were ommitted, either clause, phrase or word level (see Section 4.3.2 for examples of REDUCED utterances). All the English utterances within the REDUCED category of CLASSROOM, HCp, HCe and STORY-TELLING were analysed at clause, phrase and word level. The number and percentages are shown on Tables 8viii(a&b) below.

Table 8viii(a)

Number & Percentage of REDUCED Utterances
at Clause, Phrase & Word Level

		Nasreen	Riaz	Jameel	Shahid	Zahid
CLAUSE	CL	n=120 39.1%	n=6 11.1%	n=33 26.4%	n=10 50%	n=11 19.3%
	HCp	n=27 38.6%	n=9 32.1	n=6 21.4%	n=7 28%	n=9 42.9%
	HCe	n=17 26.2%	n=9 27.3%	n=7 18.9%	n=5 10.4%	n=3 37.5%
	ST	n=18 42.9%	n=8 21.6%	n=17 29.8%	0 0	n=5 10.9%
PHRASE	CL	n=89 29%	n=27 50%	n=56 44.8%	n=4 20%	n=17 29.8%
	HCp	n=20 28.6%	n=15 53.6%	n=15 53.6	n=4 16%	n=6 28.6%
	HCe	n=31 47.7%	n=8 24.2%	n=22 59.5%	n=12 25.0%	n=1 12.5%
	ST	n=16 38.1%	n=23 62.2%	n=30 52.6%	n=20 80%	n=31 67.4%
WORD	CL	n=1 0.3%	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
	HCp	0 0	0 0	n=1 3.6%	n=1 4%	0 0
	HCe	0 0	0 0	0 0	n=1 2.1%	0 0
	ST	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
OMISSION OF MORE THAN ONE CLAUSE ELEMENT	CL	n=89 29%	n=20 37%	n=35 28%	n=6 30%	n=29 50,9%
	HCp	n=19 27.9%	n=4 14.3%	n=6 21.4%	n=13 52%	n=6 28.6%
	HCe	n=12 18.5%	n=16 48.5%	n=8 21.6%	n=30 62.5%	n=4 50%
	ST	n=7 16.7%	n=5 13.5%	n=9 15.8%	n=5 20%	n=10 21.7%
IN-COMPLETE UTTERANCE	CL	n=8 2.6%	n=1 1.9%	n=1 0.8%	0 0	0 0
	HCp	n=4 5.7%	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
	HCe	n=5 7.7%	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
	ST	n=1 2.4%	n=1 2.7%	n=1 1.7%	0 0	0 0

Table 8viii(b)

		Qaseem	Anisa	Ameena	Tahira	Shamshad
CLAUSE	CL	n=15 31.3%	n=13 13.7%	n=29 25.2%	n=11 13.6%	n=61 26.6%
	HCp	n=19 28.8%	n=34 35.4%	n=7 25%	n=26 28.3%	n=12 21.4%
	HCe	n=27 23.7%	n=14 22.2%	n=18 23.1%	n=21 25%	n=8 12.7%
	ST	n=6 23.1%	n=5 12.8%	n=9 18.4%	n=11 44%	n=19 30.6%
PHRASE	CL	n=26 54.2%	n=62 63.5%	n=57 49.6%	n=56 69.1%	n=89 38.9%
	HCp	n=28 42.4%	n=39 40.6%	n=17 60.7%	n=43 46.7%	n=23 41.1%
	HCe	n=44 38.6%	n=22 34.2%	n=29 37.2%	n=33 39.3%	n=32 50.8%
	ST	n=18 69.2%	n=20 51.3%	n=29 59.2%	n=11 44%	n=32 51.6%
WORD	CL	n=2 4.2%	n=3 3.2%	0 0	0 0	n=7 3.1%
	HCp	0 0	n=1 1.0%	0 0	0 0	0 0
	HCe	0 0	n=2 3.2%	n=1 1.3%	n=4 4.8%	0 0
	ST	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	n=1 1.6%
OMISSION OF MORE THAN ONE CLAUSE ELEMENT	CL	n=5 10.4%	n=6 6.3%	n=14 12.2%	n=6 7.5%	n=18 7,9%
	HCp	n=16 24.2%	n=8 8.3%	n=3 10.7%	n=19 20.7%	n=6 10.7%
	HCe	n=42 36.8%	n=9 14.3%	n=20 25.6%	n=18 21.4%	n=9 14.3%
	ST	n=2 7.7%	n=3 7.7%	n=10 20.4%	n=2 8%	n=6 9.7%
IN-COMPLETE UTTERANCE	CL	0 0	n=11 11.6%	n=15 13%	n=8 9.9%	n=54 23.6%
	HCp	n=3 4.5%	n=14 14.6%	n=1 3.6%	n=4 4.3%	n=15 26.8%
	HCe	n=1 0.9%	n=16 25.4%	n=10 12.8%	n=8 9.5%	n=14 22.2%
	ST	0 0	n=11 28.2%	n=1 2.0%	n=1 4.0%	n=4 6.5%

Some clear differences between Groups 1 and 2 emerge. Group 1 produce a higher proportion of REDUCED utterances in which more than one clause element is omitted than the children in Group 2. This would be expected on the basis that the L2 English of Group 2 is more developed than that of Group 2 and one measure of this is the number

of omissions of elements at clause level.

Turning now to the pattern emerging from a comparison of REDUCED utterances at clause and phrase level, we find that within Group 2 across all the settings the children produce more reductions at phrase level than at clause level. Tahira is the only exception to this, she produced the same proportion of reductions at phrase and clause level in the STORY setting. It could be that her general reluctance to communicate in this setting was the reason for altering her performance (see Section 7.1). Within Group 1, the pattern is less uniform. Riaz and Jameel follow the same pattern as Group 2, they produce more reductions at phrase level than at clause level. Nasreen and Shahid produce more reductions at clause than phrase level in both CLASSROOM and HCp settings, while Zahid does this in the HCe setting. This is the clearest difference between groups and can be attributed to the pace of language development, the younger children being at an earlier stage than the older children.

At word level, there are more reductions among Group 2, probably a result of the older children attempting to use more morphology.

Children in Group 2 also produce more incomplete utterances than the children in Group 1. There are several possible reasons for this: differences in the nursery and infant class environments, with less staff, more children and consequent increased competition for peer or adult attention; greater awareness of speech and more monitoring of errors.

Overall there appear to be no striking individual differences among the children in each group. This could be expected given that the current research on children's learning of English as a second

language shows that it generally follows the pattern of first language development (Dulay, Burt & Krashen 1982), Duncan & Gibbs 1987).

8.3.2 Problem Utterances

We turn now to examine the utterances categorised as PROBLEM. Each utterance within this category was further analysed into one of eight sub-categories (see Section 4.3.4). Tables 8ix(a&b) and 8x(a&b) show the number of utterances within each sub-category and also the proportion of each sub-category expressed as a percentage. The importance of errors in child language is discussed by Crystal et.al.(1976). In addition to knowing the number of errors under a particular heading Crystal et.al(1976:78) point out the necessity of determining the pattern of errors.

This analysis of PROBLEM utterances reveals some very interesting regularities within this category. This is explored by both quantitative and qualitative means. The tables provide quantitative information. This is then followed by an outline of each child's pattern of errors. Finally, some comparisons are drawn between individual children and between Groups 1 and 2.

Number and Percentage of Pronoun, Determiner, Auxiliary and Verb Sub-Categories in PROBLEM Utterances

Table 8ix(a)

		Nasreen	Riaz	Jameel	Shahid	Zahid
PRONOUN	CL	0	0	0	0	0
	HCp	n=1 5%	n=1 33.3%	0	0	0
	HCe	n=1 2.8%	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	n=1 50%	0	0	0
DETERMINER	CL	n=5 13.5%	0	0	0	n=3 50.0%
	HCp	0	n=1 33.3%	0	0	0
	HCe	n=1 2.8%	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0	n=1 50.0%	0
AUXILIARY	CL	n=1 2.7%	n=1 33.3%	0	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	0	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0	0	0
VERB	CL	n=5 13.5%	0	0	0	0
	HCp	n=2 10%	0	0	0	0
	HCe	n=2 5.6%	0	0	0	0
	ST	0	0	0	0	0

Number and Percentage of Word Order, Unintelligible Element, Other & More Than One 'Problem' Element Sub-Categories in PROBLEM Utterances

Table 8x(a)

		Nasreen	Riaz	Jameel	Shahid	Zahid
WORD ORDER	CL	n=4 10.8%	0	0	0	0
	HCp	n=6 30%	0	0	n=2 40%	0
	HCe	n=9 25%	n=1 33.3%	0	n=3 50.0%	0
	ST	n=4 50%	0	0	0	0
UN-INTELLIGIBLE ELEMENT IN UTTERANCE	CL	n=17 45.9%	n=7 87.5%	n=4 100%	n=4 100%	n=3 50%
	HCp	n=5 25.0%	n=1 33.3%	n=2 100%	n=3 60%	n=1 100%
	HCe	n=20 55.6%	n=2 66.7%	0	n=3 50%	0
	ST	n=2 25.0%	n=1 50%	n=4 100%	n=1 50.0%	n=4 100%
OTHER	CL	n=3 8.1%	0	0	0	0
	HCp	0	0	0	0	0
	HCe	n=1 2.8%	0	0	0	0
	ST	n=1 12.5%	0	0	0	0
MORE THAN ONE 'PROBLEM' ELEMENT	CL	n=1 2.7%	0	0	0	0
	HCp	n=4 20.0%	0	0	0	0
	HCe	n=2 6.0%	0	0	0	0
	ST	n=1 12.5%	0	0	0	0

Number and Percentage of Pronoun, Determiner, Auxiliary & Verb Sub-Categories in PROBLEM Utterances

Table 8ix(b)

		Qaseem	Anisa	Ameena	Tahira	Shamshad
PRONOUN	CL	n=5 18.5%	n=2 3.3%	n=4 13.8%	n=1 3.8%	n=33 23.6%
	HCp	n=6 12.5%	n=2 7.7%	0	n=2 6.9%	n=30 40.5%
	HCe	n=3 5.7%	n=13 38.2%	0	n=1 3.3%	n=24 36.4%
	ST	n=2 15.4%	0	0	0	n=1 11.1%
DETERMINER	CL	n=14 51.9%	n=10 16.4%	n=7 24.1%	n=2 7.7%	n=9 6.4%
	HCp	0	n=1 3.8%	n=1 50.0%	n=2 6.9%	n=5 6.8%
	HCe	n=3 5.7%	0	n=3 16.7%	n=2 6.7%	n=14 21.2%
	ST	0	0	0	0	0
AUXILIARY	CL	0	n=2 3.3 %	n=2 6.9%	0	n=3 2.1%
	HCp	n=1 2.1%	0	0	n=3 10.3%	n=1 1.4%
	HCe	n=1 1.9%	n=1 2.9%	n=3 16.7%	n=3 16.7%	0
	ST	0	n=2 14.3%	0	0	0
VERB	CL	0	n=11 18.0%	n=1 3.4%	0	n=3 2.1%
	HCp	n=17 35.4%	n=8 30.8%	0	n=2 6.9%	n=3 4.1%
	HCe	n=14 26.4%	n=5 14.7%	n=2 11.1%	n=2 6.7%	0
	ST	n=8 61.5%	n=3 21.4%	0	0	0

Number and Percentage of Word Order, Unintelligible Element, Other, & 'More Than One Problem Element' Sub-Categories in PROBLEM Utterances

Table 8x(b)

		Qaseem	Anisa	Ameena	Tahira	Shamshad
WORD ORDER	CL	n=1 3.7%	n=4 6.6%	n=3 10.3%	n=4 15.4%	n=17 12.1%
	HCp	n=9 18.8%	n=3 11.5%	0	n=2 6.9%	n=10 13.5%
	HCe	n=7 13.5%	n=1 2.9%	n=1 5.6%	n=4 13.3%	n=5 7.6%
	ST	n=1 7.7%	0	n=1 33.3%	n=1 12.5%	0
UN-INTELLIGIBLE ELEMENT IN UTTERANCE	CL	n=2 7.4%	n=19 31.1%	n=9 31.1%	n=19 73.1%	n=55 39.3%
	HCp	n=11 22.9%	n=8 30.8%	n=1 50.0%	n=10 34.5%	n=10 13.5%
	HCe	n=14 26.9%	n=7 20.6%	n=6 33.3%	n=15 50.0%	n=8 12.1%
	ST	0	n=7 50.0%	n=2 66.7%	n=4 50.0%	n=5 55.6%
OTHER	CL	n=4 14.8%	n=7 10.0%	n=3 10.3%	0	n=13 9.3%
	HCp	n=4 8.3%	n=3 11.5%	0	n=8 27.6%	n=8 10.8%
	HCe	n=10 19.2%	n=3 8.8%	n=3 16.7%	n=6 20.0%	n=10 15.2%
	ST	n=2 15.4%	n=1 7.1%	0	n=2 25.0%	n=12 22.2%
MORE THAN ONE 'PROBLEM' ELEMENT	CL	n=1 3.7%	n=6 9.8%	0	0	n=7 5.0%
	HCp	0	n=1 3.8%	0	0	n=7 9.5%
	HCe	0	n=4 11.8%	0	0	n=5 7.6%
	ST	0	n=1 7.1%	0	0	n=1 11.1%

From Tables 8ix(a&b) & 8x(a&b) above, it can be seen that the major difference between the groups is that Group 2 produce a greater range of errors than the children in group 1. The greatest proportion of Group 1 children's PROBLEM utterances fall into the un-intelligible element in utterance sub-category. At the extremes of Group 1 we can see that Nasreen's pattern of errors is more like that of the children in Group 2, while Jameel only produces utterances

within the unintelligible element in utterance category.

Within Group 2, most of the children produce errors which fall into every sub-category. Ameena and Tahira however, do not produce problem utterances which contain more than one problem element.

While no consistent pattern of errors appears for a particular setting the error pattern of each child will be outlined and illustrated by examples, thus extending the information which can be gleaned from quantitative analysis alone.

Nasreen

The greatest number of Nasreen's PROBLEM utterances, like all the children in Group 1 fall into the unintelligible element in utterance sub-category. However, as we noted above, Nasreen's error pattern does cover a similar range to the children in Group 2.

Pronoun 1.I make it chips/

Determiner 2.I get a Rachel a smartie/
3.I'm doing a this/
4.going a down/
5.a there/

Auxiliary 6.and I'm not like/

In example 6, Nasreen uses the auxiliary verb 'be' instead of 'do'.

Verb 7.door broking/ = door broken
8.it's fall/ = it's fallen

Word Order 9.look done it Rachel/ = look Rachel done it
10.no left sugar/ = no sugar left
11.fall down this/ = this fall down
12.her come my on Monday house = her come my house on Monday

More than one problem element
13.got a left no sugar/ determiner/word order
14.cake make it this/ word order/pronoun
15.you (1syl) my Monday house/ unint./word order

Other 16.in fall up table/
17.two la_ last chocolate/

As we will see (below), with the exception of the other sub-category, the errors in each sub-category are very similar to those produced by most of the other children.

Riaz

Bearing in mind that the greatest proportion of Riaz's utterances fall into the unintelligible element in utterance sub-category, we will examine the utterances within the remaining sub-categories to see if they follow a similar pattern to those produced by the other children.

Pronoun 18.I want make it coffee/
19.mammy she standing/

Determiner 19.fell a down/

Auxiliary 20.where do it do go/

Word order 21.in here cake/ = cake in here/

Within the pronoun sub-category, Riaz produces the commonest type of error illustrated by example 18 where the pronoun 'it' is used in addition to the noun phrase it would stand for. We will see that within this sub-category 'it' is the pronoun most commonly used in this way. Example 19, where the 'copy pronoun' is 'she', is rare within this sub-category, there being only one other similar example in the data produced by Ameena (ex.76, below). Within the auxiliary sub-category, example 20, Riaz appears to have fronted auxiliary 'do' to its position for forming interrogatives, while still retaining a 'do' token in the verbal group. This does not happen commonly within the auxiliary sub-category (however, see ex.92, below).

The relatively smaller number and range of errors in the speech of Jameel, Shahid and Zahid in comparison to the other children is

probably because their level of L2 English is the least developed. It would appear from this data that errors are a natural part of the process of developing L2 English. The children who have a more advanced command of English make more errors, and a wider range of errors than Jameel, Shahid and Zahid. We will examine some examples of their errors below.

Jameel

Jameel produces a small number of problem utterances all in the same sub-category - unintelligible element in the utterance

22.hello (2syl) spider/
23.it's a (1syl)/

Shahid

Determiner 24.that's a mine backyard/

Word order 25.dinner teddy bear/ = teddy bear dinner
26.cocoa this/ = this cocoa

Zahid

Determiner 27.that's a my car/
28.where's a my car/
29.it's a mine car/

The small number of error types in the determiner sub-category, produced by Shahid and Zahid are similar to those produced by the other children.

Turning to Group Two now, we start by examining some examples of Qaseem's error utterances.

Qaseem

Pronoun 30.you got it one two/ = you got one two
(Qaseem is referring to numbers on a dice)
31.you pick it four/ = you pick four

Determiner 32.I got a that/
33.I got a TWO FINISHED/

Verb 34.teddy's eatening/ = teddy's eating

35.you pickening that/ = you picking that
36.washening that plate/ = washing that plate
37.he's not lookening/ = he's not looking
38.he's not comening/ = he's not coming
39.he's runnening/ = he's running
40.he's sleepening/ = he's sleeping
41.bear's sittening in a*/ = bear's sitting in a*
42.she's makening a tea/ = she's making a tea
43.smellening/ = smelling
44.I'm get a coffee/
45.I'm get a co-cola
46.that's get in/

Examples 34-43 are an idiosyncratic pattern of verb errors not shown by any of the other children. Interestingly, this construction does not occur in the CLASSROOM data corpus, it appears to have developed during the nine weeks of the school term between CLASSROOM data collection and HCp, HCe and STORY-TELLING. Qaseem also uses the normal present progressive eg. he's running/ he's kicking it/ teddy bear's coming there/, at the same time as the examples above. Examples 44- 46 could be interpreted as the omission of the '-ing' inflection on the main verb. This construction only appears when the verb 'get' is used to mean 'going to get', Qaseem usually produces the present progressive in its adult target form, or as examples 34-43. It is possible that Qaseem has some kind of 'template' for a sentence with the verb 'get' consisting of the pronoun, contracted auxiliary and 'get' when the intended meaning appears to be 'going to get'. We see a similar example of this in the <u>verb</u> sub-category of Anisa's data (ex.58,59,61-65, below).

<u>Word order</u>
47.him gorra up football/ = him gorra football up
48.co-cola some more/ = some more coca-cola
49.you do it can't easiet/ = you can't do it easiest

<u>Other</u>
50.I got it all <u>of</u> finished/ = I got it all finished
51.four two clock/ (attempt at telling the time)
52.I got other one telephone/

Qaseem produces only one utterance which has more than one problem element

53.he's a all of finished/

With the exception of verb and other sub-categories, Qaseem's error utterances follow much the same pattern as the other children's error utterances.

Anisa

Pronoun
54.put it that on/
55.I put it orange here/

Determiner
56.can I have a that one/
57.I want a milk/

Auxiliary
58.and that's goes/
59.that's goes there/
60.where's it is/

Verb
61.that's go there/
62.that's go in the house/
63.it's go/
64.she's go in the shop and get the cake/
65.that's go that one/
66.will you put this off/ = will you take this off
67.I hasn't that/

In examples 58,59,61-65, it appears that Anisa, like Qaseem (ex.44-46 above), has a 'template' for a sentence which consists of 'pronoun plus 's plus verb phrase'. However, she appears to distinguish two senses of 'go'. One of these is in its sense of 'belong'; the other as a verb of motion. When used to convey 'motion' this 'template' is not used, as the following utterances show:

he's going in the slide/
I'm gonna tell my teacher/
I'm going out/
watch what we're gonna do/

There are no examples of the verb 'go' in its sense of 'belong' produced correctly in Anisa's data.

Word order 68.big arms mummys/ = mummys big arms
69.then duck one/ = then one duck

Other 70.she's picking the flower ups/
71.em and I haven't done thems/
72.can I look at that at you/
= can I look at what you're doing

More than one 'problem' element

73.there's it it/ auxiliary/pronoun

Ameena

Ameena produces the smallest number of problem utterances of all the children in Group 2.

Pronoun 74.I make it the buttons/
75.I making it all the buttons/
76.she got she to park/

Like most of the other children, Ameena has errors within the pronoun sub-category, however she not only uses the pronoun 'it', but also the pronoun 'she' which is much less common only appearing in one other utterance produced by Riaz (ex.19). The pronoun sub-category does not appear in HCp, HCe or STORY-TELLING, and it is possible that Ameena has progressed beyond this error stage.

Determiner 77.not a this/
78.I want (.) I want a this one/
79.it's a broken/
80.now I put it in the there/

As well as using the indefinite article 'a', on one occasion Ameena uses 'the' within this sub-category, this is not done by any of the other children.

Auxiliary 81.that's one mine/
82.is hurt myself/

Example 81 shows the contracted auxiliary attached to the wrong lexical item in the noun phrase, and in example 82 Ameena uses the

wrong auxiliary verb.

Verb 83.I'm chop it/
84.I'm take them (.) to shop/

In examples 83 and 84 she uses the auxiliary verb without the main verb in the correct form, ie. with the '-ing' inflection. Within Ameena's data corpus there are many examples of the correct production of the present progressive and it seems that her system is still evolving.

Word order 85.got not honey/ = not got honey
86.my sisters got as well that/
= my sister's got that as well

Tahira

Pronoun 87.you drive it car then/
88.I know which it teddy bear/

Determiner 89.don't want a more/
90.let's have a Louise again/

Auxiliary 91.where's is/
92.this happen when you do press this/

In example 91, Tahira uses both the contracted and full form of the auxiliary; in example 92 she fronts the verb 'press' with auxiliary 'do', there is only one similar example in the data (Riaz, ex.20).

Verb 92.he's stand up.
93.my mam's get that/
94.like to do a bath/ = like to have a bath
95.they went to shopping/
96.you have to missed a page/

In example 92, the -ing inflection is omitted, in fact Tahira has many examples of the correct use of the present progressive in her data. In example 94, she uses the wrong lexical verb; example 93 could be either an omission of -ing or the simple past 'got', whichever it is, subject-verb concord rules are broken. In examples 95 and 96, Tahira includes the tense marking on the to-infinitive rather than

having the bare infinitive, producing an ungrammatical sentence. Only Shamshed produces a similar error within this sub-category (ex.112, below).

Word order
97.give out two times medicine/ = give out medicine two times
98.I got juice little bottle paper shop/ = I got little bottle juice paper shop
99.soap eat/ = eat soap

Other
100.let have that monies/
101.that fasten for pushchair/
102.I'm not ready not/

Shamshad

Shamshad produces the largest number of problem utterances of all the children. The largest proportion of these utterances fall within the unintelligible element in utterances sub-category, and sizeable proportions falling within the other, word order and pronoun categories.

Pronoun
103.I don't want it toilet/
104.why not bring it car/

Perhaps the most striking aspect of this sub-category is the relatively high proportion of utterances containing this error which Shamshad produces. In all instances the pronoun 'it' precedes the noun phrases of the utterance as examples 103 and 102 illustrate.

Determiner
105.I got a some milk/
106.got a four cups/
107.had it in a pocket in a there/
108.you a come tommorrow/
109.and a in my house/

Examples 103, 104 and 105 are similar to those produced by the other children within this sub-category. Example 107 is unusual because the determiner is outside the noun phrase altogether; in example 108 the determiner precedes a noun phrase headed by a preposition. There

are no other examples such as these produced by the other children.

Auxiliary

109.he's haven't told you/
110.why don't coming/

In example 109 both auxiliary 'be' (in its contracted form) and auxiliary 'have' are used together; in example 110 auxiliary 'do' is used instead of auxiliary 'be'. The following utterances show that Shamshad does use these auxiliaries correctly in some utterances,

I don't want it/
that's baby's dinner/
he's got a big foot/

although there are no utterances showing correct use of the auxiliaries which correspond exactly to the utterances in the auxiliary error sub-category. It may be that Shamshad is using certain auxiliary 'templates' to construct utterances containing auxiliaries. Such a strategy appears to be used by Anisa and Qaseem.

Verbs

111.now he's get it/
112.you do my telly/ = get
113.and they go to shopping/

Examples 111 and 112 illustrate error types within this sub-category produced by most of the children in Group 2; omission of -ing (ex.111) and use of the wrong lexical verb (ex.112). Only Tahira (ex.95 & 96) produces errors with the to-infinitive like Shamshad does in Example 113.

Word order

114.I going see tommorrow dinner lady/= I going see dinner lady tommorrow
115.my daddy's moving not here house/ = my daddy's not moving house here
116.I put it in the all house/ = I put it all in the house

Other

117.what this means/
118.then I bring is em dollies/
119.you why you not/

More than one problem element

120.I don't put it on the more jacket on/
121.see my sister left a hers coat Rani's house/
122.you put it that down paper/
123.I touch it this all/
124.he's don't do it that/
125.I got it a this jacket/

This analysis of PROBLEM utterances into eight sub-categories does show certain 'error patterns' emerging and some of the similarities within each sub-category are quite striking, particularly within pronoun and determiner.

As well as the errors, it has been shown that many of the children can produce the adult target form of the utterance. It appears that the L2 English syntax of these young children is in the process of development, and as is the case with young monolingual children, errors are part of this process.

The current view about the effect of L1 on L2 development in young children is that 'interference' accounts for only about five percent of errors (Dulay, Burt & Krashen, 1982). Panjabi has different word order to English, no determiners, postpositions and is highly inflected (Jackson, 1987) but the idea that these factors may account for some of the errors is highly controversial in view of the current work on universals of L2 acquisition (see for example Cook 1988, Chapter 7). While this is an extremely interesting debate it is not the focus of the analysis here. Instead, the children's errors are viewed as attempts to communicate appropriately with the language at their disposal. The analysis has shown that both clear and interesting patterns as well as idiosyncracies emerge.

We will conclude this section by looking at how the children

described the same picture - a climbing frame in a park. While none of the utterances would score many marks on a 'traditional' assessment test, they highlight some of the children's ability to communicate an idea when 'pinned down' using the linguistic resources at their disposal.

Utterances describing Page 2 of 'Going To The Park'

Nasreen	play the in a thing up/
Riaz	climbing frame/
Jameel	this/
Shahid	the slide/ boy/
Zahid	jaaj/ = plane
Qaseem	playing swing/ go upside get down/
Anisa	em slide/ slides/ he's in the slides/
Ameena	cl (.) swinging/
Tahira	eh nother park/ what's that/
Shamshad	unintel. uttr. (1)

8.4 CODE CHOICE IN EACH SETTING

In this section we will begin by examining the percentages of English, Panjabi and Mixed Code used across the entire data corpus for each setting.

Table 8(xi)

Percentages of Each Code For The Entire Data Corpus

	English				Panjabi				Mixed Code			
	CL	HCp	HCe	Stry	CL	HCp	HCe	Stry	CL	HCp	HCe	Stry
Nasreen	80.5	93.8	94.7	62.7	12.3*	1.6	0	18.7	2.2	2.3	1.8	8.0
Riaz	59.0	61.5	81.9	65.3	30.5	10.3	1.2	15.3	3.6	9.0	0	9.2
Jameel	88.4	91.3	90.2	64.4	4.8	1.4	0	15.6	0	1.4	0	11.1
Shahid	48.2	83.8	86.5	74.4	31.3	0	5.4	2.6	4.8	0	0	15.4
Zahid	84.7	67.3	100	73	0.9	2.0	0	9.5	0	0	0	2.7
Qaseem	89.5	83.3	92.6	71.9	1.2	0.5	0.8	19.3	0.6	6.5	1.6	7.0
Anisa	86.0	97.0	95.4	95.0	3.1	0	0	1.3	6.1	0	0	1.3
Ameena	62.1	74.0	91.5	88.5	29.5	18.3	1.6	9.2	5.6	2.3	0	1.1
Tahira	56.4	94.7	95.6	92.6	37.1	2.0	0	4.4	2.6	0.4	0	0
Shamshad	87.2	94.0	95.3	95.6	0.1	0	0	0	2.0	2.9	0	0

* 0.7% Urdu (included in Panjabi figure)

With the exception of Jameel, the proportion of English utterances is lowest in the CLASSROOM setting. The picture is not as clear cut when considering the relationships between amount of Panjabi and Mixed code used and setting. However, Riaz, Shahid, Ameena, Anisa and Tahira use more Panjabi in the CLASSROOM than in any other setting. The next setting in which Panjabi is favoured is STORY-TELLING, in fact, Nasreen, Jameel, Zahid and Qaseem use a higher proportion of Panjabi in this setting than in any other. Only two

children, Riaz and Ameena, use much Panjabi in the HOME CORNER when playing with a native Panjabi-speaking friend, this was discussed in Section 6.4 and found to be related to the strength of friendship ties between conversational partners. In fact, with the exception of Ameena, all the children use more Panjabi in the STORY-TELLING setting than in the HOME CORNER with a native Panjabi-speaking interlocutor. These findings are summarised below on Table 8(xii).

Table 8(xii)

Code Variation In Each Setting

ENGLISH

Class < Story < HCp < HCe

PANJABI

Riaz, Shahid, Anisa, Tahira

Class > Story > HCp > HCe

Nasreen, Jameel, Zahid, Qaseem

Story > Class > HCp > HCe

Ameena

Class > HCp > Story > HCe

This information tells us something about the factors which seem to inhibit or facilitate the use of mother-tongue. These appear to be, firstly, the native language of the interlocutor, secondly, the presence or absence of a monolingual adult and thirdly, the subject matter associated with an activity and its domain.

The CLASSROOM setting allows much activity to be away from a

monolingual adult's presence. In contrast, the HOME CORNER settings did not, possibly one of the major reasons for the difference in code choice between these settings. We have seen that 'audience' is a factor in language choice (Sections 6.3 & 7.3) and will examine this in relation to language alternation in Chapter 9. The STORY-TELLING setting engaged the child in talking about activities which were usually associated with home, and in which some of the children produced Panjabi, in spite of the researcher's presence. It appears from Table 8(xii) that most of the younger children are apparently less inhibited in this setting than most of the older children in using Panjabi for words which they know in Panjabi and don't yet know in English. However, the older children, with the exception of Qaseem, either use any appropriate English word or are silent if they cannot find the correct English vocabulary - they do not resort to Panjabi. The examples below illustrate this - they are all descriptions of the same page in the book 'Saiqua & Shan Go Shopping'.

Extract ONE: Riaz

Riaz: eh keli/	= there bananas
unint.uttr.	
[ɐpəl]/	= apple
kusht/	= meat
adeh/	= halves

Extract TWO: Qaseem

Q: a keera/	= melon
keera/	= melon
(10.sec)	
R: do you know what this is?/	
Q: piyaaz/	= onions
R: uhuh/ and what's this?/	
Q: keila/	= banana
R: uhuh/ and this here?/	
Q: murchain/	= chillies
R: uhuh/ and this one/	
Q: gobi/	= cauliflower

R: uhuh/
Q: murchain/ = chillies
R: and this one?/
Q: [bətɑ̈təs]/ = potatoes

Extract THREE: Tahira

R: what have they got?/
T: [tʃɹz]/
R: [tʃɹz]?/
T: cheese/
R: cheese/ I think they've got a bag of rice/ can you see?/
T: rice/
R: yeh/ look here/ look at all the things here/
T: they have it/

Extract FOUR: Shamshad

S: there's na-na/ = banana
R: yes/
S: and brown na-na/
R: uhuh/ and what's this?/
S: ((shrugs))
R: and ooh/ what about this one here?/
(5.sec)
R: tomato/
S: mato/
R: mm/

These examples illustrate the two main patterns of variation in this setting. The younger children, with the exception of Qaseem, use Panjabi words when they don't know the English word; the older children respond with silence, or an associated English word in preference to using Panjabi, for example Tahira says 'cheese' when the item in question is a bag of rice. Qaseem, on the other hand, names every fruit and vegetable in Panjabi, when prompted by R in English.

A possible reason for this difference is that the older children have a more developed sense of when it is appropriate to use each language. In the circumstances, given that the researcher speaks no

Panjabi, their choice not to use their mother tongue is the appropriate choice.

8.5 McDOWALL'S FOLLOW-UP STUDY

McDowall (1989), using a similar data collection procedure to this study, followed up Nasreen, Shahid, Qaseem and Ameena in school one year later. These children were recorded in CLASSROOM and STORY-TELLING settings. McDowall carried out a syntactic analysis of 100 utterances from the CLASSROOM and STORY-TELLING data of 1987 and 1988. Her major findings relate to syntax and code choice. In the area of syntax she found firstly, that all the children had progressed over one year. Secondly, compared to the syntax of the five monolingual children studied by French (1988), the syntactic abilities of the study children were equivalent to or more advanced than the monolingual chidren. Thirdly, and in keeping with the findings of this study, the language produced in a structured setting (in this case STORY-TELLING) is limited relative to that produced in CLASSROOM. Regarding code choice, all four children used only English within the classroom when recorded by McDowall in 1988. She did hear Shahid converse in Panjabi with his older brother in the playground; she also heard Ameena talk to a native Panjabi-speaking peer in Panjabi in the cloakroom. However, her findings were verified by the teachers as normal classroom communication. The children were reported by their mothers to use more English at home.

On the basis of McDowall's findings there appears to have been a fairly dramatic shift in the relative amounts of Panjabi and English

spoken by these four children in school within the period of one year in the direction of more English to the almost total exclusion of Panjabi. It is, of course impossible to say whether this would be the case for the six children not involved in McDowall's study, but there has been some indication that the trend towards English starts early in the nursery years and increases by the time the children are in their first year of infant school (Table 8xii, above). This finding has, of course many implications for bilingual education, language assessment and language shift, issues which are dealt with in Section 12.4.

8.6 CONCLUSIONS

The sociolinguistic framework adopted is useful in allowing an analysis of the data in terms of the variation which occurs in the amount of speech, utterance type and code choice. Several conclusions can be drawn from this analysis. The first is related to amount of speech - play in the Home Corner with a friend appears to be a good setting for English language sampling among children aged four and above; a more structured type of activity such as story-telling seems to be a good setting for younger children, provided the subject-matter is related to the child's experience.

The second conclusion is related to code choice. It may be difficult or impossible for a monolingual adult to access a bilingual child's first language in the classroom domain. However, factors which facilitate this are as follows: (i) the presence of a close friend, particularly if the children play together outside school,

(ii) the absence of a monolingual adult, (iii) the presence of an adult who speaks the same mother tongue (but see Section 12.4.1), (iv) a context in which there are materials which relate to the children's experience in a context where they use their first language.

It is now time to turn our attention to language alternation in the children's speech and explore further some issues which have already arisen such as the affect of addressee on code choice (Section 6.5) 'audience' effect (Sections 6.3 & 7.3) and other issues which relate to this aspect of bilingual communication.