UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

DEPARTMENT OF SPEECH

LANGUAGE CHOICE AND LANGUAGE SHIFT IN A CHINESE COMMUNITY IN BRITAIN

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Abstract

The Chinese are the third largest non-indigenous ethnic minority in Britain, but have hitherto figured little in sociolinguistic research. The aim of this thesis is to examine patterns of language choice by three generations of Chinese/English bilingual speakers in the Chinese community on Tyneside in the North East of England. The data for this analysis is collected within a broadly ethnographic framework, with attention to particularly relevant aspects of Chinese culture and informal social organisation. Specific issues investigated in the thesis include:

i) degree and patterning of (Chinese/English) bilingualism within the Tyneside Chinese community;

ii) strategies whereby people employ two different languages in conversational interaction;

iii) social mechanisms underlying language choice at both the community and interactional level.

As well as providing systematic and a substantial amount of empirical data, the thesis aims to develop a social model, utilising the concept of *social network*, which can account for the relationship between code-switching and language choice by individual speakers, and for the relation of both to the broader social, economic and political context. Thus, while the exposition is presented primarily with reference to the example of the Tyneside Chinese community, it is intended to be applicable to a range of bilingual situations as well as Chinese communities elsewhere.

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Transcription and Romanisation Conventions

The transcription of conversational data in this thesis follows standard procedure in Conversation Analysis (see Atkinson and Heritage, 1984: ix-xvi for a fuller description). The following are the most prominent conventions:

Convention	Meaning
(*n*)	a pause; *n* is the length of the pause in seconds
(.)	a slight pause less than a second
[	overlapping

Romanisation Conventions for Cantonese

Symbol	IPA Equivalent	Symbol	IPA Equivalent
b	p	a	a
d	t	ai	ai
g	k	au	au
p	p'	aa	a:
t	t'	aai	a:i
k	k'	aau	a:u
l	l	e	ɛ
m	m	ei	ei
n	n	eu	œ
ng	ŋ	i	i
f	f	iu	iu
h	h	o	o
s	s	ou	ou
j	ts	oi	oi
ch	ts'	u	u
gw	kw	ui	ui
kw	k'w	eui	œy
y	w	yu	y
y	j		

Pinyin Conventions for Mandarin Chinese

Symbol	IPA Equivalent
b	p
p	p‘
m	m
f	f
d	t
t	t‘
n	n
l	l
g	k
k	k‘
h	x
j	tɕ
q	tɕ‘
x	ɕ
z	ts
c	ts‘
s	s
zh	tʂ
ch	tʂ‘
sh	ʂ
r	ʐ
y	j
w	w
a	a
o	o
e	ɤ
i	i
u	u
ü	y

Symbol	IPA Equivalent
ai	ai
ei	ei
ao	au
ou	ɔu
an	an
en	ən
ang	aŋ
eng	əŋ
ong	uŋ
ia	ia
ie	iɛ
iao	iau
iu, iou	iɔu
ian	ian
in	in
iang	iaŋ
ing	iŋ
iong	yŋ
ua	ua
uo	uɔ
uai	uai
ui, uei	uei
uan	uan
un, uen	uən
uang	uaŋ
üe	yɛ
üan	yan
ün	yn

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In April-May 1989, I visited the University of Hong Kong to avail myself of the expertise there on the transcription of Cantonese conversation. Luke Kang Kwong introduced me to some of the existing materials and generously allowed me access to a transcription system which he used for his own research. Siew-Yue Killingley in Newcastle also provided me with information on Cantonese and commented on my transcription in this thesis.

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Introduction

Despite the pioneering work of the *Linguistic Minorities Project* (1985), the demography and patterning of multilingualism and multiculturalism in Britain has yet to be fully documented. To date, societal-level censuses or surveys have provided the principal means for investigating the extent of linguistic and cultural diversity. Information gathered by such surveys is unquestionably useful, but has little explanatory value (Martin-Jones, 1991). It fails to explicate, for example, the internal structuring of particular communities, and the norms and values that are inherent within them. It also fails to elucidate the salience of language use in and between communities whose mother tongues are not English. In this regard, the Chinese people in Britain, who constitute the third largest non-indigenous ethnic minority population in this country (after those of West Indian origin and from the Indian sub-continent) (Home Affairs Committee, 1985a), provide an interesting case in point.

It is almost a cliche now that the Chinese are among the least (if not the least) known and understood of Britain's ethnic minorities. So far, very few attempts have been made which go beyond the stereotypes that the Chinese are 'self-contained' and 'self-sufficient'. Public perceptions have largely ignored the heterogeneity of British Chinese communities, in terms of place of origin, migration and settlement pattern, social and economic position, and not least language. Without underestimating the attitudes of intolerance and indifference towards non-indigenous cultures which are still persistent in British society today (Edwards and Alladina, 1991), distinctively Chinese forms of cognition and rules for action have not facilitated research into this diverse group. Accurate and reliable information about Chinese communities in this country is simply not forthcoming, despite urgent calls by the Home Affairs Committee of the House of Commons (1985a) and the Commission for Racial Equality (1979; 1988).

One of the greatest difficulties in initiating research has been in locating appropriate bilingual and bicultural investigators who have access to the target communities. The need for credence and trust is clearly paramount, as is the need for systematic investigations of the Chinese population in general and their linguistic behaviour in particular. It is here that the methods and practices of contemporary sociolinguistics have much to offer.

The work reported in this thesis forms part of a larger, on-going sociolinguistic project whose aim is to provide systematic and empirical data on the language behaviours of different generations of Chinese residents in a defined area, namely, Tyneside in the North East of England (Milroy and Li, 1990; 1991). This area has been chosen primarily because of the extensive personal contacts which I, as the fieldworker, had established prior to the project, a prerequisite for community-based studies with ethnic minority populations.

The focus of the current study is on language choice, the principal behaviour through which bilingualism is expressed. Given the monolingual and monocultural tradition of Britain, the choice between English and other languages has taken on special symbolism. It is an 'act of identity' (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985) for the individual and a potent reminder of the competing cultural values for British society as a whole. A study of language choice should therefore be of relevance not only to those who practise it or encounter it through their profession (e.g. teachers and speech therapists), but also to policy makers whose decisions may affect our lives in a profound way.

Specific issues which I have investigated in this study include:

i) degree and patterning of (Chinese/English) bilingualism within the Tyneside Chinese community;

ii) strategies whereby people employ two different languages in conversational interaction;

iii) social mechanisms underlying language choice at both the community and interactional level.

In recent years, a wealth of data on language choice from a large number of very different communities has been made available (e.g. Heller, 1988; European Science

Foundation Network on Code-Switching and Language Contact, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1991). Many insightful analyses have been offered. What seems to be generally lacking, however, is a coherent *social* framework within which to interpret these rich and varied analyses (Gal, 1987; Milroy and Li, 1991). Heller (1990) remarks that while John Gumperz, an important leader in the field, has always maintained that code-switching is constitutive of social reality, he has perhaps been less successful in linking this interactional level with broader questions of social relations and social organisation. While Gumperz himself may not have intended to make this micro-macro link, it is important that those who develop his procedures should attempt to do so. Otherwise, insightful interactional-level analyses of data sets which cannot be compared with each other will continue to proliferate without any corresponding advance in understanding similarities and differences in the language choice behaviours of different communities, or in explaining why rapid language shift is likely in a particular community. One of my particular concerns in this thesis is therefore to develop a social model which accounts for the relationship between code-switching and language choice by individual speakers, and for the relation of both to the broader social, economic and political context.

Like Gal (1988; 1989), Heller (1990) and Woolard (1985), I take the starting point for any social model of language choice to be detailed sociolinguistic observations of interactional behaviours of individual speakers. But such everyday behaviour of social actors and larger scale institutional analysis should be seen as related rather than as dissociated, as tends to be the case in the bilingualism literature (cf. the approaches of Fishman and Gumperz, which are generally considered quite separately). Giddens (1984) has developed a social theory based on the relationships between these two levels, commenting that 'the study of day-to-day life is integral to analysis of the reproduction of institutionalised practices' (p. 282). In this thesis, I shall expand upon the *social network* approach developed by the Milroys (L. Milroy, 1987a; 1987b; J. Milroy, 1992; J. Milroy and L. Milroy, 1985; L. Milroy and J. Milroy, in press) and aim to link micro-interactional behaviours of the speaker with macro-societal structures and social relations.

The exposition is presented primarily with specific reference to the example of a Chinese/English-speaking community in Britain, although its applicability should reach a range of bilingual situations as well as Chinese communities elsewhere in the world.

The thesis consists of seven chapters. Chapter One outlines the various approaches available in the study of bilingualism and language choice. Particular attention is paid to the relationship between social structures which are seen to be determining speakers' linguistic choices and interactional behaviour of the individual which contributes to the formation and transformation of these structures. Chapter Two offers an ethnographic overview of the Chinese community in Britain, focussing on the internal organisation of the Hong Kong emigrants group which is chosen as the Chinese group for the current study. Chapter Three discusses the methodology of participant observation and documents the fieldwork procedures of the study. Chapters Four, Five and Six present detailed analyses of data, concentrating in turn on the community-level language choice patterns and language abilities of different generations of speakers, social mechanisms underlying variations in language choice patterns, and conversational code-switching strategies. The thesis concludes with a summary of findings and a discussion of the relations between social networks and higher-order social structures.

1 Perspectives on Bilingualism and Language Choice

1.0 Introductory

Research in bilingualism and language choice has been carried out by investigators from a wide range of disciplines with diverse approaches and perspectives. Some of these approaches and perspectives are distant from the primarily social one with which I am concerned in this thesis. For example, there exists a large body of literature on neurolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of bilingualism, generally addressing such issues as lexical storage and retrieval processes, or hemispheric location of different languages often with references to aphasia and alexia. Examples of such work can be seen in Albert and Obler (1978), Grosjean (1982), Vaid (1986), and Hyltenstam and Obler (1989).

Within the broadly linguistic studies of bilingualism and language choice, different approaches and emphases can also be found. Muysken and his colleagues, for instance, have been working chiefly within the framework of generative grammar and focusing on the problem of specifying structural constraints on code-switching - the principal, micro-interactional manifestation of bilingualism (Muysken, 1990, 1991; DiSciullo, Muysken and Singh, 1986). Researchers who have worked with mixed language data are generally aware that there are constraints of some kind, such as major constituent boundaries, or semantic unit boundaries, on the switch point. Few, however, have actually succeeded in formulating constraints to which counter-examples have not rapidly been cited. Muysken and his colleagues have tried to capture the evident but elusive regularities in code-switching behaviour by positing various kinds of borrowability hierarchies and switched constituent hierachies. This work, however, is still at an early stage.

Perhaps the most extensive work on bilingual language choice from a linguistic perspective is carried out by Poplack, Sankoff and their associates, initially on Spanish-English code-switching data collected from New York City's Puerto Rican community, but

more recently on the so-called Ottowa-Hull corpus, a computerised corpus of French-English material (Poplack, 1980, 1981, 1990; Poplack, Sankoff and Miller, 1988; Sankoff and Poplack, 1981; Sankoff and Mainville, 1986; Sankoff, Nait M'Barek and Montpetit, 1987; Sankoff, Poplack and Vanniarajan, 1991). Like Muysken, Poplack and Sankoff are interested primarily in the question of specifying structural constraints on code-switching, but they work overwhelmingly within a quantitative paradigm (Labov, 1966; 1972a; 1972b), and operate chiefly with notions of probability rather than with categorical constraints on switching.

Another major question which Poplack and Sankoff investigate is how *borrowing* might be distinguished from *code-switching*, and indeed where the borderline might be drawn between an established loan on the one hand, which eventually becomes codified as a dictionary entry, and a single word switch which may not be integrated morphologically or phonologically into the matrix language of the utterance (e.g. Poplack and Sankoff, 1984). This is in fact an interest shared by a large number of other investigators who often feel that such a distinction is needed chiefly because code-switching is generally analysed in terms of social motivation and meaning, whereas the insertion of lexical loans is not. Examples of linguistic studies of language choice include Pfaff (1979), Sridhar and Sridhar (1980), Bentahila and Davies (1983), Woolford (1983), Joshi (1985), Singh (1985), Romaine (1986), Clyne (1987), Scotton (1987), Bokamba (1989), Heath (1989), Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood (1989), Schatz (1989), Tay (1989), Nortier (1990) and Treffers-Daller (1990).

While these studies have undoubtedly contributed to our understanding of (in particular) the internal linguistic characteristics of bilingual speech, they seem to have drawn many researchers away from regarding bilingualism and language choice as *essentially a social phenomenon.* Back in 1962, Mackey pointed out that

> *Bilingualism* is not a phenomenon of language; but a characteristic of its use. It is not a feature of the code but of the message. It does not belong to the domain of 'langue', but of 'parole'. (Mackey, 1962: 51. Original italics)

The social significance of bilingualism has been well discussed in the literature (see Appel and Muysken, 1987 and Romaine, 1989 for general discussions; see also Auer,

1990; 1991 for a recent discussion on 'bilingualism in/as social action') and does not need to be repeated here. But the most important point about a social account of bilingualism is its capacity to provide a general, interpretative framework within which various data sets can be analysed and compared. There are of course different perspectives even amongst primarily social studies of bilingualism and language choice. In this chapter, I shall review a selection of these studies. The aim of this review is to locate the present study of language choice of a British Chinese community within a broad theoretical framework.

Following Grimshaw (1987), I shall make a distinction between *macro-societal* and *micro-interactional* perspectives, which I believe has been fundamental to the way in which many investigators of bilingualism and language choice have conceived and located their work (see also Breitborde, 1983; Martin-Jones, 1989a; Giles and Coupland, 1991). This distinction corresponds generally to the dichotomies of structural versus interactional, or positivistic versus anti-positivistic, approaches in sociological research (see further Knorr-Celtina and Cicourel, 1981; Giddens, 1984; 1989; Eisenstadt and Helle, 1985; Helle and Eisenstadt, 1985; Silverman, 1985; Cuff, Sharrock and Francis, 1990). But rather than going into details of the sociological theorization and debate underlying these dichotomies, I want to focus my attention on some specific models of bilingualism and language choice that have been proposed by sociolinguists (in the broadest sense of the term). By doing so, I wish to argue that an adequate and coherent social account of bilingualism and language choice must be capable of explaining *both* micro-interactional practices of individual speakers and the macro-societal context in which these practices occur, *as well as their (inter)relations.*

Here, it is necessary to note that language choice may occur at several different levels, ranging from small-scale phonetic variables such as the ones studied by Labov (1966; 1972a) to large-scale discourse patterns such as address systems, conversation routines (e.g. greetings and partings), politeness strategies, and of course choices between languages. While acknowledging that the psycho-social dynamics underlying these different kinds of linguistic choices may be similar (Milroy, 1987b: Chapter 8; Fasold, 1984: 180-3), I am concentrating on the more visible process of bilingual choices.

The organization of this chapter falls into three parts. In 1.2, I shall discuss the macro-societal perspective which is concerned with societal-functional arrangements of different languages and which views language choice as being derived from and determined by higher-order social structures. 1.2 examines the micro-interactional perspective which contrasts the macro perspective with its emphasis on the individual speaker's capacity to produce and reproduce social norms and values through everyday interactional behaviours. In 1.3, I shall discuss the possibility of developing an integrated model using the concept of *social network.*

1.1 The macro-societal perspective

Researchers of bilingualism generally agree that language choice is an 'orderly' social behaviour, rather than a random matter of momentary inclination. Where perspectives differ is in the conceptualisation of the nature of achievement and management of that orderliness. The macro-societal perspective is founded on the assumption that individuals' language behaviour is structured by social, situational context, and what activities individuals produce are seen to be the result of, or at the very least to be greatly influenced by, the organization and structure of the society in which they live. To put it simply, the macro-societal perspective regards language choice as orderly because the social structures that govern the choices are orderly. Thus, factors affecting the societal arrangement of languages are the central concern of the macro perspective.

Within this broad perspective, it is possible to identify two main analytic models which I shall call *complementary distribution* model and *conflict* model respectively. They are distinguished not so much in terms of their view on the relationship between language behaviour and social structure, but on how languages are socially and functionally differentiated.

1.1.1 Complementary distribution model

Martin-Jones (1989a) attributes the first attempt to build a complementary distribution model of bilingual language choice to Weinreich (1953), who was concerned with the

functional differentiation of languages in contact situations. Weinreich employed the term 'domain of language use', a term first used by the German linguist, Schmidt-Rohr (1932). The basic idea was that each of the co-existing languages or language varieties in a given society served a specific function, and the specialised functions of different languages or language varieties complemented each other, giving rise to cohesive and stable societal bilingualism and/or multilingualism.

Ferguson (1959) further pursued this functional differentiation of language by introducing the notion of *diglossia*, in which a binary distinction is made between High (H) and Low (L) varieties. Ferguson noted nine areas in which H and L would differ, including function, prestige, literacy heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon and phonology (see Fasold, 1984 and Appel and Muysken, 1987 for discussion). The most important feature of diglossia is the functional specialization of H and L. Table 1.1 below lists some of the typical situations in which the two varieties are used.

Figure 1.1 Situations for High and Low varieties in diglossia (Source: Ferguson, 1972: 236)

Situation	High	Low
Sermon in church or mosque	+	
Instructions to servants, waiters, etc.		+
Personal letter	+	
Speech in parliament, political speech	+	
University lecture	+	
Conversation with family, friends or colleagues		+
News broadcast	+	
Radio soap opera		+
Newspaper editorial, news story	+	
Caption on political cartoon		+
Poetry	+	
Folk literature		+

As the table shows, in one set of situations H and only H is appropriate, while in another L and only L. The languages in a bilingual community are thus seen as falling into a neat pattern of complementary distribution with little or no overlap. Examples which have been cited to support the diglossia concept include Swiss German (L) and (Standard)

High German (H) in Switzerland, Classical Arabic (H) and colloquial Arabic (L) in Egypt, and Haitian Creole (L) and French (H) in Haiti.

One implication of Ferguson's conception of diglossia is that members of a bilingual community are seen as being constrained in their language behaviour, merely reflecting a set of pre-determined society-wide norms. Rapid and frequent code-switching which has been shown to be a characteristic feature of conversational interaction in many bilingual communities seems almost impossible according to this model. As Eckert (1980: 1054) points out, '[c]omplementary distribution of the co-existing languages virtually eliminates the possibility of random choice'. Consequently, researchers who have adopted Ferguson's notion of diglossia tend to concentrate on bilingualism at the macro-societal level, far removed from concrete, interactional behaviours of individual speakers.

Another problem with the diglossia concept concerns its inability to account for change over time. Ferguson insisted that diglossia was stable, capable of persisting for several centuries, although he did not explain why this could be the case. However, research repeatedly reveals that some bilingual communities (or groups within a bilingual community) apparently maintain their language less effectively than others and their patterns of language use change as time goes by (e.g. Gal, 1979; Edwards, 1986). The diglossia concept as conceived of by Ferguson offers no account of the social and linguistic processes involved in language retention and shift in and across communities.

Over the years, attempts have been made to modify the complementary distribution model so that it can be used to analyse and explain different types of bilingual situation and language choice practice. In this particular regard, Fishman's contributions have been the most influential. Extending Weinreich's work, Fishman has tried to link the analysis of societal norms and expectation with language use in face-to-face encounters, using the concept of *domain* as a pivot (Fishman, 1965; 1972). *Domain*, as Fishman conceives it, refers to a clustering of characteristic situations around a prototypical theme which structures both the speakers' perception of the situation and their social behaviour including language choice. To give a simplified example, husband and wife (participants) talking about domestic affairs (topic) at home (setting) would constitute a 'family' domain, and the

family domain would require the use of a special language or language variety which would differ from, say, that of the 'work' domain. Since Fishman's domain analysis underlies much of current work on bilingualism and language choice, it is necessary to examine it in some detail here.

Key to the concept of domain is the notion of congruence on two levels:

i) congruence among domain components, of which participant, topic and setting are deemed to be critical;

ii) congruence of domain with specific language or language variety.

Greenfield (1972) was among the first to implement domain analysis. In his study of the Puerto Rican community in New York City, Greenfield distributed a questionnaire in which subjects were given two congruent factors and were asked to select the third. For example, subjects were told to imagine themselves in a hypothetical situation where they were talking with their parents (participant) about domestic affairs (topic); they were then asked to select the most likely setting from among 'home', 'beach', 'church', 'school', and 'work-place' for such a communicative event to take place. In this particular case, 100 per cent of Greenfield's subjects selected the expected congruent setting - home. In fact, with one exception (the selection of 'beach' as the appropriate location for 'friendship' domain) the expected congruent third factor was selected by at least 81 per cent of the subjects (Greenfield, 1972: 23). Subsequently, Greenfield asked his subjects to indicate which language was most appropriate for a given domain. It was revealed that in New York City's Puerto Rican community Spanish was regularly used in the more 'intimate' domains such as 'family' and 'friendship', while English was the normal choice in domains where a status difference between participants was involved, such as 'religion', 'education' and 'employment'.

While Greenfield's study appears to confirm the theoretical validity of the domain concept, questions have to be asked as to how domains should be identified in practice, because nowhere in Fishman's work can we find a taxonomy or a set of principles for delimiting domains. Indeed, Fishman emphasizes the need to establish relevant domains empirically, regardless of their number, and strongly rejects the idea of an invariant set of

domains applicable to all communities (Fishman, 1972: 441). He argues, quite rightly, that the same domain may not be equally significant to different communities or to all members of a single community. Take the five domains - family, friendship, religion, education, and employment - which Greenfield (1972) studied, for example. Those who are unemployed are very unlikely to find talking to an 'employer' in a 'workplace' about 'how to do your job more efficiently' a meaningful domain. Older people may find the domain of education (Participant: teacher-pupil; Setting: school; Topic: how to solve an algebra problem) irrelevant. Furthermore, speakers' perceptions of domains may differ depending on the backgrounds and social positions of the speakers in question. A British-born Pakistani graduate working as a computer programmer in a law firm will hardly have the same idea of an 'employment' domain as his immigrant parents working in a family-run corner-shop. However, without specifying the criteria whereby domains are to be identified, we would end up with endless listing, making comparisons within and between communities difficult, if not impossible.

A further problem relates to the congruence of domain components. Given the dynamic nature of contemporary social life, people constantly find themselves in situations where they may come across someone quite unexpectedly. For instance, a patient may accidentally meet her doctor in a supermarket and start talking about domestic issues such as cooking and looking after children. It is not at all clear how such 'incongruent' situations can be accounted for in Fishman's conceptualisation of domain.

This brings us to the question of interactive effect of various extralinguistic factors upon language choice. Many studies have shown that while situational factors such as setting and topic do influence speakers' language behaviour to a certain extent, the key determinant for language choice is the interlocutor (e.g. Gal, 1979). This point has been argued most explicitly and cogently by Bell (1984) who proposes that language variability at all levels is a matter of *audience design*, that is, 'people are responding primarily to other people' (p. 197). Non-audience factors such as setting and topic derive their effect on speakers' language behaviour by association with the audience, particularly the addressee. For instance, a setting such as a supermarket is normally associated with a more socially

distant kind of addressee than a domestic setting, and the *danger of death* question (Labov, 1972b) mentions a topic associated with an intimate addressee and so on. In my own study of a Chinese-English bilingual student community in Newcastle upon Tyne, England, I specifically tested the interactive effects of interlocutor, topic and setting upon language choice. It was revealed that speakers made and varied their choices of language in accordance with the identity of the addressee, regardless of setting and topic (see further Li, 1988; McGregor and Li, in press). Furthermore, many speakers reported that with certain types of interlocutors (e.g. fellow students within defined group networks), both Chinese and English would be used, which contradicts Fishman's (1972: 437) claim that

> 'Proper' usage dictates that only *one* of the theoretically coavailable languages or varieties *will* be chosen by particular classes of *interlocutors* on particular kinds of *occasions* to discuss particular kinds of *topics*. (Original italics)

It should be noted that the concept of *domain* was developed with particular reference to relatively stable and long-established bilingual communities where there tends to be clear and strict societal compartmentalization of languages, and speakers in these communities habitually follow a set of behavioural norms pre-determined by society. As Fishman himself has pointed out, when the analytic focus is on language choice as social dynamics (and this is frequently the case when we are dealing with language maintenance and shift situations), the domain concept is no longer of particular interest (Fishman, 1976: 64). Perhaps it is worth pointing out here that a study which has often been cited as an example of domain analysis in language change situations is Dorian's (1981) study of 'language death' of Gaelic in East Sutherland, Scotland. In fact, Dorian takes 'domain' to be a unitary factor in addition to interlocutor, topic and others, corresponding loosely to 'setting', rather than a clustering of situations around a prototypical theme.

Another major contribution by Fishman to the complementary distribution model of bilingualism and language choice is his reformulation of Ferguson's notion of *diglossia.* Fishman has distinguished societal arrangements of languages from an individual's behavioural manifestation of bilingualism (Fishman, 1963; 1964; 1980). The aim here is to

incorporate the factor of change in language use. Fishman suggests four possible combinations between societal diglossia and individual bilingualism (see Table 1.2 below).

Figure 1.2 Relationships between bilingualism and diglossia

	Diglossia	
Bilingualism	+	-
+	1. Both Diglossia and Bilingualism	2. Bilingualism without Diglossia
-	3. Diglossia without Bilingualism	4. Neither Diglossia nor Bilingualism

The first instance, both diglossia and bilingualism, occurs where individual bilingualism is not only widespread but also institutionally buttressed. This, Fishman believes, is imperative for language maintenance. The second case, diglossia without bilingualism, refers to different monolingual entities being brought together under one political-territorial rubric. At the societal level, more than one language receives institutional protection, although at the individual level there is only monolingualism. According to Fishman, relative stability can be maintained as long as societal compartmentalization of language lasts. In the case of bilingualism without diglossia, the two languages compete for use in the same domains. This, Fishman argues, would give rise to language shift. He observes that

> Without separate though complementary norms and values to establish and maintain functional separation of the speech varieties, that language or variety which is fortunate enough to be associated with the drift of social forces tends to displace the other(s). (1971: 298)

One possible outcome of uninterrupted (i.e. uncompartmentalized) bilingualism-without-diglossia will be the last case - neither bilingualism nor diglossia.

It is obvious that Fishman, like Ferguson, associates *diglossia* with stability, and changes in patterns of language use are attributed to the breakdown of diglossia and of social consensus regarding appropriacy of language allocation. One question which

Fishman has not asked, however, is how the functional differentiation of languages which led to diglossia came about in the first place. As Martin-Jones (1989a: 109) remarks,

> Diglossia is characterised as a natural and common sense reality. No account is given of the social origin of the functional division of labour between the H and L languages. The model merely represents this division of labour as a natural form of social and linguistic order, thereby implicitly reinforcing the legitimization of the H language.

The concern with the social origin of functional differentiation of languages has given rise to the second macro-societal model of bilingual language choice which I want to consider here, namely, the conflict model.

1.1.2 Conflict model

Studies of bilingualism and language choice which incorporate a conflict perspective were begun by Catalan linguists working in Spain (e.g. Ninyoles, 1969; Vallverdú, 1970), and were continued by researchers on varieties of Catalan and Occitan spoken in southern France (Bernardó and Rieu, 1973; Eckert, 1980; Gardy and Lafont, 1981; Kremnitz, 1981) (see further Martin-Jones, 1989a). The main themes of these studies are summarised by Martin-Jones (1989a: 118) as follows (see also Wardhaugh, 1987; Fairclough, 1988, Grillo, 1989):

(1) the ways in which divisions between linguistic groups are related to class divisions and to political and economic relations within the framework of the state;

(2) the processes involved in the imposition of power and the reproduction of power relations;

(3) the nature of conflicts and social struggles generated by relations of power.

In her account of the societal distribution of languages in the Pyrenees at Ariege, Eckert (1980) shows how the introduction of French through institutional structures such as local governments and schools led to symbolic oppositions between French and Gascon, the local variety of Occitan, and eventually a shift away from Gascon. At first Gascon was considered to be the 'inside' language, whereas French was the 'outside' language. But this symbolic evaluation gradually gave way to a 'private' versus 'public' opposition in the domains of language use and led to the legitimization of French as the standard language.

Ninyoles (1969) and Kremnitz (1981) have documented a similar stigmatisation process with respect to Catalan.

The chief argument put forward by these researchers is that the two languages involved in diglossia are *unequal* in terms of social status. One is 'imposed from above in the form of an administrative, ritual or standard language. By virtue of its political and economic status, this language becomes requisite for access to power and mobility within the society' (Eckert, 1980: 1056), while the other is deliberately devalued and its domains of use are restricted. Eckert (1980) illustrates the inequality between the two languages in diglossia by showing how constraints on the 'appropriate' use of Gascon are not accompanied by similar constraints on the use of French. She points out that it is very often only the minority language which is deemed to be 'trespassing' on the domains of the dominant language.

Several British researchers who are concerned with minority languages in the Celtic periphery have also incorporated the notion of conflict in their work. Examples of such work include McKinnon (1977; 1984) on Scottish Gaelic and Williams (1979; 1987) and Williams and Roberts (1982) on Welsh. One point which has been emphasised by these researchers is that the functional differentiation of languages is symbolic of political, economic and social oppositions which exist in the communities in question. McKinnon (1984), for instance, discusses the use of English and Scottish Gaelic on the islands of Barra and Harris in the Western Isles in terms of a power versus solidarity opposition.

> A local language functions as a vehicle for community social solidarity and an intrusive language as the language of power epitomised in the form of economic activity, administration and communications which core society establishes in the periphery. (McKinnon, 1984: 495)

According to McKinnon, the use of Gaelic represents a form of protest against the intrusion of English in public life. Williams (1979; 1987) and Williams and Roberts (1982) show that Welsh speakers' demand for the extension of their language into institutional contexts such as state education and mass media is a direct manifestation of language conflicts in Wales.

The symbolic oppositions between different linguistic systems which these studies reveal are by no means confined to bilingual, ethnic minority communities. They also underlie the social stratification of, for example, English. Indeed, quantitative studies of standard versus non-standard English carried out by Labov in America (1966; 1972a; 1972b) and Trudgill in Britain (1974; 1983) have employed the concept of *social class*, a key notion of Marxist conflict theory, in explaining both synchronic variation and diachronic change (see also Milroy and Milroy, 1991).

While the conflict model throws new light on the societal arrangement of languages, it shares with the complementary distribution model many of the basic assumptions about the relationship between social structure and individuals' language behaviour. They both endeavour to find out how social structure might be seen to shape and to delimit individual action. Their main difference seems to be that the complementary distribution model regards diglossia in which different languages or language varieties are socially and functionally compartmentalized as the necessary condition for language maintenance and social stability, whereas the conflict model emphasises the inequality and struggles between languages. Both models, however, see individuals' language choices as being determined and constrained by higher-order social structures. The macro-societal perspective on bilingualism and language choice contrasts sharply with the micro-interactional perspective to which I shall now turn.

1.2 The micro-interactional perspective

The micro-interactional perspective on bilingualism and language choice draws upon interpretative traditions within sociological research. It views individuals' language behaviour *not* as a product of some abstract superstructure, but of what language users themselves decide is going on around them and of what they take the behaviour of others to mean. Any order or pattern of language choice is seen as the result of an on-going interactional process. The emphasis here is on the individual's capacity to make use of the linguistic and social resources available to them in producing and reproducing social structures and social relations.

John Gumperz (see, for example, Gumperz, 1971; 1982) stands out as the most influential figure in the study of the interactional aspects of bilingualism.

1.2.1 Gumperz: Metaphorical code-switching

Gumperz anchors his work in concrete, observable behaviours of individual speakers. On the basis of extensive participant observation in a bi-dialectal community in Hemnesberget, Norway, he identified two types of code-switching practice - *situational* and *metaphorical* (Blom and Gumperz, 1972). Code-switching here refers to 'the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems' (Gumperz, 1982: 59). Situational code-switching refers to the change of language which corresponds to changes in the situation, particularly participant, setting and activity type. For example, in Sauris, Italy, speakers use a localised German dialect at home, but speak Friulian, an Italian dialect, in semi-public settings such as local bar, and standard Italian at school and church (Denison, 1972). Similarly, an adult Berber-speaking Moroccan in the Netherlands speaks Berber with another Berber-speaking Moroccan, but changes to Moroccan Arabic when speaking to a non-Berber Moroccan (Appel and Muysken, 1987). As Blom and Gumperz (1972: 425) comment, '[t]he notion of situational switching assumes a direct relationship between language and social situation'. Subsequently, it is possible for an investigator to formulate predictive models of language choice at the community level. One such model is Rubin's (1968) 'decision tree' (see also Ervin-Tripp, 1969; Sankoff, 1972).

However, not all instances of code-switching correspond to changes in situational context. In some situations, speakers switch from one language to another in order to achieve special communicative effects, while participant and setting remain the same. Gumperz refers to this type of linguistic behaviour as 'metaphorical code-switching'. He regards metaphorical code-switching as symbolic of alternative interpersonal relationships. In modern society, individuals tend to be connected with each other in a complex way. Some people who hold posts in local governments, for instance, are friends of many of the residents who have to deal with them in their official capacities. In bilingual communities,

choices of language are often seen as a 'metaphor' for the relationship being enacted. An example from Blom and Gumperz's (1972) study in Hemnesberget is that a resident approaches a clerk's desk and exchanges greetings and talks about domestic affairs using Ranamål, the local dialect, but switches to Bokmål, the standard variety, when conducting official business with the same person. According to Blom and Gumperz, the use of Ranamål here serves to highlight localised social network and solidarity, while Bokmål emphasises status. Gumperz (1982) has elaborated on the social symbolism of metaphorical code-switching by making a distinction between 'we code' and 'they code'. He remarks that,

> The tendency is for the ethnically specific, minority language to be regarded as the 'we code' and becomes associated with in-group and informal activities, and for the majority language to serve as the 'they code' associated with the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations. (Gumperz, 1982: 66)

It must be pointed out here that the 'we code' versus 'they code' dichotomy is quite different from the High versus Low distinction proposed by Ferguson (1959). The former symbolises alternative interpersonal relationships of language users, rather than the status of the languages or language varieties *per se*. The 'they code' does not necessarily have the literary heritage, stability and institutional support that the High variety in diglossia has. Nor does the 'we code' have to be non-written, non-standardised and restricted in lexicon as the Low in diglossia tends to be. The distinction between 'we' and 'they' codes is a product of a long-term interactional process, not of societal arrangements defined in advance and imposed upon language users as in the case of diglossia. Which language or language variety in a given community constitutes the 'we code' and which the 'they code' is a matter for the members of that community to decide through social exchange. It is rather unfortunate that in the course of application of Gumperz's model, the distinction between 'we code' and 'they code' has often been used as an *a priori schema* rather than a product of the interactional process of language choice. One of the reasons seems to be the lack of an explicit model which systematically accounts for the interactive process of code-switching.

Parallel to his consideration of the social symbolism of code-switching, Gumperz examines the conversational loci where speakers are likely to change from one language to another. But instead of analysing the linguistic-structural constraints on these loci as, for example, Poplack and Sankoff do (e.g. Poplack, 1980; Sankoff and Poplack, 1981), Gumperz has identified a number of discourse functions which code-switching are seen to fulfil. The functions typically include the following (1982: 75-84):

a) quotations

b) addressee specification

c) interjections

d) reiteration

e) message qualification

f) personalization versus objectivization

Gumperz's approach to code-switching has inspired a great deal of research into the micro-interactional aspects of bilingualism. Here, I want to consider two studies which build upon Gumperz's work on the social meaning and discourse functions of language choice respectively. The first is Scotton's (e.g. 1976; 1980; 1982; 1983) 'markedness' theory of language choice, and the second is Auer's (1984a; 1984b; 1988; 1991) sequential analysis of language alternation.

1.2.2 Scotton: The 'markedness' theory of language choice

Working with Swahili, English and a variety of East African languages used in Kenya, Scotton (1986) proposes that the meaning of language choice should be examined in two steps; an overall model of language choice, i.e. the selection of language A rather than language B, needs to be in place before one discusses code-switching - the discourse strategies whereby speakers make use of the linguistic resources available to them (see also Pride and Holmes, 1972: 7). Scotton regards language choices as indexical of a set of rights and obligations holding between participants in conversational exchange.

> Speakers have tacit knowledge of this indexicality as part of their communicative competence (Hymes, 1972). They have a natural theory of

> markedness. The result is that all speakers have mental representations of a matching between code choices and rights and obligations sets. That is, they know that for a particular conventionalised exchange, a certain code choice will be the unmarked realisation of an expected rights and obligations set between participants. They also know that other possible choices are more or less marked because they are indexical of other than the expected rights and obligations set. Their reference to other sets depends on their association with other conventionalised exhanges for which they are unmarked choices. (Scotton, 1988: 152)

Here, a 'conventional' situation is one in which social exchanges have been routinised, social relationships are more or less stable, and there is agreement among the participants about the appropriateness of certain language choice. A 'non-conventional' situation by contrast is one where there is no such established relationship and agreement. Language choice in non-conventional situations is exploratory. As Scotton describes,

> at the outset of a conversation a speaker is not sure that any one balance would be preferable to another, even as a candidate, for the exchange. In such cases, a speaker may open an exchange with one choice, but be prepared to switch to another choice, depending on the addressee's own code choice in his/her response. If the speaker changes in his/her second turn to the address's choice (first turn), this is a form of showing deference, or accommodation. By using two codes in two different turns, however, the speaker also has been able to encode two identities - and the breath of experience associated with them. (Scotton, 1988: 177)

Scotton intends her theory to be capable of linking the social symbolism of languages on the one hand and conversational strategies of individual speakers on the other (Myers-Scotton, 1990; 1991), but as yet, not all the claims have been empirically confirmed, especially the ways in which languages become marked or unmarked. Furthermore, how speakers acquire the set of rights and obligations in social interaction has not been explained systematically. This of course is also true about Gumperz's model which we have discussed in 1.2.1 above. While he has gone some way to analyse the social values of language choice and discourse strategies of the choice makers respectively, Gumperz is less specific about how these two levels are inter-related to one another. I shall return to this point in 1.3 below.

1.2.3 Auer: Sequential analysis of language choice

A more recent development in the study of bilingualism and language choice from a micro-interactional perspective is the sequential analysis of code-switching carried out by Auer on data collected among Italian speakers in Constance, Germany (Auer, 1984a; 1984b; 1988). The original impetus of Auer's work comes from a dissatisfaction with Gumperz's classification of discourse functions of code-switching (1.2.1).

For Auer, enumerating functions of code-switching is problematic for a number of reasons. First, the conversational categories used for identifying the functions are often ill-defined. Frequently, a number of very different conversational structures are subsumed under one single category. For example, 'reiteration' can include a range of structures. Secondly, there is much confusion between conversational structure, linguistic form, and function of code-switching. 'Emphasis', for instance, may be a function of code-switching, whereas 'interjection' is a linguistic form whose conversational status and function are a different issue. Thirdly, the list of functions of code-switching can hardly ever be a closed one. Since code-switching is used in a creative manner, its functions are in principle infinite. Last but by no means least, the listing of conversational functions implies that code-switching should have the same conversational status in both language direction, i.e. from language A into B or vice versa. Although two instances of code-switching may fulfil the same conversational functions, the intended meanings of these instances by their speakers may not be identical because of different language directions of the switch (see further Auer, 1991: 326-333). Instead of trying to characterise speaker's linguistic choices according to a pre-established set of functional categories, Auer proposes that code-switching is most fruitfully analysed as a *contextualization cue*. This cue may construe context in two basic ways: first, it may allow the ascription of competence- and preference-related predicates to participants in a switch; and second, it may shape the interpretation of conversational activities. Auer calls these two uses of code-switching *participant-related* and *discourse-related* contextualisation strategies. As he explains,

> Looking at code alternation [Note: Auer uses 'language (code) alternation' as a cover term for code-switching and transfer; see further Auer, 1984a] as a way to display one's own competence in and preference for a language, as well as a way to ascribe to other participants and non-

> participants competence- and preference-related predicates such as 'speaks language A very well', 'is fluent in language A and language B', ' has difficulties with language B', 'likes to speak language A', etc. i.e. ascriptions rather common in multilingual communities, implies treating bilingualism as a social datum, not as a mental disposition or ability. We are not inquiring into the actual bilingual competence of an individual, nor do we attempt to measure it; but we are interested in the ways in which members of a multilingual community display their own multilingualism to each other (cf. Auer, 1981).
>
> Discourse-related code alternation, on the other hand, ... may work as a contextualisation cue simply because of the contrast it is able to establish between two contiguous stretches of talk. it is a very convenient way of setting off what has been said in language A against what is going to be said in language B and works, in this respect, like prosodic and gestural cues. This contrast can be used for conversational tasks independent of the social meaning of the language involved, e.g. for setting off side remarks, marking new topics, switching between participant constellations, etc.. But code alternation may also work as a contextualisation cue because (in addition) it plays with the social values and attitudes associated with the languages in question, such as they have been established in the course of an individual's history of interaction by the recurring coincidence of language choice and particular conversational activities. (Auer, 1990: 80-81)

To analyse language choice as a contextualisation cue implies a significant shift of analytic focus to the sequential embeddedness of language choice in conversation. Unlike words that can be discussed out of context, the meanings of contextualisation cues are implicit and are conveyed as part of the interactive process. The analytic procedure needs to examine 'not the lexical meanings of words or the semantic structure of sentences but interpretation as a function of the dynamic patterns of moves and countermoves as they follow one another in ongoing conversation' (Gumperz, 1982: 153). This is best done by using the framework provided by Conversation Analysis (see, for example, Atkinson and Heritage, 1984). In Auer's view, the conversation analytic approach has at least two advantages. First, it gives priority to 'the sequential implicativeness of language choice in conversation, i.e. the fact that whatever language a participant chooses for the organization of his/her turn, or for an utterance which is part of the turn, the choice exerts an influence on subsequent language choices by the same or other speakers' (Auer, 1984a: 5). Second, it 'limits the external analysts' interpretational leeway because it relates his or her interpretations back to the members' mutual understanding of their utterances as manifest in their behaviour' (Auer, 1984a: 6). Conversation analysis is a fast developing, interdisciplinary approach whose application to bilingual data is new and not yet systematic. Many of Auer's concerns are methodological and therefore difficult to

summarise on a theoretical level. I shall return to Auer's work and discuss the methods of Conversation Analysis specifically in relation to my own account of Chinese-English code-switching in Chapter 6.

Since the late 1970s, there has been a marked shift in social accounts of bilingualism and language choice to the micro-interactional perspective. This shift is certainly a necessary rebuttal of a more mechanistic version of language choice which tends to characterise individuals' behaviour as either conformity or nonconformity to closed systems of norms. At the same time, however, there seems to be a tendency to over-emphasize the degree of freedom speakers have in controlling their choices of language. Romaine (1984a: 37) remarks upon the fact that language users are not 'free agents' - 'People are constrained by the expressive resources available in the language(s) to which they have access and by the conventions which apply to their use'. This brings us back to an issue raised by the conflict model which was considered in 2.1.2 above, that is, the distribution of linguistic and social resources is not always equal with respect to all individuals in a given community. Consequently, language users can only control their behaviours with greater or lesser effectiveness, depending on the extent to which they have access to these resources (Martin-Jones, 1989a). Moreover, role relationships between individuals in a given community determine that their behaviours must be socially accountable to its members, in terms of the communicative norms and cultural values of that community. This is by no means to deny that individuals are capable of manipulating the resources already available to them in order to gain more resources and to develop new relationships, and thus gradually to transform the overall social organisation. It is important to recognize this dialectic relation between social structure and social action; that is, social structures provide the environment for social actions and social actions reproduce and change social structures (Giddens, 1984). What seems to be needed then is a model of language choice which accounts for both the social, situational contexts in which individuals' linguistic practices take place and the interactional process through which languages become socially

meaningful. In the remaining part of this chapter, I shall discuss the possibility of developing such a model using the concept of *social network*.

1.3 The social network perspective: Towards an integrated model

In a critique of Labovian-type quantitative sociolinguistics, Bell makes a distinction between *social* and *stylistic* dimensions of linguistic variation.

> The social dimension denotes differences between speech of different speakers, and the stylistic denotes differences with the speech of a single speaker. (Bell, 1984: 145)

For many years, the social axis has been vigorously examined within the Labovian quantitative paradigm, which shows that linguistic variation correlates with variation in the speaker's age, sex, social class, and so on. The style axis, on the other hand, has been a central concern of qualitative, ethnographic research, which emphasises the sensitivity of language to situational context (Hymes, 1974; Bauman and Sherzer, 1974; Saville-Troike, 1989). Labov has tried to link social and stylistic dimensions of linguistic variation in his work, although he has not studied mechanisms of stylistic choice in any specific and convincing way. Research on bilingualism, especially those from the micro-interactional perspective, tends to be of the qualitative type, focussing on how speakers vary their choices of language according to situational variables such as interlocutors, topic and setting. Although these studies often point out that language practices are symbolic of group identities, they do not address the social dimension of linguistic variation systematically. For example, seldom do we find in Gumperz's work information on the speaker's age, sex, social class and so forth. In a series of studies in the East Harlem Spanish-English bilingual community in New York City, Poplack (1983) finds that while there are intra-speaker variations in language choice (e.g. speakers report adapting language choices to home, school and/or block), on the whole the most significant difference exists between individual speakers, especially between children in bilingual and monolingual classes. For example, none of the children in monolingual (i.e. English) classes report (nor observed) using predominantly Spanish in any of the three domains,

which contrasts five reports (and eight observations) of Spanish-only use (out of a possible twenty-seven) from those in bilingual classes (see Figure 1.3 below).

Figure 1.3 Reported and observed language used most frequently at home, on the block and in school according to placement in school program (adapted from Poplack, 1983: 51)

	Reported			*Observed*		
	Home	*Block*	*School*	*Home*	*Block*	*School*
Bilingual class						
Iris	B[a]	S	S	S[b]*	S	S
Indio	B	E	B	B	E	B
Conejo	S	B	B	B*	E*	B
Juanita	B	B	E	B	B	B*
Flaquita	B	B	B	B	B	B
Josie	B	E	B	B	B*	B
Dorcas	B	B	B	B	B	B
Chico	B	S	S	S*	S	S
Herminio	B	B	B	S*	S*	B
Monolingual class						
María	B	B	B	B	B	B
Pito	E	E	E	E	E	E
Debbie	B	E	E	E*	E	E
Ramón	B	B	B	E*	E*	E*
Gordito	B	B	E	B	E*	E
Linda	B	B	E	E*	E*	E

[a] Designations refers to language used most frequently.
E = English, S = Spanish, B = both or Bilingual.
[b] Starred letters indicate a discrepancy in reported and observed language use.

Inter-speaker variation of this kind is clearly important not only because what appears to be the usual pattern for one speaker in a range of situations is rarely the same as any other given speaker's pattern, but also because differences in linguistic behaviours of various (groups of) speakers tend to reflect wider social relations and are constitutive of social structures.

There are several different ways of analysing the social (inter-speaker) dimension of linguistic variation. One approach which is commonly used in quantitative sociolinguistics

is to choose an aspect of the speaker's social status such as age, sex, class, and so forth, and measure it independently of social interaction. This approach implicitly takes social status of the speaker to be the major determinant of his or her linguistic behaviour in social interaction. A different approach examines the identities of the people with whom the speaker regularly interacts, in addition to the speaker's own identity. This second approach is now known as the *social network approach.* It assumes that there is a dialectic relationship between speakers' linguistic behaviours and interpersonal relations; that is, speakers' language use is influenced and shaped by the types of social contact they have, and in the meantime it actively contributes to the social relations which speakers maintain. Thus, instead of focussing on some *ad hoc* categorisation of speakers, this approach starts with observable behaviours of individual speakers and investigates how speakers develop their social identities through interaction (see also Woolard, 1985).

In an account of language choice and language shift in a Hungarian-German bilingual community in Oberwart, Austria, Gal (1979) used an implicational scaling technique to conceptualise and display observed choices in a range of situational contexts as well as differences between speakers of differing social characteristics. Implicational scales rank both speakers and interlocutors - people with whom the speaker interacts - in terms of their language use. An example is given in Figure 1.4 below.

In this implicational scale, speakers are ranked on the vertical axis and on the horizontal axis is a list of interlocutor types. The habitual usage of individual speakers can be read across each row, and by reading down each column it is possible to see the kinds of difference that exist across informants regarding language choice with a particular interlocutor. Speakers who use more German (G) than Hungarian (H) (relative to other speakers in the sample) are listed towards the top of the scale, and interlocutors with whom the speakers use more German than Hungarian (relative to other interlocutors) are listed to the right of the scale. Because speakers' ages are given next to their identifying numbers, we can see from the scale that younger people tend to appear at the top of the list and the very old at the bottom, which suggests an on-going language shift from Hungarian to German across generations.

Figure 1.4 Choice of Language by Women in Oberwart (Observations) (adapted from Gal, 1979: 102)

Number of speaker	Age of speaker	Interlocutors												
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	14	H	G		G	G	G	G	G				—	
2	14	H	GH		G	G	G	G	G				—	
3	25	H	GH	GH	G		G	G	G	G	G	G	—	
4	15	H	GH		GH	GH	G	G	G				—	
5	13	H	GH		GH	—	G	GH	G				—	
6	13	H	H		GH	—	G	G	G				—	
7	27	—	H		GH	—	G	G	—			G	—	
8	3	—	H		GH	—	GH		—				—	
9	4	—	H		GH	—	GH	GH	—				—	
10	17	H	H		GH	—	—	GH	—				—	
11	39		H		GH	—	—	GH	G	G	G	—	—	
12	52	H	H	—	GH	—	GH	—	—	GH	G	G	—	G
13	23	—	H	GH	GH	—	—	GH	G		GH	G	—	
14	22	H	H		H	GH	GH	GH	—			G	—	
15	33	H	H	H	H	—	GH	—	—	H	GH	G	G	
16	35	H			H	—	GH	GH	—	GH	GH	G	—	
17	40	H			H	—	GH		—	GH	GH	G	—	
18	42	H			H	—	GH	GH	—	GH	GH	G	—	
19	43	H			H	—	—	—	—	GH	GH	G	—	
20	35	H	H		H	—	H	GH	H	H	GH	—	—	
21	40	H		H	GH	—	H	GH	H	H	G	—	—	
22	40	H		—	H	—	H	—	H	H	GH	—	G	
23	50	H			H	—	H	H	GH		G	—	—	G
24	61	—		H		—	H	GH	—	GH	GH	—	—	G
25	54	H		H	H	H	H	H	—	H	GH	GH	—	—
26	55	H			H	—	H	H	—	H	GH	—	—	GH
27	61	H				—	H	H	—	H	GH	—	—	
28	59	H		H	H	H	H	H	H	H	GH	H	—	GH
29	50	H			H	H	H	H	—	—	H	GH	—	
30	50	H		H	H	—	H	H	—	H	H	GH	—	—
31	60	H		H		H	H	H	—	H	—	GH	GH	—
32	60	H				—	H	H	—	H	H	GH	—	GH
33	63	H				—	H	H	H	H	H	H	—	GH
34	64	H				—	H	—	—	H	H	H	—	GH
35	66	H				—	H	H	—		H	—	—	GH
36	68	H				H	H	—	H	H	H	H	—	H
37	71	H				—	H		H		H	H	—	H

Interlocutors: (1) God; (2) grandparents and that generation; (3) black market clients; (4) parents and that generation; (5) Calvinist minister; (6) age-mate pals, neighbors; (7) brothers and sisters; (8) salespeople; (9) spouse; (10) children and that generation; (11) nonrelatives under twenty; (12) government officials; (13) grandchildren and that generation.

However, age alone does not always account for the language choice patterns displayed in the scale. For instance, Speaker 12 in Figure 1.4 is aged 52 but is ranked higher than eleven others in the list who are younger than she, and the two youngest speakers, 8 and 9 (aged 3 and 4), rank lower than seven older others. Although the ranking of interlocutors on the horizontal axis seems to correlate roughly with age, with older people - grandparents and parents - appearing to the left of the axis and younger ones, including grandchildren, to the right, there are also some variations. For example, government officials are listed to the right of the axis regardless of age (they in fact appear to the right of the children's generation and those under twenty years old), in contrast to God who is located at the far left end of the list.

In order to explain these variations in language choice patterns which apparently cannot be fully explained in terms of the variable of age alone, Gal (1979) utilised the concept of *social network* - a collective of people with whom one interacts on a regular basis, and examined the identities of the speakers' network ties along a peasant to urbanite continuum. The basic hypothesis was that the two languages, Hungarian and German, symbolised opposing social values of rural and urban life and if Hungarian was used at all, it would be used amongst those who were more involved in the traditional peasant life and German by those who had moved away from such tradition. Results of Gal's analysis indeed show a positive correlation between a preference for the use of Hungarian and strong peasant ties (defined in this case by the percentage of contacts within a given time who own animals) and between a preference for German and urban-based contacts.

The application of the social network concept in studying language variation and change represents one of the most important developments in sociolinguistics in the last two decades and warrants some detailed discussion here.

1.3.1 Social network analysis

Social network has been explored in a number of disciplines with various purposes. Social psychologists, for example, have used the concept as a means of analysing sources of stress, leadership, and information flow (e.g. Moreno, 1953; Guimãraes, 1972; Erbe,

1977). Especially relevant to sociolinguistic research is the network analyses of human groups and human behaviour by social anthropologists (e.g. Barnes, 1954, 1969; Bott, 1957; Mitchell, 1969; 1987).

In a study of a Norwegian island parish, Barnes (1954) suggested that the contrast between rural/traditional communities on the one hand and urban/modern communities on the other would be better explained in terms of patterns of personal relationships among their members than some abstract, structural notions such as social class. He found that in rural/traditional communities personal relationships tended to be close-knit, while relationships in urban/modern communities tended to be loose-knit.

In a similar vein, Mayer (1961) used the network concept to distinguish three different categories of town-dweller in a South African city. The first was made up of townspeople whose sets of personal relations were characteristic of townspeople everywhere. The other two categories were composed of migrants, distinguished particularly in terms of their differing network patterns. One category was composed of those members of the Xhosa people who for generations had resisted becoming converted to Christianity and by extension following European ways of life. They were called the Red migrants, because they traditionally smeared themselves with red clay during tribal initiation ceremonies. The social networks of this group tended to be dense; in simple terms this means that a given person's contacts all knew each other. The other category was made up of those Xhosa who had at some time in the past become Christians, been to school (thus School migrants), and adopted European ways of dress and diet and many European customs. Noticeably, the dense network ties which characterised the Red migrants were lacking in this group. Mayer went on to suggest that the characteristics of network ties had some normative effect upon the behaviour of members of these different groups. He found, for example, that the close-knit cliques of the Red migrants exercised a tight social control over their members, ensuring that the traditionalist values to which they subscribed were faithfully adhered to. Each member was accorded a clear-cut structure of norms and activities and hence to some extent shielded from what has been called 'personal disorganization', the breakdown of primary relationships and consequent disorientated

behaviour (Mitchell, 1987). The School migrants who departed from dense networks, on the other hand, were experiencing alternately a number of inconsistent cultural influences and pressures. Mayer wrote:

> A migrant with a loose-knit network in town may start to apply, when with his clubmates, standards of conducts or etiquette which differ from the standards taught by his church associates, or his girl-friend; more probably still, any or all of these may differ from standards expected at home in the country. (1961: 289)

The capacity of a particular kind of social network to act as *a norm enforcement mechanism* was further pursued in Bott's (1957) study of conjugal role segregation in twenty families in London. She discovered a correspondence between the separation of each spouse's area of responsibility and their degree of independence of each other and the pattern of their social contacts: where the level of marital segregation was high and responsibility for tasks rigidly allocated, each spouse tended to have contracted long-standing networks ties with people who also knew one another (i.e. dense networks); where spouses were dependent on each other and did not allocate areas of responsibility as clearly, their networks were less dense, their contacts did not normally know each other. Moreover, Bott found that where the networks were dense, role relationships were usually multiplex, i.e. individuals interacted with each other in more than one capacity. These findings led Bott to suggest that there existed causal relationships between the characteristics of social network and everyday behaviour of the individual. She wrote:

> When many of the people a person knows interact with one another, that is, when the person's network is close-knit, the members of his network tend to reach consensus on norms and they exert consistent informal pressure on one another to conform to the norms.... But when most of the people a person knows do not interact with one another, that is, when his network is loose-knit, more variation of norms is likely to develop in the network. (Bott, 1957: 60)

It should be noted here that *density* and *multiplexity* pertain to the *structure* and *content* of the network respectively. Analysis of the structural aspects of social network, which, in addition to density, include anchorage, reachability and range (see further Mitchell, 1969: 12-20), has generated much of the literature on social network. Various analytic techniques have been developed, ranging from basic mathematical graphs and

sociograms, to more sophisticated applications of matrix algebra and multivariate data reduction methods such as cluster analysis and block modelling. These techniques tend to minimize the *content* of the network which defines the meaning of interpersonal relationships. Mitchell (1986) argues that it is mistaken to separate the shape and pattern of the network from the intensity, frequency and durability of a relationship, describing these latter aspects of the network as 'interactional' features (see Mitchell, 1969 for details). Bott's (1957) study clearly showed that there was a link between structure and content of network ties. Granovetter (1973; 1982) uses 'strong' and 'weak' to refer to two broad types of network ties. A 'strong' network would be dense in terms of structure, but the degree of intensity and frequency of contact involved in it would also be high.

1.3.2 Sociolinguistic applications of network analysis

The concept of social network has been introduced into sociolinguistics as an alternative to *social class* in identifying speaker groups. As has been mentioned earlier, the traditional approach is to distinguish groups of speakers in terms of their socio-economic status. There is little agreement on which factors should be taken into account in defining such status, although income, occupation, education, residence and life-style are usually considered to be important contributory characteristics. All these characteristics can be ordered in accordance with the way they are evaluated by society at large - for example, a company manager would be rated higher than his office cleaner, and a college graduate higher than a non-graduate clerk. If everyone can be given a rating based on numerical values of a combination of these characteristics, society can be ordered into strata. The scale can then be segmented into upper, middle and lower classes, with as many subdivisions as the analyst wishes to make (Milroy, 1987a: 13-14; 1987b: 29-35). This way of differentiating groups of speakers does reflect social reality to a certain extent and is seen as a sensible way of ordering large amounts of variable linguistic data, such as those collected by Labov in New York City (1966; 1972a; 1972b). But, as Milroy (1987a: 14) points out,

> we must not lose sight of the fact that the groups we end up with by segmenting our scale - such as "lower class", "working class", "middle class" - do not necessarily have any kind of objective, or even intersubjective, reality .... Membership of a group labelled "lower-middle class" does not necessarily form an important part of a person's definition of his social identity.

Milroy (1987a, 1987b) argues that smaller-scale, more concrete categories are available which do reflect the fact that there are social units to which people feel a sense of belonging (see also Cohen, 1982). One such unit is *social network.*

In her study of three inner-city communities in Belfast, which formed part of a larger project on language variation and change in the city (Milroy and Milroy, 1977, 1978; Milroy and Milroy et al., 1983), Milroy (1987a) examined the social distribution of eight linguistic variables, selected as indicators of the local vernacular. Instead of trying to explain it in terms of large-scale, abstract concepts such as social class, Milroy focused her attention on specific social relationships of individual speakers. Following careful participant observation, a six-point scale was constructed to measure the density and multiplexity (pertaining to 'structural' and 'interactional' properties respectively) of personal network ties, known as the 'network strength scale' (Milroy, 1987a: 141-2). Each individual was assigned a score at some point on the scale with respect to a number of indicators of these two network properties. The indicators were interpreted as conditions which, if fulfilled, suggested a relatively dense and multiplex networks structure, and the network strength score was the sum of individual indicator scores. The relationship between network strength and language variation was examined by means of Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) and Spearman Rank Order Correlation procedures. The tests revealed a positive and significant relationship between network scores and language scores on five of the eight variables studied, as shown in Table 1.5 below. As scores on the network scale increase, so do linguistic scores. The results led Milroy to reach a conclusion quite similar to that of social anthropologists, that is, 'personal network structure is in these communities of very great importance in predicting language use: a dense, multiplex network structure predicts relative closeness to vernacular norms' (1987a: 160).

Figure 1.5 Linguistic variables correlating with network scores (N refers to the number of subjects tested for a given variable) (adapted from Milroy, 1987a: 154)

Variable	*r*	*t*	*N*	*Level of significance*
(a)	0.529	3.692	37	0 < 0.01
(th)	0.485	3.591	44	0 < 0.01
(Λ^2)	0.317	2.142	43	p < 0.05
(ε^1)	0.255	1.709	44	p < 0.05
(ε^2)	0.321	2.200	44	p < 0.05

The research design of the Belfast projects depended to a large extent on the assumption that linguistic changes take place in speech communities against a background of language maintenance, and 'the extent to which they are successful depends on the interplay of these two sets of social influences - those that encourage maintenance (or stability), on the one hand, and those that encourage change (or divergence), on the other' (J. Milroy, 1992: 10). Thus, following the anthropological model (e.g. Bott, 1957; Mitchell, 1967), Milroy and Milroy (e.g. 1985) have distinguished between relatively *weak* and *strong* network links. Since *strong* network ties were shown to be 'a norm maintenance machanism' (see especially, L. Milroy, 1987a; but also L. Milroy, 1982 and J. Milroy, 1992), *weak* ties were believed to be a major factor facilitating linguistic change, because they regularly provided bridges between different groups through which innovation and influence are diffused (see also Granovetter, 1973; 1982 for more detailed discussions on the role of 'weak' ties in transmitting innovation). However, weak ties are much more difficult to investigate empirically than strong ones, due to the fact that weak networks tend to exist in communities where the population is socially and/or geographically mobile and individuals contract large numbers of ties which are open-ended, seldom forming into closed clusters (Milroy and Milroy, 1985; Milroy, 1992).

A sociolinguistic application of network analysis which deals with linguistic change and generally weak network ties is Bortoni-Ricardo's (1985) account of dialectal adjustment

of rural migrants to Brazlandia, a satellite city of Brasilia. Like Milroy, Bortoni-Ricardo rejected a stratificational analysis because it did not adequately discriminate between the individuals studied, all of whom were relatively poor. Bortoni-Ricardo's main hypothesis was that the change from rural to urban life involved a move from an *insulated* network, consisting largely of kinsfolk and neighbours, to an *integrated* urban network, where the links were less multiplex and associated with a wider range of social contexts. Bortoni-Ricardo devised two network indices to measure the changing patterns of the migrants' social relationships: the *integration* index and *urbanization* index. The integration index expressed numerically certain relevant characteristics of the three persons with whom each migrant most frequently interacted - for example, whether or not they were kinsfolk, or whether the ties had been contracted in the pre-migration period. The score assigned to each migrant was intended to characterise progress in the transition from an *insulated* to an *integrated* type of network, and as such was a tool capable of investigating loose-knit types of personal network structure. The urbanization index was designed to supplement this structural measure, representing the extent to which the members of each migrant's personal network were integrated into urban life. In the meantime, four linguistic variables were selected as indicators of the migrants' dialect diffuseness, a movement away from the norms of the Caipira dialect, and were analysed quantitatively as Labov (1966; 1972a) and Milroy (1987a) did with their data. Individual speaker's linguistic scores were then correlated with the two network indices in order to find out the relationships between language behaviour and social networks. Results revealed significant correlations between changes in network ties and dialect diffuseness.

It is important to remember that social networks are deliberately created by people for special purposes. This purposefulness of social networks has two important implications: first, it means that members of a given network will intentionally or unintentionally develop distinctive patterns of behaviour and will come to expect one another to conform to these patterns if they wish to remain members of the network; second, members of particular social networks are seen as actively contributing to the constitution of social relations and social structure through their interactive behaviour. This dialectic relationship

between social network and social practice (including linguistic practice) has also been explored by social psychologists. An example is the 'accommodation theory' proposed by Giles and his associates (e.g. Giles, 1980; 1984; Giles, et al, 1973; 1979; Giles and Coupland, 1991; Coupland, et al, 1988; 1990), who argue that speakers adjust their linguistic behaviour by using either 'convergent' or 'divergent' strategies to express aspiration towards and identification with a particular social group (see also Trudgill, 1986a). As Le Page (1978) puts it, '[e]ach speech act is an announcement: "to this extent I wish to be thought of as my own man, to this extent like A, to this extent like B, to this extent like C..." and so on' (see also Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985).

This brings us back to the question of relation between social and stylistic dimensions of linguistic variation. Commenting on Labov's study, Romaine (1980: 228) remarks that 'if a feature is found to be more common in lower classes than in the upper classes, it will also be more common in the less formal than the most formal styles, with each social group occupying a similar position in each continuum'. Bell (1984) expresses the relation between the two dimensions of linguistic variation in a more explicitly and systematic way. He writes:

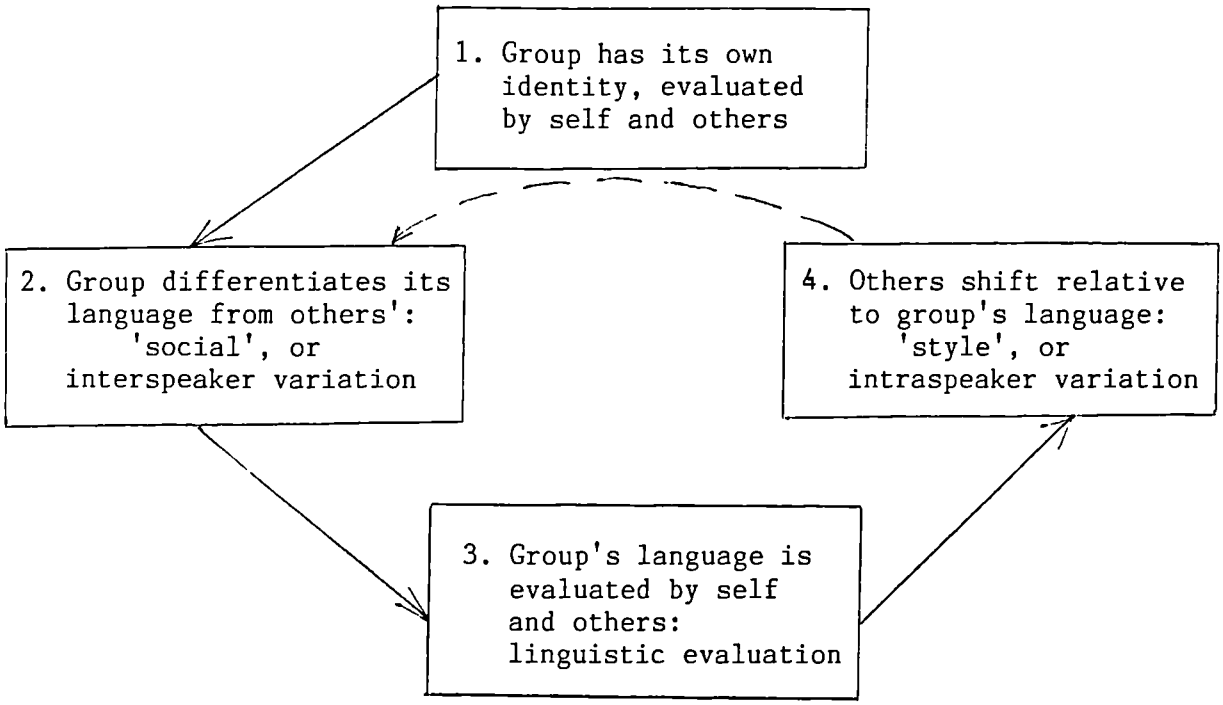
> Variation on the style dimension within the speech of a single speaker derives from and echoes the variation which exists between speakers on the "social" dimension. (Bell, 1984: 151)

As Bell explains,

> 'This cause-and-effect relationship holds on three levels. First, it operates synchronically for an individual speaker who, in specific situations, shifts style to sound like another. Second, it operates diachronically for individual speakers who, over time, shift their general speech patterns to sound like other speakers (e.g. after moving to a different dialect region). Third, it operates diachronically for an entire group of speakers which, over time, shifts its speech to sound like another group.' (Bell, 1984: 151)

A diagrammatic representation of the derivation of intra-speaker variation (stylistic axis) from inter-speaker variation (social axis) can be seen in Figure 1.6 below.

Figure 1.6 The derivation of intra-speaker from inter-speaker variation (adapted from Bell, 1984: 152)



The social network approach, as exemplified in the work of Gal (1979), Milroy and Milroy (L. Milroy, 1987a, 1987b; Milroy and Milroy, 1985; J. Milroy, 1992; Milroy and Milroy, in press), and Bortoni-Ricardo (1985), offers a framework in which the two dimensions (social and stylistic) of linguistic variation can be systematically investigated and interpretated, thus being capable of building a coherent model of bilingual language choice which accounts for both interactional behaviours of individual speakers and broader questions of social relations and social organisation.

In the last ten years or so, the social network perspective has gained special popularity amongst sociolinguists who have long felt a need for a dynamic and coherent social model of linguistic variation and change. Examples of such network studies are Russell (1982) (Mombasa, Kenya); Schmidt (1985) (Australian aboriginal adolescents); Lippi-Green (1989) (Alpine rural community in Austria); Edwards (1986) (British Black adolescents in the Midlands), Labrie (1988) (Italians in Montreal), and W. Edwards (1990) (Detroit Black English speakers). Methodologically, the network perspective has also been

found useful, particularly for investigators of minority and other low-status sub-groups in the population. While there are theoretical objections to importing a social class model along with a number of unacknowledged sociological assumptions, an initial approach in terms of class may also be impractical because the class distribution of these sub-groups is usually quite uneven. A network approach is more feasible with groups who may be economically marginal, or powerless, and resident in homogeneous neighbourhoods and territorially well-defined neighbourhoods. Approaching a target community through personal network contacts not only facilitates the fieldwork process but also enables the investigator to observe communicative behaviours of members of the community which would not otherwise be accessible to the public. I shall discuss this point further in Chapter 3.

Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed three different perspectives on bilingualism and language choice. These three perspectives are characterised by their respective views on the relationship between social structures and the individual's linguistic practices. The macro-societal perspective regards language behaviour of the individual as conditioned by pre-defined societal arrangements, while the micro-interactional perspective stresses the individuals' capacity to make their own choices. Neither of the two perspectives, however, addresses directly the question of relations between social structures on the one hand and language use on the other; rather, they seem to regard one as being reducible to the other.

A perspective which employs the notion of *social networks* emerges as being capable of bridging the macro and micro approaches as well as accounting for the inter-relation between them. By focusing on the observable language behaviour of the speaker and his or her social relations, the social network perspective enables the analyst to investigate systematically the processes through which speakers in interaction utilise the resources of linguistic variability available to them and exercise influence and control over other's as well as their own language behaviour. In the present study, I have adopted the social network approach to investigate language choice practices in the Chinese communities in

Britain which have hitherto not been systematically examined by sociolinguists. In the next chapter, I shall give a general descriptive account of the Chinese population in this country.

2 Chinese Communities in Britain

Having outlined the theoretical framework of the study, I shall now examine the social background of Chinese communities in Britain. Due to the lack of attention the Chinese people in this country have received, information about them is scarce, scattered and often contradictory. The Home Affairs Committee's second report *Chinese Community in Britain* (1985a) and Taylor's *Chinese Pupils in Britain* (1987), originally presented as a report to the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups (Swann Committee), provide the most comprehensive sources of reference to date. Empirical studies of Chinese lineage and emigration by Baker (1966; 1968; 1979) and Watson (1975; 1977; 1982) also contain valuable information. In this chapter, I shall draw upon these and other existing materials, as well as my own participant observation within the Chinese community on Tyneside in the North East of England.

There are many issues concerning the Chinese - their cultural heritage, their beliefs and values, and their social organization - which are of interest and importance and require book-length studies to do them justice. I can only discuss those aspects which are of direct and primary relevance to the present study. The sub-sections of this chapter concentrate in turn on the general composition of the Chinese population in the U.K.; the people and languages of Hong Kong; the history of Chinese settlement in Britain; the catering trade of the Chinese emigrants; the three-generation division among the British Chinese; the Chinese family system; language use, and finally the Chinese community on Tyneside. These topics will be referred to in subsequent discussions of fieldwork methodology and data analysis.

2.1 Composition of the Chinese population in Britain

Contrary to popular perceptions, the Chinese in Britain are *not* a homogeneous group. Three major groups of ethnic Chinese currently residing in the U.K. can be identified in terms of their social background. They are:

i) emigrants from Hong Kong, particularly the rural New Territories, and other areas surrounding the South China Sea. They are long-term residents in this country and are British passport holders;

ii) educational transients, who comprise mainly students from urban Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, the Chinese mainland and Taiwan. The majority of them stay in Britain only for a relatively short time to receive (mainly higher) education and are not accompanied by their families;

iii) urban professionals (e.g. doctors, solicitors, bankers, architects, accountants, nurses, teachers, and academics), who have received western-style education and training in their youth, and many of whom have right of abode in Britain.

In addition, there are refugees from Viet Nam, who came to be resettled in the U.K. via Hong Kong in the early 1980s. A considerable number of these refugees are believed to be of Chinese ethnic origin, or, for various reasons, speak some form of Chinese as their mother tongue (Home Affairs Committee, 1985b). However, they are generally perceived as a distinct group, namely, the Vietnamese. Whether and how they interact with the three Chinese groups identified above is unclear.

Lack of information extends to the size of the various Chinese groups. The most recent estimate is provided by the Office of Population Census and Statistics which offered a tentative figure of 122, 000 in 1985 (see details in Roper, 1988). This figure does not include the educational transients and urban professionals whose precise numbers are unknown. The present study concentrates on the emigrants group, which is by far the largest cohesive Chinese group in Britain.

Since at least two-thirds and probably as many as 80 per cent of this emigrants group are believed to have originated from Hong Kong (including the British-born Chinese whose

parents came from Hong Kong), it is necessary to consider briefly the history, people, and languages of this colony, as background information on the Chinese emigrant population in Britain.

2.2 The Hong Kong background

2.2.1 History of Hong Kong

Before the 19th century, Hong Kong was hardly a notable place, occupied by a handful of farmers, fishermen and pirates (Lethbridge, 1978, Hill and Bray, 1978; Kelly, 1987). As a result of the first Anglo-Chinese Opium War (1832 - 40), Britain obtained Hong Kong Island (29 sq. miles) by the Nanking Treaty in 1843. During 1858 - 60, a second Opium War was fought and was ended with a treaty whereby Britain acquired the Kowloon Peninsula and Stonecutters Island. In 1898, under the Peking Convention, an additional 325.5 square miles north of Kowloon was leased for 99 years. This piece of land is the so-called New territories. After initial opposition by the Chinese, the New Territories became an integral part of the crown colony. Today, Hong Kong comprises an area of some 404 square miles, including 236 islands (See Map 2.1; see Lin, et al., 1979; Wesley-Smith, 1980; Lau, 1982; Chiu and So, 1986; and Kelly, 1987 for more details about the history and geography of Hong Kong).

2.2.2 People of Hong Kong

At least 98 per cent of the population in Hong Kong are of Chinese ethnic origin (Wesley-Smith, 1980; King and Lee, 1981; Lau, 1982). They comprise several different groups, including

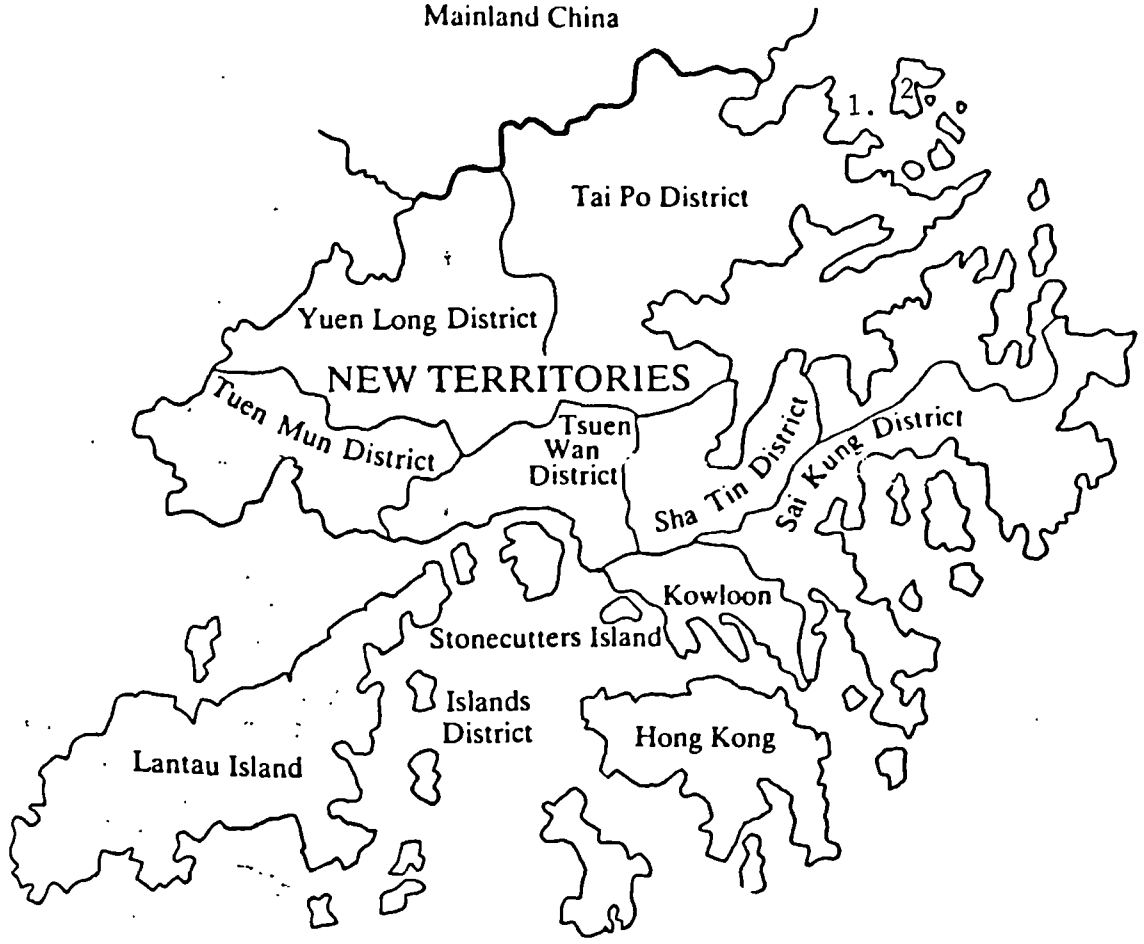
i) the Cantonese Punti (native), who are generally thought to be descendants of pioneering northerners who gained control of southern China centuries ago;

ii) the Hakka (guest), who arrived in Hong Kong much later than the Punti group and scattered in the poorer, hilly areas of the New Territories;

iii) the fishermen, who spent most of their lives aboard the junks and boats in Hong Kong's many harbours.

There are also smaller groups of Chiu Chow and Hokkien origins, together with people from the midlands and the north of mainland China. The Cantonese Punti, however, are the predominant group (Watson, 1975; 1977).

Map 2.1 Hong Kong: Hong Kong Island, Kowloon Peninsular and the New Territories



1.Sham Chung Wan (Crooked Harbour) and Ap Chau (Robinson Island)
2.Kat O Chau (Crooked Island)

2.2.3 Languages of Hong Kong

Hong Kong has become officially an English-speaking territory after British colonization. Very few Chinese people, however, actually use English in day-by-day interaction. English is largely confined to law, government, international trade, and some aspects of education and the media (Luke and Richards, 1982; Gibbons, 1987).

As for the Chinese language, it is useful first of all to make a distinction between the spoken and written form. Spoken Chinese comprises a large number of related varieties, known to the Chinese as *Fangyan* (regional language). Traditionally, the Chinese Fangyan are classified into seven groups in terms of geographic distribution and linguistic-structural affiliation. The seven Fanyan groups are:

1) *Beifang* (northern), the native language of about 70 percent of the Chinese population;

2) *Yue*, the majority of its speakers are in Guangdong province, with the capital city of Guangzhou (Canton) as its centre. Large numbers can also be found amongst overseas Chinese diaspora;

3) *Kejia* (Hakka), whose speakers came from small agricultural areas and are now scattered throughout southeastern China;

4) *Wu*; spoken in the lower Changjiang (the Yangtze River) region, including urban, metropolitan centres such as Shanghai;

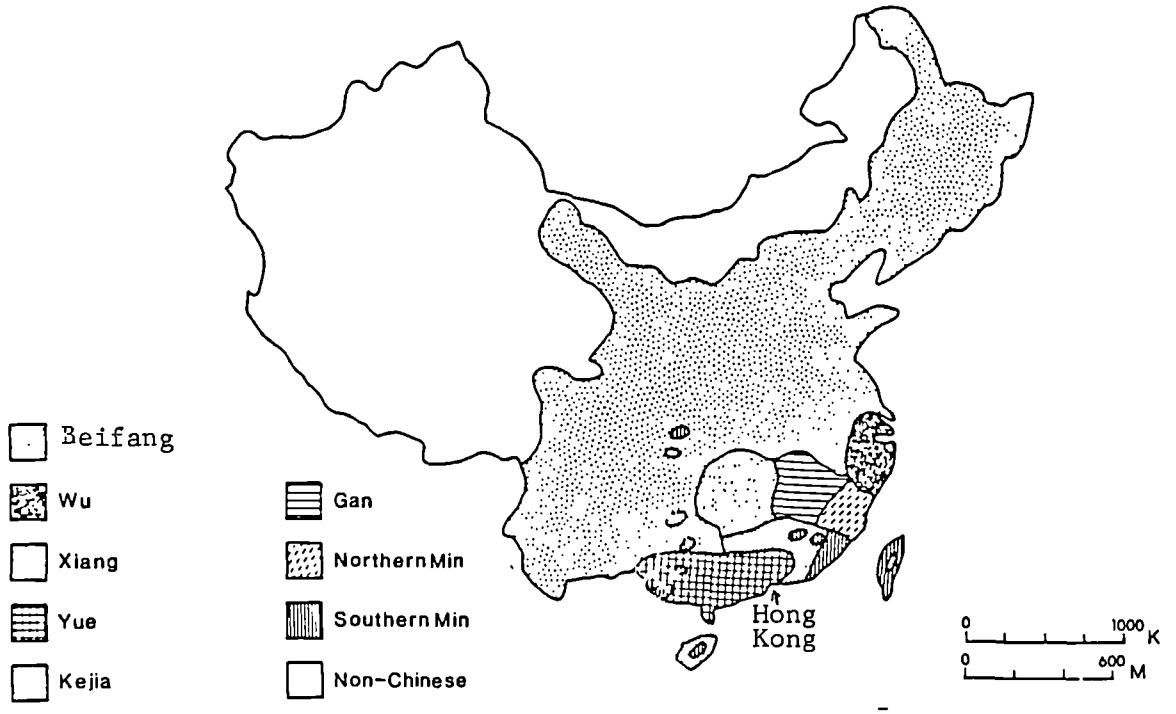
5) *Min*, spoken in Fujian, Taiwan and Hainan provinces. It is often further distinguished into Northern Min and Southern Min;

6) *Xiang*, mainly spoken in Hunan;

7) *Gan*, spoken chiefly in Jiangxi province.

Map 2.2 shows the geographic distribution of these Fangyan groups. Major linguistic features and historical development of the seven Fangyan groups are discussed in Li and Thompson (1987), Ramsey (1987), and Norman (1988).

Map 2.2 Geographic distribution of spoken Chinese (Source: Wang, 1973)



Within each Fangyan group, there are sub-varieties which may equate with what are normally called dialects in English. For example, *Cantonese* as it is known in the West is a dialect within the *Yue* Fangyan group and *Hokkien* within *Min.*

One prominent feature of spoken Chinese is the unintelligibility between one Fangyan and another. This unintelligibility is often regarded by the Chinese as a social group boundary marker distinguishing people of different origins (Gibbons, 1988; Chen and Chen, 1990). Amongst the Hong Kong Chinese, for example, Cantonese is spoken by the Cantonese Punti as their native language; others speak Chiu Chou, Hakka, Hokkien, Hokklo, Beifang, Shanghainese, and other dialects and sub-dialects.

In addition to these regional varieties, there is a spoken Chinese form known as *Guoyu* (Literally: national language), which has evolved from *Guanhua*, a hybrid, standardised spoken form used during the Qing Dynasty (1644 - 1911), and which has been

officially endorsed and promoted as the *lingua franca* in China since the 1920s. It is now widely used, in modified forms, in mainland China, where it is known as *Putonghua* (or 'common speech'), Taiwan, and Singapore (where it is known as *Huayu*), and is taught to non-native-Chinese speakers as the 'standard' Chinese language. Some older generations of Chinese in Hong Kong who emigrated from mainland China (and subsequently to other parts of the world) are able to understand and speak Guoyu to varying degrees. More recently, there are growing numbers of Hong Kong-born Chinese learning Guoyu, in response to the forthcoming changes in the colony's political status. Guoyu is better known in the English-speaking world as *Mandarin.* For convenience, I shall use the term Mandarin in this thesis to refer to this particular spoken Chinese variety.

It is estimated that nearly 70 percent of the Chinese population in Britain use Cantonese as their first language, 25 percent Hakka, five percent some form of Beifang, and a very small number speak other varieties (Home Affairs Committee, 1985a). It is not clear to what extent Mandarin is known and spoken by the British Chinese. My personal experience within the Chinese community on Tyneside suggests that about a quarter of the adult population have some knowledge of Mandarin.

It is important to point out that only Mandarin has a corresponding written form, which is shared by all literate Chinese whatever Fangyan they may speak. Written Chinese is one of the few contemporary languages in the world whose history is documented in an unbroken tradition extending back to the second millenium BC, and has been a major cultural symbol distinguishing the Chinese from all other peoples (Chen, 1983; Chen and Chen, 1990). The Chinese traditionally lay great emphasis on the written language. Chinese schools at all levels devote a considerable amount of time to literacy - in the Chinese context, the reading and writing of ideographic characters.

One reason for such emphasis seems to be due to the unique and complex relationship between the Chinese phonological system and the written script. Chinese is a monosyllabic and tonal language. Every written Chinese character represents a syllable with a tone (Norman, 1988; Li and Thompson, 1987). There are over 48,000 written characters in the

standard Chinese dictionary *Zhonghua Da Zidian* (1916). Yet according to Mandarin pronunciation, there are only 300-odd sounds with five different tones (1) Yinping (high-level); 2) Yangping (rising); 3) Shangsheng (falling-rising); 4) Qushen (falling); and 5) Qingsheng (light or unstressed)). That is to say that there are numerous homophones in Chinese. The pocket-size Chinese dictionary *Xinhua Zidian* (1980), for instance, lists 131 different written characters with the same pronunciation of *yi*, among which 39 are pronounced with the falling tone. Their differences can only be made clear in context and through separate written characters. Consequently, literacy is widely regarded by the Chinese as an important indicator of a speaker's linguistic competence.

There have been two main varieties of written Chinese: *Wenyan*, which was used in literary classics and formal documents of ancient China, and *Baihua*, a written form of colloquial speech (whose corresponding spoken form is Mandarin). Normally the Chinese learn to read and write in Baihua. Wenyan is now only studied as an example of the Chinese cultural heritage.

Beginning in the 1950s, there have been a series of mass campaigns in mainland China and in Singapore to popularize Mandarin. The rationale behind these campaigns is to remedy communication difficulties caused by the differences in regional speech varieties. One of the principal strategies used in the campaigns is to introduce a phonetic spelling system based on the Roman alphabet. This system is known as *Pinyin* (see 'Transcription and Romanization Conventions' on p. xii). It has been designed to represent the written characters as they are pronounced in standard Mandarin, so that non-native-Chinese speakers or speakers of non-standard Chinese dialects could learn a standard pronunciation. There is as yet no agreed Romanisation system for other spoken varieties of Chinese, and given the popular perception amongst the Chinese that there is only one Chinese language, it seems unlikely that efforts will be made to design such systems. A system using English orthography to transcribe Cantonese conversational data which has been adopted in the present study is given in the 'Transcription and Romanization Conventions' on p. xi.

The differences amongst the Hong Kong Chinese in terms of ethnic origin and spoken language which we have seen here have significant implications for the structure of Chinese communities in Britain, and in turn for sociolinguistic fieldwork. I shall discuss these implications in 2.6 below and in Chapter 3. For the moment, I want to consider the history of Chinese migration and settlement overseas, particularly in Britain.

2.3 Chinese migration and settlement overseas

Mass migration has long been a regular part of Chinese history. Until the early twentieth century, overseas Chinese settlements had mainly been in Southeast Asia. Apart from Hong Kong and Taiwan where the Chinese make up over 99 percent of the indigenous populations, countries such as Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines all host large Chinese communities (e.g. at least 72 percent of the total population in Singapore and one third of the population in Malaysia are ethnic Chinese) (Osbourne, 1983; Taylor and Turton, 1988; Wong, 1984; Wu and Wu, 1980; Zhu, 1991).

Chinese migration to regions outside Asia is a relatively recent phenomenon. In the mid-nineteenth century poor peasants and artisans plus a few small merchant traders went from southeastern provinces of mainland China (mainly Cantonese, Hokkien and Hakka speaking areas) to North America and the Caribbean (Kwong, 1979; Li, 1982; Shen, 1985; Daniels, 1988; Duleep, 1988; P.S. Li, 1988). This movement continued well into the twentieth century with people fleeing the Japanese occupation and subsequent civil wars between the nationalists and the communists, although the size of emigration has greatly reduced due to immigration restrictions of receiving countries (Sung, 1967; Hsu, 1971; P.S. Li, 1988).

Western Europe became a destination for sizeable Chinese settlements only after the Second World War. The bulk of the Chinese in this part of the world come from Southeast Asia, partly as a result of the established colonial links between the two regions. They are sometimes called 'second-hand' overseas Chinese, because they migrated from China to Southeast Asia generations ago and transferred to Europe in the last two centuries. It is

popularly believed that Britain hosts the largest Chinese population in western Europe, followed by France, the Netherlands, and West Germany (Home Affairs Committee, 1985a; see also Pieke, 1988; Pieke and van den Berg, in press).

It is important to note that although political turmoil in mainland China has undoubtedly contributed to mass migratory movement, the principal reason for the continuous population drift seems to be economic pressure. Wu and Wu (1980: 129) report a 1934 survey of 905 families in the Swatow area in Guangdong province. Of these, 633 (69.95%) families apparently emigrated for economic reasons (see Table 2.1 below).

Table 2.1 Principal reasons for emigration from near Swatow, 1934

Reason given	No. of Families	% of Emigration
Economic pressure	633	69.95
Previous connections abroad	176	19.45
Losses from natural calamities	31	3.43
Plan to expand specific enterprise	26	2.87
Bad conduct	17	1.88
Local disturbance	7	0.77
Family quarrel	7	0.77
Other	8	0.88
	905	100.00

(Source: Wu and Wu, 1980: 129)

The fact that emigration was the only chance of survival has significant implications for the subsequent activities and organization of the Chinese overseas, which I shall discuss further in 2.4 below. I turn now to look specifically at the history of Chinese settlement in Britain.

2.3.1 Chinese settlement in Britain

It has been said that the Chinese settlement in the U.K. has gone through three distinct phases (Home Affairs Committee, 1985a):

i) pre-War (WWI) arrivals

ii) post-War (WWII) arrivals (till mid-60s)

iii) reinforcement (till mid-70s).

Let us look at these phases in turn.

Pre-War arrivals

The pre-War arrivals consisted mainly of seamen who had been recruited aboard European freighters from southeastern provinces of China including Hong Kong (still under Chinese government at that time; see 2.2 above) (Home Affairs Committee, 1985a). With the expansion of trade with China following Britain's success in the two Opium Wars (1832 - 40 / 1858 - 60), employing Chinese seamen became a regular practice. By the 1880s, Chinese seamen could be found in most of the major port areas of Britain, such as Bristol, Cardiff, Liverpool, and London (Home Affairs Committee, 1985a).

At the same time, members of the Chinese aristocracy began to come to Britain (some trace their earliest arrival to the eighteenth century; e.g. O'Neill, 1972). But there could be no greater contrast between this small number of intellectual elite and the large groups of seamen and labourers. Contacts between them were extremely limited, if they existed at all (Taylor, 1987).

During the inter-war years, the Chinese population in Britain declined considerably. Pre- and post-War demolition for urban redevelopment led to the dispersal of the two largest Chinese settlements in London and Liverpool away from the original dockland areas (Broady, 1955; Ng, 1968; May, 1978; O'Neill, 1972). Due to the imbalanced ratio of Chinese men and women in this country at the time, many seamen subsequently married non-Chinese women and distanced themselves from other Chinese people, both physically and socially (Ng, 1968). Thus, the pre-War Chinese had not been able to make their mark as a cohesive social group in Britain.

Post-War arrivals

The post-War arrivals which began in the 1950s have been attributed largely to the decline in traditional agriculture in Hong Kong (Watson, 1977; Home Affairs Committee, 1985a). Until after the Second World War, Hong Kong had been heavily dependent upon rice farming. Post-War changes in the international rice markets resulted in the undercutting of Hong Kong produce costs by Tai and other imports. Small-scale farmers who occupied the less fertile land were no longer able to make a profit. As they were qualified only for the most menial and low-paid industrial jobs, most of them were not prepared to work in the emerging urban Hong Kong (England and Rear, 1981; Lau, 1982).

It so happened that there was an economic boom in Britain in the late 1950s and early 60s, and a change of eating habits of the indigenous population away from the traditional British cuisine. The displaced Chinese farmers were thus presented with a unique opportunity to leave Hong Kong and seek catering jobs in the U.K.. It is believed that over 90 per cent of the Chinese who came to Britain during the decade between 1956 to 1965 were from the rural areas of Hong Kong, and have since engaged in some form of food trade (Home Affairs Committee, 1985a) (see further 2.4 below).

The emergence of independent but autocratic governments in mainland China, Taiwan and some Southeast Asian states meant that the number of people allowed to emigrate from these regions during the 1950s and 60s was very small indeed. As a result, Hong Kong emigrants constitute the predominant group within the Chinese population in this country.

Reinforcement

The growing popularity of Chinese cuisine in Britain called for expansion of trade and reinforcement of the workforce. Between the mid-1960s and the mid-70s, there was a marked increase in the number of Chinese emigrating from Hong Kong to Britain.

Unlike previous phases, the arrivals during this period were highly organized. The increasingly restrictive immigration laws of Britain required that admission into the U.K.

should be at the invitation of a relative or a specific employer to a particular job. Kinship ties thus provided an important channel for emigration. More elaborate emigration networks based on common birthplace or shared dialect were also at work (Watson, 1975; 1977). Usually, travel documents and work permits were arranged by the families in the U.K.; employment in Chinese eating establishments was promised; passage money was provided as an advance of wages (Cheung, 1975). It seems somewhat ironic though that the British immigration laws which were imposed to restrict increases in the number of immigrants have in reality contributed to the delay in returning home of the first post-War arrivals, in order that their relatives who wished to emigrate could use their contacts.

While the decision by many Chinese to send for their families seemed to be based largely on economic grounds, there were other factors which may also have contributed to emigration from Hong Kong in the late 1960s and early 70s. Baker and Honey (1981) suggest, for example, that the political unrest in mainland China, provoked by Mao's Cultural Revolution (1965/6 - 76), gave added impetus to the trend of emigration. It appears though that those who left Hong Kong for political reasons tended to be educated, urban professionals, rather than unskilled farmers. Moreover, the established links between Britain and Hong Kong provided many Chinese young people there with an opportunity to come to Britain for education and training. They of course form a distinctive group of their own, namely, educational transients (see 2.1 above).

Between them, the post-War emigrants (between mid-1950s and mid-60s) and their reinforcement (between mid-1960s and mid-70s) account for two-thirds of the long-term residential Chinese population in Britain today (Home Affairs Committee, 1985a).

Since over 90 per cent of the Chinese emigres in Britain are associated with some aspects of the catering trade, it is useful to consider in some detail this special economic niche that the Chinese occupy.

2.4 The catering trade

2.4.1 Reasons for concentration in catering

The overwhelming concentration in catering by Chinese emigrants in Britain can be attributed to a number of factors. First of all, employment opportunities for immigrants have generally been restricted. Work permits for jobs in which they might be in direct competition with the 'indigenous' British are known to be extremely difficult to obtain. For their part, the immigrants are usually aware of the potential consequences of appearing over-ambitious and competitive. Subsequently they opt for family-based businesses and self-employment. Secondly, family-based, small-scale businesses serve well the purpose of emigration which is to seek economic survival and eventually independence (see 2.3 above), and traditional Chinese cultural values which are based upon high levels of loyalty and commitment within a complex kinship system (see further 2.7 below). Thirdly, the Chinese emigrants from the New Territories of Hong Kong are generally unskilled in professions other than farming and fishing and speak little English. They can only go into an occupation where no formal qualification is needed and where diligence alone can succeed. Fourthly, the Chinese have a traditional love of cuisine. They usually celebrate various folk festivals with an elaborate family dinner and home-made food is frequently given to each other as presents. Fifthly, the Chinese food trade has met a growing need for diversification in the British catering industry, as tastes were becoming more catholic and society more affluent. A combination of these factors, and perhaps others, has resulted in the concentration of Chinese emigrants in Britain in the catering trade (Watson, 1977; Taylor, 1987).

2.4.2 Types of catering

The catering businesses run by Chinese emigrants in Britain range from first-class restaurants to neighbourhood take-aways. Chinese restaurants are usually owned by multi-family partnerships. Managers, cooks, waiters and others could all be shareholders. It is

generally understood that the ultimate goal for individual partners is to achieve independent proprietorship, and shareholders may therefore pull out of the partnership to establish their own business should opportunities arise (Watson, 1977).

By the end of the 1960s, many junior partners had accumulated enough savings to be able to set up their own trade. Chinese take-aways (or 'carry-outs' in Scotland) thus came into being. For a relatively small capital outlay, the Chinese take-away shops provided independent living accommodation and employment, which suited the newly-united families (Home Affairs Committee, 1985a; Taylor, 1987).

Unlike large restaurants, the take-aways generally operate on small profit margins. Success of the business depends heavily on the commitment of all members involved. In order to avoid high wages, overtime payments, other potential drains on resources, and conflicting interests, Chinese take-aways are usually single-family-based. Men, women and children of the same family all contribute towards the business. There are traditionally no objections amongst the Chinese about employing women and children in the family trade (Cheung, 1975; see further 2.6 below).

As the trend has been moving towards independent proprietorship, the number of Chinese take-aways has increased considerably during the 1970s, and they are dispersed to all parts of the British Isles. It is now almost impossible to find a town, especially in England, with a population of 5,000 or more which does not have at least one Chinese eating establishment (Watson, 1977; Home Affairs Committee, 1985a).

2.4.3 Supporting businesses

Since the mid-1960s, there has been a steady growth in a network of supporting businesses run by the Chinese which provide services for the catering families. Such businesses include grocery stores, food-processing factories, barber's shops, book/audio-visual cassette rental stores, and gambling halls - the recreation centre for Chinese men. Like Chinese restaurants and take-aways, these supporting businesses tend to be family-based, and many of their owners have once been caterers themselves. More recently, a

small number of Chinese professionals - doctors, accountants and solicitors in particular - have also begun to provide services for the caterers.

2.4.4 Implications for settlement and social life

Implications of the catering trade for the settlement pattern and social life of Chinese emigrants in Britain may be seen in their geographic dispersal and extensive working-hours. In order to provide services for the maximum number of potential customers, Chinese caterers do not live in identifiable settlements. The so-called *Chinatowns* in larger cities such as London, Liverpool and Manchester are established for business (and increasingly tourism) rather than residential purposes. The Chinese thus present a sharp contrast with other ethnic minority communities in Britain who tend to cluster in specifiable urban areas. Table 2.2 below illustrates the relative dispersal of the Chinese compared to other ethnic minorities. As it shows, nearly half of the Chinese population live *outside* metropolitan areas.

Table 2.2 Proportions of Ethnic Minority Populations Living in Metropolitan Counties in 1985 (adapted from Roper, 1988: 5):

Caribbean	80%	in Metropolitan Counties
Bangladeshi	75%	in Metropolitan Counties
African	71%	in Metropolitan Counties
Pakistani	71%	in Metropolitan Counties
Indian	65%	in Metropolitan Counties
Chinese	51%	in Metropolitan Counties

Competition for customers with small businesses run by other (especially South Asian) communities leads to the extension of working-hours. Some Chinese restaurants and take-aways keep open for up to 14 hours a day, almost every day of the year. With such long working-hours and the fact that whole families, including women and children, are involved in the daily running of the business, Chinese caterers generally have little time for leisure and socializing.

One point which needs to be raised here is that the Chinese are traditionally seen as dedicated and diligent workers. They have been regarded by many as ideal labourers, who are likely to produce more than any other ethnic groups under the same working conditions (Purcell, 1965; Turner, 1980; Woronoff, 1980; England and Rear, 1981). Their dedication to hard work has often been attributed to the Confucian work ethic, which is ultimately based on filial piety (see further 2.6 below). Yet, in a study of Chinese family businesses in Southeast Asia, Redding (1990) argues that the question of work ethic is one of circumstances as much as people. Indeed, environment determines that in order to survive Chinese emigrants in Britain, like many other immigrant communities, have no other choice but to work exceptionally hard. We must also not forget that the majority of Chinese emigrants left their homeland precisely because of economic pressure (see 2.3 above). Any effort which may lead to financial independence and wealth is therefore considered natural, in fact ideal. It is perhaps for this reason that the employment of women and children in the Chinese catering trade has not met with much opposition (Taylor, 1987).

The dispersed settlement and lengthy working-hours of the catering Chinese families present special problems for would-be investigators. I shall discuss some of these problems in relation to my own fieldwork in the Tyneside Chinese community in Chapter 3.

2.5. The emergence of a three-generation population

Since the mid-1970s, the influx of Chinese emigrants into Britain has begun to slow down. The 1981 British Nationality Act has made it difficult even for dependents to gain access to the U.K.. The long-term residential Chinese population in Britain has grown mainly by the emergence of a British-born generation. They are now estimated to constitute about a quarter of the Chinese population in this country (Home Affairs Committee, 1985a; Taylor, 1987). Thus, a Chinese population consisting of three generations has come into existence. These three generations are:

i) First-generation emigrants, mainly those who came to Britain in the 1950s, but also including the pre-War emigrants who have not intermarried with non-Chinese;

ii) Sponsored emigrants, who came either as immediate kin of the first-generation emigrants or through personal contact with people already established in this country;

iii) The British-born.

This grouping is not always isomorphic with the three generation cohorts of parents, children and grandchildren (for example, many grandparents are in fact sponsored emigrants, and some British-born Chinese have now become parents), but provides a useful reference point for studying the social organization and social behaviours of the Chinese in this country. So far I have focussed my attention mainly on the first two generations, i.e. the first-generation emigrants and sponsored emigrants. I shall now consider briefly the British-born Chinese generation in particular.

2.5.1 The British-born Chinese

Information about the British-born Chinese is sketchy. Studies of Chinese children and adolescents in Britain to date have tended to focus on those who were born in the Far East, or the few who, for various reasons, have been sent back to Hong Kong to receive part of their education (e.g. Jackson and Garvey, 1974; Garvey and Jackson, 1975; I. Jones, 1979; Nuffield Foundation, 1981; Ng, 1982; Rowe, 1988). There has been a particular tendency to concentrate on the few who are judged to be low achievers in schools. The majority of the British-born Chinese, on the other hand, have been exposed to British culture and the English language from a very young age. They are generally perceived as assimilated or at least 'better adjusted' to the British way of life and sharing similar characteristics with their British peers and thus are not perceived as presenting a problem to mainstream society (Taylor, 1987).

Significantly, however, the British-born generation is perceived by the Chinese communities themselves as a major cause of concern. They are seen as lacking respect for traditional culture (e.g. authority structures of the family; see further 2.6 below), which is often expressed through their Anglicised social behaviour (e.g. speaking English) (Ng, 1986; 1988; Social Service Department, City of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1985-88; see

further 2.7). Derogatory names such as 'bananas', meaning 'yellow outside, white inside', have been used to refer to this generation (e.g. Macphedran, 1989). Although reports of the communication difficulties between the British-born and previous generations of Chinese emigrants are becoming more numerous (e.g. Swann Committee, 1985; Taylor, 1987; Wong, 1988), there remains a serious gap in empirical and systematic research into this particular generation. As the British-born Chinese are growing as a proportion of the Chinese population, much more attention in future research needs to be focussed on this group and inter-generational relationships, in order to provide information which might help to improve the quality of life for the Chinese people in Britain in the 1990s.

Having outlined the history and socio-economic background of different groups and generations of the Chinese in Britain, it is now time to ask the following questions: 'To what extent do the Chinese constitute a community?' and 'Why is the popular perception of the Chinese as a homogeneous group so strong?'.

2.5.2 Chinese emigrants as a 'community'

'Community' is a sociological concept which may be defined as 'a cohesive and self-conscious social group' (Watson, 1977: 195; see also Cohen, 1986). The concept is somewhat difficult to apply in the case of the Chinese emigrants in Britain. We have already considered differences in place of origin, language, and phase of settlement in the U.K.. All these differences form a basis for group boundaries, which in turn inform the behaviour and attitude of their members. In a study of the Chinese in Liverpool, O'Neill (1972) finds that the first-generation Cantonese speakers see the later-arriving Hakka-speaking emigrants as 'flighty and unreliable and not showing due respect', while they themselves are perceived as 'old-fashioned'. The Liverpool-born Chinese, on the other hand, seem to be more concerned with their relationships with the host community, compared with the Hong Kong-born generations who are more aware of regional differences according to their place of origin. Ng (1986; 1988) and So (1989) report their observations amongst the Chinese in the Tyneside area that the New Territories emigrants

are perceived by the students and professionals groups as uneducated, uncivilized, and lacking in intelligence, while the emigrants view the students and professionals as over-privileged, self-centred, and lacking in respect for tradition (see also Pong, 1991). Stereotypes such as these, coupled with the secular nature of Chinese culture which lacks strong religious ties compared with, for example, communities of Indian or Pakistani origin, have undoubtedly contributed to the difficulty of viewing the Chinese as a single, united community (see also D. Jones, 1979; Shang, 1984). It is important that these divisions and stereotypes are taken into account when field research is being planned.

None of these internal differences, however, can be compared to the dichotomy between Chinese and non-Chinese, a dichotomy established from the very beginning of Chinese history and maintained by the Chinese people wherever they are. In his study of the Chinese in London, Watson (1977) claims that while traditional group differences based on place of origin, socio-economic status and language are clearly perceived as significant, the Chinese often find it to their advantage to unite themselves, or at least to appear to be united, against their common rival, which is the non-Chinese generally (see also Taylor, 1987). Redding (1990) suggests that the majority of the Chinese people living overseas have not psychologically left China, or at least not left some ideal and perhaps romanticized notion of Chinese civilization. Indeed, the name given to the emigrants by the Chinese themselves, *Huaqiao*, signifies a short-term visitor, a sojourner. The fact that many have sojourned for centuries does not alter the expectation that they will eventually be returning to the motherland, even perhaps in their afterlife. The 'synthesizing mind' (Rin, 1982) of the Chinese people which has been kept alive by the legacy of China and Chinese culture has been one of the most distinct features of their ethnic identity (see also Sachdev, et al., 1987; 1990; Dikoter, 1990; Allinson, 1991).

What is particularly interesting, however, is that despite their deeply-rooted sense of opposition between Chinese and non-Chinese, the Chinese appear to be the most acceptable ethnic minority in Britain. In the 1950s and 60s when racial conflicts became a feature of British society, the Chinese managed to avoid overt discrimination. Watson (1977) reports

that when English landlords posted 'No Coloureds' signs in their windows, Chinese students were generally exempt from that category.

The superficially harmonious relationship the Chinese have managed to maintain with others owes a great deal to their belief that everyone has a specific role in society and in order to have peace one must know one's precise social position and behave accordingly. Thus, while few of the emigrants have illusions about their socially defined role as caterers or waiters, they have made no specific effort to change it. They tend to see themselves as living and working in someone else's country, even though many of them have decided to settle down permanently (Watson, 1977; Redding, 1990). This peculiar form of cognition characteristic of the Chinese emigrants is directly attributable to the Chinese family system and the authority structure which is inherent within it (Watson, 1977; Baker, 1979). I shall now discuss in some detail this structure, as its influence on interpersonal interaction is considerable.

2.6 Chinese family system

The family as the focus of Chinese way of life has been recognized and stressed by the Chinese people from earliest times. Confucian philosophers throughout history, who dominate Chinese ideology, have refined and extended family consciousness through a carefully worked out hierarchy of relationships which informs the individual's daily behaviour. In this section, I shall first look at different types of family, moving on to consider the authority structure embodied in the 'extended' family ideal. I shall then discuss the impact of the family system on the life of the individuals involved.

2.6.1 Types of family

A distinction needs to be made between the *extended* family, the ideal Chinese family type, the *simple*, and the *stem* families (Baker, 1979; see also Freedman, 1958; 1966; Watson, 1982).

The *simple* family, sometimes called *nuclear*, is founded by the marriage of a man and a woman, and enlarged by their children. When the children grow up, they usually move out of the parental home, maintaining the family as the territory for the parents.

Sometimes, grown-up children may continue to live with their parents even after they get married and bring their spouses into the family. In Chinese society, it is traditionally the eldest son, or the only son, of the family who brings his wife into the parental home. When the married son and his wife produce their own child, there will then be three generations co-residing. Baker (1979) calls this type of family the *stem* family. It is a vertical extension of the simple family (see Figure 2.1 below), and is usually a transitional type. Sooner or later the parents will die, leaving behind a simple family once more. Between them, the simple family and the stem family types account for the vast majority of Chinese families (cf. Wong, 1979; Lau, 1981).

If, however, more than one son brings his wife into the family after marriage, a different family type will then emerge. This type of family, with several married sons living with their parents, is known as the *extended* family, the ideal family type in Chinese society. It expands on the basis of the stem family horizontally (see Figure 2.1 below for a diagrammatic illustration).

Unlike simple or stem families, the extended family cannot be materialised without several sons, all of whom must be prepared to bring the wife home who will bear children. It becomes apparent then that wealth, or the lack of it, is an important factor determining the realization of the extended family ideal. For a family in poverty, there could be little hope of raising sufficient sons to begin the necessary expansion. Childhood mortality, which may be a direct consequence of under-nourishment, over-work, inability to afford medical care and other conditions attendant upon poverty, also limits the possibility of the extended family. Even for the comparatively wealthy, personality clashes and conflicting interests in control over family property may lead to the break-up of a large family into smaller units. Furthermore, the extended family is a property-owning cooperation based on land. It is traditionally tied to one specifiable locality. Any physical move away from the

original territory would mean a break with the family system (see further Baker, 1979). As a result, the extended family is in actual fact rare. For the Chinese emigrants living overseas, there is little hope that an extended family could ever materialise.

2.6.2 Authority structure of the family

The 'extended' family, although an ideal rather than a common reality, embodies an authority structure which influences the Chinese perceptions of rules for social relationship and social interaction. From at least as early as the fifth century B.C., that is about the time of Confucius, there has existed a list of important relationships by which man's life should be ordered. This list is known as *Wu Lun* (Five Relationships) and is presented in Table 2.3 below.

Table 2.3 *Wu Lun* (Five Relationships)

1. Rule - Minister
2. Father - Son
3. Elder brother - Younger brother
4. Husband - Wife
5. Friend - Friend

In this list, three intra-family relationships are specified. They are the relationships between father and son, elder brother and younger brother, and husband and wife. These relationships are arranged on a superior versus inferior hierarchy, and represent, in order of priority, Generation, Age, and Sex. They are intended to give guidance as to where one stands in the family and society, and to whom one owes duty, respect and obedience. We can illustrate how this system works with a diagrammatic representation of an example family of grandfather, grandmother, three married couples, and their unmarried children (see Figure 2.1 below).

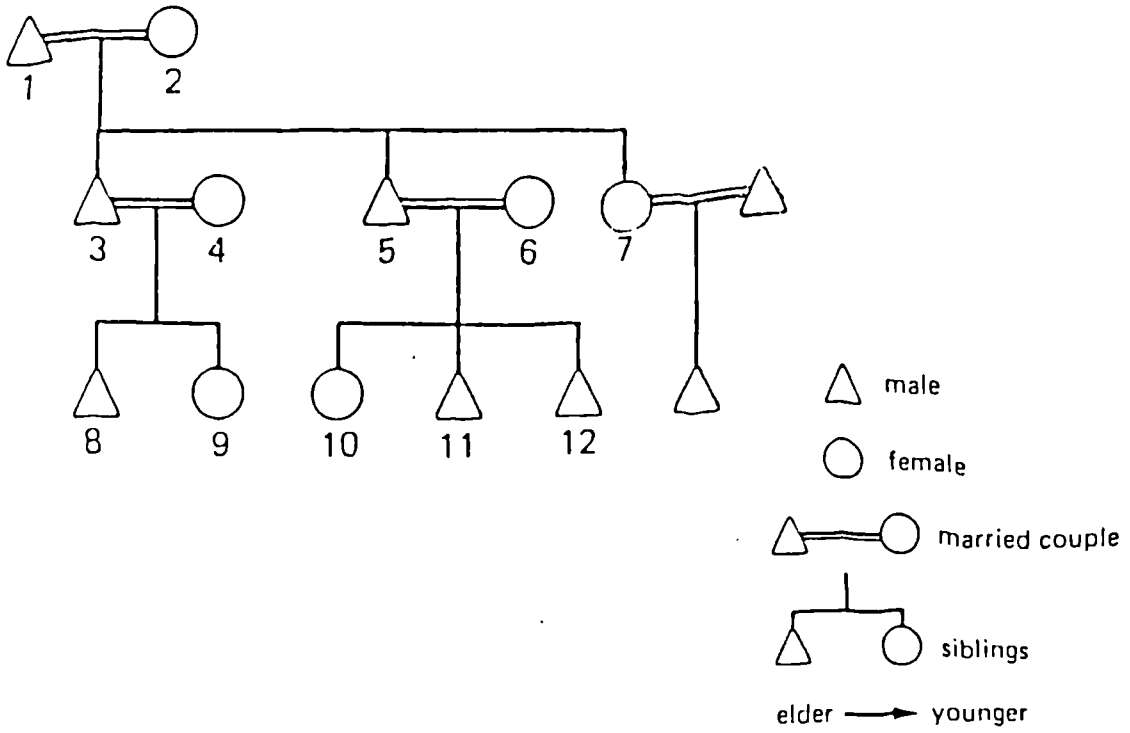


Figure 2.1. An 'extended' family: 1 and 2 are the grandparent generation; 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 belong to the parent generation, and 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 belong to the child generation; 5, 6, 10, 11, and 12 form a 'simple' (nuclear) family; 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, and 9 form a 'stem' family; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 form an 'extended' family. 7 is married to some other family's son and is therefore considered to be outside the immediate family.

In this family, everyone owes obedience to the grandfather (1), because he is superior in Generation, Age and Sex. Everyone except the grandfather owes obedience to the grandmother (2), because she is senior in Generation and Age. The wife of the eldest son of the grandparents (4) owes obedience to her father-in-law and mother-in-law because of Generation and Age, and to her husband on Sex grounds. The second son of the grandparents (5) owes obedience to his elder brothers' wife (4), his elder brother (3), his mother (2) and father (1). The married daughter of the grandparents (7) is traditionally considered to be outside the immediate family, but still owes obedience to her brothers wives, her brothers and her parents, in addition to her husband, his siblings (depending on age and sex) and his parents. The youngest son of the second couple (12) has to obey all the others, except perhaps his aunt's son (see Baker, 1979 for a more detailed discussion on this topic).

These relationships are not to be taken at face value only. They are extendable to include much wider groups of both kin and non-kin. For instance, the father and son relationship may be taken to govern the father and unmarried daughter, mother and son/unmarried daughter, and uncle/aunt and nephew/niece relationships, while further extension includes relationships between senior and junior generations. In a similar vein, The elder brother and younger brother relationship holds good for the various permutations of brother and unmarried sister, elder and younger cousins, and may be extended to cover the relationship between age and youth. The husband and wife relationship represents of course the relationship of the two sexes. Redding (1990) argues that the family system forms the basis of a 'networked society' which characterises China and Chinese settlements overseas. The chief characteristic of a networked society, as Redding describes it, is that every member is held tightly in check by the duty, respect and obedience which he or she owes to another. Even though an individual may take on different social roles in different contexts (e.g. one may be a take-away owner at one time, but leader of a community organisation at another), his or her position in the family-relationship hierarchy remains the same and is perceived to be so. In fact, very often one's family role determines whether or not one can assume a specific position in the community at all. The complexity of the Chinese family system and the authority structure that is embodied in it has significant implications for sociolinguistic fieldwork. I shall explore this question further in Chapter 3.

2.6.3 Implications for social life on the micro level: An example of address terms

The authority structure of the family manifests itself as a model of social life in various ways. Here, I would like to consider an example of the use of address terms in daily interaction, which reflects the significance of the Chinese family system.

It is customary amongst the Chinese that within the family those older or senior in generation to the speaker are always addressed by the appropriate kinship term, e.g father, uncle, elder brother, and so on, while those younger or junior are usually called by their personal names. Parents often refer to their children as 'the eldest', 'the youngest',

specifying their individual positions in the family. Outside the family, a man of roughly the same age as the speaker is generally called 'brother'. An older man would be addressed as 'father's younger brother', while a much older man would be called 'father's elder brother'. A similar distinction according to age could be shown by using either 'elder brother's wife' or 'father's younger brother's wife' to a woman, while 'father's older sister' could be used as a polite way of addressing a female stranger. The honorific prefix 'lao' (old) and 'xiao' (little/young) are also often used. If one is not very well acquainted with the speaker, then he/she is referred to as '*lao*-something', because it gives the addressee honour by emphasizing his/her seniority. For people in employment, their position in the profession could be used together with their names as address terms, such as 'Accountant Li', and 'Shop-owner Wang'. Such systems of address terms are obviously influenced by the hierarchy of relationships of the family, and in the meantime the authority structure which is inherent within the family is reinforced (see also Yum, 1988 for a general discussion on the impact of the Chinese family system on communication patterns).

2.6.4 Implications for social life of Chinese emigrants in Britain: Inter-familial organizations and community language schools

The general pattern of social life of the Chinese emigrants in this country seems to be family-based and usually centres around the catering businesses. Leisure and recreation for the Chinese normally mean weekend gatherings in restaurants for families, gambling for men, mahjong tea for women, and Chinese language classes for children. Apart from celebrating major folk festivals, such as the Spring Festival (the Chinese New Year), the Chinese have shown little enthusiasm for organized events. There is a notable lack of centralised leadership at both regional and national levels (Watson, 1977; Taylor, 1987).

As the community grows, so do the attendant problems and the consequent need for counselling. For the Chinese emigrants in Britain, seeking help has not proved to be easy. On the one hand, provision of services for ethnic minority groups in this country is far

from adequate (this in fact was one of the main reasons for the Home Affairs Committee to commission a report on the Chinese in Britain, 1985); and on the other, Chinese people traditionally rely on self-help within the family.

Yet, emigration has made it impossible for family members to live close enough to offer support when needed. Alternative, inter-familial organizations thus have come into being. A typical example of such organizations is the surname/townsmen association. Among the Chinese, there is a common assumption that all people with the same surname have descended from the same ancestor, thus being related to one another. Since the Chinese kinship organizations are traditionally tied to land and specific territories, people originating from the same hometown tend to believe that they are in some way related as well. As the Chinese saying goes, 'he who comes from my hometown is my relative'. The surname/townsmen associations are established with such assumptions as substitutes of kinship ties which the emigrants can no longer maintain (see further Baker, 1979).

In most cases, however, members of surname/townsmen associations cannot prove a common ancestry or any blood relationship. Consequently, these associations do not usually have a centralised leadership. Although male members who are senior in generation and age are often nominated as leaders of these associations (another example of the implications of the authority structure of the extended family ideal), important decisions are normally made collectively, and the everyday running of the associations becomes the duty of the relatively better educated Chinese-English bilinguals for practical reasons.

Since the 1970s, a new kind of community organization has begun to emerge, namely, the Chinese language schools. They are currently estimated to be around 100 in total number across Britain (Chann, 1988). Chinese language schools are based even less on concrete family connections than the surname/townsmen associations. They have been set up in order to tackle a specific problem, that is, the maintenance of Chinese language and culture among the British-born generation.

As has been described earlier, the majority of the Chinese emigrants in this country came from the rural New Territories of Hong Kong (see 2.2 above). These emigrants had

had little formal education before they left for Britain, and spoke very little, if any, English. Their subsequent engagement in the family-based catering trade, which entails long working-hours (2.4 above), has given them few opportunities to learn and use English. Cheung (1975) reports that for most Chinese caterers there is hardly any social contact between themselves and the society at large, apart from the waiter-customer relationship. It is possible for a Chinese kitchen staff never to exchange a word with English-speaking people. Watson (1977) has made a similar observation that Chinese waiters only learn enough to handle the menus and that fewer than 20 per cent of them are able to hold a simple conversation in English. The Adult Language Use Survey in three southern English cities, part of the Linguistics Minorities Project (1985), suggests that the Chinese speakers' skills in English are in fact amongst the poorest claimed by all ethnic language speakers (see Table 2.4 below)

Table 2.4 Chinese adults' competence in English (Adapted from Linguistic Minorities Project, 1985. Cited in Taylor, 1987: 139. Table 27)

Chinese language speakers	N	*Respondents answering fairly or very well*	
		Understand and speak %	*Read and write* %
Bradford	50	10	6
Coventry	43	44	30
London	137	47	42

In contrast to these earlier emigrants, the British-born Chinese generation, which now constitutes over a quarter of the whole Chinese population in this country (Home Affairs Committee, 1985a), have acquired English through education and peer interaction. Some have begun to use English most of the time. A study of 31 Chinese families in Liverpool,

one of the largest and oldest Chinese settlements in Britain, carried out by Fong in 1981 (cited in Taylor, 1987: 143) finds, for example, that 55 per cent of the children use both English and Chinese with friends, and 30 per cent speak only English (see further 2.7 below). Problems of communication caused by changing patterns of language use across generations have become a major concern for the Chinese families. As the British education system is strongly orientated towards English monolingualism (Edwards and Alladina, 1991; Martin-Jones, 1989b) and Chinese children rarely make up more than five per cent of the local school populations (due of course to their dispersed settlement pattern which in turn was determined by the catering trade) (Watson, 1977; Taylor, 1987), a support system within the community in the form of language schools seems (at least for the moment) the only solution. It is in this context that the Chinese language schools have come into existence. They are gradually becoming an integral part of social life of the Chinese in this country (see further Li, forthcoming).

I want to turn my attention now to patterns of language use within and between different generations of the Chinese emigrant population in this country.

2.7 Language use: Existing evidence

Existing information concerning language use amongst the Chinese people in Britain is extremely limited and is mostly derived from societal-level surveys and censuses which cover many other ethnic groups as well. Again, the reports by the Home Affairs Committee (1985a) and Taylor (1987) provide the most comprehensive source of reference. There are a small number of case studies of Chinese children's language use patterns (see Taylor, 1987 for references). These studies are mostly implemented in the context of language teaching and tend to focus on the difficulties of Chinese children acquiring English (if the studies are carried out by non-Chinese researchers) or learning and maintaining their mother tongue (if done by Chinese). Despite their diverse methodological perspectives and analytic focuses, most of the existing studies point to inter-generational variations in language use as a prominent feature of the Chinese communities in this

country. The Commission for Racial Equality carried out a survey in 1979 (cited by Tsow, 1984) in which two groups of Chinese parents were interviewed: 138 of them had children who were aged up to 11 and were not attending Chinese community schools and 195 had children aged eight and over attending Chinese schools. The first group of parents were mostly from non-catering families who had lived in London for ten years or more. The 195 parents whose children attended Chinese schools were from catering families or other lower socioeconomic backgrounds. The languages spoken at home by these two groups of parents are shown in Table 2.5 below.

Table 2.5 Languages spoken at home by parents of children attending and not attending Chinese language classes (Adapted from Tsow, 1984. Cited in Taylor, 1987: 144)

	Spoken by parents of non-attenders/attenders		*Spoken most frequently by parents of non-attenders/attenders*	
	N = 138	N = 195	N = 138	N = 195
	%		%	
English	43	35	14	9
Cantonese	80	80	67	69
Mandarin	4	2	3	
Other Chinese	35	37	18	

As Table 2.5 shows, Cantonese is used predominantly and most frequently by both groups in family communication, although a greater proportion (43 per cent) of the non-catering parents of non-school-attenders reported using some English at home and 14 per cent claimed it as their most frequently spoken language.

Tsow (1984) also cites a separate sample of 312 children aged 8-14 as shown in Table 2.6 below, who were attending Chinese language schools (these are not the children of the parents sample described in Table 2.5 above). Some 62 per cent of these children claimed to speak English and 38 per cent claimed English as their most frequently used language.

Moreover, as Table 2.7 shows, 51 per cent of the UK-born group spoke English most frequently at home (see Taylor, 1987: 144-6 for further discussion).

Table 2.6 Languages spoken at home by pupils attending Chinese language classes (Adapted from Tsow, 1984. Cited in Taylor, 1987: 145)

	Total	*Birthplace*		*Length of time in the UK (years)*		
		Hong Kong and elsewhere	*UK*	1–2	3–9	10+
Base: all	312	148	164	49	188	75
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Cantonese	72	85	60	82	76	56
English	62	46	76	33	64	75
Mandarin	1	1	1	–	1	1
Other Chinese	26	19	32	22	24	32

Table 2.7 Languages spoken most often at home by pupils attending Chinese language classes (Adapted from Tsow, 1984. Cited in Taylor, 1987: 146)

	Total	*Birthplace*		*Length of time in the UK (years)*		
		Hong Kong and elsewhere	*UK*	*1–2*	*3–9*	*10+*
Base: all	312	148	164	49	188	75
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Cantonese	48	66	32	63	48	36
English	38	23	51	16	40	47
Other Chinese	14	10	18	16	13	18

Further evidence of contrasting patterns of language use by speakers of different generations is provided by Ng (1982), who interviewed 251 adolescents (134 females, 117 males; aged 12-17) from ten Chinese community schools. Some 93 per cent claimed that their parents spoke to them in a Chinese dialect (118 were Cantonese speakers, 107 spoke

Hakka and six other Chinese dialects). Fewer (86 percent) claimed to use Chinese in speaking with their parents, with about 14 per cent claiming to speak to their parents in English. Amongst siblings and friends, Chinese was less commonly used. 41 per cent reported that they spoke to their brothers or sisters in English and 48 per cent were spoken to by their siblings in English; 46 per cent spoke English to their Chinese friends and 37 were spoken to by their Chinese friends in English.

Two other studies also reveal similar inter-generational differences in language behaviour. O'Neill (1972) observed that amongst the 30 Chinese families whom she studied in Liverpool in the late 1960s, the parents typically lived in a Chinese cultural environment, with kin and Chinese friends, and spoke very little English; the children, on the other hand, were typically English in their orientation and spoke little Chinese. More recently, Wong (1988) has reported that while the majority of children in the community school in London which she studied could manage to speak to their parents and grandparents in the mother tongue, about 20 per cent tended to use a mixture of English and Chinese. When they talked to their siblings or friends, more than half indicated that they used some Cantonese but more English, with a further six per cent using English alone.

All these data suggest that the pattern of language use is changing across generations within the British Chinese population, with strong indications that the use of English is beginning to dominate interactions amongst the British-born generation. It is the aim of the present study to investigate the social and linguistic mechanisms underlying the variations and change in the language behaviours of different generations.

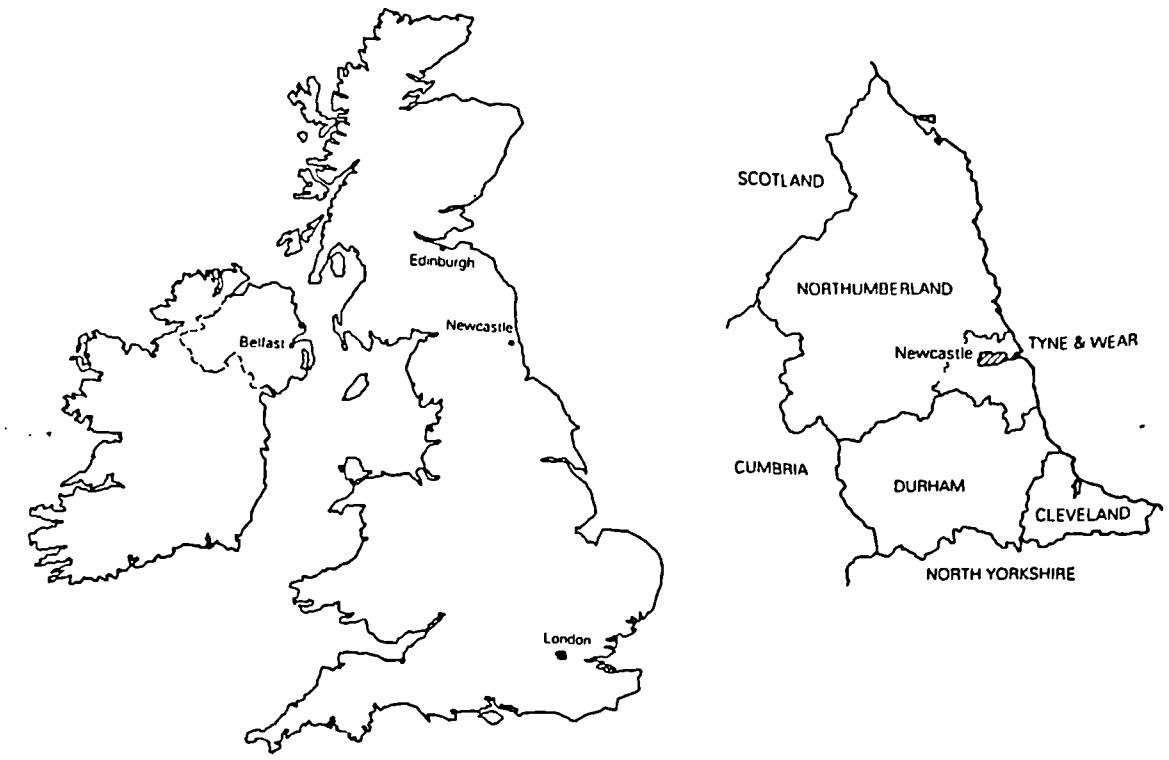
In the final section of this chapter, I shall provide a brief description of the Chinese community in the Tyneside area in the North East of England, where the study reported in this thesis was carried out.

2.8 The Tyneside Chinese community

The location of the present study is the city of Newcastle upon Tyne with the surrounding urban areas straddling the borders between County Durham and Northumberland (see Map 2.3 below). This conurbation is conveniently referred to as Tyneside, but more strictly is the former metropolitan county of Tyne and Wear. There are two main reasons for choosing this particular location: First and foremost, I, as the fieldworker, had lived in Newcastle for three years prior to the formal start of the study and had established extensive personal contacts within the Chinese community in the region which are a pre-requisite of detailed, community-based sociolinguistic research (Milroy, 1987b; see further Chapter 3). Second, the area hosts a large Chinese population who as yet have not been internally centralised. This demographic pattern contrasts with those characteristic of, for example, London, Liverpool and Manchester, and thus may be more representative of the Chinese communities which are scattered in different parts of the country (see further 2.4 above).

As in many other parts of Britain, there has been no systematic study of the Chinese on Tyneside. Information obtainable from official channels is scarce and often unreliable. For example, the 1986 Household Survey carried out by the City of Newcastle upon Tyne, the most comprehensive demographic survey conducted by the city council to date, included four categories of 'origin of the head of the household' - 'European', 'Asian', 'Afro-Caribbean', and 'Others'. Chinese heads of household were classified as one of the many 'Others'. Results of surveys such as this are unlikely to be of value for detailed studies of particular groups like the Chinese (see Moffatt, 1990 for a discussion). The demographic information presented in this section is therefore gathered by means of participant observation and informal interviews with senior Chinese residents in the Tyneside area which were conducted by myself as the initial exploratory stage of the research (see further 3.3 below).

Map 2.3 British Isles and Tyneside (Adapted from Hughes and Trudgill, 1987)



2.8.1 Demography of the Chinese on Tyneside

The Tyneside Chinese number somewhere between 5,000 and 7,000 persons. They are the second largest ethnic minority population in the region, after those of South Asian origin, but are a relatively 'young' group compared with those in the south and southwest of England. Before 1948, there were no more than thirty Chinese people, including children, living in the whole of the North East (Ng, 1986). Although the first Chinese restaurant was opened in Newcastle upon Tyne in 1949 and subsequently eight laundries run by the Chinese came into existence, it was not until the early 1960s that the Chinese began to settle on Tyneside in significant numbers.

The 1960s was a period of change for the Tyneside Chinese. Laundries were gradually replaced by eating establishments - first small fast food shops, then large restaurants. At that time, the majority of the Chinese were not accompanied by family

members. Their businesses were often run on the basis of partnership (see further 2.3 and 2.4 above).

The arrival of family members during the late 1960s and early 1970s facilitated the emergence of Chinese take-aways in the region. Within a period of about ten years, some 300 take-aways had been set up. Unlike large restaurants, the Chinese take-aways are generally single-family-based (see 2.4) and are scattered in various parts of the area. There are now estimated to be 27 Chinese restaurants, at least 300 take-aways, four groceries and supermarkets, and one food-processing factory on Tyneside (figures correct at the end of 1989).

Since the 1970s, there has been no more large-scale Chinese migration into the region. A generation of British-born Chinese has begun to emerge. They now constitute nearly a quarter of the Chinese population on Tyneside.

Apart from the long-term residents, there are some 1,000 students from Hong Kong, mainland China, Singapore, Malaysia, and other parts of the world, currently studying in the region's higher education institutions (Li, 1988; McGregor and Li, in press). There are as yet very few Chinese professionals in the region. In the city of Newcastle upon Tyne, there are three accountancies, two travel agencies, and two acupuncture clinics run by Chinese families.

2.8.2 Community organizations

Until the mid-1970s, there was no community-level social organization for the Tyneside Chinese. The first Chinese inter-familial organization was established by a group of senior emigrants from a small island called Ap Chau next to Crooked Island in Crook Harbour to the northeast of Hong Kong (see Map 2.1 above). It carries the name of True Jesus Church, an evangelical church which also exists in Hong Kong. The True Jesus Church in Newcastle upon Tyne is in fact a townsmen association (see further 2.6.4 above). All its members could trace their origin to the fishing community of Ap Chau; many have the surnames of Ho, Liu, Shek or Tang. The chief function of the church seems

to be to provide an opportunity for the families to gather together, and the activities in which its members participate each Sunday do not resemble those of the church-going population of Britain generally. Usually they gather on the Sunday afternoon for a short service, during which a bilingual teenager is invited to translate the sermon. Then the children, around 150 of them, will have their Chinese language lessons. Some adults learn English, while others talk among themselves, have tea, or go shopping in the Chinese shops. Sometimes the church provides food (often donated by one of the Chinese restaurants in the region) for its participants at either the beginning or the end of the afternoon. More recently, the church has admitted a small number of children to its language classes whose parents are not from Ap Chau but who have contributed financially to the church activities.

The majority of the Tyneside Chinese, however, are not from Ap Chau; they are Cantonese Punti from various parts of Hong Kong and Guangdong province of mainland China (see 2.2 above). Two community organizations have been set up during the 1970s to look after the interests of these people - the North-East Chinese Association and the Wah Sun Chinese Association. These associations organize festival celebrations and occasional trips to Scotland and southern England. Membership of the associations is loosely controlled. Anyone (including those from Ap Chau) can join either or both of them. There is no fixed membership fee. People contribute in various ways when participating in events organized by the associations. Neither association has a formally elected leadership. Those who are relatively better educated, experienced, and enthusiastic are entrusted with the general administrative duties. More recently, the two associations have established a women's group and an elderly people's club for female and senior members of the Chinese community to meet on a regular basis and exchange news and gossip.

With the support of the Hong Kong Government Office in London and the local authorities, the Chinese on Tyneside have set up a language school in the city of Newcastle, which enrols some 300 British-born Chinese children. They meet every Sunday afternoon for three hours and learn Chinese language as well as traditional calligraphy,

painting, and folk dancing. The teachers are mainly students from Hong Kong and mainland China (see further Li, forthcoming).

2.8.3 Language environment

The Tyneside area has its local English dialect which is popularly known as *Geordie*, a name applied also to anyone who comes from the region. The main phonological and syntactic features of Geordie are discussed in detail by Hughes and Trudgill (1987), Wells (1982) and Beal (in press).

In addition to English, there are a number of European as well as non-European languages spoken mainly by migrant and ethnic minority communities. A small survey of nine classes within five schools in the West End of Newcastle gives some indication of the proportion of native English-speaking population and speakers of mother tongues other than English (see Figure 2.2 below). Inter-ethnic communication is normally in English.

It is estimated that around 80 per cent of the Chinese residents on Tyneside speak Cantonese as their first language; at least 15 per cent speak Hakka, and the rest speak other regional languages of Chinese such as Beifang and Min (including, for example, Hokkien). About 25 per cent of the total Chinese population in the region can understand and speak some Mandarin. The use of Chinese, of whatever variety, is largely confined to family communication. Public representation of the Chinese language is mininal. Only very recently (since 1988) the Chinese community have been given permission to display signs and notices in Chinese in Stowell Street in Newcastle, the so-called Chinatown of the North East of England. BBC Radio Newcastle offers a fifteen-minute slot every Sunday afternoon in which the Chinese community can broadcast news and information in their own language. Newcastle's Central Library has a new and small collection of Chinese publications, including the popular European Chinese daily 'Sing Tao'. It also provides a rental service for Chinese music tapes and videos of Chinese films. The two universities in the region - Newcastle and Durham - both offer degree courses of which Mandarin Chinese

forms an integral part. There are as yet no mainstream schools teaching Chinese as part of the curriculum.

Figure 2.2 Mother Tongue Languages Spoken by Children in Nine Classes within Five Schools in the West End of Newcastle (Adapted from Moffatt, 1990: 65)

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

According to the teachers of the Chinese community school and the students from Hong Kong and China, there is no significant difference between the Chinese the local residents speak and that spoken in the Far East. However, a small number of words (mainly nouns) and phrases which seem characteristic of the local Chinese community have been observed. Some of them are obviously influenced by a period of contact with English. Compare, for example, Hong Kong Cantonese 'saisanfong' (bathroom) with Tyneside Cantonese 'bafong' (derived from ba(th) + fong (room)). Similarly, compare local Cantonese 'toijau' (literally: table + wine) with the usual Hong Kong Cantonese 'jau' (wine). Despite the emergence of forms such as these, there does not seem to be a coherent localised variety of Chinese which we could call 'British Chinese'. The most visible and socially meaningful language phenomenon appears to be the choice between English and Chinese or a mixture of both (see also So, 1988 and Pong, 1991).

Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed a range of topics relevant to the ethno-linguistic background of the Chinese communities in Britain. I have tried to emphasise the heterogeneity of the British Chinese population in terms of social origin, history of migration, occupation and language. The complexity of Chinese cultural norms and values, together with the unique social position occupied by the Chinese people in this country, present a challenge to potential investigators. In the following chapter, I shall discuss difficulties in conducting sociolinguistic studies within Chinese communities, with particular reference to the Tyneside Chinese community where the present study is located.

3 Participant Observation in a Chinese Community

3.0 Introductory

Following the general descriptive account of Chinese communities in Britain in Chapter 2, I now turn to discuss the fieldwork methods used for the present study of language choice amongst the Chinese residents on Tyneside in the North East of England.

In Chapter 1, I have outlined three main theoretical perspectives on bilingualism and language choice. These three perspectives can be further differentiated in terms of the fieldwork procedures they employ and the types of data they use for analysis. The macro-societal approach tends to favour reported data, usually gathered at the community level, which summarise probable behaviours of large numbers of people. The underlying assumption is, as has been discussed in 1.1, that language choices are determined by situational context and that speakers are usually conscious about any change in setting, topic, participant and so on. Therefore, it is feasible for researchers to ask speakers (especially bilinguals) to report their linguistic choices in different situations. The most common procedures involve the use of sample surveys and censuses, interview schedules, or written questionnaires, and often require the use of quantitative measures and statistical analysis. The micro-interactional approach, on the other hand, focuses on the meanings of language choice and the discourse strategies whereby speakers make use of the different languages in the community repertoire. Researchers adopting this perspective rely primarily on information collected at the level of face-to-face interaction. Participant observation is the principal data gathering method, and tape-recordings (audio or video) are made of conversation as it occurs in actual social encounters. Fine-grained analyses are carried out, normally without quantification and statistical tests. Informal interviews eliciting information about language attitudes are sometimes conducted to supplement the conversational data. Both the macro-societal and micro-interactional perspectives concentrate mainly on the stylistic dimension of linguistic variation, that is, the same

speakers' choices of language in a range of situational contexts. The social network perspective uses observational data and tape-recordings of conversation, as does the micro-interactional approach. But in addition, information about the social characteristics of speakers and their social contacts is gathered, often through a combination of participant observation and in-depth, ethnographic interviews. Care is taken to ensure that the language data collected from different (groups of) speakers are in some way comparable. This is because the network approach examines inter-speaker variation as well as intra-speaker variation in language use. In other words, the social network approach analyses not only language-in-use but also speaker-in-community.

The present study adopts the social network perspective on language choice. Participant observation has been used to collect data, which is supplemented by information gathered through ethnographic interviews. In this chapter, I shall discuss in detail the fieldwork procedures of the present study. Special attention will be given to field relationships between the investigator and the informants and implications of the relationships for the linguistic data which is being collected and which will ultimately be analysed. The chapter will proceed in four sections. 3.1 and 3.2 outline the main features of the methodology of participant observation and discuss the difficulties and need for providing an explicit and systematic account of it. A step-by-step report on the fieldwork procedures of the present study is given in 3.3. 3.4 discusses the effects of participant observation on the language behaviours of the informants as well as of the fieldworker.

3.1 Features of participant observation

It is useful to begin by comparing the research procedure of participant observation with that of surveys, since both have been used extensively in sociolinguistic studies. The main point of contrast between the two types of research procedures seems to be that data collection and analysis are carried out *consecutively* in survey research but *concurrently* in participant observation. Survey research typically follows a linear process, which begins with defining a research problem (or problems) and formulating hypothesis. Following that, a research instrument is designed, which often takes the form of a questionnaire. The

fieldworker then goes and collects information from a specific group of subjects sampled according to pre-defined procedures. Afterwards the data are coded and often computerised. Only then does the analysis begin, with the machine-readable data being manipulated according to some statistical procedure. The conclusions drawn from the analysis usually take the form of statistically valid generalisations on the behaviours of the individuals sampled.

In participant observation, on the other hand, the investigator (participant observer) begins with some general problem in mind, learns something in the field (data collection), tries to make sense of it (analysis), then goes back to see if the interpretation makes sense in the light of new experience (more data collection). The interpretation is refined (more analysis), and so forth. In other words, participant observation is a *dialectic* process, not a *linear* one (see further Spradley, 1980; Agar, 1980). Jorgensen (1989: 13-14) defines participant observation in terms of seven basic features:

> (1) a special interest in human meaning and interaction as viewed from the perspective of people who are insiders or members of particular situations and settings;
> (2) location in the here and now of everyday life situations and settings as the foundation of inquiry and method;
> (3) a form of theory and theorizing stressing interpretation and understanding of human existence;
> (4) a logic and process of inquiry that is open-ended, flexible, opportunistic, and requires constant redefinition of what is problematic, based on facts gathered in concrete settings of human existence;
> (5) an in-depth, qualitative, case study approach and design;
> (6) the performance of a participant role or roles that involves establishing and maintaining relationships with natives in the field; and
> (7) the use of direct observation along with other methods of gathering information.

Book-length discussions of these features are provided by Spradley (1980), Agar (1980), and Jorgensen (1989). Essentially, the methodology of participant observation seeks to offer direct experiential and observational access to the meanings of social life as seen from the stand-point of insiders. This emphasis on the meaning of everyday life is characteristic of the micro-interactional and social network approaches to bilingualism and language choice which I have described in 1.2 and 1.3. The methodology of participant observation allows the investigator a flexible approach in obtaining data and is especially appropriate when the phenomenon of interest is somehow obscured from the view of the

public or there are important differences between the views of insiders and outsiders (see further Jorgensen, 1989). For these reasons, it might be considered a promising method of studying ethnic minorities such as the Chinese in Britain which are little known publicly (see further 3.3 below).

Although participant observation has been widely adopted as a useful data collecting method in sociolinguistic research, documentation of the actual procedure often lacks explicitness (Milroy, Li and Moffatt, 1991). There is usually little detailed, systematic description as to how the fieldworker entered the target setting, what questions have been asked, and how they have been asked, and what effects the relationships between the fieldworker and people in the field have upon the data being collected and ultimately analysed. An exception is Milroy's (1987a) Belfast study in which she utilises localised social network ties and makes explicit the way in which the fieldworker entered the target community through personal contacts, as well as the specific role of the fieldworker in relation to the people in the field. At this point, I want to consider some of the main difficulties in providing systematic and explicit accounts of participant observational research.

3.2 Describing participant observation: Some problems

It is easier to understand the difficulties of documenting participant observation if we compare its procedures with those of survey research. Characteristically, survey researchers plan every step of the investigation ahead of time; questions about what to find, how and where to find it are carefully considered. A well-known example of sociolinguistic study which has employed a survey research procedure is Labov's (1966) 'fourth floor' study in three New York City departments stores. Before the actual fieldwork began, the investigator had already decided what to investigate (in this case a single variable (*r*) in both pre-consonantal and word final position). He had also decided how data should be obtained; the procedure was for the fieldworker to ask for the location of any item known in advance to be on the shop's fourth floor. He then obtained a repetition by pretending to mishear the first response, thus eliciting four instances of the target feature in two separate

phonetic environments. The relationships between the fieldworker and the subjects in such a survey are usually indirect, short-term, highly specific, and often asymmetrical (see Milroy, 1987b: Chapter 4 for further comments).

Participant observers, on the other hand, eat, work, and relax with the people they are studying; they take part in social activities just as everyone else in the field does, and they come to understand the problem they are studying through personal involvement (Moerman, 1988; Ochs, 1988). This experiential wealth tends to present methodological problems to participant observers.

First of all, it is not always predictable what one may find at a specific point in time and whether the finding needs further exploration. Therefore, one cannot plan every detail ahead. Participant observers constantly define and redefine their research questions according to the situation as it is actually happening (Spradley, 1980).

Second, personal experiences are especially difficult to communicate. As we know, in order to understand a message, a certain amount of shared background knowledge is needed. For example, if two people have gone to the cinema together and one of them later comments on it, the other can draw upon the experience to interpret these comments. On the other hand, if one has gone to the cinema alone, and wants to talk about it, he or she has to provide a certain amount of details before any comments can make sense to other people. The need for shared experience in effective communication is referred to by ethnomethodologists as 'indexicality' (Garfinkel, 1967). While survey methods are relatively easy to 'de-indexicalize' (for example, questionnaires and censuses can be reproduced as appendices to a research report), personal experiences are not. Sometimes what participant observers regard as significant may turn out to be totally irrelevant to some others, while what they consider as trivial may in fact be most interesting to others (see also Wolcott, 1990).

Third, participant observers tend to have their individual territories in which social relationships with the people they are studying are developed through long-term personal involvements. Such territories are often personalised and imply sets of rights and obligations (Milroy, 1987a). It would be extremely difficult, if not at all impossible, for

another researcher to replicate a participant observational study in the way survey researchers often do to check each other's reported results (Agar, 1980). In fact, participant observers seldom attempt to replicate each other's studies. Consequently, a reflective account of how the many conversations, observations, and interviews are conducted during the participant observation is not a high-priority task.

Fourth, participant observers tend to support or argue with each other by presenting new empirical findings from different situations. Their debates are different from those among survey researchers which can usually be traced to the defects of specific questions asked and the way they are asked. Participant observers are more concerned with the substance of the information they are gathering than with the general procedures by which it is obtained.

Recently, there seems to be a growing awareness amongst participant observers of the importance of being explicit and systematic about fieldwork procedures (e.g. Milroy, et al., 1991). Agar (1980), who views the traditional methodological implicitness of participant observation as a more general problem of ethnographic research, argues that much more attention should be paid to the role of the investigator in field research, his or her relationships with the people in the field, and the effects on the data being collected and ultimately analysed. This will mean that information generated from various case studies can be in some way comparable or is capable of being related to wider contexts. Poplack (1983; 1988) has elaborated on the way different methods of data collection can lead to quite different findings on code-switching behaviour, sometimes even of the same speakers. Gal (1988) also has discussed the question of data comparability, emphasising the need to embed small-scale ethnographic descriptions within a wider social, political and historical context.

It is also worth commenting here that at a more practical level participant observers are under pressure to increase their methodological explicitness in order to gain public credibility. Given the current socio-political climate in Britain (and no doubt in other countries too), scientific research cannot receive institutional support unless it systematises itself according to certain prescribed criteria. As Agar (1980: 10) points out, if a grant-

giving agency has to choose between a survey which asks the wrong questions very explicitly and an observational study which has the right questions in the mind of the fieldworker but does not tell how they are asked and of whom, it is more likely to be the survey that gets the financial support (see also Bilton, et al., 1987: 502-507).

This does not at all mean that participant observers should stop using the traditional approach outlined above. Indeed, participant observation offers a unique perspective which no other methods can replace. Milroy (1987b: 78) summarises three chief advantages of this procedure with reference to sociolinguistic research:

(1) The very high quality of the data in terms of capacity to provide a good sample of everyday language;

(2) The insight it is capable of yielding into the social and communicative norms of the community. Under this head is included not only information on informal social ties and organization, but also the fields of study generally described as 'the ethnography of speaking' (Gumperz and Hymes, 1972; Baumann and Sherzer, 1974; Saville-Troike, 1987) and 'interactional sociolinguistics' (Gumperz, 1982);

(3) The possibility of explaining why a speaker's language occupies a particular position in a wider social structure (see also Labov, 1981).

The essential point here is that participant observers must try to give explicit and systematic accounts of how the fieldwork is done so that their findings could have a wider applicability. I shall attempt in the following section to provide such an account of the fieldwork procedures used in the present study of language choice in the Tyneside Chinese community. Particular attention will be paid to the difficulties encountered during the fieldwork and the steps undertaken to overcome them.

3.3 Stages of fieldwork

The fieldwork for the present study formally started in November, 1988 and lasted for about 18 months (Milroy and Li, 1990). However, contacts with the community began much earlier and are still maintained till this day. It was decided that participant observation was the most appropriate fieldwork method for two reasons:

i) Chinese communities in Britain are largely unknown with regard to their internal structuring and their norms and values. Participant observation permits flexibility in accessing the target community and offers an 'insider' view of it;

ii) the present study aims to discover language choice patterns and social contacts of a Chinese community *at the micro-interactional level.* Participant observation allows the researcher to document and interpret social behaviours in naturally occurring contexts.

The observation proceeded in three stages: descriptive, focussed, and selective, along the lines suggested by Spradley (1980) (see Figure 3.1 below). What this amounts to here is that I began with wide-focused observation, aiming to get an overview of the demography of the Chinese communities in Britain and those on Tyneside in particular. Much of the discussion in Chapter 2, especially that in 2.8, is based upon information obtained during this stage of the fieldwork. Two specific findings from the descriptive observation phase are crucial for the subsequent stages of the fieldwork. First, the *family* is the primary and central unit of social organization. Second, there seem to be certain differences in patterns of socialisation and language use by different generations of speakers, especially between the emigrants and the British-born.

On the basis of these findings (already discussed in some detail in Chapter 2), I decided to use the *family* as the starting point and basic unit for the second stage of participant observation. Attention was focused on speaker variations in language choice patterns with different types of interlocutors and on social network ties of members of different generations. Ten families with members from the three generation cohorts were selected (30 males + 28 females = 58; see Appendix I for details). In addition to direct observation, informal interviews were conducted to gather information on social network ties of the people under investigation (see further 3.4.6 below).

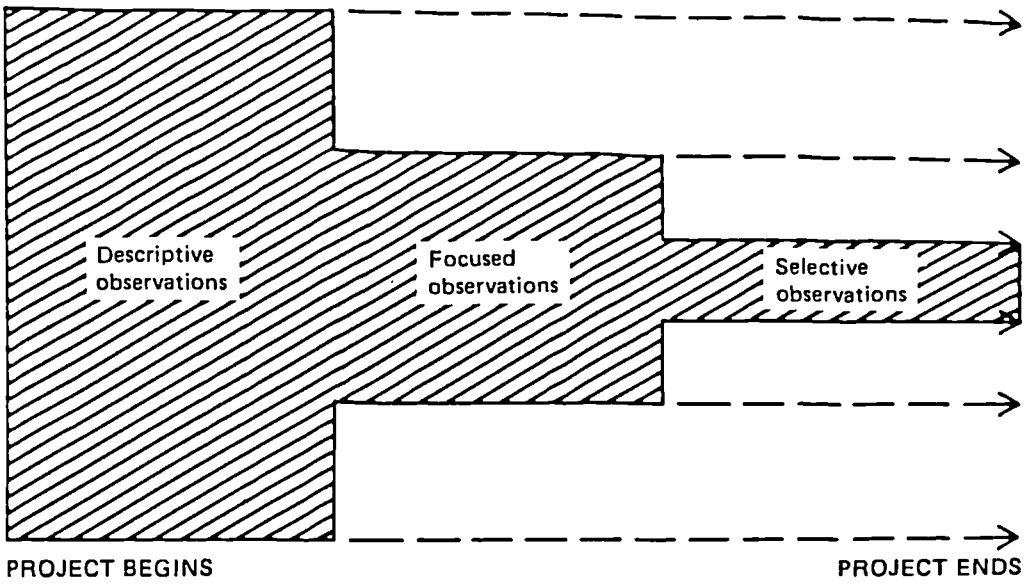


Figure 3.1 Stages of participant observation (Adapted from Spradley, 1980) Participant observation begins with wide-focused *descriptive observations*. Although these continue until the end of the filed project, as indicated by the broken lines, the emphasis shifts first to *focused observations* and later to *selective observations*.

Then, having identified the general patterns of language choice on a relatively gross level, the scope of the fieldwork was further narrowed to allow selective observation of specified linguistic behaviour at the interactional level in a more or less comparable setting. At this stage, I concentrated on code-switching in inter-generational conversations. Some 23 hours of tape-recordings of spontaneous conversation involving different family members were made (see further 3.3.5 below).

As we can see, this fieldwork procedure involves the dialectic process of data collection and data analysis which was described in 3.1 above. The choice of what to observe depends on what has been observed and understood. Descriptive observations of the social context continue even when the scope of the investigation becomes narrower and more focused. I shall now consider some specific issues arising from the fieldwork procedure, beginning with gaining entry to families.

3.3.1 Gaining access to families

The decision to use the family as the starting point and basic unit for investigation requires careful choice of entry strategies, because the family is a 'backstage' of social life which is usually invisible and closed from the view of the general public. Goffman (1959; 1963) distinguishes social life into visible 'frontstage' and such concealed 'backstage' aspects. Generally speaking, entry to visible 'frontstage' situations is open to anyone willing to become a participant. The 'backstage' aspects of social life, on the other hand, are usually concealed from the view of all but the most trusted members. Accurate and dependable information about such situations cannot be gathered unless the investigator becomes an 'insider' (see also Jorgensen, 1989). Gaining access to 'backstage' situations is one of the most difficult and demanding aspects of participant observation.

Jorgensen (1989) identifies two basic entry strategies, *overt* and *covert*. When permission to study is sought openly, the strategy is overt. This direct approach raises few ethical problems, and when permission is granted can yield relevant information within a short time (see also Whyte, 1984). However, it is not always possible to negotiate overt entry, and once the fieldworker is denied access, it may not then be possible to gain subsequent entry. For example, Pong (1991) reports that when she first attempted to telephone the Chinese families whom she wanted to interview for her study of language attitude and use, she was invariably refused permission because they did not know her personally. Her 'official' introduction letters did not help her in any way; rather, they led the families to link her with government sponsored agencies. She then tried to contact families through leaders of community organizations. Again, she met with marked reluctance to cooperate, because many people rarely took part in organised events outside their immediate families. Eventually, Pong obtained the help of a Chinese health worker who had personal contacts with individual families. Together they visited the families and offered help of various kinds over a period of time. Only then could she obtain the necessary consent to conduct a questionnaire survey (see also Boissevain, 1974).

The alternative entry strategy is covert, in which case the fieldworker assumes some participant role provided by the setting first and begins formal research when some kind of

informal and mutually beneficial relationship is established with the people in the field. Some researchers become involved with a community as a matter of personal interest, only later deciding to conduct participant observational studies. An example of a semi-covert entry strategy is provided by Milroy (1987a) who assumed the role of a second-order member of the localised social networks (see also Boissevain, 1974). She rapidly became enmeshed in the exchange and obligation relationships with the people whose language behaviour she was studying. Many families regarded her as someone with whom they could talk through personal problems arising from the conflicts in working-class Belfast. In return she obtained a substantial amount of high-quality vernacular data. A similar approach was used by Kerswill (1985) in his study of the Strils dialect in Bergen, Norway.

Any kind of covert approach, however, is viewed by some as totally unethical, because it violates the principle of 'informed consent' (see Bulmer, 1982). Since people in the field are not told of the research objectives, they are unable in advance to agree or to refuse to participate in the research. To counter this criticism, some researchers have argued that unlike survey research, participant observation does not have human 'subjects'; rather, situations in which human beings are involved are observed under otherwise *natural* conditions. People are not manipulated or controlled in any way as in other kinds of (sometimes intrusive) research procedures (Agar, 1980). Furthermore, participant observers are generally careful to respect the dignity and anonymity of the people being observed, often performing services in exchange for information (see also Spradley, 1980). Milroy (1987a), for example, offered miscellaneous help with transport or with filling in complicated official forms to the families she was studying, and made sure that sensitive information recorded on tape was wiped off even before leaving the house. Although the covert approach is therefore a rather contentious issue, most researchers agree that it is often essential for acquiring truthful information in publicly invisible and closed situations. It has been adopted in sociolinguistic investigations of rural, working class and ethnic minority communities with impressive results (see Milroy, 1987b for further discussions).

The decision to choose an overt or a covert entry strategy involves more than a choice of theoretical stance. It has to take into account the characteristics of the target setting as

well as norms and values of the people in the field. In rural, or urban working-class and ethnic minority communities, for example, a clear distinction is often maintained between 'members' (or insiders) and 'non-members' (outsiders) (Edwards, 1986). Researchers of urban, educated backgrounds from the majority ethnic group are likely to encounter suspicion, if not open hostility, and an overt entry approach is generally dispreferred (Nuffield Foundation, 1981). However, such researchers may have difficulty in adopting a covert approach because their socially defined role (and sometimes their distinctive physical appearance) makes it impossible for the people in the field to accept them as an 'insider'. Moffatt (1990), for example, reports in her study of a Pakistani community in Newcastle upon Tyne that as a white, British, monolingual investigator, she could not become an 'insider' of the target community, although she points out that her 'outsider' status actually gave her more freedom to come and go into homes than, for example, a young male Muslim 'insider'.

The present study has adopted a *covert* approach, making use of roles readily provided by the social context. During a period of three years of residence on Tyneside *prior to* the formal investigation, I had become friendly with a number of Chinese families who invited me to meals and asked me to look after their houses when they went on holidays. Since I had a degree in English (in fact I was the only Chinese with such a qualification in Newcastle at the time), I was often asked by Chinese adults to help with English language problems - for example, on visits to their doctors and solicitors. Local Chinese businesses and community organizations also asked me to translate letters, leaflets and other documents. At weekends, I taught in a Chinese language school in Newcastle where the British-born children were learning their ethnic language. All these contacts enabled me to establish a firm footing within the local community. When I subsequently decided to conduct a study of language choice patterns of different generations in the Chinese families, I was generally given full cooperation and support.

3.3.2 Politics of field relationships

The relationship between the fieldworker and the people in the field is often political in character and is affected by many factors (Punch, 1989). While it usually is not easy to establish and sustain genuine rapport with people of disparate social backgrounds and positions, under certain circumstances people find it to their advantage to underplay differences and emphasise whatever they have in common. The acceptance of me as a friend by the Chinese families on Tyneside is an interesting case in point.

As has been described in Chapter 2, various internal divisions exist within the Chinese population in Britain: Hong Kong Chinese versus mainland Chinese versus Singaporan and Malaysian Chinese; rural emigrants versus urban students versus professionals; Cantonese Punti versus Hakka versus fishermen, and so forth. While all these divisions are recognized by the Chinese in the U.K., some are apparently perceived to be much more significant than others. For example, the dichotomy between those from rural and those from urban parts of Hong Kong is regarded as one of the most important divisions amongst the Chinese communities in Britain. The rural, New Territories emigrants are mostly from agricultural or fishing backgrounds. Many of them experienced considerable hardship in the 1940s and 50s before emigration and could not find employment in industrialising Hong Kong (see also 2.3); indeed many left their homeland for that reason. In Britain, the majority of these rural emigrants are involved in the catering trade. In order to earn a reasonable living and achieving better education for their children, they have to work extremely hard in the family-based restaurant and take-aways. In comparison, students from urban Hong Kong and other parts of Southeast Asia are normally from families which are wealthy enough to send them to study abroad. They do not appear to appreciate the hard-working life style of the Chinese emigrants in Britain. Consequently, there is an evident lack of empathy and interaction between the rural emigrants and urban students and professionals from Hong Kong (see also 2.5.2).

Perhaps more significantly, however, the emigrants tend to regard the students and professionals as potential economic and social rivals. With high qualifications and professional skills, some students are likely to seek employment in Britain after completing

their studies. Although few of them intend to join the catering trade and compete directly with the emigrants, their increasing number may give rise to hostile attitudes towards the Chinese as a whole in British society, which may in turn affect the welfare of the emigrants. Here, it has to be said that the recent decision by the British government to grant some high-rank Hong Kong Chinese professionals the right of abode and the public debate aroused by this decision has probably not helped the situation in a positive way.

The Chinese from mainland China, on the other hand, seem to be more acceptable to the emigrants. The majority of mainland Chinese in Britain, particularly young students, arrive with very limited funds. In order to support themselves, they often seek occasional jobs in restaurants and take-aways run by the Chinese emigrants from rural Hong Kong. They generally seem to have a better understanding of the life and experiences of the emigrants than their counterparts from urban Hong Kong. Furthermore, their numbers are small and due to immigration restrictions few of them stay in Britain for any lengthy period. They therefore do not appear to present a threat to the social and economic position of the New territories Chinese emigrants. Consequently, the emigrants seem to be more at ease with mainland Chinese than with urban, educated students and professionals from Hong Kong (see also Pong, 1991). This appears to have affected my position when I first arrived in Newcastle upon Tyne in 1986. Many Chinese emigrant families invited me to their homes and offered me lodging, daily necessities and odd jobs in their family-run restaurants and take-aways chiefly because I came from mainland China and was thought to be in need of their help.

3.3.3 Linguistic background of the fieldworker

Another factor which may affect field relationships is the linguistic background of the fieldworker. In the existing sociolinguistic literature there is very little detailed documentation of the linguistic background and competence of the fieldworker and its effects on field relationships, although it is generally accepted that if the linguistic competence of the fieldworker is compatible with that of the people being studied, fieldwork should be smoother and more successful. Native competence certainly helps the

fieldworker to reveal some of the minute linguistic details, particularly of non-standard language varieties (e.g. Trudgill, 1974). But the number of field linguists who can claim such competence is relatively small. In fact, the majority of existing sociolinguistic studies are carried out by non-native speakers (either of languages or dialects). Moffatt's (1990) study of Punjabi/English-speaking children in Newcastle upon Tyne shows that even monolingual fieldworkers can carry out systematic studies of code-switching and code-mixing successfully, provided they adopt the appropriate procedures.

As has been described in 2.8.3, over 80 per cent of the Chinese residents in the Tyneside area are Cantonese speakers or were born to Cantonese-speaking parents; the rest speak Hakka or some form of Beifang and other regional Chinese languages. This clearly causes difficulties for recruiting appropriate fieldworkers, since a monolingual speaker of any of these varieties may not be able to carry out a study covering different sub-groups. Moreover, in order to include the British-born Chinese in the study, a good command of English is also necessary.

A possible solution to the problem is of course to use a team of fieldworkers with different linguistic backgrounds. Edwards (1986), for example, reports a study of a Black English community which employed more than one fieldworker. While team work has the advantage of being able to divide labour in such a way as to gain more access to the target communities, it also presents potential problems. The most significant is the problem of comparability of data, since differences in gender, age, ethnicity of the fieldworkers may lead to different perspectives on the phenomenon being investigated. While such different perspectives are themselves valuable information, they create potential problems in interpreting data. Due to the availability of appropriate fieldworkers and constraints on finance and time, the fieldwork of the present study was carried out by myself, with occasional assistance from local Chinese residents and Hong Kong students for specific tasks (e.g. checking transcripts of conversational data, recording information about social networks of individuals and families).

As Table 3.1 below shows, the linguistic backgrounds of the ten families who were studied are especially complicated. Of the sample of 58 people, 55 are native Cantonese

speakers, of whom seven are monolinguals (two males and five females). The remaining three claim to speak Hakka as their first language, of whom two (both are female) are monolinguals. A further six of the 55 Cantonese-speakers also speak some Hakka. There are no native speakers of Beifang dialects, but 14 (13 native Cantonese and one Hakka speaker) claim to have some knowledge of Mandarin. Seven (six native Cantonese and one Hakka speakers) also have some knowledge of other spoken Chinese varieties. It is obvious that there was no way that I could master all these language varieties in time for the study. In the event, I spoke Cantonese, Mandarin, and English, and very often a mixture of all these, according to the addressee's linguistic background and preference (see further 3.4 below).

Table 3.1 Linguistic background of the speaker sample:

	Male	Female
First Chinese language:		
Cantonese	29	26
Hakka	1	2
Second Chinese language:		
Cantonese	1	0
Hakka	2	4
Mandarin	8	6
Others	3	4

It is also worth pointing out that as a Mandarin speaker my efforts to learn and speak Cantonese in the field were taken as a gesture of friendship and solidarity. I was told that in the past the families had come across very few Mandarin speakers who wanted to do this. The general attitude among native Chinese speakers is that Cantonese is no more than a regional spoken variety, whereas Mandarin is the standard, pan-Chinese language (see also 2.2.3). It is therefore quite acceptable, and in some cases desirable, for native Cantonese speakers to learn to speak Mandarin, while it is usually considered 'a waste of time' for a Mandarin speaker to learn Cantonese.

An additional point here is that as a non-native speaker of Cantonese, I could spend more time listening to the family members talk among themselves without directly

engaging myself in the conversation. This gave me more freedom and opportunities to observe and record spontaneous speech.

3.3.4 Gender issues in field relationships

One further factor which may affect field relationships and ultimately the linguistic data that is being collected is the gender of the fieldworker. While in many situations, female fieldworkers present a less threatening image than males, in others their gender may seriously limit what can be observed (Warren, 1988). Moffatt (1990) reports, for example, that in Pakistani communities male outsiders, regardless of age and ethnicity, would not be allowed into the house without the presence of male members of the family. A male fieldworker could therefore not be able to conduct interviews or make observations in a domestic setting as Moffatt was able to do. Yet, both So (1988) and Pong (1991) report particular difficulties for female fieldworkers working within the Chinese community, because Chinese culture traditionally attaches much more importance to males than to females (see further 2.7) and women are not normally considered competent for non-domestic work. Although it is difficult to claim that being a male fieldworker has had any overt advantage for my investigation, my experience was unlike that of So (1988) and Pong (1991) in that the families expressed no doubts of my academic ability, even though few of them actually understood the nature of the current study.

While social status, linguistic background, gender, and other factors clearly affect field relationships, much depends also upon the personality of the fieldworker. There is no ideal candidate for field research. Successful field relationships require the investigator's sensitivity to the on-going situation and willingness to overcome difficulties.

3.3.5 Tape-recordings of conversation

As a basis for examining the discourse strategies underlying speakers' choice of Chinese and/or English, approximately 23 hours spontaneous conversation were tape-recorded (Stage III of the fieldwork). A Superscope Professional Cassette Recorder CD-

330 was used for making these recordings. This relatively cheap recorder was considered to be adequate, because the focus of the linguistic analysis was primarily on the alternation between two languages in conversation and did not require fine phonetic details. To ensure that the data was reasonably characteristic of normal, everyday behaviour and comparable, I tried to concentrate on a single situation, namely, family meal-time (including periods immediately before and after the meal). This particular situation was chosen because it was a self-contained and highly valued event, where both inter- and intra-generational communication took place. However, other settings were not entirely excluded. In fact, recordings were made in a range of situations whenever and wherever appropriate. Detailed analysis of samples of the tape-recorded conversational data is presented in Chapter 6.

In seeking permission to make the tape-recordings, I met no objections from the families. This was partly due to the cordial field relationships that had been built over a long period of social interaction, partly because most Chinese families were used to making tape-recordings of themselves. Many families often make tape-recordings and send them to their relatives in the Far East as substitutes for ordinary letters, which helps overcome problems caused by illiteracy. Indeed, the general public is now quite familiar with tape-recording equipments and much less self-conscious than at the time of Labov's (1966) New York City study. Trudgill (1986b), for example, found a very clear difference in people's responses to being recorded when he revisited Norwich after a period of eighteen years from his first study.

An additional point to be made here is that developments in audio technology in the last twenty years have had some significant (but sometimes unnoticed) effects on sociolinguistic fieldwork. Modern radio microphones make it possible to systematically record natural conversations even in the absence of the investigator. This method was used some time ago by Reid (1978) in Edinburgh and Wells (1985) in Bristol, and more recently it has been used in Newcastle upon Tyne by Moffatt (1990) to collect bilingual data from young Pakistani children.

3.3.6 Information on social network ties

In addition to the conversational data described above, information was sought about the participants' social network ties. This information was obtained both by participant observation in various situations and informal ethnographic interviews. These interviews comprise a series of friendly, casual conversations, and are distinguished in a number of ways from structured interviews that are traditionally used in survey research:

a) There was no written list of questions. Instead, I prepared a schedule which included the types of information I wanted to obtain;

b) There was no planned setting or time-table for the interviews. They took place wherever and whenever appropriate to all parties concerned - at home, in restaurants, streets, shops, and schools;

c) They involved both dyadic and multi-party conversations;

d) I did not take on the role of interviewer, but of a conversational partner. I answered as well as asked questions.

Although time-consuming, this method proved highly successful. The people whom I interviewed did not feel that they were under pressure. In some cases, they provided detailed accounts of their family background, life in Britain and social contacts without being pressed (see also Spradley, 1979; McCracken, 1988 for more general discussions of the technique of ethnographic interview). The information given by the families, which forms the basis for the discussion in Chapter 5, was first recorded in a personal diary form, to be later summarised and classified.

3.3.7 Ethical issues

In 3.4.1, I touched upon the question of ethics when adopting a covert participant observation procedure. Unlike, for example, medical researchers, sociolinguists do not have recourse to an agreed ethical code. Some of the general issues concerning the use of candid recording, preservation of anonymity and access to tape-recordings have been discussed in detail by Milroy (1987b: 87-93), but they are not all as straightforward in practice as they may appear. There is, for example, a general consensus amongst

sociolinguists that permission to tape record conversational interaction should be sought in advance. Yet, as Milroy (1987a; 1987b) reports in her Belfast study, sometimes the original participants would leave in the course of an extended recording session and other people would join in. Although the recording equipment is not concealed, and is monitored openly by the fieldworker, it is not always clear whether all participants are equally aware of being tape-recorded in situations like this, and it is not usual to interrupt proceedings in order to renegotiate permission to record.

But a more difficult question facing sociolinguistic fieldworkers, especially long-term participant observers, concerns the exchange and obligations relationships with the people they are studying. Very often in casual, friendly conversations, participants will tell stories about themselves and other people which would not normally be told to outsiders. They would expect the fieldworker, whom they regard as a close friend, to keep such stories confidential. During the informal interviews about social network contacts, my informants told me a great deal about relationships between individuals and families within the Tyneside Chinese community. They obviously trusted me not to relate such information to anyone else.

Sometimes during a recording session, certain unexpected events might force the fieldworker to make a decision on the spot as to whether it is appropriate to continue recording. For example, on one occasion while I was making a recording in a family, a quarrel broke out between the spouses. I immediately stopped the recorder and wiped out parts of the tape.

To ensure anonymity of the families and their social contacts whom I studied, I used numbers, letters or pseudonyms. Tape-recordings are carefully vetted for sensitivity of content (e.g. profits of businesses, payments made to chefs in restaurants, and employment of Chinese students in family-run businesses). Access to the original tapes is restricted to the people immediately involved in the research project. Where appropriate, I have let the families see some of the transcripts, figures, and tables which I present in this thesis.

So far I have looked at ways of gaining access to a target setting, building up appropriate field relationships, and carrying out tape-recording and interviews. In the remainder of this chapter, I want to consider the effects of field relationships upon the linguistic data which is being collected.

3.4 Field relationships and linguistic data: The observer's paradox revisited

One of the central concerns of field linguists has always been how to ensure that the linguistic data being collected is reasonably characteristic of speakers' normal language behaviour. Ethnographic linguists such as Hymes (1974) and Gumperz (1982) (see also Gumperz and Hymes, 1972; Baumann and Sherzer, 1974; Saville-Troike, 1987) have repeatedly emphasised the sensitivity of language to situational context, of which the interlocutor (including addressee, auditor, overhearer, and eavesdropper) is a critical component (see also Bell, 1984; Giles and Coupland, 1991). This seems to call both for field methods which reduce the prominence of the investigator, and for analytic procedures which account for his/her interactional role.

The role of the observer has been discussed a great deal by Labov (1966; 1972a; 1972b; 1972c) in terms of the so-called 'observer's paradox', which springs from the effects upon language of direct observation and may be characterised as follows: while the vernacular (i.e the casual language of everyday interaction) is the focus of the researcher's interest, the act of systematic observation and recording radically alters the character of what is observed. One of the major tasks of a fieldworker who wishes to obtain reasonable quantities of vernacular data may therefore be seen as that of moving towards a resolution of the observer's paradox.

The observer's paradox was originally phrased with reference to the then popular data collecting method of interview in monolingual communities. Labov generally tackled the problem by attempting to redefine the role of the observer, for example, as a conversationalist instead of an interrogator (Labov, 1981). For those who have adopted the micro-interactional approach and have used participant observation to collect conversational data, there seems to be an implicit assumption that the observer is enmeshed in localised

social relationships and therefore the effect on linguistic data that is being collected becomes minimal (e.g. Gumperz, 1982). When the role of the observer/analyst is discussed by interactional sociolinguists, the concern seems to be chiefly with demonstrating a relationship between a participant's communicative strategies in a conversational context and the analyst's interpretation (e.g. Auer, 1984a and 1984b). However, an account of the role of the fieldworker and the effects of his/her relationships with the people under investigation needs to be in place before any interpretation of the meaning of specific linguistic behaviour makes sense. Without a clear specification of fieldwork procedures, it is difficult to carry out a comparative analysis of the behaviour of different social groups or of comparable groups in different locations (see also Edwards, 1986).

The observer's paradox afflicts investigations of bilingual communities in a particularly acute form where the sense of ethnicity is strong and the investigator is not an 'insider'. The issue is discussed more thoroughly by Milroy, et al. (1991). In the existing sociolinguistic literature on bilingual, ethnic minority communities, a considerable amount of discussion has been devoted to means of reducing the interference of 'outsider' observers with the language behaviour of the people under observation (see, for example, Linguistic Minorities Project, 1985; Milroy, 1987b). Although relatively little has been said about the 'insider' observer's effects on linguistic data, examples from the present study suggest that he or she affects the language behaviour of the participants in no less significant way than 'outsiders'. The following is an extract of a conversation between myself and a Chinese woman in her forties, which illustrates that while my personal ties within the local community provided me with smooth access to the family setting which would otherwise be submerged from public view, they constrained in an interesting way my own language use as well as that of the people I was observing.

(1)

1	Informant:	Sik gai a. (Eat chicken.)
2	Fieldworker:	mm.
3		(5.0)
4	Fieldworker:	Haven't seen Robert Ng for a long time.
5		(2.0)
6	Fieldworker:	Have you seen him recently?
7	Informant:	No.
8	Fieldworker:	Have you seen Ah Ching?
9	Informant:	... (2.0) (To daughter) Ning ngaw doei haai lai. (Bring my shoes.)
10		(To fieldworker) Koei hoei bindou a? (Where was she going?)

I was conversing with the informant in Chinese up to Line 2. The pause following my minimal response suggests the end of an interactional episode (L3). At this point, I attempted to introduce a new topic (i.e. the whereabouts of a mutual friend), and at this topic boundary I switched from Chinese to English (L4). Since the informant gave no response, I reinitiated the topic in English with an interrogative (L6). The response from the informant this time was negative and minimal (L7). I then asked her about a different person (L8). After a short pause, she selected another addressee and code-switched (from English to Chinese) (L9). This strategy excluded me temporarily from the conversation, before she turned back to address me in Chinese (L10).

There are of course various possible reasons for the informant's apparent reluctance to speak English to me, but the most important one here seems to concern the communicative norms governing intra-generational conversation among adults. Inter-generational conversations between adults and children are usually in both Chinese and English, although most adults prefer to speak and to be spoken to in Chinese only. Intra-generational conversation, on the other hand, especially amongst adults, is most often

exclusively in Chinese. Since I was accepted by most families as a friend of the parent generation, my use of English was expected to be confined to conversation with the British-born generation. My use of English to a Chinese adult violated this communicative norm. Consequently, I was met with little cooperation.

What is particularly interesting is the 'change of addressee' strategy accompanied by code-switching which the informant used to handle the situation. This strategy is in fact quite common for Chinese adult speakers who are apparently reluctant to converse in English but who, to preserve interactional equilibrium and the 'face' of the addressee, do not wish to switch back into Chinese with undue abruptness (see also Yum, 1988). We can schematise this strategy as follows:

A: Initiation in English

B: No response/dispreferred response in English

A: Re-initiation in English

B: Change of addressee accompanied by a switch to Chinese;
Switch back to A in Chinese

A change of addressee (for whatever reason), along with other kinds of interactional boundary, appears to be a common site for code-switching, which I shall discuss in detail in Chapter 6 (see also Auer, 1984a and Romaine, 1989: Chapter 4). The consequence of such a discourse strategy is that as a Chinese I could not sustain an exchange in English with a Chinese adult without affecting our relationship (see Eades, 1982 and Briggs, 1986 for more general discussions of discourse strategies of the fieldworker).

It should be pointed out that the relationship between myself and the Chinese adult in the above example was one of equality, in that neither party was of significantly higher status or more powerful than the other. Thus, the informant had to consider preserving the 'face' of the addressee in deciding what discourse strategy to employ (see also Brown and Levinson, 1987). When the relationship between the participants is unequal, quite different strategies may be used, as the following extract shows:

(2)

1	Mother:	Oy-m-oy faan a? Ah Ying a? (Want some rice?)
2		(2.0)
3	Mother:	Chaaufaan a. Oy-m-oy? (Fried rice. Want or not?)
4		(2.0)
5	Daughter:	I'll have some shrimps.
6	Mother:	Mut-ye? (.) Chaaufaan a. (What?) (Fried rice.)
7	Daughter:	Hai a. (OK.)

This extract is taken from a conversation between the same female informant in Extract (1) above and her twelve-year-old daughter. Here, we see that the daughter does not respond to her mother's offer of rice (Line 2). The mother asks again and emphasises that it is fried rice as opposed to ordinary boiled rice (L3). The daughter delays her response to the offer (L4) and then requests an alternative to rice (L5). Rather than accepting the daughter's request, the mother repeats her offer of fried rice (L6). The daughter then accepts (with apparent reluctance) the mother's offer (L7).

Remarkably, the daughter chooses to use English to mark her 'dispreferred' response (see further Chapter 6 and Levinson, 1983) in Line 5, but then has to switch to Chinese for her final acceptance, whereas the mother insists on the use of Chinese all along. Here, a culturally defined politeness norm is at work. In Chinese culture, direct questions with certain functions (such as offering) made by a person of higher status to a lower status other is generally expected to meet with compliance. Thus, when the mother asks her child whether she wishes to eat rice, a positive response is preferred. The child's response, 'I'll have some shrimps.', violates this politeness norm, to the evident irritation of her mother. Furthermore, the daughter's use of English contradicts the mother's choice of language. But the mother is able to use her authority, derived from her Generation and Age (see 2.6),

to insist on the daughter's acceptance of her offer and on her switching to Chinese to comply with her own language choice, which contrasts with her strategy of code-switching in Extract (1) above where she was addressing me who was of equal status with her.

Although there is nothing particularly unusual about these examples, they do illuminate the effect of inter-personal relationships upon the linguistic data which is being collected and ultimately analysed. An adequate specification of the role of the fieldworker, of his or her relations with the people in the field, and of the overall fieldwork procedures, is clearly needed for the linguistic data to be appropriately interpreted.

Summary

I have tried in this chapter to offer a systematic account of the fieldwork procedures employed in the present study. I have emphasised the need to provide more explicit exposition of participant observation and field relations so that the linguistic data collected can be interpreted within a clear context. In the following chapters, I shall turn my attention to data analysis.

4 Patterns of Language Choice and Language Shift

In 1.2.2, I mentioned a distinction made by Scotton (1986) between language (or code) choice - the selection of language A rather than language B, and code-switching - the act of changing between languages in situated speech. As she argues, the analysis of individuals' interactive acts needs to be contextualised within an analysis of the communicative norms of the society in which these individuals live. In other words, an overall model of language choice needs to be in place *prior to* a discussion of conversational code-switching (see also Pride and Holmes, 1972: 7). The purpose of this chapter is to describe language choice patterns of the Chinese emigrants in Britain, using the sample of 58 people from ten Chinese families in the Tyneside area.

The chapter consists of three sections. 4.1 examines language choices by members of three generations - grandparents, parents, and children, focusing primarily on speakers' choices of language(s) according to different interlocutors. On the basis of this discussion, a number of language choice patterns are generalised and speakers are grouped according to the linguistic behaviours they display in 4.2. The aim of this analysis is to establish whether speakers who make the same choices also share similar characteristics on the social dimension. In 4.3, speakers' ability to use Chinese and/or English for different communicative purposes will be discussed and variations in the language ability of individual speakers will be related to observed patterns of language choice.

4.1 Language choice by three generations

The data in this section is drawn from long-term participant observation in a range of situational contexts. Instead of analysing extra-linguistic factors such as topic and setting individually, I shall, following Bell's (1984) *audience design* theory, concentrate on speakers' language choices in response to different interlocutors, assuming here that non-

audience factors are subservient to audience types (see also Milroy, 1987b: Chapter 8). Details concerning age, sex, employment, emigration background and duration of residence in the U.K. of the sample of 58 speakers are provided in Appendix I. Both intra- and inter-speaker variations in language choice by speakers from three generations are examined and are shown in six matrices (see Tables 4.1 - 4.6 below), with male and female speakers listed separately. In these matrices, speakers are ranked on the vertical axis, and on the horizontal axis is a list of both family and non-family interlocutors - people with whom the speaker interacts. The list of family members refers to specific individuals in the family (empty cells indicate lack of such relations), while those listed under 'non-family member' are interlocutor types. I have chosen six types of non-family interlocutors who are categorised according to Generation and Sex. As explained in 2.6, in the Chinese cultural context Generation and Sex usually imply and embody social status. For example, males of the parent generation are normally considered socially higher than females of the same generation and the child generation (either male or female), but lower than the grandparent generation (male or female). The interlocutor types used in the following matrices could therefore be understood as representing higher or lower status relative to the speaker's own social position. Each row of letters in these tables represents the language choices of one speaker, and each letter represents the language(s) chosen - C for Chinese and E for English. If both languages are used, it is indicated by two letters appearing together. Individual speakers' choice patterns can be read across each row of letters in these tables, while any difference that exists between speakers regarding language choices with a particular (type of) interlocutor can be read down each column.

I shall start with language choices of the ten married couples who constitute the core of the sample, i.e. the parent generation; moving on to consider the choice patterns of the grandparent generation and then the child generation. Each table is followed by a brief description of the variations in language choice patterns of that particular generation. A summary of the overall patterns of the 58 speakers will be given and discussed after each generation has been examined separately.

4.1.1 Parent generation

Table 4.1. below presents observed choices of language(s) by ten male speakers of the parent generation (ranked according to age in vertical axis). The numbers in the far left column indicate the families they belong to. Eleven interlocutors are listed here under two categories: 1 - 5 are family members and 6 - 11 are non-family members. Within each category, the ones listed on the left are of relatively higher social status (determined by Generation and Sex) than the ones to the right. Thus males are placed to the left of females and parents are to the left of children.

Table 4.1 Language choice by ten male speakers of the parent generation

Speakers		Interlocutors											
		Family Members						Non-Family Members					
No.	Age	1	2	3	4	5		6	7	8	9	10	11
6	56	C	-	C	CE	CE	*	C	C	C	C	CE	CE
9	53	-	C	C	CE	-	*	C	C	C	C	CE	CE
7	49	-	C	CE	CE	CE	*	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
3	47	-	C	C	CE	-	*	C	C	C	C	CE	CE
8	44	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	*	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
10	44	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	*	C	C	C	C	CE	CE
2	41	-	-	C	CE	-	*	C	C	C	C	CE	CE
4	40	-	C	CE	CE	CE	*	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
5	37	-	C	C	CE	CE	*	C	C	C	C	CE	CE
1	35	C	-	C	CE	-	*	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE

Interlocutors:
1 = Grandparent, male 2= Grandparent, female 3 = Spouse (wife) 4 = Child, male 5 = Child, female 6 = Grandparent generation, male 7 = Grandparent generation, female 8 = Parent generation, male 9 = Parent generation, female 10 = Child generation, male 11 = Child generation, female

As we can see, only Chinese is used with female members of the grandparent generation, whether or not they are family members (interlocutors 2 and 7). Both Chinese and English are used to children of both sexes whether or not they are family members (interlocutors 4 and 5 are family members, and 10 and 11 are non-family members). Two

out of ten speakers (speakers 8 and 10) use both Chinese and English with the male grandparent of the family, while four speakers (7, 8, 10, 4) use both Chinese and English with their wives. Four speakers (7, 8, 4 and 1) use both Chinese and English with non-family members of their own generation (the parent generation), and no-one uses only English with any of the interlocutors.

Table 4.2 below summarises in the same way observed language choices by the wives of the ten male speakers of the parent generation.

Table 4.2 Language choice by ten female speakers of the parent generation

Speakers		Interlocutors											
		Family Members						Non-Family Members					
No.	Age	1	2	3	4	5		6	7	8	9	10	11
6	52	C	-	C	CE	CE	*	C	C	C	C	CE	CE
9	50	-	C	C	CE	-	*	C	C	C	C	CE	CE
3	46	-	C	C	CE	-	*	C	C	C	C	CE	CE
10	45	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	*	C	C	C	C	CE	CE
7	42	-	C	CE	CE	CE	*	C	C	C	C	CE	CE
8	40	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	*	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
2	38	-	-	C	CE	-	*	C	C	C	C	CE	CE
4	37	-	C	CE	CE	CE	*	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
5	35	-	C	C	CE	CE	*	C	C	C	C	CE	CE
1	32	C	-	C	CE	-	*	C	C	C	C	CE	CE

Interlocutors:
1 = Grandparent, male 2= Grandparent, female 3 = Spouse (husband) 4 = Child, male 5 = Child, female 6 = Grandparent generation, male 7 = Grandparent generation, female 8 = Parent generation, male 9 = Parent generation, female 10 = Child generation, male 11 = Child generation, female

Like their husbands, these women use only Chinese with female grandparents, whether or not they are family members (interlocutors 2 and 7). Only Chinese is used also with male members of grandparent generation *outside* the family (interlocutor 6), in contrast to the four male speakers who use both Chinese and English with male, non-family members of grandparent generation. Two out of ten speakers (speakers 10 and 8) use both Chinese and English with the male grandparents of the family, i.e. their fathers or father-

in-laws (interlocutor 1); these women are wives of the two men who also use both Chinese and English with male grandparents (see Table 4.1 above). However, these two female speakers use only Chinese with male members of the grandparent generation outside the family, which is in agreement with the language choice pattern of other women of their generation but differs from the pattern of some of their male counterparts. Four speakers (10, 7, 8, 4) use both Chinese and English with their husbands, and two of them (8 and 4) use both Chinese and English with non-family members of their own generation, both males and females. All speakers, like their husbands, use both Chinese and English with the children, whether or not they are family members, both males and females (interlocutors 4, 5, 10, 11). No-one speaks only English to any of the interlocutors.

Comparing the language choice patterns of male and female speakers of the parent generation, the main difference lies in the choice with non-family members of the male grandparent generation and with non-family members of their own generation of both sexes. More men than women use both Chinese and English (as opposed to Chinese only) with these interlocutors, and women's language choice patterns conform more to those of their own group (i.e. women of the parent generation) than to those of their husbands.

Let us now look at the language choice patterns of the grandparent generation who are the parents (or parents-in-laws) of the ten married couples.

4.1.2 Grandparent generation

There are four male and seven female members of the grandparent generation in the sample. Table 4.3 below presents observed language choices by the four male grandparent speakers. The format of the matrix remains largely the same as Tables 4.1 and 4.2 above, except interlocutor (1) now indicates spouses of the grandparents; (2) and (3) the parent generation, who are of course the ten married couples; and (4) and (5) the child generation. The six interlocutor types under the 'non-family members' category have also changed, in relation to the speaker's generation.

Table 4.3 Language choice by male grandparents

Speakers		Interlocutors											
		Family Members						Non-Family Members					
No.	Age	1	2	3	4	5		6	7	8	9	10	11
6	73	-	C	C	C	C	*	C	C	C	C	C	C
10	68	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	*	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
1	66	-	C	C	C	-	*	C	C	C	C	C	C
8	65	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	*	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE

Interlocutors:
1 = Spouse (Grandmother of the family) 2= Parent, male 3 = Parent, female 4 = Child, male 5 = Child, female 6 = Grandparent generation, male 7 = Grandparent generation, female 8 = Parent generation, male 9 = Parent generation, female 10 = Child generation, male 11 = Child generation, female

As Table 4.3 shows, two speakers (6 and 1) use only Chinese with all interlocutors, while the other two (speakers 10 and 8) use only Chinese with their wives (i.e. grandmothers of the families), and members of their own generation (grandparent generation) who are not family members. These same two speakers (10 and 8) use both Chinese and English with the parents and children of the families, and with members of the parent and child generations outside the family. No-one uses only English with any of the interlocutors.

In contrast, all the seven female grandparents in the sample use only Chinese with all interlocutors, as Table 4.4 below shows; no-one uses any English at all.

Table 4.4 Language choice by female grandparents

Speakers		Interlocutors											
		Family Members						Non-Family Members					
No.	Age	1	2	3	4	5		6	7	8	9	10	11
9	72	-	C	C	C	-	*	C	C	C	C	C	C
3	70	-	C	C	C	-	*	C	C	C	C	C	C
7	67	-	C	C	C	C	*	C	C	C	C	C	C
4	65	-	C	C	C	C	*	C	C	C	C	C	C
10	63	C	C	C	C	C	*	C	C	C	C	C	C
8	61	C	C	C	C	C	*	C	C	C	C	C	C
5	58	-	C	C	C	C	*	C	C	C	C	C	C

Interlocutors:
1 = Spouse (Grandfather of the family) 2= Parent, male 3 = Parent, female 4 = Child, male 5 = Child, female 6 = Grandparent generation, male 7 = Grandparent generation, female 8 = Parent generation, male 9 = Parent generation, female 10 = Child generation, male 11 = Child generation, female

As well as displaying language choice patterns of the speakers of the grandparent generation, these two tables (4.3 and 4.4) help to clarify one aspect of the language choice patterns of the ten married couples, as seen in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 above, that is, speakers use both Chinese and English with those who themselves use both languages (e.g. male grandparents 8 and 10) and they would speak only Chinese if the interlocutors are themselves Chinese monolinguals (e.g. female grandparents). This pattern confirms Bell's (1984) argument that speakers design their speech according to their audience.

Next examined are the language choice patterns of the child generation, comprising twenty-seven speakers of whom sixteen are male and eleven female.

4.1.3 Child generation

Table 4.5 presents observed language choices by the sixteen male children. Six family relations are listed here: (1) and (2) indicate grandparents of the families (male to the left of female), (3) and (4) parents, and (5) and (6) siblings. (7) - (12) are non-family interlocutors of both sexes of the grandparent, parent and child generations.

Table 4.5 Language choice by male children

Speakers		Interlocutors												
		Family Members							Non-Family Members					
No.	Age	1	2	3	4	5	6		7	8	9	10	11	12
9a	24	-	C	CE	CE	CE	-	*	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
6a	22	C	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	*	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
9b	22	-	C	CE	CE	CE	-	*	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
3a	21	-	C	CE	CE	CE	-	*	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
3b	19	-	C	CE	CE	CE	-	*	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
7a	18	-	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	*	CE	C	CE	CE	E	E
9c	18	-	C	CE	CE	CE	-	*	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
6b	17	C	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	*	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE
8	16	CE	C	CE	CE	-	CE	*	CE	C	CE	CE	E	E
10	16	CE	C	CE	CE	-	CE	*	CE	CE	CE	CE	E	E
2a	15	-	-	CE	CE	CE	-	*	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
7b	15	-	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	*	CE	CE	CE	CE	E	E
5	14	-	C	CE	CE	-	CE	*	CE	CE	CE	CE	E	E
2b	12	-	-	CE	CE	CE	-	*	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
4	11	-	C	CE	CE	-	CE	*	CE	C	CE	CE	E	E
1	10	C	-	CE	CE	-	-	*	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE

Interlocutors (relations to the speaker):
1 = Grandparent, male 2= Grandparent, female 3 = Parent, male 4 = Parent, female 5 = Brother 6 = Sister 7 = Grandparent generation, male 8 = Grandparent generation, female 9 = Parent generation, male 10 = Parent generation, female 11 = Child generation, male 12 = Child generation, female
The small letter after the number indicates the order of the child in the family, e.g. 9a is the first child of Family 9, 9b the second and 9c the third.

We can see here that only Chinese is used with grandmothers (interlocutor 2) by all speakers, while three speakers (6a, 6b and 1) use only Chinese with their grandfathers. They are from two families (6 and 1) whose grandfathers use only Chinese with all interlocutors (see Table 4.3 above). Two speakers (8 and 10), on the other hand, use both Chinese and English with their grandfathers. They are from two families (8 and 10) whose grandfathers use both Chinese and English with all interlocutors except the grandmothers and members of the grandparent generation outside the family (see Table 4.3). This pattern is consistent with that of their parents who also use both Chinese and English to the

grandfathers in the two families. All speakers use both Chinese and English with male, non-family members of the grandparent generation (interlocutor 7), while eleven speakers use only Chinese with female, non-family members of the grandparent generation (interlocutor 8). The remaining five (speakers 6b, 10, 2a, 7b and 2b) use both Chinese and English with these interlocutors. Both Chinese and English are used also with parents and non-family members of the parent generation (interlocutors 3, 4, 9 and 10), and with siblings, male and female (interlocutors 5 and 6). Ten speakers use both Chinese and English with non-family members of their own generation (interlocutors 11 and 12), and six (speakers 7a, 8, 10, 7b, 5 and 4) use only English with these interlocutors.

The language choice patterns of female speakers of the child generation are broadly similar to those of their male counterparts, as shown in Table 4.6 below. The total number of these female children in the sample is eleven. Five of them from two families (speakers 10a, 10b, 10c, 8a and 8b) use both Chinese and English with their grandfathers (interlocutor 1) and one (speaker 6) uses Chinese only (the rest do not have grandfathers in the family). Three out of ten (speakers 6, 5a and 7) use both Chinese and English with female members of the grandparent generation outside the family (interlocutor 8), and four (speakers 4, 5a, 7 and 5b) use English exclusively with non-family members of the child generation, both male and female (interlocutors 11 and 12).

Table 4.6 Language choice by female children

Speakers		Interlocutors												
		Family Members							Non-Family Members					
No.	Age	1	2	3	4	5	6		7	8	9	10	11	12
9	22	-	C	CE	CE	CE	-	*	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
10a	21	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	*	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
6	20	C	-	CE	CE	CE	-	*	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE
10b	18	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	*	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
4	15	-	C	CE	CE	CE	-	*	CE	C	CE	CE	E	E
8a	12	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	*	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
10c	12	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	*	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
5a	11	-	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	*	CE	CE	CE	CE	E	E
7	10	-	C	CE	CE	CE	-	*	CE	CE	CE	CE	E	E
5b	9	-	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	*	CE	C	CE	CE	E	E
8b	8	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	*	CE	C	CE	CE	CE	CE

Interlocutors (relations to the speaker):
1 = Grandparent, male 2= Grandparent, female 3 = Parent, male 4 = Parent, female 5 = Brother 6 = Sister 7 = Grandparent generation, male 8 = Grandparent generation, female 9 = Parent generation, male 10 = Parent generation, female 11 = Child generation, male 12 = Child generation, female
The small letter after the number indicates the order of the child in the family, e.g. 10a is the first child of Family 10, 10b the second and 10c the third.

4.1.4 Summary

The six matrices reveal that all but nine speakers (two male and seven female) vary their language choices according to interlocutor types. Most speakers use both Chinese and English with a range of interlocutors, except when the interlocutors are female grandparents within the family to whom all speakers use Chinese only. However, the most striking variations in language choice patterns these matrix demonstrate are the differences which exist *between* speakers both across and within the three generations. We can see, for example, that all female grandparents speak only Chinese in all situations, while two out of four male grandparents speak both Chinese and English with some interlocutors. In the parent generation, six speakers (four males and two females) use both Chinese and English

with members of their own generation outside the family, whereas the other fourteen parents speak Chinese only with the same types of interlocutor. In both the parent and grandparent generations, women seem to be more Chinese-oriented than men in terms of their language choice. Moreover, ten out of twenty-seven speakers of the child generation speak only English with their non-family peers, while the rest speak both Chinese and English. Clearly, further analysis is needed to explain inter-speaker variation of the kind we see here.

4.2 Language choice and speaker variables

On the basis of the analysis in the last section, I have generalised four patterns of language choice for communication with family members and seven for communication with non-family members. These generalised patterns are shown in Tables 4.7 and 4.8 below.

Table 4.7 Generalised patterns of language choice with family members

	Interlocutors						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	No. of Speakers
Pattern 1	C	C	C	C	C	C	9
Pattern 2	C	C	C	C	CE	CE	12
Pattern 3	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	26
Pattern 4	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	11

1 = Female grandparent 2 = Male grandparent 3 = Male parent 4 = Female parent 5 = Male child 6 = Female child

Table 4.8 Generalised patterns of language choice with non-family members

	Interlocutors						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	No. of Speakers
Pattern 1	C	C	C	C	C	C	9
Pattern 2	C	C	C	C	CE	CE	14
Pattern 3	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	4
Pattern 4	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	18
Pattern 5	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	3
Pattern 6	C	CE	CE	CE	E	E	5
Pattern 7	CE	CE	CE	CE	E	E	5

1 = Female grandparent generation 2 = Male grandparent generation 3 = Male parent generation 4 = Female parent generation 5 = Male child generation 6 = Female child generation

In Table 4.7, Pattern 1 indicates the use of Chinese only in all situations. Pattern 2 is a clearly Chinese-dominant pattern. Patterns 3 and 4 can be described as slightly differently balanced bilingual patterns. The same four patterns can also be found in interactions with non-family members (Table 4.8), but in addition Pattern 5 can be distinguished, which suggests the use of both Chinese and English with all interlocutor types. Patterns 6 and 7 indicate the use of English only with the child generation and either Chinese only or both Chinese and English with female interlocutors of the grandparent generation who are non-family members. These last two patterns can be described as English-dominant bilingual patterns.

Following Edwards' (1986) example, I shall now attempt to establish whether speakers who make the same choices also share similar social characteristics. Notice that the analysis here differs from that in the previous section in that we are now trying to differentiate speakers according to the linguistic behaviours they display, rather than to identify language choice patterns in terms of pre-defined social grouping. The social characteristics of the speaker which I have examined include age, sex, and duration of residence in Britain. I shall now look at them in turn.

4.2.1 Age

In order to discover the relation between age and language choice patterns of speakers, I have used an Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) procedure. ANOVA is a powerful and versatile statistical technique which can be applied in a number of ways in different research designs. Detailed discussions of this procedure with special references to linguistic research can be found in Butler (1985) and Woods, Fletcher, and Hughes (1986). The main objective of the current analysis is to test the extent to which speakers with the same language choice patterns belong to the same age group. This can be achieved by first grouping the speakers according to the language choice patterns they display (four patterns for family communication and seven for non-family; see Tables 4.7 and 4.8 above) and calculate the mean age of each group separately. Then the mean ages of different groups are compared with one another to see if they are sufficiently different for us to conclude that speakers who display different language choice patterns in fact represent different age groups. ANOVA would allow us to investigate possible differences between the mean age of several groups, each referring to a different language choice pattern. A statistic known as the *F*-ratio is produced which takes into account not only the mean age of individual speakers but also the size of the group and the relative homogeneity of the group, that is the manner in which age of individuals within the group is distributed or varies around the mean. An *F*-ratio of 5.50, for example, would mean that the differences between groups are 5.5 times greater than the differences within groups. But to find out whether a given *F*-ratio is significant, an *F*-distribution table needs to be consulted which gives the significance level associated with that particular *F*-ratio. *Significant* here is a technical term meaning that a particular level of *F* is not the result of chance. It is conventionally accepted that the figure of one in twenty ($p < 0.05$) is the minimum level of probability (that the difference between means could have occurred by chance). All the statistical tests in the present study, including ANOVA, have been carried out on Minitab, an easily learnt, flexible data manipulation package (Ryan, Joiner and Ryan, 1985).

Figure 4.1 below gives the mean age of speakers with different language choice patterns.

Figure 4.1 Mean age of speakers of different language choice patterns

	No. of Speaker	Group Mean Age
With family members		
Pattern 1	9	66.11
Pattern 2	12	43.50
Pattern 3	26	24.08
Pattern 4	11	25.09
With non-family members		
Pattern 1	9	66.11
Pattern 2	14	44.14
Pattern 3	4	52.50
Pattern 4	18	23.00
Pattern 5	3	15.67
Pattern 6	5	13.80
Pattern 7	5	13.20

Results of ANOVA show significant differences in age between speakers who display different language choice patterns ($F = 25.39$ $p < 0.02$ (with family members); $F = 40.60$ $p < 0.02$ (non-family-member interlocutors)). A closer examination of the mean age of each group reveals that greater differences lie between speakers of the first two patterns and those of Patterns 3 and 4 for family communication, and between speakers of Patterns 1 - 3 and those of Patterns 4 - 7 for communication with non-family members. In fact, there is no significant difference in age between speakers of Pattern 3 and Pattern 4 for family communication, or between those of Patterns 5, 6 and 7 for communication with non-family members. On the whole, Chinese-dominant language choice patterns (those listed towards the top of scales in Tables 4.7 and 4.8 above) are used by older speakers, and the bilingual and English-dominant patterns (the ones listed at the lower parts of the scales) are adopted by younger speakers. There is, however, one interesting variation in the choice patterns with non-family members. As we can see in Figure 4.1, speakers of Pattern 3 for communication with non-family-member interlocutors are much older (on average)

than Pattern 2 speakers. To account further for this particular variation, other social characteristics of the speakers have been examined.

4.2.2 Sex

Figure 4.2 below shows the numbers of male and female speakers who make the same language choices with family and non-family members.

Figure 4.2 Distribution of male and female speakers of different language choice patterns (Total: 30 males and 28 females; Percentage in brackets)

	Male		Female		Total
With family members:					
Pattern 1:	2	(6.7)	7	(25.0)	9
Pattern 2:	6	(20.0)	6	(21.4)	12
Pattern 3:	18	(60.0)	8	(28.6)	26
Pattern 4:	4	(13.3)	7	(25.0)	11
With non-family members:					
Pattern 1:	2	(6.7)	7	(25.0)	9
Pattern 2:	6	(20.0)	8	(28.6)	14
Pattern 3:	2	(6.7)	2	(7.1)	4
Pattern 4:	12	(40.0)	6	(21.4)	18
Pattern 5:	2	(6.7)	1	(3.6)	3
Pattern 6:	3	(10.0)	2	(7.1)	5
Pattern 7:	3	(10.0)	2	(7.1)	5

We can see here that considerably more male speakers than female speakers fall into Pattern 3 for communication with family members and Pattern 4 for non-family communication with non-family members, while the percentage of women who fall into Pattern 1 is considerably higher then that of men. These figures suggest that male speakers tend more than female speakers to adopt the bilingual language choice patterns, while more female speakers have remained largely Chinese monolingual. However, Patterns 5, 6, and 7 which relate to communication with non-family members show that there is little difference in the number of male and female speakers who adopt the English-dominant patterns.

At this point, I want to consider the interaction between the two variables of age and sex in relation to language choices of the speakers.

4.2.3 Age and sex

Figure 4.3 below gives the mean age of male and female speakers of different language choice patterns.

Figure 4.3 Mean age of male and female speakers of different language choice patterns

	Males		Females	
	No. of Speakers	Group Mean Age	No.of Speakers	Group Mean Age
With family members:				
Pattern 1	2	69.5	7	65.1
Pattern 2	6	44.8	6	42.2
Pattern 3	18	25.6	8	20.8
Pattern 4	4	30.0	7	22.3
With non-family members:				
Pattern 1	2	69.5	7	65.1
Pattern 2	6	46.3	8	42.5
Pattern 3	2	66.5	2	38.5
Pattern 4	12	26.8	6	15.5
Pattern 5	2	13.5	1	20.0
Pattern 6	3	15.0	2	14.7
Pattern 7	3	15.0	2	10.5

A series of *t*-tests were carried out in order to compare the mean ages of male and female speakers of each language choice pattern. Significant differences are found only for Pattern 3 and Pattern 4 speakers for communication with non-family member interlocutors ($t = 13.2\ p < 0.0057$ (Pattern 3); $t = 2.69\ p < 0.017$ (Pattern 4)), and in both cases men are older than women. Notice that the mean age of male Pattern 3 speakers for non-family communication is much higher than that of Pattern 2 speakers, while their female counterparts who fall into Pattern 3 are younger than those who fall into Pattern 2. This finding helps to clarify one aspect of Figure 4.1 above where the mean age of Pattern 3 speakers is much higher than that of Pattern 2 speakers. Analysis of the interaction between age and sex shows that the main reason for this variation is that some older male speakers

have adopted a bilingual language choice pattern, whereas women of similar age use only or mainly Chinese patterns.

4.2.4 Duration of residence in the U.K.

Apart from age and sex, duration of residence in Britain of the speakers was examined to see whether differences in patterns of language choice were associated with differences in the length of stay in an English-dominant environment. Figure 4.4 below gives the average number of years of residence in Britain by speakers of different language choice patterns.

Figure 4.4 Average years of residence in Britain by speakers of different language choice patterns

	No. of Speakers	Average Years of Stay
With family members:		
Pattern 1	9	15.22
Pattern 2	12	22.00
Pattern 3	26	17.78
Pattern 4	11	18.27
With non-family members:		
Pattern 1	9	15.22
Pattern 2	14	22.71
Pattern 3	4	33.00
Pattern 4	18	18.17
Pattern 5	3	15.67
Pattern 6	5	13.80
Pattern 7	5	13.20

Statistical tests show no significant difference in duration of stay between speakers of the four language choice patterns for communication with family members. But the difference between speakers of the seven language choice patterns for communication with non-family members in terms of length of residence in Britain is significant ($F = 6.99$ $p < 0.02$), with Pattern 3 speakers having had a much longer stay (on average) than the other speakers. Remarkably, the average years of residence in Britain of speakers of Patterns 6 and 7 - the English-dominant patterns - are the shortest of all speakers, while speakers with the longest duration of stay are those who use Patterns 2 and 3 - the Chinese-dominant

bilingual patterns. It does not therefore seem to be the case that the longer one stays in an English-speaking country, the more English one uses.

However, these figures obscure one important fact that speakers came to Britain at different ages; some were much older than others. Futhermore, there are 27 speakers in the sample who are British-born. It is therefore important to examine the interaction between duration of residence, age and sex of the speaker in relation to language choice patterns.

4.2.5 Duration of residence, age and sex

For this part of the analysis, speakers of various language choice patterns are examined in terms of their age at which they arrived in Britain (current age minus years of stay). Table 4.9 below gives the mean age at arrival in Britain of male and female speakers of different language choice patterns.

Table 4.9 Mean age at arrival in Britain of male and female speakers of different language choice patterns

	Males		Female	
	No. of Speakers	Group Mean Age	No. of Speakers	Group Mean Age
With family members:				
Pattern 1	2	58.50	7	48.23
Pattern 2	6	22.17	6	20.83
Pattern 3	18	7.11	8	5.13
Pattern 4	4	8.25	7	6.00
With non-family members:				
Pattern 1	2	59.50	7	48.43
Pattern 2	6	21.50	8	21.38
Pattern 3	2	39.00	2	18.50
Pattern 4	12	7.25	6	0.00
Pattern 5	2	0.00	1	0.00
Pattern 6	32	0.00	2	0.00
Pattern 7	3	0.00	2	0.00

($F = 12.76$ $p < 0.02$ (Male; with family members) $F = 20.93$ $p < 0.02$ (Male; with non-family members) $F = 36.14$ $p < 0.02$ (Female; with family members) $F = 60.28$ $p < 0.02$ (Female; with non-family members))

Table 4.9 shows that those who have remained Chinese monolingual (Pattern 1) or have maintained the Chinese-dominant language choice patterns arrived in Britain at a

much older age than speakers of bilingual and English-dominant patterns, suggesting once again that *age* is a more important variable. Sex differentiation is not statistically significant, as investigated by *t*-test, except for speakers of Patterns 3 and 4 (with non-family members) who tend to be males rather than females.

In sum, variations in language choice pattern are found to be associated primarily with age, with older speakers using either Chinese only or the Chinese-dominant language choice patterns, and the younger adopting either bilingual or English-dominant patterns. Generally speaking, sex and length of stay in Britain do not appear to affect significantly language choice of the speaker, except that more older male speakers than female speakers have adopted bilingual patterns and that those who remained Chinese monolingual or Chinese dominant were much older when they came to Britain. The findings as a whole suggest that a language shift from Chinese monolingualism to English-dominant bilingualism is taking place in the Tyneside Chinese community within the span of three generations.

To explore further this apparent language shift, individual speakers' abilities to use Chinese and/or English for various communicative purposes were investigated. The basic assumption here is that a bilingual's language use depends to a large extent upon his or her language ability; as Spolsky (1988) suggests, speakers normally prefer to use the language they know better for a particular communicative task. While language ability does not offer a complete explanation of language choice, it can illuminate the pattern of language shift that is taking place in the Tyneside Chinese community. This variable will be discussed in detail in the following section.

4.3 Variation and change in language ability across generations

Assessing language ability of bilingual speakers has long been an active area of debate among psychologists, applied linguists, and sociolinguists. Generally speaking, psychologists are concerned not with the actual use of languages but with the psychological state of the individuals who have access to more than one linguistic code, which Hamers and Blanc (1989) refer to as *bilinguality* rather than *bilingualism* (see also Mackey, 1962). A number of experimental tests to assess bilinguality are available, including, for example, reaction or latency-time tests, completion and word-detection tests, verbal association tests (see Lambert, 1955, 1964, 1969, 1986; Lambert and Moore, 1966; Lambert and Rawlings, 1969; Lambert and Segalowitz, 1969; Lambert, et al., 1967 for discussions of these tests). Although these psychometric measures have produced many interesting findings, their general applicability is questionable. Special difficulties arise when the test subjects are speakers from ethnic minority communities, since many ethnic minority children follow curricula in the language of the majority and may not have reached the level of language development required for the experimental measures to be valid by the time when the tests are administered. Moreover, cultural differences between social groups may also affect test results. If, for example, one wants to discover the knowledge of vocabulary of a linguistic minority child but presents him or her with pictures of objects familiar in the majority culture, as in the Peabody Picture Vocabularly Test (Dunn, 1959), but which are unfamiliar in the child's own culture, his or her lack of response offers no assessment value (see Hamers and Blanc, 1989 for further discussions on this issue). Indeed, Fishman (1968) regards many of the experimental tests devised by language psychologists as ethnocentric and quite inappropriate for assessing the actual language ability of bilinguals (see also Baetens Beardsmore, 1986 for general discussions of the psychological assessments of bilinguality).

Applied linguists, on the other hand, are concerned with language acquisition and development of bilingual speakers within the context of education. Formal testing plays a very important role. Speakers are measured according to unilingual norms rather than the

specificity of bilingual behaviour (Rivera, 1983; Baetens Beardsmore, 1986). While standard testing practices now in place in schools may be a useful means of reporting on learner status (e.g. by providing norm-referenced information on learner ranking), they often provide inaccurate information about speakers' skills of language use in social interaction.

Here, the distinction drawn by Wald (1981) between *language proficiency* and *language ability* is of particular relevance. Language proficiency normally refers to the mastery of the language code (verbal or non-verbal), and thus concerns mainly such features as lexical items and rules of sentence formation, pronunciation, and literal meaning. It may also include the use of cohesion devices to relate utterance forms (e.g. pronouns, transition words, and parallel structures) and coherence rules to organize meanings (e.g. repetition, progression, consistency, and relevance of ideas). Language proficiency can usually be gained through formal learning and can be measured by standardised tests. Language ability, on the other hand, is 'the actual knowledge a speaker has of a language which is made use of in a variety of situations' (Wald, 1981: 2). It is usually acquired through socialisation, and cannot be properly assessed out of context. As Wald argues, formal, standardised assessment procedures which focus on language proficiency tend to underestimate ability, particularly of speakers from socially underprivileged backgrounds, because they generally cannot discriminate between non-standard, stigmatized vernacular form and under-developed forms (see also Lavandera, 1978a; Martin-Jones and Romaine, 1985; L. Milroy, 1985).

Since the beginning of the 1980s, there has been a growing awareness amongst applied linguists of the potential applications of sociolinguistic methods and principles to the task of bilingual assessment (see, for example, Rivera, 1983). The main attraction of a sociolinguistic orientation is its emphasis on the overall skill in *using* language for natural purposes in realistic situations and the way(s) in which the investigator/assesser collects and interprets/assesses data. Rather than setting out standards in advance and testing how near the subjects are to these standards, sociolinguists typically define communicative norms on

the basis of detailed observation of social interaction and take into account both stylistic (or intra-speaker) and social (inter-speaker) variations (see further Preston, 1989).

In the present study, I have adopted the sociolinguistic principles of assessing language ability of the speaker *in use* and have tried to examine whether or not individual speakers can use Chinese and/or English to perform a range of practical, communicative tasks. On the basis of extensive participant observation, I have designed four six-point scales, going from zero to five, to measure individual speakers' ability to use spoken Chinese, written Chinese, spoken English, and written English respectively. Each scale consists of five conditions and every speaker is assigned one point for each condition he or she satisfies. The resulting scores are used to construct language ability indices in which speakers are rated from zero (fulfilling none of the five conditions) to five (fulfilling all conditions). The five conditions according to which the speaker's spoken and written language ability is assessed are as follows:

Spoken language (for both Chinese and English):

1. Can understand routine greetings, simple questions and statements (e.g. questions and statements about weather, health, prices of goods in shops, etc.).
2. Can answer such simple questions and make simple statements.
3. Can partake in casual conversation (usually about domestic topics among friends).
4. Can understand radio and television programmes, films (including videos), and (where applicable) speeches at formal or festive gatherings (e.g. Chinese New Year receptions).
5. Can communicate effectively and with general ease in a range of social contexts.

Written language (for both Chinese and English):

1. Can read simple signs and notices (e.g. in streets and shops).
2. Can write own name and a few simple words.
3. Can fill in simple forms and write informal letters.

4. Can read books, newspapers, magazines, and formal business documents.

5. Can effectively fulfil a range of tasks which requires the use of written language.

Conditions 1 - 2 (for both spoken and written languages) are chosen to indicate that the speaker has the ability to comprehend and to use the language for basic communicative tasks. Anyone who cannot fulfil these conditions (zero score) would be considered as having no ability to use the language. Condition 3 is used as an indicator for average language ability, and Conditions 4 - 5 for above average and near native ability. It must be emphasised here that these conditions are not designed as indicators of speakers' *linguistic competence* (Chomsky, 1965). They are not used to examine the mental disposition of the bilingual speaker or the complexity or well-formedness of the linguistic structures he or she produces. Rather, they are intended to reflect particular uses of the language for different communicative purposes and are empirically defined measures which are commonly used by members of the community themselves in judging others' as well as their own language ability. During my fieldwork, I found that people often made comments such as 'She speaks good English' and 'His Chinese isn't very good'. When asked about their criteria for such judgements they would say 'She talks to English people'; 'She reads English newspapers'; or 'He can only write his name in Chinese'; 'He doesn't understand Chinese films'. Given the fact that many of the speakers have not received any formal education either in Chinese or in English or both, it would be quite unreasonable to subject them to standardised language tests. Thus, I have opted for the above ethnographically-based measures. As we shall see, the scales derived from these measures are capable of differentiating individual speakers quite clearly.

Another point to be made here is that in the existing literature on language choice and language shift in linguistic minority communities, bilingual speakers' ability to use written language(s) has not been subjected to the same vigorous and systematic examinations as their ability to use spoken language(s). Yet bilinguals, especially young bilinguals, can very often speak two languages with similar degree of fluency while being literate in only one -

usually the language they learn in school. More importantly perhaps, members of bilingual communities do seem to regard the ability to read and write as an indicator of a speaker's communicative competence. Taylor (1987) points out that in communities such as the Chinese where written language becomes a symbol of traditional culture (see also Martin-Jones, 1984), a reduction or loss of ability to read and write their ethnic language may take on particular social significance for the members of those communities. As the Linguistic Minorities Project (1985) argues, the speaker's bi-literacy level ought to be examined as part of an overall assessment of bilinguals' language ability (see also Williams and Snipper, 1990). Thus, I have included the use of written languages (Chinese and English) in my observation and assessment in the present study.

Detailed scores of individual speakers on the four language ability scales can be seen in Appendix II. Figures 4.5 and 4.6 below present the four language ability indices for male and female speakers.

Figure 4.5 Language Ability Indices for Male Speakers (Total number of speakers: 30):

Speaker No.	A	B	C	SC	WC	SE	WE
25	73	GF	12	5	2	0	0
51	68	GF	25	5	4	3	3
1	66	GF	8	5	3	0	0
37	65	GF	30	5	5	3	3
26	56	F	31	5	4	2	2
45	53	F	27	5	4	3	3
32	49	F	23	5	5	3	3
10	47	F	39	5	4	2	2
39	44	F	30	5	4	3	3
53	44	F	25	5	4	3	3
5	41	F	20	5	5	3	3
15	40	F	16	5	5	4	4
20	37	F	17	5	5	3	3
2	35	F	12	5	5	3	3
47	24	S	24	3	1	5	5
28	22	S	22	4	2	5	5
48	22	S	22	4	2	5	5
12	21	S	21	4	2	5	5
13	19	S	19	3	1	5	5
34	18	S	18	3	1	5	5
49	18	S	18	3	1	5	5
29	17	S	17	4	1	5	5
43	16	O	16	3	1	5	5
55	16	S	16	2	1	5	5
7	15	S	15	3	1	5	5
35	15	S	15	2	1	5	5
22	14	S	14	2	1	5	5
8	12	S	12	3	1	5	5
17	11	S	11	3	1	5	5
4	10	S	10	3	1	5	5

A = Age B = Generation (GF = Grandfather; F = Father; S = Son; O = Other relative)
C = Years of residence in Britain
SC = Spoken Chinese WC = Written Chinese SE = Spoken English WE = Written English

Figure 4.6 Language Ability Indices for Female Speakers (Total number of speakers: 28):

Speaker No.	A	B	C	SC	WC	SE	WE
44	72	GM	18	5	0	0	0
9	70	GM	12	5	0	0	0
31	67	GM	6	5	0	0	0
14	65	GM	18	5	2	0	0
52	63	GM	23	5	2	0	0
38	61	GM	30	5	2	0	0
19	58	GM	10	5	4	0	0
27	52	M	31	5	4	2	2
46	60	M	27	5	4	2	2
11	46	M	26	5	4	2	2
54	45	M	21	5	4	2	2
33	42	M	20	5	5	2	2
40	40	M	22	5	4	2	2
6	38	M	17	5	5	2	2
16	37	M	18	5	5	4	3
21	35	M	15	5	5	2	2
3	32	M	12	5	5	3	3
50	22	O	22	4	1	5	5
56	21	D	21	4	4	5	5
30	20	D	20	4	1	5	5
57	18	D	18	4	1	5	5
18	15	D	15	4	2	5	5
41	12	D	12	3	1	5	5
58	12	D	12	2	1	5	5
23	11	D	11	3	1	5	5
36	10	D	10	2	1	5	5
24	9	D	9	2	1	5	5
42	8	D	8	3	1	5	5

A = Age B = Generation (GM = Grandmother; M = Mother; D = Daughter; O = Other relative) C = Years of residence in Britain
SC = Spoken Chinese WC = Written Chinese SE = Spoken English WE = Written English

To investigate the relationships between the four sets of indexes and to establish whether differences in the language ability scores are related to differences in speakers' social characteristics such as age, sex and duration of stay in Britain, a series of Spearman's rank order correlation tests were carried out. The hypotheses here are that

i) speakers who score higher for Chinese (both spoken and written) would score lower for English and vice versa, thus confirming the language shift which is believed to be taking place in the community;

ii) older speakers would score higher on the scales for Chinese (spoken and written), while younger speakers score higher on the scales for English (spoken and written); and

iii) variations in language ability scores are in some way related to differences in gender and duration of residence in Britain of the speakers.

Since the Spearman's rank order correlation test will be used again in subsequent analyses, a few explanatory notes are necessary here. This test calculates the extent to which the rank order of scores for each individual on one measurement is similar to the rank order of scores on another measurement. Fasold (1984: 102-103) gives a non-linguistic illustration of the principles of the correlation test which I shall quote here in full:

> imagine we had height and weight measurements for a group of 100 children between the ages of 5 and 15. We would expect that the taller children would weigh more and the shorter youngsters would weigh less. If we were to list all the children in order by height, they would automatically be very nearly also in order by weight. This would be an example of *positive* correlation; a youngster with greater height would also probably have greater weight, and vice versa. If we were to take the same children and compare two different characteristics, this time age and the amount of time it takes a child to run 50 metres, we would expect a *negative* correlation. By and large, older children should be able to run 50 metres in *less* time than younger children. In neither case would the correlation necessarily be perfect. There would probably be some shorter youngsters who happen to weight more than a taller child, and also a few older children who took more time to run 50 meters than some younger children. Correlation gives a measure of how much one characteristic varies with another. If the two vary together perfectly in a *positive* direction, then we would obtain a coefficient of correlation of +1.00. If they varied in the exact opposite direction from each other, the *correlation coefficient* would be -1.00. If they were not related to each other at all, the coefficient of correlation would be 0.00. Thus, coefficients of correlation vary in value between -1.00 and +1.00. A coefficient of correlation of 0.83, for example, would represent a very strong positive correlation. A value of -0.53 would be a moderate negative correlation. (Original italics)

It should be noted here that although generally speaking the closer the correlation coefficient, r, comes to 1.0, the closer the relationship between the two sets of figures, the value of r is influenced by the number of individuals in a sample tested, and it is important to know how much reliance can be placed on this value; that is, whether or not it can be said that there is a relationship at a given level of r . Standard statistics textbooks normally list the critical values of the Spearman rank correlation coefficient, p (see, for example, Butler, 1985).

4.3.1 Correlations between different language ability scores

The correlation tests for the current study were carried out on Minitab. They show highly significant but negative correlation between speakers' language ability scores for spoken Chinese and for spoken English (r = -0.885 p < 0.005 (males); r = -0.861 p < 0.005 (females)), which indicates a sharp contrast between speakers' ability to use the two languages for various communicative tasks. More specifically, speakers who can normally use Chinese with general ease and fluency in a wide range of social contexts appear to have moderate or low command of English, whereas those whose use of Chinese is rather limited compensate with a better command of English. But correlation between the scores for written Chinese and written English is found to be significant for male speakers (r = -0.784 p < 0.005) only. This is because many women are either illiterate in both languages or have only moderate ability to use the written language.

4.3.2 Correlations between language ability and speaker age

To further examine the relationships between language ability and social characteristics of individual speakers, correlation tests were carried out between *age* and ability scores. It was found that the age of male speakers correlates positively with language ability scores on the scales for Chinese (spoken: r = 0.879 p < 0.005; written: r = 0.772 p < 0.005) and negatively with scores for English (spoken: r = -0.882 p <

0.005; written: r = -0.882 p < 0.005). This suggests that older males tend to score high on the Chinese scales, while younger male speakers score high on the English scales.

Similar correlations are found between age and language ability scores of female speakers for spoken Chinese (r = 0.869 p < 0.005), spoken English (r = -0.946 p < 0.005) and written English (r = -0.947 p < 0.005). But there is no significant correlation between age and language scores of female speakers for written Chinese. This is because both the oldest and youngest female speakers scored very low on the scale. In fact three out of seven female speakers of the grandparent generation are illiterate in Chinese, and only two speakers from the child generation scored more than one point on the scale (see further Figure 4.6 above).

Figure 4.7 gives further details of the mean age of speakers of different language ability scores.

Figure 4.7 Mean age of speakers of different scores on the language ability indices: (Total numbers of speakers: 58 (30 Males and 28 females)

Score	Male		Female		Total	
	No. of Speaker	Mean Age	No. of Speaker	Mean Age	No. of Speaker	Mean Age
Spoken Chinese:						
5:	14	51.3	17	51.4	31	51.3
4:	4	20.5	5	21.6	9	19.8
3:	9	15.9	3	10.3	12	14.5
2:	3	15	3	10.3	6	12.7
1:	0	-	0	-	0	-
0:	0	-	0	-	0	-
Written Chinese:						
5:	6	44.5	5	36.8	11	41
4:	6	52	7	44.6	13	48
3:	1	66	0	-	1	66
2:	4	34.5	4	51	8	42.8
1:	13	15.8	9	13.6	22	14.9
0:	0	-	3	69.7	3	69.7
Spoken English:						
5:	16	16.9	11	14.4	27	15.9
4:	1	40	1	37	2	38.5
3:	9	48.4	1	32	10	46.9
2:	2	51.5	8	43.5	10	45.1
1:	0	-	0	-	0	-
0:	2	69	7	65.1	9	66.1
Written English:						
5:	16	16.9	11	14.4	27	15.9
4:	1	40	0	-	1	40
3:	9	48.4	2	34.5	11	45.9
2:	2	51.5	8	43.5	10	45.1
1:	0	-	0	-	0	-
0:	2	69	7	65.1	9	66.1

These findings provide further evidence of the on-going language shift within the Tyneside Chinese community, which is closely related to speaker age.

4.3.3 Correlations between language ability and sex

A series of *t*-tests on the mean age of male and female speakers confirms that there is no significant sex-based differences in language ability scores; that is, both older male and older female speakers score higher on the Chinese scales and both younger males and younger females score higher on the English scales. However, there are three older women

who score nil for written Chinese (i.e. illiterate), whereas their male counterparts all appear to have some ability to read and write.

4.3.4 Correlations between language ability and duration of residence in Britain

Further tests were carried out to investigate relationships between individual speakers' language ability and their duration of residence in Britain. Only moderate correlations are found between language ability scores for spoken and written Chinese and duration of stay (spoken: $r = 0.445$ $p < 0.025$ (males); $r = 0.453$ $p < 0.025$ (females); written: $r = 0.445$ $p < 0.025$ (males); $r = 0.389$ $p < 0.025$ (females)). There is no significant correlation between the ability to use English (either spoken or written) and length of residence, which seems to form a corollary to our previous findings of the relationship between language choice patterns and duration of stay in Britain (see further 4.2). The average years of stay in Britain by speakers of different language ability scores are presented in Figure 4.8 below.

Figure 4.8 Average number of years of residence in Britain by speakers of differing language ability scores:

Score	Male No. of Speaker	Male Average Year	Female No. of Speaker	Female Average Year	Total No. of Speaker	Total Average Year
Spoken Chinese:						
5:	14	21.8	17	19.2	31	20.4
4:	4	20.5	5	21.6	9	19.8
3:	9	15.9	3	10.3	12	14.5
2:	3	15.0	3	10.3	6	12.7
1:	0	-	0	-	0	-
0:	0	-	0	-	0	-
Written Chinese:						
5:	6	19.7	5	16.4	11	18.2
4:	6	27.8	7	22.6	13	25.0
3:	1	8.0	0	-	1	8.0
2:	4	19.3	4	21.5	8	20.4
1:	13	15.8	9	13.6	22	14.9
0:	0		3	12.0	3	12.0
Spoken English:						
5:	16	16.9	11	14.4	27	15.9
4:	1	16.0	1	18.0	2	17.0
3:	9	23.2	1	12.0	10	22.1
2:	2	30.0	8	22.4	10	23.9
1:	0	-	0	-	0	-
0:	2	10.0	7	16.7	9	15.2
Written English:						
5:	16	16.9	11	14.4	27	15.9
4:	1	16.0	0	-	1	16
3:	9	23.2	2	15.0	11	21.7
2:	2	30.0	8	22.4	10	23.9
1:	0	-	0	-	0	-
0:	2	10.0	7	16.7	9	15.2

At this point, it seems reasonable to suggest that there is a connection between language ability and language choice patterns identified in 4.2 above. To examine the relation between the two aspects of the speaker's language behaviour, further correlation tests were undertaken.

4.3.5 Language ability and language choice

Since the language ability indices give every speaker a numerical score for his or her use of spoken Chinese, written Chinese, spoken English and written English, we can now

rank all the speakers according their scores. In the meantime, we can use the language choice patterns which we have identified at the beginning of 4.2 (four for communication with family members and seven for non-family member interlocutors) as another set of ranks, from Pattern 1 indicating Chinese monolingualism to Pattern 7 English-dominant bilingualism. Rank order correlations between language ability scores and language choice patterns can give some indication of whether speakers who use Chinese with more interlocutor types also use the language for wider communicative purposes and whether those who speak more English have a more flexible command of the language.

Results of the correlation tests are presented in Figure 4.9 below. Positive correlations indicate higher language ability scores and higher (English-dominant) language choice patterns, and negative correlations indicate higher language ability scores but lower (Chinese-dominant) language choice patterns. As we can see, speakers who score higher on the Chinese scales (both spoken and written) do indeed use Chinese only or Chinese-dominant language choice patterns (both with family members and with non-family member interlocutors), while those who score higher on the scales for English use the English-dominant patterns, except for women whose scores for written Chinese do not seem to correlate with their language choice patterns.

Figure 4.9 Correlations between language choice patterns and language ability scores:

	Males		Females	
	r	*p*	*r*	*p*
With family members:				
Spoken Chinese:	-0.481	< 0.005	-0.636	< 0.005
Written Chinese:	-0.386	< 0.025	n.s.	
Spoken English:	0.591	< 0.005	0.810	< 0.005
Written English:	0.591	< 0.005	0.808	< 0.005
With non-family members:				
Spoken Chinese:	-0.823	< 0.005	-0.857	< 0.005
Written Chinese:	-0.668	< 0.005	n.s.	
Spoken English:	0.827	< 0.005	0.960	< 0.005
Written English:	0.827	< 0.005	0.959	< 0.005

Summary

In this chapter, I have examined in some detail the language choice patterns of a sample of 58 speakers in the Tyneside Chinese community, using a number of statistical procedures. Results suggest that a rapid inter-generational language shift from Chinese monolingualism to English-dominant bilingualism is currently taking place. This shift is exemplified not only in a change of habitual language choice with different interlocutor types, but also variations in the ability to use the two languages in both speech and writing. A number of extra-linguistic factors have been examined and it has been found that *age* is the most significant factor associated with this change in language choice and language ability, with older speakers using only or mainly Chinese in a wide range of situational contexts and younger speakers using both Chinese and English or predominantly English for different communicative purposes.

However, age alone tells us little about the social mechanisms underlying the language shift process; indeed, it may misleadingly imply that variations in language choice and language ability reflect life-cycle changes rather than changes over time. A simplified example of a life-cycle change in language choice might be that of a speaker who has been speaking only Chinese since childhood and starts to speak a mixture of Chinese and English upon reaching twenty years old. We have no evidence that such is the case in the Tyneside Chinese community. What we have seen here is synchronic variations which exist both within and across generations. For example, while in general the grandparents have remained Chinese monolingual, two of the male grandparents in the sample have not only acquired some English but also use it with a range of interlocutors; and while the majority of the child generation use both Chinese and English, some members of that generation have begun to use only English for peer-group interaction. Furthermore, there are particular types of interlocutors with whom speakers use only Chinese (e.g. female grandparents), whereas with others both Chinese and English or English only may be used. To explain variations such as these, we need to look for factors other than speaker age which can account for the underlying processes whereby speakers make their choices. In

the following chapter, I shall explore the social mechanism underlying the on-going language shift, making use of the concept of *social networks*.

5 Social Networks and Variations in Language Choice

The objective of this chapter is to explain the patterns of linguistic variability described in the last chapter by applying the concept of *social networks*. As outlined in 1.3, social networks involve not only the speaker but also people with whom the speaker interacts, and social network analysis essentially measures an individual's degree of integration into informally constituted social groups. This degree of integration can act as *a norm enforcement mechanism* so that members of particular networks display similar social behaviours (including linguistic behaviour) which systematically differ from those of non-members (Bott, 1957). Gal's (1979) study, for example, reveals that there are regularly patterned relations between a speaker's language choice and the characteristics of his or her social networks. Those with strong peasant ties in Oberwart, Austria, adopt a Hungarian-dominant language choice pattern, while those with urban networks (of different ages) have shifted towards the use of German. Gal further argues that it is through such association between language choice and particular groups of speakers that different linguistic systems acquire different social symbolism. I shall in this chapter explore the relationships between social networks and language behaviour within the Tyneside Chinese community building upon the model developed by Gal (1979) (and of course by Milroy (1987a) and Bortoni-Ricardo (1985) as well).

The chapter is organised into six sections. In 5.1, different types of social networks which affect speakers' linguistic behaviour are outlined, and in 5.2 methods for collecting social network data are discussed. 5.3 attempts to identify social network patterns of the 58 sample speakers in terms of three generations, and 5.4 and 5.5 analyse the relations between individuals' social network patterns and their language choices and language abilities. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the effect of social networks upon intra-speaker variation in language choice, that is, the same speakers' choices of

language(s) with different interlocutors. Throughout the chapter, references are made to the language choice patterns and language ability indices which we have identified and examined in Chapter 4.

5.1 Network types

Network analysts sometimes find information about individuals' social contacts difficult to obtain not only because it tends to be personal (though not necessarily private), but also because a given individual may possess a range of ties which can be manipulated for particular purposes at different times. It is therefore important to specify which types of networks one wants to study before data is collected and analysis begins.

Personal network types can be identified either in terms of shape and pattern of the ties which Mitchell (1969) calls the 'morphological' aspects of networks, or of the content of the relationships - the 'interactional' aspects of ties. As has been mentioned in 1.3, investigators from several disciplines who are interested in developing formal methods of analysing social networks have tended to concentrate on *morphological* or *structural* features such as density of the ties, while social anthropologists who want to account for the observable behaviour of individuals tend to give equal, if not more, weighting to the *interactional* properties or *content* of the relationships (see also Mitchell, 1986). The main structural and interactional characteristics of networks are discussed in detail by Mitchell (1969: 10-29). Some would argue that the two types of features are interrelated and both are important in any analysis of the role of social networks in the day-to-day living of individuals (Surra, 1988; Cochran, 1990).

In principle, social networks are boundless. They link people to one another throughout the whole society however remotely. It would be impractical and unnecessary in most research, however, to identify all the network members of a particular individual or a family. Empirical evidence suggests that for practical reasons social networks are generally 'anchored' to individuals. This principle of 'anchorage' effectively limits the first-order network to, normally, something between 30 and 50 individuals (Mitchell, 1986: 74; see

also Milroy, 1987b; Milroy and Milroy, in press). First-order networks are those with whom the anchor person (or ego) is in direct and regular contact. If we consider second or higher-order contacts, the number would increase to a pragmatically infinite limit.

Within the first-order range, it is possible to distinguish between *exchange* and *interactive* networks (Milardo, 1988: 26-36). Exchange networks are collectives of people with whom the probability of rewarding exchanges (and unrewarding exchanges in cases of conflict-habituated relationships; see Barrera, 1981) is high. In other words, these are the people with whom the ego not only interacts routinely, but also exchanges direct aid, advice, criticism, support and interference. Traditionally, kins and close friends form an essential part of an individual's exchange network. Interactive networks, on the other hand, consist of people with whom ego interacts frequently and perhaps over prolonged periods of time, but crucially, the probability of rewarding exchange is low, that is, the ego does not rely on these contact for personal favours and other material or symbolic resources. An example of interactive ties would be a shop owner and his or her customers.

Typically, exchange networks are 'strong ties', in terms of both structural and interactional features, while interactive networks tend to be loosely structured 'weak ties' (Granovetter, 1973; Milardo, 1988). Some individuals have more exchange networks than interactive ones or vice versa within their first-order network range, therefore their network types could be characterised as relatively dense and multiplex or loose and uniplex (see further 1.3).

In addition to the exchange and interactive ties, there is a subset of personal networks which comprise 'passive ties'. These 'passive ties' are marked by an absence of regular contact, but are equally considered important by ego who depends on such relationships for sentimental and moral support or influence. Many people, for example, would have relatives or friends who for various reasons are physically distant from them, but who are still regarded as important relations. Such relations are particularly relevant to migrants who tend to cling psychologically to their traditional ties, despite the passing of time. 'Passive ties' fall somewhere between first-order and second- or higher-order networks.

Unlike first-order contacts they do not involve regular interaction with the ego, yet their affective impact on ego is strong in contrast with second-order networks.

5.2 Collecting social network data

The diversity and fluidity of individuals' social network contacts present a challenge to potential investigators. Milardo (1988) discusses a number of field procedures for collecting information for network analyses, including name-elicitation, self-report, and observation of sample social interaction. Name-elicitation and self-reports are perhaps the most frequently used methods for collecting information on personal networks and are capable of gathering large amounts of comparable data in a relatively short time. A potential problem, however, concerns the criteria according to which informants are invited to nominate their network constituency. Variations in interpretation of terms such as 'friend' and 'significant other' can be expected across age, gender and social group. This problem may be overcome (at least partially) by tactful interview questions. As Fischer (1982) suggests, for example, the interviewer may in formulating the questions present the interviewee with a set of social settings (e.g. household, work, school) in addition to several categories of individuals defined specifically in terms of the probability of rewarding exchanges. He gives an example of how such questions may be framed:

> 'Some people never talk with anyone, either on or off the job, about how to do their work. Other people do discuss things like decisions they have to make, work problems they have to solve, and ways to do their work better. Is there anyone you talk with about how to do your work? [If yes] Who do you talk with about your work?' (Fischer, 1982: 324)

It is obvious that questions like this cannot be asked within a highly structured schedule. Instead, ethnographic interview procedures where informal conversation replaces the question-answer exchanges are preferred (see also 3.3.6). Ethnographic interviews can be supplemented with participant observation, which, in addition to revealing ego-centred ties, allows the investigator to examine a set of networks as a whole (Mitchell, 1986).

In the present study, I have employed a combination of participant observation and ethnographic interview to collect information on individual's network ties. It was felt that

all three types of networks - exchange, interactive and 'passive' - should be examined, because they exert different degrees and kinds of influence upon speakers' language behaviour. As discussed earlier, exchange networks comprise people with whom an individual makes friends and upon whom he or she depends for material and moral support. Their impact upon ego tends to be strong. Differences in two individuals' (or two groups of individuals') exchange networks may result in quite different social behavioural norms, as anthropologists have shown (e.g. Cochran, 1990). Interactive networks, on the other hand, refer to the people with whom individuals have frequent contacts but without material and moral attachment. Their effect upon the individuals' behaviour may be less direct and systematic, but nevertheless significant. In comparison, 'passive' ties are the people with whom ego cannot interact on a regular basis, but are still considered as important relations. They reflect individuals' psychological orientation and social attitudes.

For the present study, the *exchange* networks of the 58 speakers in the sample were identified in two stages. First, participant observation elicited an initial list of around 30 contacts with whom the speaker interacted regularly and exchanged goods and information. Then the list was presented to the speaker who was asked whether those on the list were indeed regarded by him- or herself as important relations. The list was amended accordingly and a resulting 20 non-kin contacts were used as the basis for analysing the speaker's exchange networks. The number 20 was selected, following Mitchell (1986), as a reasonable basis for quantitative analysis.

It should be explained here that the reason to exclude kin from the exchange network is because I found that differences in family size often resulted in some speakers having a large number of family members with whom they interacted regularly and upon whom they depended materially and morally, while some others having none. For examples, speakers from a family of seven people may (but not necessarily of course) have six kin out of the listed 20 exchange ties, whereas those from a family of four can at most have three (see Appendix I for information on family size). More significantly perhaps, such differences in the proportion of kin within the exchange network are not always the result of the speakers'

own choosing. Some people interact and exchange goods and services with their relatives on a regular basis simply as part of routine family life. It was therefore felt necessary to focus on non-family ties to allow more meaningful comparisons between speakers.

The term 'regularly' also needs some explanation. When I first began to collect information on individual speaker's network ties, I focussed on people with whom the speakers interacted on a daily basis. It soon became apparent that many of the people with whom the speakers exchanged direct support, material goods, advice and criticism, that is 'exchange' networks, only met once or twice a week, although they might communicate with each other more often via telephone. In a few cases, the intervals in between two meetings with friends were even longer, due to the overall slower pace of life that the speakers led. Thus, 'regularly' here may refer to daily, weekly or even monthly (but no longer than monthly), depending on individual circumstances. The most important point is that the contacts were regarded as 'regular' by the speakers themselves.

In order to examine individual's degree of social integration, I have constructed two network indices - an 'ethnic' index, which is calculated in terms of the number of Chinese versus non-Chinese ties out of the 20 exchange network ties listed for each speaker, and 'peer' index, reflecting the number of people belonging to the same generation as the speaker as opposed to those of other generations (either older or younger). For example, Speaker 51, who is a grandparent, has of his listed 20 exchange ties 16 which are Chinese (ethnic index) and eight which are of the grandparent generation (peer index). We can compare his networks with those of Speaker 43, who is a child, and of his 20 listed exchange networks only two are Chinese and seven are of the child generation. Speaker 51 would thus rank higher than Speaker 7 on the 'ethnic' index, but lower on the 'peer' index. There are two basic hypotheses here:

i) speakers whose exchange networks consist of a relatively large number of ethnic (Chinese) ties would display more 'traditional' social behaviours such as using the Chinese-dominant language choice patterns, while those with fewer ethnic ties within their exchange

networks would have moved away from such tradition and have adopted an English-oriented behaviour;

ii) speakers whose exchange networks consist of a relatively large number of 'peer' ties would display behaviours which conform to the overall pattern of the generation to which they belong.

Notice here that the indicators used in measuring personal networks are different from those used by Gal (1979), Milroy (1987a), and Bortoni-Ricardo (1985). Milroy (1987a: 141) comments on the principles in selecting the appropriate network indicators and designing network measures. They must first of all reflect the conditions which have repeatedly been found important in a wide range of network studies in predicting the extent to which normative presures are applied by the local community, and they must be recoverable from data collected in the field and easily verifiable. The 'ethnic' and 'peer' indices for the current analysis were constructed with these principles in mind.

Similar 'ethnic' and 'peer' indices are constructed for *interactive* networks, which are intended to reflect the overall opportunities available to individual speakers to interact with Chinese and non-Chinese or peer and non-peer group members. However, whereas the numbers for the exchange networks indicate specific individuals, those for the interactive networks represent proportions. Each speaker is *observed* in terms of how many people he or she interacts routinely but without exchange of material or moral support, and the total numbers of interactive ties would obviously vary between individual speakers, due partly to their employment and education (see further 5.3.2 below). The percentages of these contacts who are Chinese and who belong to the same generation are calculated and used to construct 'ethnic' and 'peer' indices.

In addition to the exchange and interactive networks, I have examined 'passive' ties - those with whom the speakers cannot interact regularly because of physical distance, but whom the speakers regard as important relations and from whom material and moral support would be forthcoming when needed. Each speaker is invited to nominate ten such ties and the numbers of Chinese versus non-Chinese amongst these ties are used to

construct an ethnic index. This index is intended to reflect speakers' psychological orientation towards Chinese and non-Chinese relationships.

Although the current analysis does not specifically measure the structural properties (e.g. density or reachability) of the networks, it is assumed that *exchange* networks are usually dense and multiplex ties and *interactive* networks are relatively loose and uniplex ties (see further Milardo, 1988). Details of the network indices are listed in Appendix III. I shall now examine the distribution of the three types of networks - exchange, interactive, and 'passive' - in terms of three generations - grandparents, parents and children. The relationship between network ties and language behaviour will be discussed after an overall picture of generational contrasts in social network patterns has emerged.

5.3 Generational differences in social network patterns

5.3.1 Exchange networks

Table 5.1 below gives a summary of Chinese ties in the exchange networks of male and female speakers from three generations.

Table 5.1 Average number of Chinese ties in exchange networks by generation and sex (Total: 20 ties per speaker)

	Males		Females	
Generation	No. of Speakers	Average Chinese ties	No. of Speakers	Average Chinese ties
Grandparents	4	15.0	7	20.0
Parents	10	14.0	10	17.0
Children	16	1.0	11	1.2

As we can see, over three quarters of the listed exchange network of the grandparents and parents comprise Chinese contacts, and the seven female grandparents have no non-Chinese exchange contact at all. The children, on the other hand, have on average only a little more than one Chinese tie out of a total of twenty. These figures suggest that as far as

exchange networks are concerned, the grandparent and parent generations have on the whole remained strongly ethnic-orientated. They have established few close friendship ties with individuals outside the Chinese community, a point also made by Watson (1977) and the Home Affairs Committee (1985a) (see further 2.6). The British-born children, however, seem to have moved away from such community-based networks and have made friends mainly with non-Chinese. Although female speakers of three generations have contracted more Chinese ties than their male counterparts, the difference is not statistically significant as investigated by a series of *t*-tests.

In comparison with the inter-generational differences in ethnic ties within the exchange networks, the numbers of 'peer' ties which both male and female speakers of the three generations contract do not seem to differ so sharply. Table 5.2 gives the average numbers of contacts within the exchange network who belong to the same generation as the speaker.

Table 5.2 Average number of peer ties in exchange networks by generation and sex (Total: 20 ties per speaker)

	Males		Females	
Generation	No. of Speakers	Average peer ties	No. of Speakers	Average peer ties
Grandparents	4	9.8	7	11.3
Parents	10	9.6	10	11.7
Children	16	13.9	11	14.1

The exchange network ties of most adult speakers appear to be roughly evenly divided between those who belong to their own generation and those who do not. Some children seem to have contracted more peer-group ties than adults, although the difference as investigated by ANOVA is not statistically significant. These figures suggest that speakers, young or old, tend to make friends mainly with people of their own generation. The implications which such network patterns may have on their language behaviour will be discussed in 5.4 and 5.5 below.

Next examined are the *interactive* networks of the three generations.

5.3.2 Interactive networks

Table 5.3 below presents ethnic contacts which male and female speakers of three generations have in daily social interaction. The figures in this table, and those in Table 5.4 below, represent percentages, rather than actual numbers, of Chinese contacts within the interactive networks.

Table 5.3 Percentage of Chinese ties in interactive network by generation and sex:

	Males		Females	
Generation	No. of Speakers	Average Chinese ties %	No. of Speakers	Average Chinese ties %
Grandparents	4	78.25	7	100.00
Parents	10	31.20	10	41.90
Children	16	4.06	11	14.00

As the table reveals, the proportion of Chinese people with whom the speakers are in routine contact decreases progressively in younger generations. More than 78 per cent of the interactive contacts of male grandparents are Chinese, and the seven female grandparents have no non-Chinese interactive contacts at all. In contrast, less than half of the interactive networks of the parent generation are Chinese, and the overwhelming majority of the interactive networks of the children are non-Chinese.

These differences need to be considered in the light of the employment and education situation of different generations. Since eight out of a total of eleven grandparents are not employed (see Appendix I for details), their chances of interacting with non-Chinese on a regular basis are fewer. All of the parent generation, on the other hand, are working in either Chinese restaurants, take-aways and shops, or local companies and factories, and there are plenty of opportunities for these Chinese employees to interact with non-Chinese people. What is particularly interesting, however, is that despite the opportunities available

to them, members of the parent generation do not seem to have made friends with many non-Chinese people. This is clear if we compare Table 5.3 with Table 5.1 above.

The child generation, in contrast, spends most day-time hours outside the family where there are normally very few other Chinese children around (see also 2.5.1). In the evenings, they tend to get together with their school-mates who are mostly non-Chinese, while their parents work in the restaurants or take-aways. The opportunities for them to interact with other Chinese beyond the immediate family are rare. This pattern can account both for the very small proportion of Chinese contacts this generation possesses as part of their interactive networks, and the very few Chinese friends which they have made, as illustrated in Table 5.1.

Table 5.4 below provides further information of the type of people with whom members of the three generations routinely interact.

Table 5.4 Percentage of peer ties in interactive networks by generation and sex:

	Males		Females	
Generation	No. of Speakers	Average peer ties %	No. of Speakers	Average peer ties %
Grandparents	4	58.25	7	58.29
Parents	10	54.90	10	55.40
Children	16	99.19	11	99.18

As Table 5.4 shows, around half of the interactive contacts of the grandparents and parents (male and female) are members of their own generation and the other half are of other generations, older or younger. This seems to correspond to the pattern shown in Table 5.2 above in which the exchange networks of the grandparent and parent generations are more or less evenly divided between peers and non-peers. All of the daily contacts of the children however, are with members of their own generation. The differing patterns of employment and education associated with different generations may be used to explain the different proportions of peer-group contacts as well. The grandparents and parents have

more opportunities to meet with people from a range of different groups through their profession or community-based activities (even though their ties may be ethnic-oriented (i.e. with Chinese people only)), while the children spend most of time with other children of similar age at school.

Finally, we look at the 'passive' ties of the three generations. These represent persons whom the speakers regard as important, but who are physically distant from them.

5.3.3 'Passive' networks

Table 5.5 Average number of Chinese ties in 'passive' networks by generation and sex (Total: 10 ties per speaker):

Generation	Males		Females	
	No. of Speakers	Average Chinese ties	No. of Speakers	Average Chinese ties
Grandparents	4	10.0	7	10.0
Parents	10	10.0	10	10.0
Children	16	5.6	11	5.5

As we can see in Table 5.5, all the 'passive' ties of the grandparents and parents (male and female) are Chinese, whereas about half of the 'passive' ties of the children are Chinese and the other half non-Chinese. The figures are all the more meaningful when we remember that they have been nominated by the speakers themselves as important relations. It shows that despite their many years of residence in Britain and the opportunities they have had to interact with non-Chinese people, grandparents and parents have remained psychologically bounded to traditional, ethnic ties. The children, on the other hand, have begun to move away from these ties both physically and psychologically and have integrated a considerable number of affectively significant non-Chinese contacts into their social networks.

A further comment to be made here is that the 'passive' ties nominated by the grandparents and parents are invariably with persons in the Far East - their original homes,

while those nominated by the children are very often friends who used to live in the Tyneside region and are now in other parts of Britain or elsewhere. These findings support Watson's (1977) proposal that many Chinese emigrants still regard China and Hong Kong as home, which is no longer the case for the British-born children (see also Redding, 1990).

5.3.4 Network scores and speaker age

Since the network indices assign to every speaker numerical scores to represent each kind of his or her network ties, we can examine differences in individual speaker's personal network structure in addition to generational distributions. The 58 speakers were therefore ranked according to their relative numbers of Chinese and peer-group ties in the three types of networks. The ranks were then correlated with speaker age, using Spearman's rank order correlation test. Results of the tests are presented in Table 5.6 below.

Table 5.6 Correlations between individual network ties and age:

	Males		Females	
	r	*p*	*r*	*p*
Ethnic ties:				
Exchange networks and age:	0.839	< 0.005	0.875	< 0.005
Interactive networks and age:	0.879	< 0.005	0.830	< 0.005
'Passive' networks and age:	0.898	< 0.005	0.871	< 0.005
Peer-group ties:				
Exchange networks and age:	-0.689	< 0.005	-0.571	< 0.005
Interactive networks and age:	-0.816	< 0.005	-0.672	< 0.005

As we can see, the ethnic indices of the three types of networks correlate with speaker age positively, which suggests that the older the speakers are the more Chinese ties they contract (or the younger the fewer Chinese ties). The correlation between age and peer-group ties is significant (though not as good as that with ethnic ties) but negative. This correlation reflects the fact that younger speakers have relatively more peer-group members than older speakers as part of their exchange and interactive networks.

5.3.5 Interactions between different types of networks

Rank order correlation tests were also carried out to investigate the relations between the three types of social networks. As Figure 5.1 below shows, significant and positive correlations are found between the three sets of ethnic indices, which indicate that speakers who have more Chinese ties as part of their *exchange* networks tend also to have more Chinese ties in their *interactive* and 'passive' networks, while those who have more non-Chinese ties as part of their exchange networks tend also to have more non-Chinese ties in interactive and 'passive' networks. At the same time, speakers who have more members of their own generation (peers) as part of their exchange networks also seem to have more peer-group ties in their interactive networks. However, the correlations between the ethnic indices and peer indices are significant at a lower level, and negative. This suggests that speakers who have more Chinese ties do not necessarily have as many peer-group contacts. As we have already seen in Table 5.6 above, younger speakers who have fewer Chinese ties tend to build relationships mainly with peers.

Figure 5.1 Rank order correlations between different types of networks for male and female speakers (Total number of speaker: 30 males and 28 females):

Males ($p < 0.005$)

	1	2	3	4
2	-0.746			
3	0.799	-0.714		
4	-0.795	0.773	-0.734	
5	0.861	-0.786	0.762	-0.874

1 = Exchange (Chinese) 2 = Exchange (peer) 3 = Interactive (Chinese) 4 = Interactive (peer) 5 = Passive

Females ($p < 0.005$)

	1	2	3	4
2	-0.647			
3	0.837	-0.546		
4	-0.728	0.476	-0.653	
5	0.881	-0.679	0.735	-0.855

1 = Exchange (Chinese) 2 = Exchange (peer) 3 = Interactive (Chinese) 4 = Interactive (peer) 5 = Passive

In sum, the analyses of social distributions of the three types of network ties show a general pattern of change from predominantly Chinese ties to predominantly non-Chinese, peer-group ties across three generations. This change is generally related to speaker age, with older speakers having more ethnic ties, even though they may have plenty of opportunities to interact with people outside their own ethnic community, and younger speakers having more non-Chinese ties of their own generation. We may surmise that there is a parallel relationship between this pattern of change in social networks and the language shift from monolingual Chinese to English-dominant bilingualism described in Chapter 4. I shall now examine this relationship more systematically, first of all by comparing the differences in social network patterns of speakers who make different language choices.

5.4 Social networks and language choice patterns

The analytic procedure employed in this section is similar to that in 4.2: I begin by grouping the 58 speakers in the sample according to their language choice patterns (four for family communication and seven for communication with non-family member interlocutors; see further 4.2) and calculate mean network scores of each group separately in terms of 'ethnic' and 'peer' ties of three types of networks - exchange, interactive and passive; then the mean scores of different speaker groups are compared with each other to see whether or not they are significantly different. The procedure of Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) is employed to investigate differences in mean network scores of speakers with different language choice patterns. In this section, I shall first look at the relationships between *exchange* networks and language choice patterns; moving then on to *interactive* networks. For both types of network, speakers' scores on the ethnic indices (Chinese ties) will be considered before scores on the peer-group indices. Finally, the relationship *between 'passive' networks and language* choice patterns of speakers will be discussed.

5.4.1 Exchange networks and language choice patterns

Table 5.7 below gives the mean scores of speakers of four different language choice patterns with family members (see further 4.2) on the ethnic index of exchange networks.

Table 5.7 Mean scores of speakers with four language choice patterns with family members on the ethnic index of exchange networks (Total: 20 ties per speaker):

	Males		Females	
	No. of Speakers	Mean network Score	No. of Speakers	Mean Network Score
Pattern 1	2	20.0	7	20.0
Pattern 2	6	16.2	6	18.8
Pattern 3	18	3.3	8	3.4
Pattern 4	4	7.3	7	6.1

$F = 14.01\ p < 0.02$ (Males) $F = 21.20\ p < 0.02$ (Females)

As we may have suspected, there is a sharp contrast in the number of ethnic ties of Patterns 1 and 2 speakers and Patterns 3 and 4 speakers. Those who use the Chinese monolingual and Chinese-dominant language choice patterns (Patterns 1 and 2) contract all or most of their exchange networks with Chinese people, while speakers of the English-dominant bilingual patterns contract only one third or less of their ties with other Chinese. There are no significant differences between male and female speakers of the same language choice patterns in the number of ethnic ties contracted.

Table 5.8 below reveals similar contrasts for language choice patterns with non-family-member interlocutors. Those who have adopted the Chinese monolingual or Chinese-dominant patterns (Patterns 1 - 3) have contracted significantly more Chinese ties, while those who adopt the bilingual and English-dominant patterns (Patterns 4 - 7) having few or no Chinese ties in their exchange networks (see Table 5.8 below). Again, differences between male and female speakers of the same patterns are not statistically significant.

Table 5.8 Mean scores of speakers with seven language choice patterns with non-family members on the ethnic index of exchange networks (Total: 20 ties per speaker):

	Males		Females	
	No. of Speakers	Mean Network Score	No. of Speakers	Mean Network Score
Pattern 1	2	20.0	7	20.0
Pattern 2	6	16.0	8	18.3
Pattern 3	2	15.0	2	12.0
Pattern 4	12	4.8	6	1.5
Pattern 5	2	0	1	1.0
Pattern 6	3	0.3	2	0.5
Pattern 7	3	0.7	2	1.0

$F = 14.08$ (males) $p < 0.02$ $F = 79.79$ (females) $p < 0.02$ (Female Pattern 5 speakers omitted from F-test)

While the contrast in the number of ethnic ties of speakers of different language choice patterns is very clearly shown in the two tables above, the numbers of peer ties (i.e. members of the same generation as the speaker) within the exchange network show no significant difference between speakers with various language choice patterns. Tables 5.9 and 5.10 below present the mean scores of speakers of different language choice patterns on the *peer* index for exchange networks.

Table 5.9 Mean scores of speakers with four language choice patterns for family communication on the peer index of exchange networks (Total: 20 ties per speaker):

	Males		Females	
	No. of Speakers	Mean Network Score	No. of Speakers	Mean Network Score
Pattern 1	2	10.5	7	11.3
Pattern 2	6	9.5	6	12.2
Pattern 3	18	12.7	8	13.5
Pattern 4	4	12.5	7	13.0

F = n.s. (males and females)

Table 5.10 Mean scores of speakers with seven language choice patterns for communication with non-family members on the peer index of exchange networks (Total: 20 ties per speaker):

	Males		Females	
	No. of Speakers	Mean Network Score	No. of Speakers	Mean Network Score
Pattern 1	2	10.5	7	11.3
Pattern 2	6	9.7	8	12.0
Pattern 3	2	9.0	2	10.5
Pattern 4	12	12.2	6	13.5
Pattern 5	2	14.0	1	15.0
Pattern 6	3	15.7	2	16.0
Pattern 7	3	13.0	2	13.5

F = n.s. (males and females)

As we can see, speakers on the whole divide their exchange networks fairly evenly between those who belong to their own generation and those who do not. Speakers of Patterns 5 and 6 (communication with non-family members) have contracted rather more peer-group ties, although they are not statistically significant compared with the rest of the sample. These results are particularly interesting when they are related to age differences of the speakers of various language choice patterns discussed in some detail in 4.2 and 5.3; that is, older speakers have generally maintained Chinese-dominant patterns while younger speakers have shifted towards English-dominant bilingual patterns. Analysis of the relationship between network and language choice suggests that Chinese and Chinese-dominant language choice patterns are the norm for peer-group communication among older speakers, while bilingual and English-dominant patterns are the norm for peer-group communication among younger speakers. I shall return to this point in 5.6 below.

Let us now turn to consider the relationship between interactive networks of speakers and language choice patterns.

5.4.2 Interactive networks and language choice patterns

Table 5.11 presents the average percentage of Chinese (as opposed to non-Chinese) contacts within the interactive networks of speakers with four language choice patterns for family communication.

Table 5.11 Average percentages of Chinese contacts of interactive networks for speakers with four language choice patterns for family communication:

	Males		Females	
	No. of Speakers	Average Chinese ties %	No. of Speakers	Average Chinese ties %
Pattern 1	2	100.00	7	100.00
Pattern 2	6	37.00	6	50.83
Pattern 3	18	13.28	8	17.25
Pattern 4	4	9.75	7	18.57

$F = 14.24\ p < 0.02$ (males) $F = 29.28\ p < 0.02$ (females)

Table 5.11 shows that Pattern 1 speakers, male and female, have no regular contact with non-Chinese at all. Speakers of other language choice patterns, on the other hand, have plenty of opportunities to interact with non-Chinese people, even though some of them may not have established friendship ties with them (cf. Table 5.7 above). An important point emerges here concerning the relationship between language choice and social networks. We may suggest that the nine Pattern 1 speakers have not been able to use English because they have no social contacts with non-Chinese people. Equally, it could be argued that because the nine speakers have no ability to use English, they have not been able to contract any ties outside their own ethnic community. This dialectic relationship between language use and personal network ties is crucial to understanding the interactional process through which social structures form and transform themselves (see further 1.3). Note here that speaker age does not seem to have the same kind of relationship with language choice as network structures do. While we may suggest that some speakers display certain linguistic behaviour because they are old (or young), we cannot say that speakers are old (or young) because of their language choice. Thus, while social networks are clearly related to speaker age, they offer a better explanation of the social mechanisms underlying language choice.

Table 5.12 below shows patterns of ethnic contacts similar to those shown in Table 5.11 within the interactive networks of speakers with seven language choice patterns (communication with non-family members).

Table 5.12 Average percentages with Chinese contacts of interactive networks for speakers of seven language choice patterns for communication with non-family members:

	Males		Females	
	No. of Speakers	Average Chinese ties %	No. of Speakers	Average Chinese ties %
Pattern 1	2	100.00	7	100.00
Pattern 2	6	35.33	8	44.75
Pattern 3	2	56.50	2	26.50
Pattern 4	12	11.67	6	21.17
Pattern 5	2	4.50	1	12.00
Pattern 6	3	0.00	2	3.00
Pattern 7	3	5.33	2	4.50

$F = 16.51$ $p < 0.02$ (males) $F = 16.55$ $p < 0.02$ (females) (Female Pattern 5 speakers omitted from F-test)

As seen in Table 5.12, the main contrast lies in between speakers of Pattern 1 and those of other patterns. There is no significant difference between male and female speakers of the same language choice patterns in terms of the percentage of Chinese contacts of their interactive networks.

Next examined is the proportion of peer-group ties within the interactive networks. Table 5.13 presents this information for speakers with four language choice patterns (communication with family members).

Table 5.13 Average percentages of peer-group contacts of interactive networks for speakers with four language choice patterns for family communication:

	Males		Females	
	No. of Speakers	Average Chinese ties %	No. of Speakers	Average Chinese ties %
Pattern 1	2	65.50	7	58.29
Pattern 2	6	51.00	6	51.17
Pattern 3	18	90.78	8	92.75
Pattern 4	4	74.50	7	85.14

$F = 7.64$ $p < 0.02$ (males) $F = 11.43$ $p < 0.02$ (females)

We can see that speakers of Patterns 3 and 4 - the English-dominant bilingual patterns - interact more with members of their own generations. If we relate these findings to the age differences between speakers, that is younger speakers have more peer ties, we may argue that exclusive use of English is the norm for peer group interaction amongst the young.

This argument is further supported by the differing proportions of peer-group contacts within the interactive network of speakers with seven language choice patterns for communication with non-family member interlocutors, which are presented in Table 5.14 below.

Table 5.14 Average percentages of peer-group contacts of interactive networks for speakers with seven language choice patterns for communication with non-family members:

	Males		Females	
	No. of Speakers	Average Chinese ties %	No. of Speakers	Average Chinese ties %
Pattern 1	2	65.50	7	58.29
Pattern 2	6	51.00	8	50.87
Pattern 3	2	51.00	2	73.50
Pattern 4	12	85.83	6	98.50
Pattern 5	2	100.00	1	100.00
Pattern 6	3	100.00	2	100.00
Pattern 7	3	100.00	2	100.00

$F = 7.35$ p < 0.02 (males) $F = 33.90$ $p < 0.02$ (females) (Female Pattern 5 speakers omitted from F-test)

As Table 5.14 shows, speakers of bilingual and English-dominant language choice patterns interact with members of their own generations exclusively (with respect to their *interactive* networks), whereas those adopting the monolingual Chinese and Chinese-dominant patterns interact with peers as well as others.

Finally, 'passive' ties of speakers with different language choice patterns were examined.

5.4.3 'Passive' networks and language choice patterns

Table 5.15 below gives the number of Chinese relations which the speakers with four language choice patterns (family communication) regard as significant, although they cannot interact with them in person on a regular basis.

Table 5.15 Average number of Chinese relations within the 'passive' networks of speakers with four language choice patterns for family communication (Total: 10 ties per speaker):

	Males		Females	
	No. of Speakers	Average Chinese ties	No. of Speakers	Average Chinese ties
Pattern 1	2	10.00	7	10.00
Pattern 2	6	10.00	6	10.00
Pattern 3	18	6.72	8	6.50
Pattern 4	4	7.25	7	6.86

$F = 4.07\ p < 0.02$ (males) $F = 7.17\ p < 0.02$ (females)

As we can see, speakers of the Chinese monolingual and Chinese-dominant patterns regard only Chinese relations as important, while those of Patterns 3 and 4 have some non-Chinese relations as well as Chinese ones as part of their 'passive' networks.

Similar patterns emerge in Table 5.16, which presents the average number of Chinese relations within the 'passive' networks of speakers with seven different language choice patterns (communication with non-family members).

Table 5.16 Average number of Chinese relations within the 'passive' networks of speakers with seven language choice patterns for communication with non-family members (Total: 10 ties per speaker):

	Males		Females	
	No. of Speakers	Average Chinese ties	No. of Speakers	Average Chinese ties
Pattern 1	2	10.00	7	10.00
Pattern 2	6	10.00	8	10.00
Pattern 3	2	10.00	2	10.00
Pattern 4	12	7.92	6	6.00
Pattern 5	2	4.50	1	5.00
Pattern 6	3	5.00	2	4.50
Pattern 7	3	3.67	2	4.00

$F = 12.57$ $p < 0.02$(males) $F = 37.34$ $p < 0.02$ (females) (Female Pattern 5 speakers omitted from F-test)

As has been argued earlier, 'passive' ties reflect the speakers' psychological orientation and social attitude. Their impact on language behaviour may be indirect but nevertheless significant.

5.4.4 Summary

The various analyses reported in this section show quite clearly that the differences in language choice patterns are closely related to speakers' network ties. Those who adopt monolingual Chinese or Chinese-dominant language choice patterns have a strong Chinese-based network; they interact only or mainly with other Chinese; and they remain psychologically attached to their geographically distant Chinese relations. Those who adopt bilingual or English-dominant patterns, on the other hand, seem to have contracted more non-Chinese ties, with some having a majority of non-Chinese contacts. They interact more frequently with non-Chinese people and value such relations. Regarding the peer-group ties which speakers of different language choice patterns contract, we see that speakers who use both Chinese and English or English-dominant patterns interact more with members of the their own generation and make more friends within their peer group, while those who use Chinese only and Chinese-dominant patterns interact both with peers and non-peers.

I shall now turn to the relationship between network ties and language ability of individual speakers.

5.5 Social networks and language ability

As described in 4.5, the shift in language choice pattern from Chinese monolingualism to English-dominant bilingualism in the Tyneside Chinese community is accompanied by inter-generational variation in the ability to use the two languages for different communicative tasks. The general pattern is that older speakers have acquired only limited command of English, while younger speakers have almost lost their ability to use written Chinese. What I intend to find out in this section is whether differences in the speaker's language ability co-vary with his or her social network pattern; more specifically, whether speakers with strong Chinese-based networks have a better command of Chinese which they use for different communicative purposes, and those with strong non-Chinese-based networks have a better command of English which they use in various situational contexts.

Since each speaker has been assessed on a six-point scale for spoken Chinese, written Chinese, spoken English and written English respectively (see further 4.3), their scores can be ranked and correlated with network indices (see Appendices II and III for details), following the procedure adopted to examine the relationship between network ties and speaker age (see 5.3.4). I shall now discuss the relationships between language ability and three types of networks - exchange, interactive, and 'passive' - in turn. For each network type, 'ethnic' index (Chinese ties) will be considered before 'peer' index.

5.5.1 Exchange networks and language ability

Figure 5.2 below presents rank order correlations between language ability scores and ethnic ties of the exchange networks of the speakers.

Figure 5.2 Correlations between language ability indices and ethnic index of exchange networks (Total number of speakers: 30 males + 28 females = 58):

	Males		Females	
	r	*p*	*r*	*p*
Spoken Chinese:	0.840	< 0.005	0.852	< 0.005
Written Chinese:	0.759	< 0.005	n.s.	
Spoken English:	-0.906	< 0.005	-0.920	< 0.005
Written English:	-0.906	< 0.005	-0.918	< 0.005

As the figures reveal, there are significant and positive correlations between the ethnic index of the exchange network and the language ability indices for spoken Chinese and written Chinese of male speakers. That is to say that male speakers who have more Chinese ties as part of their exchange networks score higher on the scales for Chinese, both spoken and written; and those who have fewer Chinese ties score lower on the Chinese scales. For female speakers, on the other hand, a significant and positive correlation is found between the ethnic index of their exchange networks and spoken Chinese ability scores, but not with the scores for written Chinese. This is because female speakers at both ends of the age scale - the oldest and the youngest - have shown little or no ability to use written Chinese, in contrast with male speakers of whom only the youngest cannot use written Chinese.

In comparison, the correlations between the ethnic index of the exchange networks of the speakers and their language ability indices on the English scales (for both spoken and written language) are significant but negative. This means that speakers, male and female, who have more Chinese ties as part of their exchange networks only have a limited command of English, while those who have fewer Chinese ties can use English for a wider range of communicative tasks.

Next, we look at the relationship between peer-group ties within the exchange networks and language ability.

Figure 5.3 Correlations between language ability indices and peer index of exchange networks (Total number of speakers: 30 males + 28 females = 58):

	Males		Females	
	r	*p*	*r*	*p*
Spoken Chinese:	-0.745	< 0.005	-0.602	< 0.005
Written Chinese:	-0.804	< 0.005	-0.394	< 0.025
Spoken English:	0.771	< 0.005	0.619	< 0.005
Written English:	0.771	< 0.005	0.624	< 0.005

As Figure 5.3 shows, the correlations between the numbers of peer-group members within the exchange networks of male speakers and their Chinese ability scores are significant but negative. As has been revealed in 5.3.1, while the differences in the number of peer-group members of the three generations are not statistically significant, younger speakers seem to contract rather more exchange network ties with members of their own generation than the older speakers do. Rank order correlations between peer-group index and age confirm this pattern (r = -0.689 p < 0.005 (males); r = -0.571 p < 0.005 (females)). It was shown in 4.3 that speakers who score lower on the Chinese scale are generally younger in age than those who score higher. Thus, we see here that speakers who have relatively more peer-group ties (younger speakers) rank lower on the Chinese ability indices (spoken and written), resulting in the negative correlations.

For the same reason, the correlation between female speakers peer-group ties in the exchange networks and their spoken Chinese ability scores is also negative. There is, however, no significant correlation between female speakers' peer ties and their written Chinese scores, the reason being that both the youngest and the oldest female speakers are illiterate in Chinese.

Correlations between the language ability scores for English, both spoken and written, and the peer-group ties of the exchange networks of both male and female speakers

are found to be significant and positive. They suggest that speakers with more peer-group ties tend to score higher on the English scales, and from the analysis of network and age we know these are younger speakers (see further 5.3.4). We are therefore able to confirm that English is used more amongst the younger generations as the language for peer-group interaction.

I now turn to interactive networks and their relationships with language ability of the speakers.

5.5.2 Interactive networks and language ability

Figure 5.4 below gives the rank order correlations between the ethnic index of interactive networks and the language ability indices.

Figure 5.4 Correlations between language ability indices and ethnic index of interactive networks (Total number of speakers: 30 males + 28 females = 58):

	Males		Females	
	r	*p*	*r*	*p*
Spoken Chinese:	0.800	< 0.005	0.674	< 0.005
Written Chinese:	0.721	< 0.005	n.s.	
Spoken English:	-0.875	< 0.005	-0.823	< 0.005
Written English:	-0.875	< 0.005	-0.818	< 0.005

Interestingly, the correlations are not as good as those between the ethnic index of the exchange networks and the speakers' language ability scores, which suggests that interactive networks have relatively less influence upon language ability than exchange networks. Nevertheless all but female speakers' written Chinese scores correlate significantly with the ethnic index of interactive networks. The correlations with Chinese language scores are positive, indicating that speakers with more Chinese contacts in the interactive networks use Chinese for a wider range of purposes, while those with fewer

Chinese interactive contacts have a limited command of Chinese. The correlations with English language scores, on the other hand, are negative, which suggests that speakers with more Chinese contacts score lower on the English scales and the speakers with fewer Chinese contacts score higher on them. Again, we may argue that there is a dialectic relationship between social network and language ability; that is, speakers contract certain types of network (either with Chinese or with non-Chinese) because they possess the command of the relevant language, and their network ties facilitate the acquisition and development of appropriate language ability.

Figure 5.5 gives the results of correlation tests between peer index of the interactive networks and language ability scores.

Figure 5.5 Correlations between language ability indices and peer index of interactive networks (Total number of speakers: 30 males + 28 females = 58):

	Males		Females	
	r	*p*	*r*	*p*
Spoken Chinese:	-0.875	< 0.005	-0.845	< 0.005
Written Chinese:	-0.893	< 0.005	-0.549	< 0.005
Spoken English:	0.817	< 0.005	0.707	< 0.005
Written English:	0.817	< 0.005	0.702	< 0.005

As we can see, the peer index of the interactive networks correlates negatively with Chinese ability scores, suggesting that speakers with more members of their own generations in their interactive networks have only limited command of Chinese. The correlations with English scores are, however, positive, which indicates that speakers who interact more with peer-group members have a better command of English which they can use for a variety of communicative tasks.

Finally, the ethnic index of 'passive' networks is correlated with language ability scores of the speakers.

5.5.3 'Passive' networks and language ability

Figure 5.6 shows that the ethnic index of the 'passive' networks correlates positively with language ability scores on the Chinese scales. That means that speakers who have more Chinese relations in their 'passive' networks score higher on the Chinese scales, both for spoken and written. The correlations with English scores are negative, reflecting once again a converse relationship between ethnic ties and the ability to use English.

Figure 5.6 Correlations between language ability indices and ethnic index of 'passive' networks (Total number of speakers: 30 males + 28 females = 58):

	Males		Females	
	r	*p*	*r*	*p*
Spoken Chinese:	0.941	< 0.005	0.970	< 0.005
Written Chinese:	0.887	< 0.005	0.508	< 0.005
Spoken English:	-0.872	< 0.005	-0.858	< 0.005
Written English:	-0.872	< 0.005	-0.858	< 0.005

5.5.4 Summary

We have seen in this section that ethnic indices of the three network types (exchange, interactive and 'passive') correlate with Chinese language ability scores positively and with English scores negatively. This suggests that speakers with more Chinese ties generally have a better command of Chinese which they use for a wide range of communicative purposes, but that the same speakers tend to have rather restricted ability to use English. Conversely, speakers with more non-Chinese ties are generally able to use English in different kinds of situational context, but have only a limited command of Chinese.

The peer indices also correlate with Chinese negatively and English positively. That is to say that the ability to use Chinese by speakers with relatively more members of their own generations in their networks tends to be limited, and from the analysis of age differentiation we know that these are younger speakers. Conversely, the ability to use Chinese by speakers with relatively fewer peer-group contacts is better, and they tend to be older speakers.

These findings become more interesting when we recall that not all speakers of the same generations score the same on either the network indices or the language ability indices. For example, two of the male grandparents scored three points on the spoken English scale, suggesting that they have the ability to participate in casual conversations in English, while the other two male grandparents in the sample have acquired no English at all. Similarly, one of the female parents scored four for her spoken English, indicating a fairly good command of the language, but the others of the same generation score only two points. Variations such as these cannot be explained by reference to the age factor; on the contrary, one of the male grandparents who scores three on the spoken English scale is aged 68 - the second oldest of the sample of 30 male speakers. An examination of the network indices of these 'anomalous' speakers reveals that they all have relatively fewer ethnic ties - one of the English-speaking male grandparents has 14 Chinese ties in his exchange network and the other has 16, compared to the two monolingual Chinese male grandparents who both have 20 Chinese ties (i.e. no non-Chinese ties at all). The female parent who scores four for her spoken English has only six Chinese ties in her exchange network. We may therefore conclude with some confidence that social network is a better explanatory variable in accounting for both inter-generational (or group) differences and intra-generation (or individual) variation.

As we have argued in 1.3, the concept of social network does more than differentiate speakers, either in groups or individually. It provides deeper insight into the social mechanisms underlying linguistic variation which exists on both the social (inter-speaker) dimension and stylistic (intra-speaker) dimension. We have already noted the dialectic

relationship between social networks and language choice in that speakers belonging to different network groups behave linguistically in different ways. Those whose networks are strongly ethnic-orientated tend to use the Chinese monolingual or Chinese-dominant language choice patterns, whereas those who have a less-ethnically-based, peer-group network tend to adopt the bilingual or English-dominant patterns. According to Bell (1984), variations between speakers also affect the speech of a single speaker in different situations (see further 1.3) in that individual speakers adapt their language behaviour to resemble linguistically members of the same social group and to accommodate their audience. In the remainder of this chapter, I want to look more closely at this connection between inter-speaker variation and intra-speaker linguistic variation in language choice. I shall also discuss the question of the social symbolism of Chinese and English in the Tyneside Chinese community.

5.6 Interaction between inter- and intra-speaker variations in language choice

In 1.3, I described Gal's (1979) model of language choice which employs the implicational scale technique to examine both the social and stylistic dimensions of linguistic variation. Implicational scaling was first introduced into linguistics by Creole researchers as a means of organizing variable data (DeCamp, 1971; Rickford, 1987; see also Romaine, 1982 for a critique). It was used by Gal (1979) rather innovatively to conceptualise and display observed language choices by individual speakers. The basic idea was to rank both the speakers (social dimension) and interlocutors (style dimension) according to the choices speakers made so that we could differentiate fairly clearly not only speakers who made the same choices but also the same speaker's varying choices with different interlocutors. Following Gal's example, I have constructed two implicational scales for the present study presenting language choices by male and female speakers separately (see Figures 5.7 and 5.8 below). In these scales, speakers are ranked on the vertical axis and interlocutors on the horizontal axis. Those who are listed towards the top of the scale are speakers who use Chinese (C) on more occasions (i.e. with more (types of)

interlocutors), with those who use more English (E) towards the bottom. Interlocutors are also ranked according to the language choices of the speakers. Those who are spoken to in Chinese by more speakers are listed towards the left, and those spoken to more in English towards the right. Thus, the use of C with any particular interlocutor implies that C will be used with all interlocutors to the left of the scale, while if E is used with any interlocutor, it will be used with all interlocutors to the right. The use of both C and E to the same interlocutor will appear between the use of only C and the use of only E, and these are the situations where code-switching may (but does not necessarily) occur. Any choice that does not fit this pattern will be considered 'unscalable' (marked by *). The language choice pattern of any individual speaker can thus be read across each row. At the same time, the kinds of differences that exist between speakers regarding their language choices with any particular interlocutor can be revealed by reading down each column. In order to see the relationship between social networks and these language choice patterns, the ethnic indices of the three types of network ties (exchange; interactive; 'passive') are also given in the scales, together with speaker age and generation cohorts.

Table 5.7 Implication scale for observed langauge choices by male speakers. (Scalability 98.2%)

						Interlocutors											
A	B	C	a	b	c	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
25	6GP	73	20	100	10	-	C	C	-	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
1	1GP	66	20	100	10	-	C	C	-	C	C	C	C	-	C	C	C
45	9P	53	15	42	10	C	C	C	-	-	C	C	C	-	CE	CE	CE
10	3P	47	18	52	10	C	C	C	-	-	C	C	C	-	CE	CE	CE
5	2P	41	16	22	10	-	C	C	-	-	C	C	C	-	CE	CE	CE
26	6P	56	17	59	10	-	C	C	C	-	C	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
20	5P	37	17	19	10	C	C	C	-	-	C	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
53	10P	44	15	18	10	C	C	CE*	C	-	CE*	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
2	1P	35	16	18	10	-	C	C	C	-	C	CE	CE	-	CE	CE	CE
32	7P	49	12	49	10	C	C	C	-	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE
51	10GP	68	16	63	10	C	C	C	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE
37	8GP	65	14	50	10	C	C	C	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE
39	8P	44	14	11	10	C	C	C	CE	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE
15	4P	40	2	22	10	C	C	CE	-	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE
28	6C	22	1	32	6	-	C	CE	C*	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE
47	9C	24	2	8	7	C	C	CE	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	-	CE	CE	CE
48	9C	22	3	0	9	C	C	CE	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	-	CE	CE	CE
12	3C	21	5	0	8	C	C	CE	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	-	CE	CE	CE
13	3C	19	0	0	8	C	C	CE	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	-	CE	CE	CE
49	9C	18	0	0	6	C	C	CE	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	-	CE	CE	CE
7	2C	15	2	0	6	-	C	CE	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	-	CE	CE	CE
8	2C	12	0	0	5	-	C	CE	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	-	CE	CE	CE
29	6C	17	0	9	5	-	CE	CE	C*	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE
4	1C	10	0	0	4	-	CE	CE	C*	CE	CE	CE	CE	-	-	CE	CE
34	7C	18	0	0	5	C	C	CE	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	E	E
17	4C	11	1	0	6	C	C	CE	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	-	E	E
43	8C	16	0	0	4	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	-	E	E
55	10C	16	0	10	5	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	-	E	E
35	7C	15	0	0	3	C	CE	CE	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	E	E
22	5C	14	2	6	3	C	CE	CE	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	-	E	E

A = speaker number B = family membership (GP = Grandparent; P = Parent; C = Child; The numbers denote Families 1 - 10) C = age a = ethnic index of exchange network (Total: 20 ties per speaker) b = ethnic index of interactive networks (percentage) c = ethnic index of 'passive' networks (Total: 10 ties per speaker) 1 = grandparent, female 2 = grandparent generation, female 3 = grandparent generation, male 4 = grandparent, male 5 = parent, male 6 = parent, female 7 = parent generation, male 8 = parent generation, female 9 = child, female 10 = child, male 11 = child generation, male 12 = child generation, female

Table 5.8 Implicational scale for observed language choices by female speakers. (*Scalability 99.6%*)

						Interlocutors											
A	B	C	a	b	c	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
44	9GP	72	20	100	10	-	C	C	C	C	C	-	C	-	C	C	C
9	3GP	70	20	100	10	-	C	C	C	C	C	-	C	-	C	C	C
31	7GP	67	20	100	10	-	C	C	C	C	C	-	C	C	C	C	C
14	4GP	65	20	100	10	-	C	C	C	C	C	-	C	C	C	C	C
52	10GP	63	20	100	10	-	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
38	8GP	61	20	100	10	-	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
19	5GP	58	20	100	10	-	C	C	C	C	C	-	C	C	C	C	C
46	9P	50	18	41	10	C	C	C	-	C	C	-	C	-	CE	CE	CE
11	3P	46	20	54	10	C	C	C	-	C	C	-	C	-	CE	CE	CE
6	2P	38	20	20	10	-	C	C	-	C	C	-	C	-	CE	CE	CE
21	5P	35	20	65	10	C	C	C	-	C	C	-	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
3	1P	32	18	67	10	-	C	C	-	C	C	C	C	-	CE	CE	CE
27	6P	52	17	58	10	-	C	C	-	C	C	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE
33	7P	42	15	50	10	C	C	C	-	C	C	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE
54	10P	45	18	11	10	C	C	C	-	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE
16	4P	37	6	3	10	C	C	C	-	CE	CE	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE
40	8P	40	18	50	10	C	C	C	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE
50	9C	22	2	58	8	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	-	CE	-	CE	CE	CE
56	10C	21	3	57	8	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE
57	10C	18	2	0	5	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE
41	8C	12	1	4	6	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE
58	10C	12	1	8	4	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE
42	8C	8	0	0	4	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE
30	6C	20	1	12	7	-	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	C*	CE	-	CE	CE	CE
18	4C	15	0	0	5	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	-	CE	-	CE	E	E
24	5C	9	1	6	4	C	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	-	CE	CE	CE	E	E
23	5C	11	0	0	3	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	-	CE	CE	CE	E	E
36	7C	10	2	9	5	C	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	-	CE	-	CE	E	E

A = speaker number B = family membership (GP = Grandparent; P = Parent; C = Child; The numbers denote Families 1 - 10) C = age a = ethnic index of exchange network (Total: 20 ties per speaker) b = ethnic index of interactive networks (percentage) c = ethnic index of 'passive' networks (Total: 10 ties per speaker) 1 = grandparent, female 2 = grandparent generation, female 3 = grandparent generation, male 4 = parent, female 5 = parent generation, male 6 = parent generation, female 7 = grandparent, male 8 = parent, male 9 = child, female 10 = child, male 11 = child generation, male 12 = child generation, female

Scalability is calculated as the percentage of cells that fit the scale model, and 85 per cent scalability is normally considered to be a sufficient approximation of perfect scaling (Guttman, 1944; Gal, 1979; Fasold, 1990).

Looking at the ranking of the interlocutors on the horizontal axis, we see that the ones listed at the far left end of the scale are grandparents and at the far right end are children, indicating that generally grandparents invite more use of Chinese and children invite more use of English. This ranking largely corresponds with that of the speakers on the vertical axis, where those who are listed towards the top of the scales are grandparents and children are listed towards the bottom. We may therefore suggest in a general way that only Chinese is used by grandparents and to grandparents; while English is used by children and to children; and both Chinese and English may be used by parents and to parents. As Gal (1979) argues, it is through this kind of association between choices of language(s) and particular types of interlocutors that languages acquire their social symbolism. We may say, for example, that in the Tyneside Chinese community Chinese is associated primarily with the grandparents, thus it is the 'we code' for that generation and older speakers generally; and English is associated chiefly with British-born children who may regard it as their 'we code'. Note that even this rather tentative generalisation seems more complicated than Gumperz's (e.g. 1982) proposal that the ethnic language of the community would be the 'we code' and the language of the majority 'they code'. Gumperz's distinction would not be able to account for the change that takes place across generations in the same community.

A closer examination of the implicational scales reveals that the interaction between the social and stylistic dimensions of language choice is in fact much more complex than has been suggested. First of all, not all speakers of the same generation share the same language choice patterns. There are a few cases where speakers are ranked either higher or lower than other members of their generation on the horizontal scale. For instance, speakers 51 and 37 in Figure 5.7 (aged 68 and 65 respectively) are ranked much lower than the other male grandparents and even some of the parents, suggesting that they use relatively more English; meanwhile, those who are listed at the very bottom of the scales are not the youngest speakers of the child generation in the sample. It seems that these speakers have adopted language choice patterns other than those of their own generation at

large. As I have argued, such variations in language choice patterns cannot be accounted for by the age factor. Here, the significance of social networks comes to the fore. Compared with the rest of the grandparent generation, speakers 51 and 37 have fewer ethnic ties in their networks; and compared with the other children, those listed at the bottom of the scales have even fewer Chinese contacts. It seems that these speakers have moved away from the networks of the generation to which they might be said to belong and consequently have developed behavioural patterns which are different from other members of their generation.

Such inter-speaker variations are closely associated with interlocutor types in that speakers with different network patterns adopt different language choice patterns with various interlocutors. We can see, for example, that speakers of the parent generation who have relatively more Chinese ties in their networks (those listed towards the top of the scales) use Chinese only for communication between spouses, whereas those with relatively fewer Chinese ties may use both Chinese and English with the same type of interlocutors; while all children use Chinese only with grandparents (especially female grandparents) and both Chinese and English with parents, some use only English with their peers. Thus, the suggestion that we may characterise the choice between Chinese and English by identifying the generations with which they are associated and subsequently infer the social symbolism of the two languages may be too simplistic. What the implicational scales have revealed here is that particular languages are associated with particular groups of speakers who are members of the same social networks, and social networks may vary on an individual basis, regardless of age and generation. Therefore, language choice and the social symbolisms of languages may vary depending on the identity of the speaker as well as of the interlocutor and their inter-personal relationship.

Summary

In this chapter, I have considered in some detail the relationship between social networks and language behaviour of the speaker. It has been suggested that there is a shift

from strong ethnic-orientated networks to predominantly non-Chinese, peer-group networks across the generations. This shift is closely related to the language shift process described in Chapter 4, in that speakers with more ethnic ties adopt the Chinese only or Chinese-dominant language choice patterns and have a rather restricted command of English, whereas those with fewer ethnic ties use the bilingual and English-dominant patterns and generally have a better command of English. Peer-group ties, on the other hand, are capable of reinforcing generation-specific behavioural norms, in particularly, the British-born children, who contract most of their exchange ties with non-Chinese peers and interact more readily than their parents and grandparents with other children, using English as the primary language for in-group interaction.

The relationship between social networks and language use forms the basis for the complex symbolisms that Chinese and English represent in the community, that is, both languages are in use in the community as a whole but each with particular groups of speakers and interlocutors. Thus, the two languages may be regarded as 'we code' or 'they code', depending on the social networks to which particular language users belong.

The implicational scales of language choice which we have seen in 5.6 not only help to clarify the interaction between inter- and intra-speaker linguistic variations but also locate specifically the contexts in which conversational code-switching is likely to occur. Such situations are indicated by the letters C(hinese) and E(nglish) appearing together. It seems a rational next step to investigate more systematically the discourse strategies whereby speakers use the two languages in conversational interaction. I shall examine these strategies in the next chapter.

6 Conversational Code-Switching

6.0 Introductory

This chapter shifts its focus from the community level to the interactional level and examines how speakers make use of two different languages in conversation. The analytic procedure which I shall adopt here will be *sequential* as opposed to *classificatory*. The former is characterised by its emphasis on the embeddedness of language choice in the turn-by-turn organisation of interaction, while the latter tends to categorise in various ways the grammatical structures or discourse functions of code-switching. I have already outlined in 1.2.3 some of the advantages of the sequential approach over functional classification. Essentially, sequential analysis aims to reveal the underlying procedural apparatus by which conversation participants themselves arrive at local interpretation of language choice, and 'limits the external analyst's interpretational leeway' (Auer, 1984a: 6). As Auer (1984a: 11) argues, conversation participants do not interpret code-switching by subsuming a given instance under one of a pre-established set of functional (and indeed structural) types; rather, they make use of certain procedures in coming to a situated interpretation, and the exact meaning or function of language choice is a result of both contextual information and these more general procedures. Thus, merely enumerating the functions of code-switching cannot cope with the (in principle) infinite number of ways in which language choice may become meaningful.

The sequential approach also has some methodological attractions to analysts who are not entirely satisfied with the way code-switching is being treated in grammatical-structural analyses. Typically, the grammatical approach focuses on the point in structure where the switching takes place - examples are the tag, intra-sentential, and inter-sentential loci specified by Poplack (e.g. 1980), and identifies various structural constraints. The sequential implicativeness of language choice, i.e. its relationship with the preceding and subsequent turns by the same and other speakers, which are plainly important to the

participants, is generally not taken into consideration. We usually find little information, for example, about the conversational context in which a particular instance of code-switching occurs in grammatical analyses; instead we are given structures which have been extracted from interaction and very often have been quantified. As a result, large amounts of data which involve interesting and meaningful choices by the speakers are not accounted for. To illustrate this point, let us look at an extract of conversation which has been recorded in a Tyneside Chinese family for the present study.

1 A: Nay sik mut-ye a?
(What do you want to eat?)

2 B: (1.0) Just apples.

3 A: Just [ən] just apples? *Dimgai m sik yoghurt a?*
(Why not have some yoghurt?)

4 B: (2.0) No yoghurt.

5 A: *May-ye?*
(What?)

6 B: Nay wa m jon sik.
(You said (I am) not allowed to have it.)

7 A: Ngaw wa m jon sik mut-ye a?
(What did I say (you are) not allowed to have?)

8 B: Yoghurt.

9 A: Yoghurt? (2.0) Hai a m jon sik a. Nay sik jong
(That's right. (You're) not allowed

m siufu a.
to have it. You'll feel uncomfortable if you
have it.)

...

10 A: (To C) Nay yan m yan..Horlicks a?
(Do you want to drink Horlicks?)

11 C: *I don't want any Horlicks.*

12 A: Ovaltine?

13 C: err..I don't know.

14 A: May-ye?

(What?)

15 C: Anything. [Anything.

16 A: [Yan mut-ye a nay? [Ovaltine deng a
(What do you want to drink? Ovaltine or

Horlicks a?
Horlicks?)

17 C: [Anything.

18 A: Anything to you.

The recording was made during a family meal. In this extract, the mother, A, is offering dessert to her two daughters B (aged 12) and C (aged 8). She first asks B in Cantonese what she would like to have (Line 1). B hesitates a little, which is indicated by a one-second pause, then replies 'Just apples' in English (L2). A repeats B's response as if to confirm it. She then switches to Cantonese and offers B yoghurt (L3). There follows a two-second pause, which in Conversation Analysis terms is 'significant (or attributable) silence', that is, the selected next-turn speaker does not take up the turn for some particular reason when it is her obligation to do so (see further Levinson, 1983: 299). This type of silence is usually seen as a signal for an imminent 'dispreferred' response such as a refusal. Noticeably, B chooses to use English for her refusal of A's offer of yoghurt (L4). A then asks 'May-ye? (What?)' to check B's answer (L5). B gives an explanation for her rejection in Cantonese (L6). After a further question-answer pair (Lines 7 and 8), A apparently changes her mind, saying B is not allowed to have yoghurt after all (L9). A then turns to C and offers her Horlicks (L10). Again her offer is met with a refusal. Like B, C also uses English to mark her refusal (L11). A offers a substitute - 'Ovaltine' (L12). But it too is rejected by C (L13). A insists on C having something to drink by repeating her offer of Horlicks and Ovaltine in Cantonese (L16). Apparently uninterested and impatient, C responds with 'Anything'. A finally accepts C's position and says 'Anything to you' in English (L18).

What I am concerned with at this stage is what constitutes an instance of code-switching. As we can see in this extract, while both Chinese and English are being used, only A has actually changed languages *within the same speaking turn* (Lines 3 and 9). B also has changed her choices of language in the course of the conversation, but not in the same turns, whereas C never changes her choice of language. She simply chooses a language which is different from the speaker in the immediately preceding turns. If we were to follow the 'grammatical-structural' definition of code-switching - 'the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optionally phonological) rules of the language of its provenance' (Poplack, 1990: 37), only Lines 3 and 9 in the extract perhaps can be considered as instances of code-switching - in both cases 'inter-sentential', and the rest are all monolingual utterances. However, if we look at the choices of language by the three speakers as a sequence, that is with reference to the choices in the immediately preceding and following turns, we can identify many more instances of code-switching. For example, in addition to Lines 3 and 9 where B switches from English to Chinese within the same turns, Lines 11, 15 and 17 in which the current turn speaker chooses a language which differs from the choice in the immediately preceding turns would also be regarded as instances of code-switching. The recognition of contrastive choices of language by different speakers in consecutive turns as code-switching is important, because they often reflect the language ability and language attitudes of the conversation participants, or in Auer's (1984a) terms 'participant-related' code-switching (see further 1.2.3). Thus, to analyse language choice within the sequential organisation of the interaction enables the investigator to link structural forms and meanings and functions. This point is worth emphasising, because very often new analyses of code-switching are presented as if they contradict, rather than complement, each other and without suggesting ways in which they might be integrated into a coherent model. The sequential approach to language choice, as Auer (1984a) comments, is intended to incorporate the existing models (either functional or

grammatical) into an 'interpretive' framework which focuses on the 'members' methods' of using code-switching as a communicative strategy in conversational interaction.

Auer suggests that the framework for carrying out a sequential analysis of language choice is Conversation Analysis. I have mentioned in 1.2.3 that the application of Conversation Analysis to bilingual data is new and not yet systematic. In this respect, the work by Auer on German-Italian code-switching represents the best effort to date. In this chapter, I shall first give a brief summary of Auer's study and outline aspects of Conversation Analysis which are relevant to bilingual code-switching. I shall then present a detailed sequential analysis of Chinese-English code-switching, drawing upon conversational data collected in the Tyneside Chinese community. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of inter-speaker differences in the use of code-switching as a contextualisation cue.

6.1 Code-switching as a contextualisation cue

The conceptual apparatus upon which Auer builds his model of language choice is Gumperz's (1982; in press) notion of *contextualisation*. Since it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss this notion in detail, I shall make use of Auer's characterisation of contextualisation which relates specifically to bilingual code-switching.

In very general terms, contextualisation refers to 'all the processes by which members construe the local and global contexts which are necessary for the interpretation of their linguistic and non-linguistic activities' (Auer: 1990: 80). For Auer (and Gumperz), context is not something given a priori and influencing or determining linguistic detail, rather, it is shaped, maintained and changed by participants continually in the course of interaction (see also 1.2). It has been demonstrated that conversational participants use cues at the verbal level (prosodic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, rhetorical) (see, for example, Local, 1986; Local et al., 1984, 1986; French and Local, 1986) and the non-verbal level (gestural, kinesic and proxemic) (e.g. Duncan, 1969, 1972; Kendon, 1977) to contribute to the signalling of contextual presuppositions. Gumperz (1982) calls these cues

'contextualisation conventions' (or *contextualisation cues*). They have the following characteristics (Auer: 1991: 334-335):

> (1) They do not have referential (de-contextualised) meaning of the kind we find in lexical items. Instead, contextualisation cues and the interpretation of the activity are related by a process of *inferencing*, which is itself dependent on the context of its occurrence. The situated meaning of code-switching therefore cannot be stated unless a sequential analysis is carried out. The same cue may receive a different interpretation on different occasions.
>
> (2) The way in which inferencing leads to contextual interpretation is twofold: by contrast or by inherent meaning potential. In the first, most simple case, contextualisation cues establish contrasts and influence interpretation by punctuating the interaction. The mere fact of (usually abruptly) changing one (or more than one) formal characteristic of the interaction may be enough to prompt an inference about why such a thing has happened. In this process of inferencing, it is necessary to rely on information contained in the local context of the cue's occurrence. The only 'meaning' the cue has is (to paraphrase Jakobson's definition of the phoneme) to 'indicate otherness'. The direction of the change is irrelevant.
>
> Yet, many contextualisation cues do more than that. They establish a contrast and thereby indicate that something new is going to come; but it also and at the same time restricts the number of possible plausible inferences as to what this might be. This is so because cues may have (received) an inherent meaning potential. This may be 'natural', e.g. when we observe a natural correlation between diminishing fundamental frequency on the one hand, and 'rest' or 'termination' on the other, or it may be conventionalised (as in the case of code alternation).
>
> (3) Contextualisation cues often bundle together, e.g. there is a certain redundancy of coding which has specific interactional advantages. For the analyst, this redundancy provides methodological access to the conversational functions of one cue (e.g. code alternation), since, other cues supporting the same local interpretation can be used as 'external' evidence for the meaning of conversational code alternation. (Original italics)

Auer argues that code-switching can and should be analysed as a contextualisation cue, because it works in many ways just like other contextualisation cues on the prosodic or gestural level (Auer, 1984a; 1984b; 1988; see also 1.2.3). But as a contextualisation cue, code-switching has some characteristics of its own. In particular, the sequential organisation of language choice provides a frame of reference for the interpretation of functions or meanings of conversational code-switching. Auer (1991) identifies a number of sequential patterns of language choice which I shall outline here.

The first pattern looks like this:

Pattern Ia: ...A1 A2 A1 A2 // B1 B2 B1 B2...

Here, a language-of-interaction (base language or unmarked language) A has been established; at a certain point, Speaker 1 switches to language B; this new language choice is accepted by speaker 2 as the new language-of-interaction so that beyond the switching point, only B is used. The pattern is usually considered as the prototypical case of conversational code-switching. A variant of this pattern would be:

Pattern Ib: ... A1 A2 A1 A2 A1 // B1 B2 B1 B2...

In this case, code-switching occurs within a single speaker's turn.

A different pattern of language choice which Auer identifies can be schematised as follows:

Pattern IIa: ...A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 B2...

In this pattern, Speaker 1 consistently uses one language but Speaker 2 consistently uses another language. Such patterns of language choice are not normally sustained in spontaneous conversation. After a short run of divergent language choices, one participant usually accepts the other's language, and the sequence continues with an agreed language as the language-of-interaction. The resulting pattern looks like this:

Pattern IIb: ...A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 // A2 A1 A2 A1...

In all these patterns, the change of language is accompanied by change of speakership. It is frequently observed, however, that bilingual speakers keep language choice open by switching between languages within a turn. The recipient of a turn which contains two languages may continue in this mode, giving rise to Pattern IIIa, or choose the language he or she thinks is appropriate or preferred, leading to Pattern IIIb.

Pattern IIIa: ...AB1 AB2 AB1 AB2...

Pattern IIIb: ...AB1 // A2 A1 A2...

Finally, code-switching may occur in the middle of a speaker's turn without affecting language choice for the interaction at all. Such momentary 'lapses' into the other language usually occur because a word, a phrase or another structure in language B is inserted into a language A frame. The insertion has a predictable end. Schematically, this pattern is represented as follows:

Pattern IV: ...A1 [B1] A1...

Auer calls this pattern 'transfer'.

Auer argues that the interpretation of function(s) or meaning(s) of code-switching is influenced by the sequential patterns of language choice as outlined here. He proposes a distinction between *discourse-related* and *participant-related* code-switching. Discourse-related code-switching contributes to the organisation of the on-going interaction, while participant-related code-switching permits assessment by participants of the speaker's preference for and competence in one language or the other (see further 1.2.3). For example, the function of code-switching of Patterns Ia and Ib type is usually interpreted as contextualising some feature of the conversation, e.g. a shift in topic, participant constellation, activity type, and so forth, and is therefore 'discourse-related', whereas code-switching of Pattern IIa and IIb type is a negotiation of language-of-interaction and tells us something about participants' preferred choices; hence the designation 'participant-related'. However, this distinction is not always clear-cut, as Auer himself recognises. Take Patterns IIIa and IIIb for example: the turn-internal switches that occur in such an ambiguous turn may have a discourse function - such as in the case of other-language reiterations for emphasis, or topic/comment switching; but the fact of keeping the language choice open also provides information about the speaker and his or her conceptualisation of the situation. Therefore, switching of this turn-internal type is discourse-related and at the same time participant-related.

One reason for distinguishing discourse-related code-switching from participant-related code-switching, as Auer explains, is that the discourse functions of code-switching have received a great deal of attention in the existing literature, while processes of language negotiation and preference- or competence-influenced language choices are usually not subsumed under conversational code-switching, but are considered to be either determined by societal macro-structures or by psycholinguistic factors (see, for example, Lüdi, 1987; McClure and McClure, 1988; Gardner-Chloros, 1991). As Auer's study of German-Italian code-switching demonstrates, participant-related code-switching should also be regarded as

a contextualisation cue. What it contextualises, however, goes beyond discourse structures to include social attributes and relationships of the participants.

To study code-switching as a contextualisation cue requires an analytic procedure which focuses on the sequential development of interaction, because the meanings of contextualisation cues are conveyed as part of the interactive process and cannot be discussed without referring to the conversational context. Such a procedure is provided by Conversation Analysis. I shall now turn to consider some of the main features and findings of Conversation Analysis which are relevant to the study of bilingual code-switching.

6.2 Conversation Analysis and conversation management

Conversation Analysis originated in the work of a group of American sociologists often known as 'ethnomethodologists', the most prominent of whom include Garfinkel (e.g. 1967) and Sacks (e.g. Sacks, et al, 1974). However, Conversation Analysis differs from Ethnomethodology proper in that the former is 'more firmly oriented toward the organisation of talk, or interaction, as an activity', whereas the latter 'has a more cognitive outlook, with an emphasis upon the analysis of the grounds upon which everyday activities are carried out' (Kendon, 1990: 46). The analytic procedure of Conversation Analysis contrasts with other traditions in sociological and linguistic research in that it employs an inductive type of reasoning and seeks to discover by detailed examination of recurrent patterns in naturally-occuring data what people actually do in day-to-day conversational interaction. This forms the basis for an ultimate analysis of structures and relations that exist on a higher social level. Questions which conversation analysts attempt to answer include: 'How is turn transition achieved'? 'How is relevance noted'? 'How are topics changed'? (Schiffrin, 1988). Rather than attempting a comprehensive account of Conversation Analysis here, I shall focus in this section on two of the main findings of Conversation Analysis about organisation and management of conversation, namely, turn-taking and preference organisation, as they have considerable implications for the subsequent analysis of code-switching as a contextualisation cue.

6.2.1 Turn-taking

One of the basic observations made by conversation analysts is that conversational interaction is characterised by an orderly sharing of speakership. In order to achieve smooth and frequent transitions from one speaker to another, conversational participants employ a 'local management system' - a set of rules with ordered options which operates on a turn-by-turn basis. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) suggest that this local management system requires the assumption that turns are constructed of minimal units. These 'turn-constructional units' may include sentential, clausal, phrasal and lexical constructions. The end of such a unit is a *transition relevance place* (TRP) - a point at which speakership may (but does not always) change. Initially a speaker is entitled to one turn-constructional unit, and at the first transition relevance place, the following rules will apply (Levinson, 1983: 298):

Rule 1 - applies initially at the first TRP of any turn
(a) If C selects N in current turn, then C must stop speaking, and N must speak next, transition occuring at the first TRP after N-selection
(b) If C does not select N, then any (other) party may self-select, first speaker gaining rights to the next turn
(c) If C has not selected N, and no other party self-selects under option (b), then C may (but need not continue (i.e. claim rights to a further turn-constructional unit)

Rule 2 - applies at all subsequent TRPs
When Rule 1 (c) has been applied by C, then at the next TRP Rules 1 (a) - (c) apply, and recursively at the next TRP. until speaker change is effected

The notion of transition relevance place is particularly significant, because it allows the nature of coordination among conversation participants to be specified more precisely. Sacks, et al. (1974) have, however, largely left open the question of how interactants project the imminent approach of transition relevance places so that turn exchange can be prompt and smooth. They seem to assume that conversation participants normally possess some discourse and syntactic knowledge which they may use in anticipating the end of a particular turn (e.g. grammatical completion of a sentence; routine exchange of telephone

calls, hospital visits and shopping). Some investigators have suggested that while the ends of some turns can be roughly projected by the hearer who draws upon such knowledge, speakers constantly and actively give out complex signals to indicate that they are about to finish. The psychologist Starkey Duncan (1969; 1972; 1973; 1974a; Duncan and Fiske, 1977), for example, identifies the following behaviours as being implicated by the speaker in marking the end of a turn - he calls them 'turn-yielding cues' (see also Ellis and Beattie, 1986: Chapter 10; and Graddol, Cheshire and Swann, 1987: 154-5):

1) Intonation: the use of any rising or falling intonation contour;

2) Drawl on the final syllable, or on the stressed syllable of terminal clause;

3) Sociocentric sequences: the use of one of the several stereotyped expressions, typically following a substantive statement, e.g. 'or something', 'you know', 'but ah', etc.;

4) Pitch/loudness: a drop in pitch and/or loudness;

5) Syntax: grammatical completion of a clause;

6) Gaze: a speaker's head turningd towards the listener is associated with a substantial increase in the probability of the listener taking a turn;

7) Gesture: many kinds of gesture are synchronised with speech and completion of a body movement often coincides with turn completion.

Duncan (1972) argues that it is cues like these sent out by the speaker, together with the listener's discourse and syntactic knowledge, that help participants to synchronise turn exchanges with precision (see also Erickson and Schultz, 1982; Kendon, 1990). This argument has been followed up by a number of investigators in a series of detailed studies of specific 'turn-yielding cues'. Goodwin (1981), for example, has analysed the way in which conversation participants employ gaze direction, bodily orientation and posture in relation to turn construction units and turn-taking (see also Kendon, 1977, who has studied gaze direction from a primarily psychological perspective). Schegloff (1984) has studied the relationship between gestures and turns at talk. Local (1986) has identified various phonetic features which are used by the speaker to indicate turn-endings in Tyneside English (see also Local, et al, 1984, 1986; French and Local, 1986). It is worth pointing

out that the analysis of 'turn-yielding cues' by Duncan and others complements rather than contradict Sacks, et al.'s (1974) rule-based model of turn-taking. Indeed, at various points of his work Duncan has emphasised that 'turn-yielding cues' cannot be explained without reference to the turn-taking system which Sacks, et al. have identified (see especially Duncan, 1974b).

In addition to psychologists and linguists, the search for various kinds of turn-yielding cues has been carried out by researchers from a range of disciplines with different focuses. Some of their findings are clearly more relevant than others to the study of bilingual code-switching. For example, ethnographers' research on speakership transition strategies in different communities and social groups highlights the cultural variability of the turn-taking system. In a study of the organization of conversation in Thai, Moerman (1988) argues that while turn-taking occurs in any conversation, the ways in which speaker transition are accomplished may differ from one culture to another, primarily due to the different cues participants use. We shall see shortly that bilingual speakers have the additional resource of code-switching which they may use to coordinate turn-taking.

6.2.2 Preference organisation

One important implication of turn-taking is that conversation is organised into a sequence of exchanges, with one speaker's turn leading to that of another speaker. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) have further explored the sequential organisation of conversation by invoking the notion of 'adjacency pairs' - paired utterances which are sequentially constrained in that the occurrence of a first part creates a slot for the appropriate second pair part. Prototypical types of adjacency pairs include question-answer, greeting-greeting, offer-acceptance, and apology-minimization. Critical to the concept of 'adjacency pairs' is that a first pair part sets up a conditional relevance and expectation which the second speaker fulfils. Failure to fulfil conditionally relevant expectations by producing appropriate second pair parts results therefore in a 'noticeable absence'.

A great deal of research in Conversation Analysis has been done on the second parts of adjacency pairs in terms of what has become known as 'preference organisation' (Levinson, 1983; Pomeranz, 1984; Atkinson and Drew, 1979). Preference organisation in its simplest form refers to the ranking of alternative second pair parts, such as acceptance or refusal of an offer, or agreement or disagreement with an assessment. It has been argued that alternative second pair parts are not generally of equal status, rather, some second turns are 'preferred' while others are 'dispreferred'. It is important to emphasis that preference here does not essentially refer to psychological or affective desires of the speaker, but to the expected and most commonly occurring type of second part, similar to the linguistic notion of 'markedness' (Levinson, 1983: 307; see also Bilmes, 1988). Preferred seconds tend to be structurally simpler and to follow the first parts smoothly, whereas dispreferred seconds are usually accompanied by various kinds of structural complexity and are typically delivered:

(a) after some significant delay;

(b) with some preface marking their dispreferred status, often the particle *well*;

(c) with some account of why the preferred second cannot be performed. (See further Levinson, 1983: 307)

Table 6.1 shows the preference organisation of a number of adjacency pairs.

Table 6.1 Correlations of content and format in adjacency pair (Adapted from Levinson, 1983: 336)

FIRST PARTS:	Request	Offer/Invite	Assessment	Question	Blame
SECOND PARTS: Preferred:	Acceptance	Acceptance	Agreement	Expected answer	Denial
Dispreferred:	Refusal	Refusal	Disagreement	Unexpected answer or non-answer	Admission

As Levinson (1983) points out, preference organisation extends far beyond the ranking of second parts of adjacency pairs. It can operate to structure turns subsequent as well as prior to a given turn. The example below, taken from Levinson (1983: 335), shows that a dispreferred second is delayed by what has been called a 'next turn repair initiator', which gives the next turn speaker an opportunity to *repair* the prior turn in the following turn, and the dispreferred 'second' turn only occurs when Ch fails to do the repair in the way acceptable to M, and thereby becomes displaced into the fourth turn.

Ch: I wan my ow:n tea .hh my*self*

M: (You) want what? =

Ch: = My tea my*se:lf*

M: No:w? We are all having tea together

Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) have studied in some detail various strategies used by speakers to repair their contributions in conversation. They make two important distinctions: first, self-initiated versus other-initiated repair, which refers to repair by a speaker respectively with or without prompting; second, self- versus other-repair, the former being carried out by the speaker of the repairable item and the latter by another party. They suggest that a set of preferences exists to rank-order the different types of repairs. The preference ranking for repairs is as follows (adapted from Levinson, 1983: 341):

Preference 1 is for self-initiated self-repair in opportunity 1 (own turn)
Preference 2 is for self-initiated self-repair in opportunity 2 (transition space)
Preference 3 is for other-initiation, by NTRI in opportunity 3 (next turn), of self-repair (in the turn after that)
Preference 4 is for other-initiated other-repair in opportunity 3 (next turn)

The fact that other-initiated repairs (either self- or other-repair) are often delayed, by various means, is a manifestation of the tendency of dispreferred seconds generally to be marked by structural complexity (Levinson, 1983: 334).

The existence of repairs, especially other-initiated ones, has significant implications for the sequential organisation of conversation. As Levinson's example shows, in the slot reserved for an answer to Ch's question, M asks 'Want what?', to which Ch replies 'My tea myse:lf'. This exchange between M and Ch is embedded within the exchange initiated originally by Ch, and can be schematised as follows:

Ch: Q(uestion) 1

M: Q 2

Ch: A(nswer) 2

M: (Q 3) A 1

Schegloff (1972) describes a structure such as Q2 - A2 as an 'insertion sequence'. Insertion sequences occupy the place of a second pair part and are in effect independent structures embedded between the two halves of a pair. To account for such structures, Levinson (1983) argues that strict adjacency is too strong a requirement for naturally-occuring conversational exchange, and quotes a series of examples of insertion sequences which involve numerous levels of embedding (see also Tsui, 1989; 1991).

While insertion sequences defy a strict adjacency pairs analysis of structure, they seem to support conversation analysts' claim about preference organisation in that these sequences can be seen as components of delay by which speakers mark dispreferred seconds (Levinson, 1983: 334). This is the point which is discussed by Schegloff (1979) who distinguishes turn *location* from *position*. Turn location is the absolute sequential locus of a turn in a sequence by a count after some initial turn, while position is the response to some prior but not necessarily adjacent turn. Thus, as Levinson (1983: 348) explains, a second part of an adjacency pair separated from its first part by a two-turn insertion sequence will be in fourth location but second position.

It is important to remember that Conversation Analysis has been developed primarily on the basis of English, monolingual data. Although the underlying structures of conversation may be universal in the sense that any conversation has to allow participants to express agreement as well as disagreement, or as we have seen earlier to take turns, the strategies which participants use to contextualise conversational organisations may be culture specific (Duranti, 1988). The manner in which Chinese-English bilingual speakers mark dispreference and insertion sequences and repair problem spots in conversation is explored in the current study.

6.3 Chinese-English code-switching

Having outlined the analytic framework for the study reported in this chapter, I shall now try to show the ways in which conversational code-switching is used as a contextualisation cue by Chinese-English bilinguals. Evidence is drawn from tape-recorded conversations collected in the ten Chinese families on Tyneside whose language choice patterns have been discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5 (see Chapter 3, especially 3.3.5, for details of fieldwork procedures). A total of 23 conversational sequences are examined here and are organised around four main conversational structures: turn transition, preference, repair, and pre- and embedded sequences.

6.3.1 Turn-taking

Consider sequence (1):

(1) (Two male speakers in their mid-twenties.)

A: ... he should be home now (.) I think

(1.5)

A: maybe ye (.) perhaps I (.) *koeige namba geido a*
(What's his number?)

B: yibaatsaam (.) yichat (.) yichatchatluk

(283) (27) (2776)

Immediately prior to this sequence, the speakers have been talking about borrowing a tent from a friend to go camping. B has said he would telephone the friend later, but A wants B to ring him right away. B thinks the friend would not be at home because he knows the man was going to visit a video shop. The conversation up to this point has been in English. Looking at his watch, A says to B 'he (i.e. the friend) should be home now', which is followed by a very short pause and the tag 'I think'. There then follows a one-and-half-second gap. According to Sacks, et al's (1974) model, the end of A's tag 'I think' is a Transition Relevance Place by virtue of grammatical completion. Although the current speaker, A, has not selected a specific next speaker, there is only one other person present. In dyadic situations such as this, B is normally expected to be the next turn speaker, although not necessarily at the first Transition Relevance Place (Sacks, et al., 1974). B, however, has not taken up the turn, and A therefore continues, applying Rule (1)c of Sacks, et al's model as described in 6.2.1 above. After two short, incomplete utterances ('maybe ye'; 'perhaps I'), A switches from English to Cantonese and asks for the telephone number of the friend, so that he can ring the man himself. His code-switching, along with an interrogative structure, specifically marks the selection of B as the next turn speaker. Turn transition is subsequently accomplished when B gives A the telephone number in Cantonese. We can schematise the sequential pattern of language choice in this extract as follows:

A: English (initial turn construction unit)

B: No take up of right to turn

A: English (self-continuation)

Cantonese (turn allocation)

B: Cantonese (first response)

Code-switching of this kind has frequently been observed in the literature as being used for addressee specification, emphasis or reiteration (e.g. McClure, 1977; Williams, 1980; Zentella, 1981; Gumperz, 1982). As Auer argues, however, while code-switching

may indeed serve such functions in different conversational contexts, the task of the analyst is to reveal the more general underlying procedure whereby speakers achieve these functional aims. I want to suggest that code-switching is used here primarily to signal turn handovers, in a similar way that prosodic and gestural cues are frequently used in monolingual conversations. By comparing B's responses to A at the first Transition Relevance Place and after A switches from English to Cantonese, we can see that this does seem to be the interpretation by the participants themselves. Sebba and Wootton (1984) report similar findings among London Jamaican speakers who tend to code-switch at turn-final positions to indicate turn completion and turn transition.

Extracts (2) and (3) below support this claim by providing further examples of code-switching being used to mark turn-handovers:

(2) (A is male in his thirties and B is female in her mid-twenties.)

A: Where shall we go?

(2.0)

A: ...that's (.) there's an Italian (.) pizza, *ho ma?*
(Good?)

B: Ho a. Pizza a?
(Good. Is it pizza?)

(3) (Two teenage girls.)

A: lei(.) m yuen a (.) ho kan chejaam (.) [*y'haven't...*
(to) (not far) (very near bus-stop)

B: [mm

A: Nay ji m ji [a?
(Do you know?)

B: [ngaw m ji.
(I don't know.)

In (2), B wants to get a snack of some kind. A asks her in English where to go, but B does not respond. A then suggests a nearby Italian restaurant where they can have pizza.

A's utterance, a self-continuation, is in English - the language chosen for his previous turn constructional unit. But he switches to Cantonese and asks 'Ho ma?' ('Good?' or 'Is it OK?'). This tag usually has the function of inviting comment on a suggestion or acceptance of an offer in monolingual Cantonese conversation. Here, it is used to mark the end of the current speaker's turn and the selection of the next turn speaker. B accepts A's suggestion and turn transition is accomplished. Tag-switching, i.e. the insertion of a tag in one language into an utterance which is otherwise in another language, is one of the commonest types of code-switching observed in the literature (e.g. Poplack, 1980). From a conversation analysis point of view, when a tag-switch occurs at the end of a turn, it often signals a change of speakership.

Extract (3) also demonstrates code-switching as a signal of turn transition. Here, A is telling B the location of a shop. The first part of A's turn is in Cantonese. She then begins to indicate the completion of the current turn by selecting B as the next speaker. This is done by the use of a deictic pronoun accompanied by code-switching to English. But A's 'y'haven't' overlaps with B's back channel 'mm', and no speaker transition takes place. The subsequent behaviour of A is particularly interesting: she reiterates her turn handover component; this time as an interrogative which as the first part of a pair is a 'strong' procedure for accomplishing turn handover. To mark this, she switches back to Cantonese 'Nay ji m ji a?' (Do you know?). B's response is very prompt (indicated by a slight overlap), and turn transition is achieved.

From a sequential analytic perspective, language choice becomes meaningful primarily with reference to the language used in preceding and following utterances (either a turn or part of a turn). It contextualises turn transition by building up a contrast, just as changes in pitch or tempo. The language direction of a switch, i.e. whether a particular switch is from Cantonese to English or vice versa, becomes relevant only when a particular conversational structure is repeatedly marked by one of the languages in the repertoire (see also Auer, 1984a, 1991). I shall return to this point shortly.

The above examples are all taken from dyadic conversations. As Duncan (1972) points out, turn-taking is a competitive activity where speakers employ various techniques to allocate, seize or retain the floor, and this competitiveness is most visible in multi-party conversation where more than two people are interacting on an essentially equal basis. In dyadic conversation, it is usually quite clear who the next turn speaker is, even though the current speaker may not have specifically allocated the turn. In multi-party conversation, on the other hand, when the next turn speaker is not specified, self-selection by one or another speaker is often needed if the next turn slot is to be filled (see further Sacks, et al., 1974). Extract (4) below shows that code-switching may be used to mark self-selection in multi-party conversation.

(4) (Four women in their early thirties.)

A: mo (.) ngaw mo gin (.) jung mei gin gwoh Cheung saang
(haven't...I haven't met.. never met Mr. Cheung)

B: [mm

C: [junglai mo [a
(Never?)

D: [*Y'what?*

C: Koei mo gin gwoh Cheung saang.
(She hasn't met Mr Cheung.)

(1.5)

D: *Maybe you are too busy.*

B: (Laugh) M dak haan a.
(Not free.)

C: Maybe both (.) either of you (.) *m dak haan a*
(not free)

A: No, no. I'm not busy. My sis (.) sister-in-law
come Monday.

The most remarkable feature of this episode is perhaps the contrasting choices of code by different speakers in consecutive turns (Pattern II, as identified by Auer; see 6.1 above).

All the participants self-select and their choices of language are different from the one in the preceding turn marking out turn boundaries. This type of contrasting choice of code differs from the code-switching we have seen in the first three examples in that the code-switching in (1), (2) and (3) is carried out by the same speaker, whereas in (4) it is done by different speakers. We can call contrastive choices of language by different speakers in consecutive turns 'inter-speaker code-switching' and the changing of language by the same speaker in the same turn 'intra-speaker code-switching', but these two types of code-switching are not always clearly distinguished in the existing literature. Such a distinction is nevertheless important because the discourse as well as social inferences that participants draw from the two types of code-switching may be very different. Code-switching by the same speaker, as exemplified in Extracts 1 - 3 above, demonstrates the speaker's willingness to accommodate his or her interlocutor. Contrastive choices of language by different speakers in consecutive turns, on the other hand, as shown in Extract 4, indicate the preference and competence of the participants, as well as their role relationships (see also Auer, 1991).

The analysis of contrasting choice of language as a turn-competition strategy, particularly in multi-party conversation, is more clearly appropriate for interruptions. Extract (5) is one such example, in which speaker B chooses a different language from A to support his attempt to seize the floor:

(5) (A, the father, is speaking to a friend when B, the son cuts in.)

A: Nay dou [ji dousaai...
(You know it already...)

B: [*You seen my book*?

A: What book?

An interesting comparison to (5) is provided by (6) below. This sequence shows that when a speaker has been interrupted, the same strategy of contrastive choice of language may help him/her re-gain the control of the floor:

(6) (A, a girl in her late teens, is relating a story about her boyfriend when B, her younger sister, interrupts.)

A: He forgot where he left it, right, so I thought
I'd [better...

B: [Mutye beng a?
(What illness?)

A: *You listen....*

Sometimes even in accidental overlaps, choice of language may enable the participant to successfully claim the speaking turn. See, for example, (7):

(7) (A, B, C are three teenage girls.)

A: ...maai m do a.
(Can't buy it.)

B: [Ngaw seunggoh...
(I last...)

C: [*Did you (.) d'you go to Dillons*?

A: Dillons?

C: Yeah. The new one.

(1.0)

Nay ji-m-ji a?
(Do you know?)

B: Hai.
(Yes.)

In this extract, the girls are talking about a book which A wants to buy but has failed to find in the bookshop. Since she has not selected the next speaker by the end of her turn,

B and C self-select themselves. Their self-selections accidentally overlap, and while B uses Cantonese which coincides with A's choice of language, C uses a different language, English. Although there may be more than one reason for B to subsequently give up her turn, C's choice of language seems to have contributed to her success in attracting A's attention.

One pattern that emerges from these examples is that English is repeatedly used to mark the 'last words'. Earlier I have commented that language choice generates meaning by building a contrast with preceding and subsequent turns. This, however, by no means rules out the possibility that speakers tend to mark certain conversation structures with particular languages. Indeed it is often through such an association between language and conversation structure that the various linguistic systems within the community repertoire become socially symbolic (Gal, 1979; Scotton, 1988; Auer, 1991). For example, from what we have seen so far we may suggest that English is the language of authority amongst Chinese-English bilinguals because it is frequently used with (successful) turn-competitions. Of course to support such a claim, we not only need to examine a large amount of data, but we also need to take into account inter-speaker variations, in so far as for the same conversation structure, group A speakers may tend to use language A while group B speakers use language B. Given the differences in ability in and preference for (in the non-technical sense) different languages by speakers of various social backgrounds as described in Chapters 4 and 5, considerations of inter-speaker variation patterns play a crucial role in determining the social meanings which are inferred from language choice. I shall discuss such patterns further in 6.4.

The discussion in this sub-section has focused mainly on the current speaker's contributions to the on-going conversation. As we have seen, when the current speaker issues a question, a request or a command, the next turn speaker may respond in various ways - by remaining silent as in (1), by giving a positive or negative response as in (2), (3), and (4), or by asking another question as in (7). I shall now turn to look more

specifically at the next turn speaker's responses, particularly at the use of language choice as a (dis)preference marker.

6.3.2 Preference organisation

Let us consider Extract (8).

(8) (B, a twelve-year-old boy, is playing with a computer in the living-room. A is his mother.)

A: Finished homework?

B: (2.0)

A: Steven, *yiu mo wan sue*?
(want to review (your) lessons)

B: (1.5) I've finished.

In this extract, the mother, A, first asks in English whether B has finished his homework. There is no response from B. A then switches to Cantonese to reiterate her question. This reiteration can be understood as an indirect request for B to review his lessons. In fact, this seems to be how B interprets A's question, as he delivers the 'dispreferred' response by stating that he has already finished his homework. We can say that B's response is dispreferred because its arrival has been delayed by a one-and-half-second silence (see further 6.2.2 above). In the meantime, B's statement is marked by the choice of a language which is different from that in the immediately preceding turn by A. Interestingly, however, B's utterance may be read also as an answer to A's first question in English, delivered after some delay. B's language choice here resembles in many ways what we have seen in the two extracts that have been discussed in 3.4, which are quoted here again for comparison.

(9) (Dinner table talk between mother A and daughter B.)

A: Oy-m-oy faan a? Ah Ying a?
(Want some rice?)

(2.0)

A: Chaaufaan a. Oy-m-oy?
(Fried rice. Want or not?)

(2.0)

B: *I'll have some shrimps.*

A: Mut-ye? (.) Chaaufaan a.
(What?) (Fried rice.)

B: Hai a.
(OK.)

(10) (A, male in his late twenties; B, female, early forties; C, B's teenage daughter)

A: Sik gai a.
(Eat chicken.)

B: mm.

(5.0)

A: Haven't seen Robert Ng for a long time.

(2.0)

A: Have you seen him recently?

B: No.

A: Have you seen Ah Ching?

B: ... (2.0) (To C) *Ning ngaw doei haai lai.*
(Bring my shoes.)

(To A) Koei hoei bindou a?
(Where was she going?)

As in (8), both next turn speakers' responses in (9) and (10) are delivered after 'significant silence' and other delay components including insertion sequences (cf. 6.2.2 above, and see further Levinson, 1983: 299). But what seems particularly remarkable here

is that all these 'dispreferred' seconds are accompanied also by contrastive choices, that is, the next turn speakers choose a language that is different from the choices of the preceding turn speakers. This kind of 'disagreement' in language choice is by no means peculiar to the Tyneside Chinese. Both Auer (1984a) and Sebba and Wootton (1984) have reported similar patterns in German-Italian and London Jamaican-London English bilingual communities.

The language choices for preferred and dispreferred second parts in the following extract are particularly clear.

(10) (A is the mother of B, a nine-year-old girl, and C, a twelve-year old boy.)

A: Who want some? [Crispy a.

B: [Yes.

A: Yiu me?
(Want some?)

B: *Hai a.*
(Yes.)

(A handing over some spring-rolls to B.)

A: (To C) Want some, John?

C: *Ngaw m yiu.*
(I don't want.)

A: M yiu a? Crispy la.
(Don't want?)

C: (Shaking head) mm

Here A, the mother, is offering deep-fried spring-rolls to the people around the table. Her offer is not targeted towards any specific person, as is evident from the form of the question. Consequently, any of the participants can take up the next turn. It is B, the daughter, who responds first. Although her 'Yes' overlaps with A's additional, evaluative description 'crispy', B has managed to catch the attention of A, who requests a confirmation. Notice that twice B has chosen the same language as A to respond to A.

Significantly, when A turns to C, and C declines A's offer after a short pause, the choices of language are different - A uses English for the offer whereas C uses Cantonese for the refusal. The general pattern seems to be that while preferred second pair parts are accompanied by matching choices of language between the speakers, dispreferred responses are marked by constrasting language choices.

As noted in 6.2 above, dispreferred responses in monolingual, English conversation are often marked by various structural complexities including pause before delivery; the use of 'prefaces' such as discourse markers like 'but' and 'well', token agreements, apologies, and qualifiers. Also common are the use of 'accounts' or explanations for why the preferred second part is not forthcoming (see Levinson, 1983: 334-5 for more details). From the examples we have seen so far, it seems reasonable to suggest that contrasting choices of language, that is, the choice by the second part speaker of a language different from the first part speaker, can be used to mark dispreference in bilingual conversation in much the same way as those markedness features in monolingual conversation. In fact, Auer (1991) argues that code-switching is the most significant discourse marker in bilingual conversations in the sense that 'inadequate' choices of language are more noticeable than other linguistic features (see also Lavandera, 1978a; Gumperz, 1982). It is perhaps for this reason that while the use of code-switching accompanies some dispreference markers such as pauses, it may sometimes substitute for some of the more language-specific ones. For example, in our data we find that English dispreference markers such as 'well' and 'but' do not occur when contrastive language choices are used to mark dispreference. This seems to raise the question of how far dispreference markers are universal and how far they are language specific, and it is worth exploring this question further in future research in other bilingual communities.

A general pattern emerging from these examples is that code-switching marking dispreferred seconds is mostly found in inter-generational conversation and in the majority of cases it is the children who use English to mark their dispreferred responses to the Chinese first pair parts uttered by their parents or grandparents. Code-switching is less

frequently used to mark (dis)preference in conversations among speakers of the same generation and the language direction of the switch is less consistent in such a situation. This finding lends support to a point made earlier that the association between conversation structure and language varies according to (groups of) speakers. Thus, in order to understand the social meaning of code-switching, we need to relate specific interactional strategies to the more general patterns of language choice and language ability at the inter-speaker (or community) level described in Chapters 4 and 5. I shall return to this point in 6.4 below.

Let us look at two further examples of code-switching marking different kinds of dispreferred seconds.

(11) (Two young women are looking at new dresses.)

A: Nau, ni goh.
(This one.)

B: Ho leng a.
(Very pretty.)

A: Leng me? (1.5) *Very expensive.*
(Pretty?)

B: Guai m gaui a?
(Expensive or not?)

A: Hao guai.
(Very expensive.)

(12) (A, a man in his early thirties is talking with B, who is a woman of a similar age.)

A: Manhing drive you home.

B: (1.0) ngaw daap basi hoei.
(I'll take a bus.)

A: *Yiga m ho hoei. Yan daw (.) ho naan daap basi a.*
(Don't go now. So many people. Very difficult to get on a bus.)

B: (Waits for A to call Manhing.)

In Extract (11), B offers her assessment of A's new dress - 'Ho leng a.' (Very pretty). A's response to this consists first of a 'reflective' question in Cantonese - 'Leng me?' (Pretty?). This type of question is formed by partial repetition plus the question marker 'me' (or 'ma' in Mandarin) and has similar discourse functions to English tags such as 'isn't it?' or 'really?'. Here, it turns out to be used as a 'hedge' for a dispreferred second assessment, which indicates only a qualified agreement with the first (see further Pomerantz, 1984). Notice that A switches to English for her second assessment. When B asks for confirmation in the following turn 'Guai m guai a? (Expensive or not?)', A's 'preferred' response is in the same language, Cantonese, as B's question.

In (12), A is offering to ask Manhing, his son, to take B home. B hesitates a bit and then declines the offer by saying that she can take the bus. Her refusal is marked by first a one-second pause, a common dispreference marker, and then the use of Cantonese, which contrasts with A's choice of language. But A repeats his offer and gives a reason for not taking the bus at that particular time of the day. Notice that A's reformulation of his offer is accompanied by switching from English, the language he used for his original offer, to Cantonese, the language B has used for her dispreferred response.

As we have noted in 6.2, preference organization not only affects the second part speaker's contributions but also operates across turns, giving rise to 'repairs' of first parts of the adjacency pair in subsequent turns. In (12) A's reformulation of his original offer after a dispreferred response is one example of such a repair. I want to look more closely now at the language choices that are involved in initiating and making repairs in bilingual conversation.

6.3.3 Repair

Consider extract (13) below:

(13) (A and B are both female speakers in their early forties.)

A: ...koei hai yisaang.
(He's a doctor.)

B: *Is he?*

A: Yichin (.) hai Hong Kong.
(Before) (In Hong Kong.)

In this extract, A and B are talking about a Chinese man who has recently settled in Newcastle. A tells B that the man used to be a doctor. In Chinese, time reference is expressed by adverbials (e.g. *yesterday*, *next year*) without changing the verb form. But A here has not specified the time. This has prompted B to ask 'Is he?' to confirm A's statement. This question can be described in Conversation Analysis terms as a next turn repair initiator which offers A a chance to confirm what she has said or to reformulate it. As we can see A has subsequently repaired her original statement by saying that the man in question was a doctor in Hong Kong. Notice that B's repair initiator is in a language which is different from that of A's turns.

A similar example is Extract (14) below in which B also chooses a different language to mark out a repair initiator.

(14) (A and B are both female; A is in her forties and B is in her mid-twenties.)

A: Da m do. Koeige telephone gonggan. Koei dang yatjan joi da.
(Can't get through. Her telephone is engaged. She'll ring again in a short while.)

B: *She ring?*

A: Hai a, ngaw da.
(Yes, I'll ring.)

Here, A is trying to telephone a friend, but the line is engaged. When she says 'Koei dang yatjan joi da.' (She'll ring again in a short while.), Apparently confused, B asks 'She ring?'. This leads to A's repair 'Hai a, ngaw da. (Yes, I'll ring)'. As in Extract (13), the choice of language for the repair initiator - B's question - is different from the preceding and following turns.

Now compare (13) and (14) with (15) below.

(15) (A is female in her late thirties and B is male in his late-twenties.)

A: He's a [ku:]... (.) I don't know how to say (.)
send message (.) *Nay ji-m-ji a?*
(Do you know?)

B: Oh, courier.

A: Yes, courier.

In (15), A is telling B in English about a relative of hers who travels frequently between Britain and Hong Kong. She wants to say that he is a courier, but is not quite sure about the pronunciation of the word. The subsequent repair by B is initiated by A herself. It is a self-initiated other repair, which differs from the repairs in (13) and (14) which are other initiated self-repairs. Noticeably, A switches from English to Cantonese for her repair initiator.

Further examples show that code-switching can be used to mark self-initiated self-repairs, that is, repairs that are done by the speaker him- or herself within the same speaking turn without prompting from others. Consider, for example, (16) below.

(16) A: His sister (.) *koei-ge mooi* is my good friend.
(his younger sister)

Here, the English word 'sister' is a problematic item, because in Chinese there are two different words referring to 'younger sister' and 'elder sister' respectively. In order to

make it explicit that she is referring to 'younger sister', the speaker code-switches to Cantonese following the repairable item. She then switches back to English to continue with her talk.

Sometimes, speakers feel that certain items within an utterance may be problematic. But instead of replacing them with a different code as in (16), an 'attention catcher' (or in Sacks and Schegloff's (1979) terms 'try marker') may be inserted in a different language before the speaker repeats or clarifies the problematic item. In (17) below, for example, A inserts a code-switched tag, 'you know', to draw attention to her subsequent repetition of the word 'daji (typist)'.

(17) A: Koei hai gongsi jo daji *you know* daji yuen.
(She works in a company as a typist (you know) typist.)

The code-switches in (16) and (17) have one feature in common, that is, they both have a predictable end at which point the speakers switch back to the original languages. Schematically, the pattern looks like this: *...A1 [B1] A1...*, as described by Auer (1991) (see also 6.1 above).

Researchers of bilingual conversation have frequently observed that code-switching can serve the functions of word-finding, self-editing (with or without discernible errors), repetition, emphasis, clarification, confirmation, and so forth. All these uses are aspects of repair, a more general conversation organisational procedure. From what we have seen so far, there seem to be three main ways in which code-switching can be used as a repair marker. The first is to issue a repair initiator in a different language so that the speaker of the repairable item can do the repair him- or herself. The second is to replace the repairable item(s) with an equivalent in a different language; this can be done by the speaker him- or herself without prompting from others (self-initiated self-repairs) or by different speakers (other-initiated other-repairs). The third is to insert an item in a different language to draw the listener's attention to the repairable item. Certain phrases in English such as 'you know', 'right', 'see' are often found to be used for this purpose. In the existing

Conversation Analysis literature, there is little discussion on the marking of repairs. Further studies of the marking of repairs in bilingual conversation along the lines suggested here may therefore contribute not only to our understanding of code-switching as a contextualisation cue but to Conversation Analysis in general.

As has often been pointed out by conversation analysts, repair is an essential aspect of collaboration and cooperation among conversation participants (see, for example, Humphreys-Jones, 1986; Milroy and Perkins, in press; Perkins, forthcoming). Failure to respond to repair initiators or to do the appropriate repairs can have undesirable communicative consequences, as is illustrated by the following sequence.

(18) (A, eighteen, son of B, female, early forties, is looking for the car keys to go out.)

A: Where's the keys?

B: Mut-ye?
(What?)

(2.5)

Gaha lokyu a.
(It's raining.)

A: *I won't be long.*

B: No.

In this extract, A's question about the location of the keys can be understood as a pre-request to use the car to go out. In the place of a direct response, B, the mother, inserts a question 'Mut-ye? (What?)'. This question may be seen as a 'next turn repair initiator', which gives the first part speaker A an opportunity to re-formulate the prior turn in the next turn in order to avoid a dispreferred response. Notice that the question is marked by the choice of Cantonese which is different from A's pre-request. But A fails to make the appropriate repair. After a two-and-half second gap, B tells A that it is raining, indicating that she does not wish him to use the car. Again she has chosen to use Cantonese for her

turn. A insists on asking for the car and fails to adopt a matching choice of language with B. B's subsequent refusal is non-hesitant.

While (18) is not quite a complete 'communication breakdown', A's failure to achieve a compliant response from B as he desired is attributable to his failure to use appropriate procedures. A clear example of failure to carry out repair leading to communication breakdown is provided in (19) below.

(19) (A, an eight-year-old girl, and C, a boy of about fifteen, are children of B, mother of mid-forties.)

A: Cut it out for me (.) please.

B: (2.5)

A: Cut it out for me, mum.

C: [Give us a look.

B: [*Mut-ye?*
(What?)

A: Cut this out.

B: *Mut-ye?*
(What?)

C: Give us a look.

...(2.0)

B: *Nay m ying wa lei?*
(You don't answer me?)

A: (To C) Get me a pen.

We see here that A's request for help from B, the mother, receives a null response first. So she reinitiates her request by using a vocative specifying the mother as the next turn speaker. B gives a next turn repair initiator 'Mut-ye? (What?)' which overlaps with C's self-selection 'Give us a look'. A then issues her request for the third time. But B repeats her next turn repair initiator. Again A fails to do the repair which B expects her to

do. Notice that A's requests are repeatedly in English and her three requests have changed little in form, whereas B's repair initiators are in Cantonese. Subsequently, after a two-and-half-second silence, B asks A why she does not respond to her. A then turns to C, abandoning the exchange between herself and B.

These extracts serve to highlight the role of code-switching as a central device for successful communication. Essentially, code-switching is a discourse strategy whereby bilingual speakers accommodate and collaborate with each other. By changing from one language to another, speakers indicate their awareness of potential trouble spots in the interactional process and repair any problems that have occurred. Failure to adapt their language choices would not only lead to the breaking down of an on-going conversation but may also threaten the interpersonal relationships between the participants. The link between discoursal and social significance of code-switching has been elaborated by various researchers of bilingualism. Scotton (1988), for example, argues that while the tendency is for speakers to use the language with which they feel more comfortable, they are generally aware of the set of rights and obligations involved in the on-going exchange and would choose the form of their conversational contribution appropriate to that set, even though it may sometimes mean that speakers have to use a language which they know less well. Any move that is inappropriate to this matrix of mutual rights and obligations may be interpreted by the participants as deliberate and poses a potential threat to social interaction (see also Heller, 1982).

The role of code-switching in the collaboration and cooperation among participants can further be seen in the marking of conversation sequences which do not fit the adjacency pairs structure to which I shall now turn.

6.3.4 Pre- and insertion sequences

Earlier we saw that when the next speaker fails to take up the turn at a Transition Relevance Place, the current speaker has the option of self-continuation. The subject matter

of the self-continuation can be the same as in the speaker's preceding turns, as in examples (1) - (3). Very often, however, a new topic is introduced or the participant constellation is changed at a Transition Relevance Place. Code-switching has frequently been found to mark the introduction of new conversation topics and changes in participant constellation. Consider Extract (20) for example.

(20) (A, male, is talking with his cousin B, female, both in their twenties, about one of their friends who has been ill.)

A: ... m hou gong koei tengji.
(Better not tell him yet.)

(2.0)

Did you see Kim yesterday?

B: Yeah.

A: Mou [mat si...
(It's not serious...)

B: [Yau di tautung je, Mou mat si ge.
((She) only has a little head-ache. It's nothing serious.)

A: Ngaw jing yiu man nay.
(I was just about to ask you.)

We can see here that the conversation comes to a turn Transition Relevance Place following the current speaker A's 'm hou gong koei tengji.' (Better not tell him yet), which is indicated by a two-second gap. Because B has not taken up the following turn, A self-continues. His continuation 'Did you see Kim yesterday?', however, is not an elaboration on his own remark in the previous utterance, rather, it is a question checking the precondition for his subsequent enquiry about their friend's health. Here, we are not simply dealing with self-continuation or 'current speaker selects next'. We are in fact dealing with a different conversational organization known as a 'pre-sequence'. Pre-sequences are built to prefigure the specific kind of action that they potentially precede, which simultaneously

marks the boundary of two interactive episodes (Levinson, 1983). The Tyneside Chinese data suggests that pre-sequences are often marked by code-switching. Consider (21) below.

(21) (Two teenage girls talking about their school-life.)

A: ...he's bor[ing

B: [mm

A: I don't know (.) don't like him

(2.0)

A: *ah ngaw jau yau di mafaan ge lak*
(I'll have some trouble.)

B: Dimgaai a?
(Why?)

A: Yesterday right...

In this extract, A's initial turn is responded to by B with a 'back channel cue', which is used to indicate continued attention and support from the listener without threatening the current speaker's right to continue. Her two subsequent utterances are met with no response by B. At this point, A switches from English to Cantonese. But instead of continuing on the same subject matter - somebody at school whom A does not like, A introduces a different topic. Notice that what exactly she intends to talk about is not made very clear by this code-switched turn. It seems that A is trying to attract B's attention before she continues with her main point. As we can see, A's code-switched utterance has succeeded in eliciting a response from B. However, she switches back into English for her subsequent narration.

The general point here seems to be that code-switching has the capacity to help the speaker to 're-start' a conversation when it comes to the end of an episode, or to change conversational direction. It also helps the participants keep track of the interactional sequence by mapping out complexly 'nested' structural patterns in the conversation.

Extract (22) below is an example of code-switching being used to mark insertion sequences.

(22) (A is in her early thirties and B in her mid-twenties.)

A: ... you go (.) you got another one?

B: *Yatgo dou mou a?*
(There isn't even one (that satisfies you)?)

A: (2.0) mou a (.) *they* [*look* ...
(haven't)

B: [For who? *Waiman a?*
(Is it Waiman?)

A: Hai a.
(Yes.)

B: Nigo le?
(What about this one?)

A: (Looking at the one B gives her.)

In (22), A is choosing a T-shirt for her son Waiman. B has the supply which she has brought from Hong Kong. A's request for more T-shirts from which she could choose one '...you got another one?' is a first part. Instead of offering A more T-shirts, B responds with a question 'Yatgo dou maou a? (There isn't even one (that satisfies you)?)'. After A confirms that she does not like any of them, B follows up with two elliptical questions 'For who? Waiman a?' to which A answers 'Hai a. (Yes.)'. Only then does B offer another T-shirt to A. Thus the second part is separated from its first part by the embedded exchanges. If we could leave out the content of this extract for a moment and concentrate only on the language choices between A and B, we get a schematised pattern like this:

A: English	Request
B: Chinese	Question 1
A: Chinese - English	Answer 1 (+ Account)
B: English - Chinese	Question 2

A: Chinese Answer 2

B: Chinese Offer

The embedded sequences are clearly marked out by different choices of language.

Extract (23) below involves even more complicated embeddings. But as in (22), the insertion sequences are marked by code-switching, thus 'flagging' first and second part relationships.

(23) (A is elder brother of B (female), both in their teens. They, and their mother C, speak Mandarin Chinese in this extract.)*

A: Qu na ge biezhen lai.
(Go and bring a pin.)

B: *Where's it?*

A: Ask mum.

B: Ma.

C: mm

B: *Na you biezhen a?*
(Where are the pins?)

C: Sh'ma?
(What?)

B: Biezhen zai nar?.
(Where are the pins.)

C: Kan kan zuobian chouti you mei you.
(Have a look in the left drawer.)

B: *Yes.* (To A) *How big?*

A: Anything.

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*This extract is taken from a tape-recording made in a Mandarin/English-speaking family in Newcastle who is not part of the sample for the current study. For the Mandarin transcription system see 'Transcription and Romanisation Conventions', p. xii above.

Here, A is helping B repair her personal stereo. His request for a pin forms a first part. But B's response which occupies the location of the second part is a question 'Where's it?' which constitutes another first part calling for a further second part. A's reply to B question is a 're-route' - 'Ask mum.' B then summons C and asks 'Na you biezhen a? (Where are the pins?)'. C responds to B's question with a request for repetition-clarification. B's answer 'Biezhen zai nar? (Where are the pins).' repeats his question. C then tells B to try and look in the left drawer. B's 'Yes' acknowledges that she has found the pins and she returns to A and asks 'How big?' to which A replies 'Anything'.

Again if we leave out the content of the interaction for a moment and concentrate on the relationship between conversational structure and language choice, we can see that the different levels of embedding are quite clearly marked by code-switching. The following is a schematised version of the extract:

A: Chinese	Request
B: English	Question
A: English	Answer (Re-route)
B: Chinese	Summon
C: Chinese	Answer
B: Chinese	Question
C: Chinese	Request for clarification
B: Chinese	Repetition of question
C: Chinese	Answer
B: English	Acknowledgement
	Question
A: English	Answer

The first instance of code-switching takes place when B inserts a question in the position of second pair part. He has chosen English for the question, which differs from

A's request. A's response to B's inserted question is in English, forming a paired sequence. A then turns to a different interlocutor. This change of participant constellation is marked by B's second code-switch from English to Chinese. The subsequent exchanges between B and C are all in Chinese until B finds the pins and turns back to A. The third code-switch marks another change of participant constellation. The final question and answer pair is accompanied by the use of English. The example demonstrates the orientation of participants to the local organisational patterns of conversation, and their active use of code-switching as a strategic device to help each other keep track of these patterns as they proceed.

6.3.5 Summary

We have seen in this section that in bilingual conversation, speakers switch from one language to another as a means of drawing each other's attention to what is going on and to check each other's understandings. Code-switching can be carried out by the same speaker in order to mark turn allocation, self-repairs (including the marking of repair indicators), and some pre- and embedded sequences. Furthermore, code-switching can be carried out by two different speakers in consecutive turns to mark self-selection, interruption, dispreferred second pair parts, other-repairs (including repair initiators) and pre- and embedded sequences. Both types of code-switching generate meaning by building a contrast in language choice for two stretches of conversation in much the same way as changes in intonation, gaze, and gesture. It is important to emphasise that code-switching is only one of the many linguistic resources available to bilingual conversation participants which can be used as contextualisation cues, so that a bilingual speaker may choose not to code-switch but to use other cues in a particular context. It is equally important to remind ourselves that in actual conversation a given utterance may simultaneously perform a number of discourse functions. For example, an utterance serving as a turn-allocation component may also be a repair initiator, and a dispreferred second part may also be an insertion sequence. Accordingly, code-switching as a contextualisation cue is multi-functional. This last point

may help us to argue against the traditional classificatory approach which attempts to enumerate *ad hoc* functional categories to which instances of code-switching may be subsumed (see further Auer, 1984a; 1990; 1991).

At various points of the analysis, I have alluded to the relationship between conversation structures and particular languages. A number of structures have frequently been observed to be marked by one of the languages in the repertoire. This relationship, however, varies according to speakers in that certain (groups of) speakers tend to use one language for a particular conversation structure, while others use a different language for the same structure. In the remainder of this chapter, I want to discuss the possibility of inferring more general patterns from a sequential analysis of who does what code-switching in which language direction.

6.4 Inter-speaker patterns of code-switching

In general, inter-speaker patterns of language behaviour have not been a central concern for analysts who adopt a sequential approach. The analytic machinery of Conversation Analysis is intended to explicate the orderly procedures of participants by examining repeatedly single episodes of naturally-occurring data (Schiffrin, 1987b). As Kendon (1990: 47) remarks, '[i]f order can be demonstrated in the examination of just a few specimens of interaction, this is taken to be one of the orders that humans employ in interaction'. But inter-speaker differences are clearly important, because they add a social dimension to individual speaker's interactional practices. Indeed, Bell (1984) argues that it is differences on the social dimension (inter-speaker) that determine variations on the stylistic dimension (intra-speaker) (see also 1.3).

Quantitative analysis is the standard procedure in sociolinguistic research for revealing systematic inter-speaker or inter-group differences. Conversation analysts tend to avoid such methods, viewing them as contradictory to the purpose of sequential analysis which is to locate code-switching in its conversational context and to reveal the underlying procedural apparatus whereby speakers arrive at situated interpretations of language choice.

At a more practical level, conversational data has always been seen to be difficult to handle quantitatively. One particular difficulty relates to the problem of semantic equivalence of linguistic variables beyond the level of phonology, an issue which has received some attention from sociolinguists who work within the Labovian paradigm (see, for example, Lavandera, 1978b; Cheshire, 1982; Romaine, 1984b; Schiffrin, 1987a; Coveney, 1989; see also Milroy, 1987b: Chapter 7). We have already remarked that code-switching may be used in various ways (e.g. marking turn-transition, preference, repair and pre- and insertion sequences) and what is more, a given instance of code-switching can serve a number of discourse functions simultaneously. For example, a self-continuation may at the same time be describable as a turn-allocation or insertion sequence. Thus, it is difficult to make valid quantitative comparisons by enumerating examples of code-switching which have the same meaning. When quantitative analysis has been carried out on bilingual code-switching data, the analytic focus is usually on the structural units rather than the meaning of code-switching (e.g. Poplack, 1980; 1990; 1991).

In the present study, initial attempts were made to quantify portions of the 23 hours of tape-recorded conversation and to differentiate generation-related patterns of code-switching. The quantification, however, was not successful, primarily because of the dynamic and multi-functional nature of code-switching but also because the amount of talk that was recorded on tape differed considerably between individuals. For example, parents' talk occupied more than half of the corpus while six speakers from the grandparent and child generation have never been recorded on tape, thus making *post hoc* comparisons difficult. The remarks which follow on inter-speaker patterns of code-switching are therefore qualitatively based on analyses of conversational data and on participant observation of the more general patterns of language choice.

A number of tentative generalisations can be made here. The first concerns the overall language preference (in a non-technical sense) in code-switching by speakers of different generations, that is, the most usual language direction of code-switching:

Both the tape-recorded conversational data and participant observation suggest that in the majority of cases, code-switching is from Chinese to English.

Overwhelmingly, speakers switch in this direction either within or across turns in almost all the conversation structures marked by code-switching, as described above. This means that there is a general tendency for speakers to initiate an exchange in Chinese but switch to English when they intend to hand over speakership at turn transition relevance places; to respond to a Chinese first pair part in English when they want to signal refusal or disagreement; or to highlight potential trouble spots and invite repairs (either by the speaker him/herself or by the other speaker). English is also used for setting off sequences that do not generally fit the adjacency pair structure such as pre- and embedded sequences.

This generalisation on language direction of code-switching needs, however, to be qualified by further comments on generational differences in language choice preference:

While children tend to use English most of the time, particularly when they converse with members of their own generation, parents and grandparents generally prefer to speak Chinese.

Several implications follow from this. First, when the conversation involves members of the child generation only, there tend to be fewer cases of code-switching, except when the speakers occasionally mark pre- and embedded sequences in Chinese. We therefore find the following restriction:

Children do not normally use Chinese for turn-transition, preference or repair.

When the base language in inter-generational communication is Chinese (usually because the exchange is initiated by parents or grandparents who generally prefer to speak Chinese), there is a strong likelihood that children will switch to English to mark various conversation structures.

It therefore follows that *when code-switching is used for marking turn competition and dispreferred seconds, it is done primarily by children interacting with their parents or grandparents.*

Conversely, code-switching by members of the parent and grandparent generations usually takes place when interlocutors are members of the child generation and is usually from Chinese to English to mark turn-allocation. If parents' or grandparents' first pair parts in Chinese have been responded to by the children in English to mark dispreferred second pair parts, the parents and grandparents often code subsequent repair initiators in Chinese, giving rise to contrastive language choices. *Parents and grandparents do not normally switch to English when they talk with their peers, except for a few cases of self-repair (most often taking the form of temporary lexical borrowing).*

We need to remind ourselves here that nine speakers (two males and seven females) out of a total of eleven of the grandparent generation are Chinese monolinguals. They do not use English at all. Only the remaining two male grandparents occasionally code-switch.

It is clear from the conversational data that inter-generational communication is the primary situation for code-switching. This confirms and further illuminates the findings reported in Chapters 4 and 5 on language choice patterns at the community level, variations in language ability, and inter-generational differences in social network ties. We saw there that speakers of the grandparent and parent generations generally have a better command of Chinese which they use for various communicative purposes, and a strongly ethnically-orientated network pattern. The analysis of the conversational data suggests that these speakers use Chinese most of the time and that code-switching is largely restricted to interactions involving members of the child generation. In contrast, the child generation have developed a better command of English as well as a wide range of non-Chinese, peer-group-based network ties. They use English with members of their own generation and code-switch from Chinese to English for a range of conversational purposes when they are talking to their parents and grandparents. Thus, inter-generational conversational code-switching can be seen as a result of the language shift taking place in the Tyneside Chinese community, actively contributing to the formation and transformation of communicative norms and social relations.

Summary

In this chapter, I have examined in some detail strategies by which speakers use two different languages in conversational interaction. Expanding upon Auer's model, I have suggested that code-switching is most fruitfully analysed as a *contexualisation cue*. This cue serves to highlight conversational structures such as turn-transition, preference, repair and pre- and insertion sequences by building up a contrast between the the current turn and the preceding or following turns. Conversational participants can apparently infer from this cue not only the organisation of the on-going discourse but also the social meanings coded by the speakers as well as their language preferences and language abilities. From the conversational data, a number of general patterns of code-switching have been identified which seem to be generation- and network-specific. For example, while parents and grandparents do not code-switch during intra-generational conversations except for self-repairs, they switch from Chinese to English when they are addressing children particularly to mark turn allocation and repair initiators. Children, on the other hand, tend to use English with their peers and only switch to Chinese to mark pre- and embedded sequences. However, they switch more often from Chinese to English to signal dispreferred responses and potential turn-taking points in inter-generational interaction (i.e. conversations with parents and grandparents). These inter-generational differences in code-switching practices provide at the interactional level detailed and systematic evidence of the nature of the language choice and language shift process which is now taking place in the Tyneside Chinese community.

7 Summary and Conclusions

As described in the Introduction, this thesis has two related objectives. On the one hand, I want to offer a substantial amount of systematically collected information on sociolinguistic patterns in the Chinese communities in Britain. On the other, I want to work towards a coherent social model which can account for the relationship between language choice and code-switching by individual speakers, and for the relation of both to the broader social, economic and political context. In order to achieve these objectives, I have examined in some detail linguistic choices, social network patterns and code-switching strategies of a sample of 58 Chinese emigrants (including children born to emigrant parents) currently living in the Tyneside area in the North East of England. In this final chapter, I shall first summarise the chief findings of the study, then discuss the relation of social network patterns of individual speakers to higher-order sociopolitical structures. I shall conclude with a brief comment on directions for future research.

7.1 Summary of findings

Perhaps the most important and general finding of the study is the evidently rapid language shift from Chinese monolingualism to English-dominant bilingualism across a span of three generations within the Tyneside Chinese community. This shift is reflected in systematic variations in the language choice patterns and language abilities of the 58 sample speakers. Nine speakers of the grandparent generation (two male and seven female) have remained Chinese monolinguals, while the rest have all acquired English to various degrees, with the British-born generation having near-native ability to use English for a wide range of communicative purposes. Interestingly, however, there are a few speakers who seem to have developed language choice patterns and language abilities which are not entirely compatible with the behaviours of the majority of their generation cohort. For example, two male grandparents have adopted a Chinese-English bilingual language choice

pattern which is more typical of the parent generation, while ten of the children studied have been observed to use only English with their peers outside the family; whereas other children use both Chinese and English with the same type of interlocutors. Variations of this kind cannot be explained in terms of the variables of age, sex, or duration of residence in Britain. In fact, the last two variables - sex and duration of stay - do not appear to affect significantly language choice and language ability of the speaker, although there is some tendency for older male speakers to be in advance of older female speakers in adopting bilingual patterns.

An analysis of various kinds of social network ties contracted by speakers shows that those who have maintained a Chinese-dominant language choice pattern and who have the least knowledge of English are those who forge strong ethnic ties with other Chinese in the community, even though they may have plenty of opportunities to interact with non-Chinese people. On the other hand, the speakers who have adopted the English-dominant language choice patterns and who have a better command of English are those who have developed non-Chinese, peer-group-based ties. This correlation between language use/language ability and social network structure is consistent at both group (generation) level and individual level; that is, members of the grandparent generation have generally the strongest ethnic-based ties and use Chinese most often, while those of the parent generation have contracted some non-Chinese ties and have acquired limited English. The child generation, in contrast, have developed their ties mainly with non-Chinese peers and use English much more often and with greater ease than their parents and grandparents. Some individuals, however, have developed social network patterns which resemble those of generations other than their own and their linguistic behaviours also differ from other speakers within the same generations. The two male grandparents who adopted a bilingual rather than a Chinese monolingual language choice pattern, for example, have more non-Chinese ties than the rest of the grandparents in the sample; and the ten children who use only English with other children are the ones who have few or no Chinese ties in their social networks. These younger speakers contract a larger number of peer-group ties than the parents and grandparents.

At the interactional level, the adoption by individual speakers of various code-switching strategies seems to a considerable extent to be generation and network-specific. A detailed, sequential analysis of a corpus of 23 hours of conversational data reveals that speakers of the parent and grandparent generations tend to use Chinese most of the time, and to code-switch to English mainly to mark turn-allocation and repair initiators when they address children. Only occasionally do they switch from Chinese to English in intra-generational conversation to mark self-repairs. Members of the child generation behave quite differently in that they code-switch from Chinese to English for a range of conversational purposes when they are talking to their parents and grandparents. Particularly code-switching is used by this generation to mark dispreferred responses, and they use English almost exclusively with interlocutors of their own generation. These inter-generational differences in code-switching practices can be described as interactional reflexes of the network-specific language choice patterns in the Tyneside Chinese community.

These findings highlight the capacity of the social network concept to explain social mechanisms underlying variation and change in linguistic choices of the Tyneside Chinese community and to bridge interactional and community levels of analysis. One particularly important point emerging from the analysis is that social networks affect and are affected by their members' language behaviour. Other speaker variables such as age and sex apparently do not have similar dialectic relationships with language, although they are associated in various ways with speakers' language choice and language ability.

As well as relating code-switching to language choice (and vice versa) - the two aspects of bilingual behaviour on which I have concentrated in this thesis, network structures can relate to social, economic and political structures at a higher level. I shall now comment briefly on this aspect of the network structure of the Tyneside Chinese community, drawing on current, joint work by J. Milroy and L. Milroy (J. Milroy, 1992; L. Milroy and J.Milroy, in press; see also Milroy and Li, 1991).

7.2 Social networks and the broader social framework

Social anthropologists have repeatedly shown that variations in network patterns of different communities are by no means accidental; rural and working-class communities tend to give rise to close-knit networks, while an urban setting generally is characterised by loose or weak ties (see, for example, Barnes, 1954; 1969; Mayer, 1961; Mitchell, 1986; 1987). It has sometimes been suggested that close-knit types of community network are nowadays marginal to urban life; for example, there exists a large body of sociological literature on the marginal individual who is now often seen as typical of a modern city dweller or 'the stranger' (Harman, 1988). Wirth, an influential member of the Chicago school of urban sociologists, argues that urban conditions lead to impersonality and social distance (Wirth, 1938). Although this may reflet some truth about urban life, it does not tell the whole story. Certainly the Italian American 'urban villagers' described by Gans (1962) or the close-knit Yorkshire mining commiunities described by Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter (1957) may now seem less salient in Amerian and British cities. But in their place are similar types of community created by newer immigrants. Indeed, as Giddens (1989) suggests, city life actually creates neighbourhoods involving close kinship and personal ties. Fischer's (1984) work shows, for example, that while small towns do not permit cultural diversity, cities do. Those who form part of urban ethnic communities will gravitate to form ties with, and sometimes to live with, others from a similar ethnic and/or linguistic background. Such ethnic groups use the close-knit network as a means of protecting their interests while their community develops the resources to integrate more fully into urban life. I have tried to demonstrate in this thesis that differences in the network structure of three generations of Chinese residents on Tyneside correlate with different patterns of language choice and levels of language ability, which can be described as the reflex of different levels of integration into non-Chinese domains of urban life. Therefore, the type of close-knit network structure which seems to help maintain community languages is likely to be a product of modern city life, rather than a residue of an earlier type of social organisation. And it is such network structures which renew and maintain local systems of norms and values within which discourse process of the kind

analysed in Chapter 6 are understood and enacted; indeed, as Gumperz's (1982) work has suggested, language use is itself an excellent diagnostic of group collectivity.

However, as Gal (1988) points out, the persistence and success of minority language maintenance and the character of community-internal interactional norms depend to a very large extent upon the relation of the group to the national economy and to like groups in other cities or states. The outcome in terms of language (or dialect) survival or shift is constrained by local variations in political, economic and social structure. We have seen, for example, that the characteristic occupational preferences of the economically active Chinese (e.g. members of the parent generation) significantly affect the character of the ties which they contract with others. The British-born generation for their part, by attending school and participating in life outside the community, have contracted a wide range of ties with non-Chinese. A coherent social model of bilingualism and language choice needs to make explicit the relationship between interpersonal networks - 'frames' within which language choice takes place - and larger-scale social and economic processes.

To this end, the *life-modes* theory of the Danish anthropologist Thomas Højrup (1983) is particularly useful. Basing his analysis on ethnographic work in various Western European countries, Højrup proposes a division of the population into subgroups which are described in terms of three life-modes. These life-modes are seen as necessary and inevitable constituents of the social structure as a whole which spring from economic systems of production and consumption. Thus, like social network types, they are not socially or culturally arbitrary, but are the effect of 'fundamental societal structures which split the population into fundamentally different life-modes' (Højrup 1983: 47).

The precise way in which they split the population will, however, vary from state to state, depending on local political and economic systems. Højrup's analysis focuses on the differing ideological orientation of the three subgroups to work, leisure and family, and from the point of view of the current study of Chinese communities in Britain, the distinction between Life-mode 1, the life-mode of the self-employed, and Life-mode 2, that of an ordinary wage-earner is particularly important. According to Højrup, the life-mode of

a different kind of wage-earner, the high-powered Life-mode 3 executive, is quite different from either the self-employed or the ordinary wage earner.

Life-mode 1. Højrup (1983) uses the Danish fishing industry as an example of this life-mode, although his description equally well applies to the Chinese family restaurant trade, Asian corner shops, small painting and decorating businesses in Britain, or any simple commodity producing unit in which social relationships in the form of family ties or co-operative relations among colleagues bind the producers into a cohesive production unit. The primary concern is to keep production rolling, and therefore all the family and other affiliated producers are involved. The purpose of the enterprise is to be able to remain self-employed, and the concept of 'free time' or 'leisure' has little meaning. Consequently, a close-knit type of network structure and a solidarity ethic will be needed for this life-mode.

Life-mode 2. This is the life-mode of ordinary wage-earners, who are incorporated in a long and complex process of production which they do not own or control, and the purpose of whose work is to provide them with an income that will enable them to live a meaningful life during their free time. The families differ from Life mode 1 families in being separate from their work activities. Generally speaking, Life-mode 2 workers lack the kind of commitment to their work that is characteristic of Life-mode 1. They are prepared to sell their labour and therefore are mobile, severing existing close-knit network ties. However, in order to demand adequate level of payment, Life-mode 2 workers, especially those who earn little, have to unite themselves. This kind of solidarity is often reflected at the institutional level in the establishment of trade unions. At the neighbourhood level, this solidarity is embodied in the close-knit networks of the traditional working-class society. When Life-mode 1 workers earn enough money and becomes mobile (e.g. to move house, to take holidays abroad), their social network and social behaviour will change accordingly. It has been suggested, for example, that some workers working in privatized companies are able to live apart from traditional working-class areas in the suburbs, and apparently reject the traditional solidarity ethic (Giddens, 1989; Goldthorpe, et al., 1968-9). Thus, there are differences amongst the wage-earners, which are closely associated with changes in economic and power structures in society.

Højrup's (1983) analysis seems to converge with the findings of the present study. For example, while those who spend most of their time in the family-based catering business have more Chinese-oriented network ties and have maintained a Chinese-dominant language choice pattern, two speakers in our sample who are employed in a computer company outside the Chinese community (Speakers 15 and 16 in the implicational scales; see further 5.6) and who interact on a daily basis with English-speakers retain contact with other Chinese only for a short time (on Sundays) and their command of English is very much better than other economically active Chinese. It is important to emphasise, however, that the concept of life-mode is a structural one. People cannot be categorised neatly into pre-determined life-modes. Their ideological and cultural characteristics are determined by their contrast to the other life-modes in the social formation. Thus, in different states or communities, life-modes 'will appear in different variants and in different combination of opposition and independence' (Højrup, 1983), and to analyse life-modes, we need to look systematically at cultural practices of the community in question.

The life-mode theory is a complex, multidimensional anthropological model which requires a more extensive discussion than the current one to do it justice. J. Milroy (1992) and Milroy and Milroy (in press) have discussed in some detail its implications for sociolinguistic research.

7.3 Future research

While the study reported in this thesis is focussed upon a specific Chinese community in Britain, the analysis offered here is intended to be of more general application. I shall conclude by suggesting some directions for future research.

Despite the fact that the relationships we maintain with other individuals are amongst the most important aspects of life, we seem to know little about their internal dynamics or their relations to the more global patterns of social structure (Cochran, et al., 1990). I have tried to demonstrate in this thesis that an individual's social network overlaps and interacts with a host of other social variables, but offers a more general and economical way of accounting for language choice if the relationship with these other variables is made

explicit. Future research could perhaps develop more sophisticated analyses of interacting social variables such as generation cohort, age, sex, duration of residence and network to see how they interact in their effect on bilingual language choice. Similarly, further exploration is needed of the relation between personal network patterns and broader frames of social, economic structures. Some sociolinguists have pointed out the inequality between various linguistic groups (see further 1.1.2). This inequality, which ultimately relates to political and economic relations within the framework of the state, constrains the social and linguistic resources to which members of the community can have access. A more systematic analysis of individuals' personal network ties and wider social relations and social organisations should provide further insight into the power struggles between different linguistic groups. Such an analysis could perhaps be illuminated by the life-mode theory proposed by Højrup (1983).

However, research into the relations of network and other social variables or broader sociopolitical structures should not sacrifice detailed sociolinguistic analysis of actual language choice practices of the language user. Speakers' very ability to use code-switching as an interactional strategy has significant consequences for social relations and social organisation, and should be seen as constitutive of social reality. As Heller (1988: 267) remarks,

> By accomplishing conversational tasks through codeswitching, interlocutors accomplish social relationships. By using codeswitching as a discourse device, interlocutors signal a shared understanding of the context which renders the discourse strategies effective and meaningful, and so signal assumed co-membership in a social community. Further, since they are members of social groups, the outcome of negotiations of interpersonal relationships has an impact (at least potentially) on the nature of inter-group relations, as well as on the nature of group-internal processes. Codeswitching therefore must be understood as part of historical processes, whether it contributes to stability or to change.

What seems to be needed is therefore a two-level analysis of language choice, which begins with speakers' code-switching strategies in conversational interaction, but relates these strategies to the macro-level synchronic and diachronic social processes. The conversation analytic approach, as exemplified in the analysis in Chapter 6, offers a useful

framework for starting such an analysis. By examining in detail how bilingual speakers organise conversational structures and make sense of each other's use of language, we can understand better speakers' ability to creatively exploit the linguistic and social resources available to them in the (re)construction of social context. We need to know much more than we do now about the ways in which social relations are defined and redefined by the use of different languages in bilingual communities. The present study of language choice in the Tyneside Chinese community is an attempt at a first step in that direction.

Appendix I. Information on the speaker sample.

1. Family size:

	Size	No.
	Four people:	2
	Five people:	2
	Six people:	3
	Seven people:	2
	Eight people:	1
Total:	58 people	10 families

2. Generation cohorts:

	Male	Female
Grandparents:	4	7
Parents:	10	10
Children:	16	11
Total no. of speakers:	30	28
First-generation emigrants:	10	5
Sponsored emigrants:	4	12
British-born:	16	11
Total no. of speakers:	30	28

3. Speaker age:

	Male	Female
Mean age:	32.9	36.8
Oldest:	73	72
Youngest:	10	8
Mean Age by generation:		
Grandparents:	68.0	65.1
Parents:	44.6	41.7
Children:	16.9	14.4
First-generation emigrants:	50.4	53.0
Sponsored emigrants:	53.5	50.7
British-born:	16.9	14.4

4. Employment status:

	Male	Female
Employed:	16	14
Not employed:	2	6
In full-time education:	12	8
Total:	30	28
Employment type:		
Restaurant owner:	7	6
Take-away owner:	3	3
Shop owner:	1	1
Shop assistant:	1	0
Electrician:	1	0
Factory worker:	1	0
Trainee engineer:	1	0
Office worker	0	1
Travel consultant:	0	1
Secretary:	0	1
Youth training scheme (YTS):	1	1

5. Duration of residence in Britain (for people born outside the U.K. only):

	Male	Female
Mean years:	21.8	19.2
Longest:	31	31
Shortest:	8	6
Mean years of residence by generation:		
Grandparents:	18.8	16.7
Parents:	23	20.9
First-generation emigrants:	25.7	24.8
Sponsored emigrants:	12	16.8

Appendix II. Language ability scores

1. Spoken Chinese

Male

A	B	C	D	E	1	2	3	4	5	Score	a	b
25	6GF	73	SE	12	+	+	+	+	+	5	1	1
51	10GF	68	FE	25	+	+	+	+	+	5	3	3
1	1GF	66	SE	8	+	+	+	+	+	5	1	1
37	8GF	65	FE	30	+	+	+	+	+	5	3	3
26	6F	56	FE	31	+	+	+	+	+	5	2	2
45	9F	53	FE	27	+	+	+	+	+	5	2	2
32	7F	49	FE	23	+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
10	3F	47	FE	29	+	+	+	+	+	5	2	2
39	8F	44	FE	30	+	+	+	+	+	5	4	4
53	10F	44	FE	25	+	+	+	+	+	5	4	2
5	2F	41	FE	20	+	+	+	+	+	5	2	2
15	4F	40	SE	16	+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
20	5F	37	FE	17	+	+	+	+	+	5	2	2
2	1F	35	SE	12	+	+	+	+	+	5	2	4
47	9S1	24	BB		+	+	+	-	-	3	3	4
28	6S1	22	BB		+	+	+	+	-	4	3	4
48	9S2	22	BB		+	+	+	+	-	4	3	4
12	3S1	21	BB		+	+	+	+	-	4	3	4
13	3S2	19	BB		+	+	-	+	-	3	3	4
34	7S1	18	BB		+	+	+	-	-	3	3	6
49	9S3	18	BB		+	+	+	-	-	3	3	4
29	6S2	17	BB		+	+	+	+	-	4	3	5
43	8O	16	BB		+	+	-	+	-	3	4	6
55	10S	16	BB		+	+	-	-	-	2	4	7
7	2S1	15	BB		+	+	+	-	-	3	3	4
35	7S2	15	BB		+	+	-	-	-	2	3	7
22	5S	14	BB		+	+	-	-	-	2	3	7
8	2S2	12	BB		+	+	+	-	-	3	3	4
17	4S	11	BB		+	+	+	-	-	3	3	6
4	1S	10	BB		+	+	+	-	-	3	3	5

A = Speaker number B = Membership of the family C = Age D = Emigration background E = Years of stay in the U.K.
GF = Grandfather F = Father S = Son O = Other relative
FE = First-generation emigrant SE = Sponsored emigrant BB = British-born
a = Language choice patterns with family members b = Language choice patterns with non-family members

Female

A	B	C	D	E	1	2	3	4	5	Score	a	b
44	9GM	72	SE	18	+	+	+	+	+	5	1	1
9	3GM	70	SE	12	+	+	+	+	+	5	1	1
31	7GM	67	SE	6	+	+	+	+	+	5	1	1
14	4GM	65	FE	18	+	+	+	+	+	5	1	1
52	10GM	63	SE	23	+	+	+	+	+	5	1	1
38	8GM	61	FE	30	+	+	+	+	+	5	1	1
19	5GM	58	SE	10	+	+	+	+	+	5	1	1
27	6M	52	FE	31	+	+	+	+	+	5	2	2
46	9M	50	FE	27	+	+	+	+	+	5	2	2
11	3M	46	SE	26	+	+	+	+	+	5	2	2
54	10M	45	SE	21	+	+	+	+	+	5	4	2
33	7M	42	SE	20	+	+	+	+	+	5	3	2
40	8M	40	SE	22	+	+	+	+	+	5	4	3
6	2M	38	SE	17	+	+	+	+	+	5	2	2
16	4M	37	FE	18	+	+	+	+	+	5	3	3
21	5M	35	SE	15	+	+	+	+	+	5	2	2
3	1M	32	SE	12	+	+	+	+	+	5	2	2
50	9O	22	BB		+	+	+	+	-	4	3	4
56	10D1	21	BB		+	+	+	+	-	4	4	4
30	6D	20	BB		+	+	+	+	-	4	3	5
57	10D2	18	BB		+	+	+	+	-	4	4	4
18	4D	15	BB		+	+	+	+	-	4	3	6
41	8D1	12	BB		+	+	+	-	-	3	4	4
58	10D3	12	BB		+	+	-	-	-	2	4	4
23	5D1	11	BB		+	+	+	-	-	3	3	7
36	7D	10	BB		+	+	-	-	-	2	3	7
24	5D2	9	BB		+	+	-	-	-	2	3	6
42	8D2	8	BB		+	+	+	-	-	3	4	4

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a = Language choice patterns with family members b = Language choice patterns with non-family members

2. Written Chinese

Male

A	B	C	D	E	1	2	3	4	5	Score	a	b
25	6GF	73	SE	12	+	+	-	-	-	2	1	1
51	10GF	68	FE	25	+	+	+	+	-	4	3	3
1	1GF	66	SE	8	+	+	+	-	-	3	1	1
37	8GF	65	FE	30	+	+	+	+	+	5	3	3
26	6F	56	FE	31	+	+	+	+	-	4	2	2
45	9F	53	FE	27	+	+	+	+	-	4	2	2
32	7F	49	FE	23	+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
10	3F	47	FE	29	+	+	+	+	-	4	2	2
39	8F	44	FE	30	+	+	+	+	-	4	4	4
53	10F	44	FE	25	+	+	+	+	-	4	4	2
5	2F	41	FE	20	+	+	+	+	+	5	2	2
15	4F	40	SE	16	+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
20	5F	37	FE	17	+	+	+	+	+	5	2	2
2	1F	35	SE	12	+	+	+	+	+	5	2	4
47	9S1	24	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	3	4
28	6S1	22	BB		+	+	-	-	-	2	3	4
48	9S2	22	BB		+	+	-	-	-	2	3	4
12	3S1	21	BB		+	+	-	-	-	2	3	4
13	3S2	19	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	3	4
34	7S1	18	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	3	6
49	9S3	18	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	3	4
29	6S2	17	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	3	5
43	8O	16	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	4	6
55	10S	16	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	4	7
7	2S1	15	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	3	4
35	7S2	15	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	3	7
22	5S	14	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	3	7
8	2S2	12	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	3	4
17	4S	11	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	3	6
4	1S	10	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	3	5

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a = Language choice patterns with family members b = Language choice patterns with non-family members

Female

A	B	C	D	E	1	2	3	4	5	Score	a	b
44	9GM	72	SE	18	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
9	3GM	70	SE	12	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
31	7GM	67	SE	6	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
14	4GM	65	FE	18	+	+	-	-	-	2	1	1
52	10GM	63	SE	23	+	+	-	-	-	2	1	1
38	8GM	61	FE	30	+	+	-	-	-	2	1	1
19	5GM	58	SE	10	+	+	+	+	-	4	1	1
27	6M	52	FE	31	+	+	+	+	-	4	2	2
46	9M	50	FE	27	+	+	+	+	-	4	2	2
11	3M	46	SE	26	+	+	+	+	-	4	2	2
54	10M	45	SE	21	+	+	+	+	-	4	4	2
33	7M	42	SE	20	+	+	+	+	+	5	3	2
40	8M	40	SE	22	+	+	+	+	-	4	4	3
6	2M	38	SE	17	+	+	+	+	+	5	2	2
16	4M	37	FE	18	+	+	+	+	+	5	3	3
21	5M	35	SE	15	+	+	+	+	+	5	2	2
3	1M	32	SE	12	+	+	+	+	+	5	2	2
50	9O	22	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	3	4
56	10D1	21	BB		+	+	+	+	-	4	4	4
30	6D	20	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	3	5
57	10D2	18	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	4	4
18	4D	15	BB		+	+	-	-	-	2	3	6
41	8D1	12	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	4	4
58	10D3	12	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	4	4
23	5D1	11	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	3	7
36	7D	10	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	3	7
24	5D2	9	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	3	6
42	8D2	8	BB		+	-	-	-	-	1	4	4

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a = Language choice patterns with family members b = Language choice patterns with non-family members

3. Spoken English

Male

A	B	C	D	E	1	2	3	4	5	Score	a	b
25	6GF	73	SE	12	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
51	10GF	68	FE	25	+	+	+	-	-	3	3	3
1	1GF	66	SE	8	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
37	8GF	65	FE	30	+	+	+	-	-	3	3	3
26	6F	56	FE	31	+	+	-	-	-	2	2	2
45	9F	53	FE	27	+	+	+	-	-	3	2	2
32	7F	49	FE	23	+	+	+	-	-	3	3	4
10	3F	47	FE	29	+	+	-	-	-	2	2	2
39	8F	44	FE	30	+	+	+	-	-	3	4	4
53	10F	44	FE	25	+	+	+	-	-	3	4	2
5	2F	41	FE	20	+	+	+	-	-	3	2	2
15	4F	40	SE	16	+	+	+	+	-	4	3	4
20	5F	37	FE	17	+	+	+	-	-	3	2	2
2	1F	35	SE	12	+	+	+	-	-	3	2	4
47	9S1	24	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
28	6S1	22	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
48	9S2	22	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
12	3S1	21	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
13	3S2	19	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
34	7S1	18	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	6
49	9S3	18	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
29	6S2	17	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	5
43	8O	16	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	4	6
55	10S	16	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	4	7
7	2S1	15	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
35	7S2	15	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	7
22	5S	14	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	7
8	2S2	12	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
17	4S	11	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	6
4	1S	10	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	5

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Female

A	B	C	D	E	1	2	3	4	5	Score	a	b
44	9GM	72	SE	18	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
9	3GM	70	SE	12	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
31	7GM	67	SE	6	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
14	4GM	65	FE	18	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
52	10GM	63	SE	23	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
38	8GM	61	FE	30	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
19	5GM	58	SE	10	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
27	6M	52	FE	31	+	+	-	-	-	2	2	2
46	9M	50	FE	27	+	+	-	-	-	2	2	2
11	3M	46	SE	26	+	+	-	-	-	2	2	2
54	10M	45	SE	21	+	+	-	-	-	2	4	2
33	7M	42	SE	20	+	+	-	-	-	2	3	2
40	8M	40	SE	22	+	+	-	-	-	2	4	3
6	2M	38	SE	17	+	+	-	-	-	2	2	2
16	4M	37	FE	18	+	+	+	+	-	4	3	3
21	5M	35	SE	15	+	+	-	-	-	2	2	2
3	1M	32	SE	12	+	+	+	-	-	3	2	2
50	9O	22	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
56	10D1	21	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	4	4
30	6D	20	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	5
57	10D2	18	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	4	4
18	4D	15	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	6
41	8D1	12	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	4	4
58	10D3	12	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	4	4
23	5D1	11	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	7
36	7D	10	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	7
24	5D2	9	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	6
42	8D2	8	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	4	4

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a = Language choice patterns with family members b = Language choice patterns with non-family members

4. Written English

Male

A	B	C	D	E	1	2	3	4	5	Score	a	b
25	6GF	73	SE	12	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
51	10GF	68	FE	25	+	+	+	-	-	3	3	3
1	1GF	66	SE	8	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
37	8GF	65	FE	30	+	+	+	-	-	3	3	3
26	6F	56	FE	31	+	+	-	-	-	2	2	2
45	9F	53	FE	27	+	+	+	-	-	3	2	2
32	7F	49	FE	23	+	+	+	-	-	3	3	4
10	3F	47	FE	29	+	+	-	-	-	2	2	2
39	8F	44	FE	30	+	+	+	-	-	3	4	4
53	10F	44	FE	25	+	+	+	-	-	3	4	2
5	2F	41	FE	20	+	+	+	-	-	3	2	2
15	4F	40	SE	16	+	+	+	+	-	4	3	4
20	5F	37	FE	17	+	+	+	-	-	3	2	2
2	1F	35	SE	12	+	+	+	-	-	3	2	4
47	9S1	24	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
28	6S1	22	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
48	9S2	22	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
12	3S1	21	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
13	3S2	19	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
34	7S1	18	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	6
49	9S3	18	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
29	6S2	17	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	5
43	8O	16	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	4	6
55	10S	16	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	4	7
7	2S1	15	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
35	7S2	15	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	7
22	5S	14	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	7
8	2S2	12	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
17	4S	11	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	6
4	1S	10	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	5

A = Speaker number B = Membership of the family C = Age D = Emigration background E = Years of stay in the U.K.
GF = Grandfather F = Father S = Son O = Other relative
FE = First-generation emigrant SE = Sponsored emigrant BB = British-born
a = Language choice patterns with family members b = Language choice patterns with non-family members

Female

A	B	C	D	E	1	2	3	4	5	Score	a	b
44	9GM	72	SE	18	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
9	3GM	70	SE	12	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
31	7GM	67	SE	6	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
14	4GM	65	FE	18	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
52	10GM	63	SE	23	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
38	8GM	61	FE	30	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
19	5GM	58	SE	10	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1
27	6M	52	FE	31	+	+	-	-	-	2	2	2
46	9M	50	FE	27	+	+	-	-	-	2	2	2
11	3M	46	SE	26	+	+	-	-	-	2	2	2
54	10M	45	SE	21	+	+	-	-	-	2	4	2
33	7M	42	SE	20	+	+	-	-	-	2	3	2
40	8M	40	SE	22	+	+	-	-	-	2	4	3
6	2M	38	SE	17	+	+	-	-	-	2	2	2
16	4M	37	FE	18	+	+	+	-	-	3	3	3
21	5M	35	SE	15	+	+	-	-	-	2	2	2
3	1M	32	SE	12	+	+	+	-	-	3	2	2
50	9O	22	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	4
56	10D1	21	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	4	4
30	6D	20	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	5
57	10D2	18	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	4	4
18	4D	15	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	6
41	8D1	12	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	4	4
58	10D3	12	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	4	4
23	5D1	11	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	7
36	7D	10	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	7
24	5D2	9	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	3	6
42	8D2	8	BB		+	+	+	+	+	5	4	4

A = Speaker number B = Membership of the family C = Age D = Emigration background E = Years of stay in the U.K.
GF = Grandfather F = Father S = Son O = Other relative
FE = First-generation emigrant SE = Sponsored emigrant BB = British-born
a = Language choice patterns with family members b = Language choice patterns with non-family members

Appendix III. Social network scores

1. Exchange networks (Total: 20 ties per speaker):

Male

A	B	C	D	E	Ethnic	Peer
25	6GF	73	SE	12	20	12
51	10GF	68	FE	25	16	8
1	1GF	66	SE	8	20	9
37	8GF	65	FE	30	14	10
26	6F	56	FE	31	17	10
45	9F	53	FE	27	15	12
32	7F	49	FE	23	12	7
10	3F	47	FE	29	18	9
39	8F	44	FE	30	14	11
53	10F	44	FE	25	15	10
5	2F	41	FE	20	16	8
15	4F	40	SE	16	2	11
20	5F	37	FE	17	15	9
2	1F	35	SE	12	16	9
47	9S1	24	BB		2	16
48	9S2	22	BB		3	12
28	6S1	22	BB		1	13
12	3S1	21	BB		5	15
13	3S2	19	BB		0	12
49	9S3	18	BB		0	13
34	7S1	18	BB		0	15
29	6S2	17	BB		0	14
43	8O	16	BB		0	17
55	10S	16	BB		0	12
7	2S1	15	BB		2	11
35	7S2	15	BB		0	15
22	5S	14	BB		2	12
8	2S2	12	BB		0	16
17	4S	11	BB		1	15
4	1S	10	BB		0	14

A = Speaker number B = Membership of the family C = Age D = Emigration background E = Years of stay in the U.K.
GF = Grandfather F = Father S = Son O = Other relative
FE = First-generation emigrant SE = Sponsored emigrant BB = British-born

Female

A	B	C	D	E	Ethnic	Peer
44	9GM	72	SE	18	20	10
9	3GM	70	SE	12	20	12
31	7GM	67	SE	6	20	14
14	4GM	65	FE	18	20	11
52	10GM	63	SE	23	20	9
38	8GM	61	FE	30	20	11
19	5GM	58	SE	10	20	12
27	6M	52	FE	31	17	12
46	9M	50	FE	27	18	14
54	10M	45	SE	21	18	13
11	3M	46	SE	26	20	11
33	7M	42	SE	20	15	10
40	8M	40	SE	22	18	11
6	2M	38	SE	17	20	12
16	4M	37	FE	18	6	10
21	5M	35	SE	15	20	11
3	1M	32	SE	12	18	13
50	9O	22	BB		2	14
56	10D1	21	BB		3	12
30	6D	20	BB		1	15
57	10D2	18	BB		2	15
18	4D	15	BB		0	17
41	8D1	12	BB		1	14
58	10D3	12	BB		1	12
23	5D1	11	BB		0	15
36	7D	10	BB		2	12
24	5D2	9	BB		1	15
42	8D2	8	BB		0	14

A = Speaker number B = Membership of the family C = Age D = Emigration background E = Years of stay in the U.K.
GF = Grandfather F = Father S = Son O = Other relative
FE = First-generation emigrant SE = Sponsored emigrant BB = British-born

2. Interactive networks (Percentage in brackets):

Male

A	B	C	D	E	Total	Ethnic		Peer	
25	6GF	73	SE	12	22	22	(100)	16	(72)
51	10GF	68	FE	25	27	17	(63)	14	(52)
1	1GF	66	SE	8	29	29	(100)	17	(59)
37	8GF	65	FE	30	30	15	(50)	15	(50)
26	6F	56	FE	31	29	17	(59)	16	(55)
45	9F	53	FE	27	24	10	(42)	12	(50)
32	7F	49	FE	23	33	16	(49)	16	(49)
10	3F	47	FE	29	29	15	(52)	15	(52)
39	8F	44	FE	30	27	3	(11)	13	(48)
53	10F	44	FE	25	28	5	(18)	14	(50)
5	2F	41	FE	20	32	7	(22)	15	(47)
15	4F	40	SE	16	27	6	(22)	26	(96)
20	5F	37	FE	17	31	6	(19)	16	(52)
2	1F	35	SE	12	28	5	(18)	14	(50)
47	9S1	24	BB		25	2	(8)	24	(96)
48	9S2	22	BB		19	0	(0)	18	(95)
28	6S1	22	BB		22	7	(32)	21	(96)
12	3S1	21	BB		18	0	(0)	18	(100)
13	3S2	19	BB		18	0	(0)	18	(100)
49	9S3	18	BB		25	0	(0)	25	(100)
34	7S1	18	BB		28	0	(0)	28	(100)
29	6S2	17	BB		22	2	(9)	22	(100)
43	8O	16	BB		22	0	(0)	22	(100)
55	10S	16	BB		16	2	(10)	20	(100)
7	2S1	15	BB		15	0	(0)	15	(100)
35	7S2	15	BB		18	0	(0)	18	(100)
22	5S	14	BB		16	1	(6)	16	(100)
8	2S2	12	BB		18	0	(0)	18	(100)
17	4S	11	BB		10	0	(0)	10	(100)
4	1S	10	BB		15	0	(0)	15	(100)

A = Speaker number B = Membership of the family C = Age D = Emigration background E = Years of stay in the U.K.
GF = Grandfather F = Father S = Son O = Other relative
FE = First-generation emigrant SE = Sponsored emigrant BB = British-born

Female

A	B	C	D	E	Total	Ethnic		Peer	
44	9GM	72	SE	18	18	18	(100)	11	(61)
9	3GM	70	SE	12	15	15	(100)	10	(67)
31	7GM	67	SE	6	24	24	(100)	12	(50)
14	4GM	65	FE	18	27	27	(100)	14	(52)
52	10GM	63	SE	23	25	25	(100)	17	(68)
38	8GM	61	FE	30	22	22	(100)	11	(50)
19	5GM	58	SE	10	25	25	(100)	15	(60)
27	6M	52	FE	31	26	15	(58)	13	(50)
46	9M	50	FE	27	17	7	(41)	9	(53)
54	10M	45	SE	21	28	3	(11)	14	(50)
11	3M	46	SE	26	24	13	(54)	13	(54)
33	7M	42	SE	20	24	12	(50)	12	(50)
40	8M	40	SE	22	30	15	(50)	15	(50)
6	2M	38	SE	17	25	5	(20)	13	(52)
16	4M	37	FE	18	30	1	(3)	29	(97)
21	5M	35	SE	15	26	17	(65)	13	(50)
3	1M	32	SE	12	21	14	(67)	10	(48)
50	9O	22	BB		19	11	(58)	18	(95)
56	10D1	21	BB		23	13	(57)	22	(96)
30	6D	20	BB		26	3	(12)	26	(100)
57	10D2	18	BB		18	0	(0)	18	(100)
18	4D	15	BB		18	0	(0)	18	(100)
41	8D1	12	BB		24	1	(4)	24	(100)
58	10D3	12	BB		26	2	(8)	26	(100)
23	5D1	11	BB		25	0	(0)	25	(100)
36	7D	10	BB		22	2	(9)	22	(100)
24	5D2	9	BB		16	1	(6)	16	(100)
42	8D2	8	BB		20	0	(0)	20	(100)

A = Speaker number B = Membership of the family C = Age D = Emigration background E = Years of stay in the U.K.
GF = Grandfather F = Father S = Son O = Other relative
FE = First-generation emigrant SE = Sponsored emigrant BB = British-born

3. 'Passive' networks (Total: 10 ties per speaker):

Male

A	B	C	D	E	Ethnic
25	6GF	73	SE	12	10
51	10GF	68	FE	25	10
1	1GF	66	SE	8	10
37	8GF	65	FE	30	10
26	6F	56	FE	31	10
45	9F	53	FE	27	10
32	7F	49	FE	23	10
10	3F	47	FE	29	10
39	8F	44	FE	30	10
53	10F	44	FE	25	10
5	2F	41	FE	20	10
15	4F	40	SE	16	10
20	5F	37	FE	17	10
2	1F	35	SE	12	10
47	9S1	24	BB		7
48	9S2	22	BB		9
28	6S1	22	BB		6
12	3S1	21	BB		8
13	3S2	19	BB		8
49	9S3	18	BB		6
34	7S1	18	BB		5
29	6S2	17	BB		5
43	8O	16	BB		4
55	10S	16	BB		5
7	2S1	15	BB		6
35	7S2	15	BB		3
22	5S	14	BB		3
8	2S2	12	BB		5
17	4S	11	BB		6
4	1S	10	BB		4

A = Speaker number B = Membership of the family C = Age D = Emigration background E = Years of stay in the U.K.
GF = Grandfather F = Father S = Son O = Other relative
FE = First-generation emigrant SE = Sponsored emigrant BB = British-born

Female

A	B	C	D	E	Ethnic
44	9GM	72	SE	18	10
9	3GM	70	SE	12	10
31	7GM	67	SE	6	10
14	4GM	65	FE	18	10
52	10GM	63	SE	23	10
38	8GM	61	FE	30	10
19	5GM	58	SE	10	10
27	6M	52	FE	31	10
46	9M	50	FE	27	10
54	10M	45	SE	21	10
11	3M	46	SE	26	10
33	7M	42	SE	20	10
40	8M	40	SE	22	10
6	2M	38	SE	17	10
16	4M	37	FE	18	10
21	5M	35	SE	15	10
3	1M	32	SE	12	10
50	9O	22	BB		8
56	10D1	21	BB		8
30	6D	20	BB		7
57	10D2	18	BB		5
18	4D	15	BB		5
41	8D1	12	BB		6
58	10D3	12	BB		5
23	5D1	11	BB		3
36	7D	10	BB		5
24	5D2	9	BB		4
42	8D2	8	BB		4

A = Speaker number B = Membership of the family C = Age D = Emigration background E = Years of stay in the U.K.
GF = Grandfather F = Father S = Son O = Other relative
FE = First-generation emigrant SE = Sponsored emigrant BB = British-born

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