**Language Choice among Arabic-English Bilinguals
in Manchester, Britain.**

**A dissertation submitted to The University of Manchester for the
degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Humanities**

2006

Mohamed Fathi Ahmed Othman

School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Word count is 17000.

ABSTRACT

The Arabic community in Manchester, Britain is a recent immigrant community. The present study investigates language choice among Arabic-English bilinguals in this community. Such a choice reflects the status of Arabic maintenance/shift as a minority language in Manchester. Answers to the following questions are sought: first, do Arabic and English have distinct functions; i.e., each is used in different domains from the other? Second, are there situations in which they overlap within the same domain? Third, is the second generation going to maintain Arabic? Fourth, what is the status of code-switching (its structural and functional aspects) among the first generation? Finally, what are the status of Arabic schools in Manchester and the status of Arabic in Manchester City Council's services?

The findings show a compartmentalization in function in the parents' use of Arabic and English. Arabic is consistently used in the domains of home (either between parents or between parents and children), friendship, media and mosque; English in the domain of university/work and in shops. This reflects Arabic maintenance. However, in a few situations both languages overlap, e.g., when an Arab talks to his/her friend in the presence of a non-Arab they use English although Arabic is the unmarked choice in the domain of friendship. Arabic will be maintained in the second generation due to many factors, e.g., the use of Arabic at home, the availability of Arabic satellite channels, the availability of Arabic schools and mosques in which children learn Arabic, and the ease of travel to the Arab world. Two types of intrasentential code-switching are attested among the first generation: insertion and alternation. Insertion is the most frequent. The commonest motivation for switching among this generation is being used to saying certain words in English. This shows that Arabic is the dominant language.

There are many Arabic schools in Manchester which are controlled by Arabs and which set their own policies regarding curricula and methods. In these schools Arabic is taught and used as the medium of instruction. Many of Manchester City Council's services are provided in Arabic, e.g., advice telephone lines, interpreters, information about education, health, etc.

DECLARATION

4

No portion of the work referred to in the dissertation has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

COPYRIGHT STATEMENT

Copyright in text of this dissertation rests with the author. Copies (by any process) either in full, or of extracts, may be made **only** in accordance with instructions given by the author. Details may be obtained from the appropriate Postgraduate Office. This page must form part of any such copies made. Further copies (by any process) of copies made in accordance with such instructions may not be made without the permission (in writing) of the author.

The ownership of any intellectual property rights which may be described in this dissertation is vested in the University of Manchester, subject to any prior agreement to the contrary, and may not be made available for use by third parties without the written permission of the university, which will prescribe the terms and conditions of any such agreement.

Further information on the conditions under which disclosures and exploitation may take place is available from the Head of the School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures.

ACKNOWLEDGEMEENT

1. Chapter one: Preliminaries

1.1 Introduction

It is often mentioned in the literature that about "half the world's population is bilingual" (Grosjean 1982: vii). However, this depends on how bilingualism is defined, which is a relative matter. Weinreich, for instance, defines bilingualism as "the practice of alternately using two languages" (Weinreich 1966: 1). However, this definition says nothing about the degree of proficiency, in the two languages, required to consider someone as a bilingual. In other words, can we say that a bilingual is a person who grows up speaking two languages fluently? Is he/she the person who acquires a second language by being integrated into a community that speaks another language? Is he/she the person who is educated in a different language? Is he/she the person who has a minimal degree of competence in two languages? Or is it all the preceding? In fact, the definitions are as varied as these questions.

Bilingualism arises as a result of language contact. It may be stable, where the patterns of multilingualism are of long standing; or transitional, where bilingualism looks like a stage on the way to monolingualism towards the dominant language (Thomason 2001: 4). The minority language's maintenance/shift depends on factors like whether there is an institutional support for the non-dominant language, and the people's attitudes toward their home language, e.g., language shift occurs when the younger generation has different language preference (i.e., a preference for the dominant language) from the older generation.

1.2 Aim of the study

There is a large Arabic community in Manchester, Britain, whose members are mostly bilinguals who speak Arabic and English[1]. The present study investigates language choice among those Arabic-English bilinguals, particularly among the first generation (i.e., the parents, who came to Manchester as adults) and the second generation (i.e., the children, who were born in Manchester or came to it at a very early age before, or immediately after, acquiring the preliminary basics of Arabic); such a choice which reflects to some extent the status of Arabic maintenance/shift as a minority language in the immigrant situation in Manchester. The study seeks answers to the following questions:

(1) Is there a compartmentalized use of the two languages; i.e., Arabic and English, so that each is used in distinct domains?

(2) Are there situations in which there is a kind of overlap between the two languages within the same domain?

(3) If Arabic is maintained in the first generation (i.e., the parents) is the second generation (i.e., the children) going to maintain Arabic? What are the factors that can help the second generation to preserve Arabic?

(4) What is the status of code-switching, as a strategy in communication other than assigning each code to specific domains, among the first generation? What are its structural aspects? And what are the functional and conversational motivations for it?

(5) What are the status of Arabic schools in Manchester and the status of Arabic in Manchester City Council's services?

---

[1] The majority of this community have come to Manchester for the purpose of studying, working or even seeking political asylum.

1.3 Language maintenance/shift as a field of research

Language maintenance/shift has been discussed in many studies. A number of researchers handled maintenance/shift in contact situations where two (or more) languages have existed for a long time, yet one is being replaced by the other. For example, Gal (1979)[2], concerned with language shift, studied the situation in the town of Oberwart in eastern Austria where Hungarian-German bilingualism has existed for about 400 years, yet German is starting to replace Hungarian in almost every domain[3]. She accounted for this shift as an example of socially-motivated linguistic change. That is, how social change, e.g., industrialization, urbanization, loss of isolation, etc, influences speakers' communicative strategies so that they are motivated to change their language choice in different contexts of social interaction, and eventually to abandon one of their languages altogether. Gal sees that Hungarian and German have been reallocated: "Hungarian to a narrower and German a wider range of speakers and of social environments" (Gal 1979: 17). Thus, Hungarian is not used by the present generation in many social contexts where it was appropriate and common for previous generations.

On the other hand, other researchers have been concerned with the minority languages' maintenance/shift in immigrant situations. For example, the minority languages in Australia have been studied by a number of researchers, notably, Clyne (e.g., Clyne 2003, and Clyne and Kipp 1999)[4]. Clyne (2003) provides various patterns

---

[2] Another researcher is Dorian (1981). Concerned with language death, Dorian studied the displacement of East Sutherland Gaelic by English in Scotland, such a displacement which has been gradual, including a number of phases. She studied this dying form with consideration of its history and its current sociolinguistic situation, and with a detailed investigation of linguistic changes occurring in its last stages.

[3] The Hungarian speakers of Oberwart do not belong with the relatively recent immigrants, who emigrated from Hungary during or after each of the two world wars and after the 1956 Hungarian uprising, and who are regarded as urban Hungarians. "Rather, they are among the indigenous inhabitants of five agricultural villages in the middle of Austria's easternmost province, Burgenland" (Gal 1979: 24).

[4] Clyne and Kipp (1999) investigate the maintenance/shift of three Pluricentric languages in Australia: Spanish, Arabic and Chinese.

of the different rates of maintenance/shift of the different minorities. Among the languages that witnessed rapid shift is Dutch. The Dutch speakers tried to assimilate and stress their similarity to the dominant group; many of them used English to their children and spouses. Even their churches spread the use of English (Clyne 2003: 13). Thus, the highest shift in either the first or the second generations in all the immigrant groups in Australia was among the first and the second generations of Dutch background[5] (Clyne 2003: 24-26).

Among the groups with low shift rates in the first generation are those born in the PRC, Greece and Hong Kong. However, in the second generation there is a remarkably high shift, as compared with the first generation. Thus, although a group like Greek-Australians had previously been characterized by a high rate of language maintenance, this is not the case in the second generation. This may be because the second generation Greek-Australians do not see any benefit in transmitting Greek to their children (Papadametre and Routoulas 2001: 141). Thus, there is no need to use Greek with the children.

Although it may be said that community language shift toward the dominant group's language is complete within three generations in many groups in the urban immigrant situation, this is not always the case. In the German language enclaves that have been in Australia since the mid-nineteenth century, language was maintained for three or even five generations. In these enclaves, communication with older people, who were proficient in German, played an important role in language maintenance for at least a generation (Clyne 2003: 28-29).

One of the best maintained languages in Australia is Arabic (Clyne 2003: 54). According to the 1996 census, 240 languages are recorded as used in the homes of

---

[5] Clyne's estimation of language shift and maintenance in Australia is based on the degree of using the community language in the home as reflected by the language question in the 1996 census, which has been on language use in the home.

Australia. 14.6% of the Australian population claimed using a language other than English in their homes (Clyne 2003: 23). Arabic is among the most widely used languages. In their study on the Arabic community in Melbourne, Australia, Clyne and Kipp (1999: 137-216) believe that one of the determining factors for the use of Arabic among Arab Australians, especially Muslims, may be related to their religious affiliation since the Quran and Classical Arabic are essential to Muslims. Thus, even in families with Muslim Arab father and non-Muslim, non-Arab mothers, the children and the mothers had learnt to speak Arabic well[6] (Clyne and Kipp 1999: 141, discussing Penny and Khoo 1996). The motivations for maintaining Arabic among Muslims in Australia are: access to the Quran, communication with family members and visits to home country. The Arabs in Australia have Arabic schools in which children learn Arabic. They also have Arabic-language broadcast on the government multilingual radio station.

The immigrant situation in America has attracted the attention of many researchers as well. For example, Pearson and McGee (1993: 91-101) investigated language choice among Hispanic junior high school students in Miami. The results showed that Spanish is most used when talking to or addressed by the parents. However, with siblings and friends, Spanish is least used. The same applies to reading and watching TV in which Spanish is least used. Fishman, Cooper and Ma (1971) studied language choice in the Puerto Rican community in New York. The results showed that the most likely domains for Spanish are the family, followed by friendship and religion. The domains where Spanish is least likely used are education and employment. The reverse is true for English.

---

[6] In the two international families that I interviewed the fathers are Egyptian and Muslim while the mothers are non-Arab and non-Muslim. However, the children and the mothers speak Arabic well.

1.4 Models of language maintenance/shift

I will discuss below some models of language maintenance as developed by a number of researchers who tried to identify the factors that are responsible for the differences in the rates of language maintenance and shift among the different immigrant groups. I will discuss the points in these models that are relevant to the Arabic community in Manchester as represented by my informants.

1.4.1 Kloss's (1966) model

Using the American immigrant situation, particularly German-English language contact, Kloss (1966) provides a model which identifies clear-cut factors promoting language maintenance, and factors that are ambivalent; i.e., can promote either maintenance or shift. Of the clear-cut factors the one that is relevant to Arabic in Manchester is membership of a denomination with parochial schools, if we consider the mosque and some Arabic schools as equivalent to parochial schools. The mosque can be considered as a weekend school where Arab children and adults spend about five hours learning the Quran and socializing. Furthermore, some of the Arabic schools can be considered as religious schools since they teach only the Quran and Arabic language.

The relevant ambivalent factors to Arabic in Manchester include: first, the educational level of the immigrant. A higher educational level may promote shift since it brings immigrants closer to the dominant group's culture, and vice versa. In my study, however, the high educational level of the informants is a maintenance factor since it makes them more aware of the importance of Arabic for their cultural and Islamic identity. This awareness makes them keen that their children learn and speak Arabic.

The second factor is the numerical strength. Being numerically strong can be a maintenance factor in that large groups can afford more maintenance efforts, e.g.,

establishing educational institutions. However, it can be a shift factor in that large groups cannot avoid extensive contact with the dominant group in the same way as smaller groups can. In Manchester there is a concentration of Arabs, which enables them to have their schools, gatherings, cultural activities, and even sometimes mosques. All of this helps Arabic maintenance.

The third factor is the linguistic and cultural distance from the dominant group. This can promote language shift as it makes preserving identity difficult, especially among younger generations. It can also promote maintenance; an awareness of such distance enhances group consciousness among the minority group's members, which makes them exert more effort in language maintenance, as less effort is needed to acquire the dominant language and culture. The latter is the case regarding my informants who are linguistically and culturally distant from the dominant group.

The fourth factor is the attitude of the majority to language or group. Suppression of language or culture can result in assimilation or more effort to preserve both. As for the Arabs in Manchester, there is no suppression, but they suffer from the negative portrayal of Arabs in the media which stereotypes all the Arabs as terrorist Muslims. This makes them keen on maintaining their language and culture to give the right picture of Arabs. It remains to say that an ambivalent factor may in combination with another result in a clear-cut factor. For example, the large number of Arabs in Manchester and their cultural and linguistic distance from the host community in combination form a clear-cut maintenance factor.

1.4.2 Conklin and Lourie's (1983) model

Based on the immigrant situation in America, Conklin and Lourie (1983) provide also a model of factors promoting language maintenance and factors promoting language shift that is particularly relevant to the contemporary urban situation (Clyne 2003: 53). Many of these factors are relevant to Arabic maintenance among my informants. The demographic and social factors that are relevant in this regard include: first, concentration, which if high, leads to maintenance. This factor is discussed above (cf. Kloss's model). The second factor is the geographical proximity and ease of travel to homeland which promote language maintenance if they are high and vice versa; in fact, the Arab world is not far from Britain, and travelling to any Arab country is easy. The third factor is the permanence of residence, which can be a language maintenance factor if it is low and vice versa; the overwhelming majority of my informants are temporarily living in Manchester.

The cultural factors include, first, whether or not community language institutions are prevalent; if prevalent, language maintenance is promoted. In Manchester there are many Arabic schools in which Arabic can be learnt. The second factor is whether or not religious ceremonies require command of the community language; for my subjects who are all Muslims, prayers and reciting the Quran have to be in Arabic[7]. The third factor is the emotional attachment to the community language as a defining characteristic of ethnicity; all the informants consider Arabic as symbolic of their Arabic and Islamic identity.

The linguistic factors include, first, whether the community language is the standard written variety (this promotes language maintenance) or a non-standard variety

---

[7] Although in the first and second factors Standard Arabic, which is to some extent different from the regional dialects of Arabic, is what is meant, they can still be considered as factors promoting Arabic maintenance at least at the lexical and phonological levels.

(this promotes language shift). In the case of my informants, the community spoken language is a non-standard variety while the community written language is Standard Arabic. The second factor is whether the community language uses Latin script; if it does not, this promotes language shift. In the case of Arabic, it is does not use Latin script; however, this can promote maintenance since it reflects linguistic distance from the dominant language (cf. Kloss's model above). Also, not using Latin script does not always promote language shift; for example, "some of the best-maintained languages in Australia do indeed use a script other than Latin (Macedonian, Arabic, Greek)" (Clyne 2003: 54).

1.4.3   Smolicz's (1981) model

Another model which is concerned with community language maintenance/ shift is Smolicz's (1981) model of the 'cultural core values'. According to this model, each group has a number of cultural values that are crucial to its existence and continuity, and are a prerequisite for group membership. Language is such a core value for some groups rather than others. For example, it is a core value for Greeks and poles; thus, these groups are more likely to preserve their language in a minority situation. On the contrary, language is not a cultural core value for the Dutch, who lose their language in similar situations. Language is usually most effective as a core value when it is combined with other core values, e.g., religion, and when such core values necessitate the use of the language for particular purposes. Arabic, for example, has "respective claims to authenticity as the language of the Qu'ran" (Clyne 2003:65). This makes of Arabic the language of prayer and worship; thus, for Arab bilinguals, it is inappropriate to pray in a language other than Arabic.

1.4.4 Fishman's (1985) predictive model

Fishman (1985: 158-166) provides a model to predict the relative survival rates of immigrant languages. He proposes the following predictive measures[8]:

(1)   The number of claimants *per se,* adjusted for the average age of the current claimants so that the younger counts for more than the older. He calls this the "adjusted claimants" criterion;

(2)   The institutional resources for language maintenance (the "institutional" criterion), and other factors like the period of major immigration and the religious and racial distance from the mainstream;

(3)   A compromise between the two reflecting both number of claimants and ratio of institutions to claimants.

According to the three criteria (1, 2 and 3 respectively) the top surviving languages in Fishman's data are:

(1)   Spanish, Italian, French and German;

(2)   Hebrew, Korean, Albanian and Thai/Lao;

(3)   Spanish, Hebrew, German and Polish.

Moreover, the data show that the "adjusted claimants" criterion is best predicted by the institutional numbers. However, some institutionally active languages may rank low just because their claimants are few. Moreover, "some of the smaller and institutionally weaker languages may be (or may become) concentrated and their claimants are so racially distinctive that their survival potential may actually be far greater than their ranking implies" (Fishman 1985: 166).

---

[8] In this model Fishman attempts to predict the relative survival rates of non-English languages in the U.S.A.

As for Arabic in my study, there are many institutional resources including mosques, Arabic schools, gatherings and societies. This reflects the large number of Arabic claimants. Also, all my informants are religiously distant from the mainstream and are recent immigrants. This may predict the high potentiality of Arabic survival.

1.4.5 Fishman's (1991) model

Fishman (1991) provides a model of 'reversing language shift', which diagnoses the difficulties encountered in maintaining minority languages and suggests means to improve the situation. In this model Fishman presents a "Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale" (Fishman 1991: 87) which consists of eight stages, each of which is a step towards reversing language shift. On this scale the higher the rating is the lower the expectations of the language continuity of the group are. Stages eight to five are concerned with assigning particular functions for the community language in order for it to be transmitted intergenerationally. The stage that is relevant to the status of Arabic maintenance in my study is stage five in which Fishman asserts the importance of community language literacy in home, community and ethnic supplementary schools in reversing language shift (Fishman 1991: 95-98). That is, literacy through agencies and institutions that are under the ethnic group's control and that do not need to satisfy the dominant group's standards regarding compulsory education. In the case of the Arabic community in Manchester there are many Arabic schools that are controlled by Arabs and that have freedom over their curricula and methods. In these schools Arabic is taught and used as the medium of instruction. Also, parents exert efforts to promote Arabic literacy among their children at home.

Stages four to one involve, as Fishman says, "increased power-sharing" rather than diglossia (Fishman 1991: 401). The stages that are relevant to the status of Arabic

17

maintenance in my study are stages two and one (105-109). In stage two the importance of mass media being available in the community language is emphasised. Although Fishman talks in this stage about regional and ethnic media being presented in the community language as in the case of Basque (Fishman 1991: 174), we can generalise this to Arabic media in Manchester. Of course, there is no Arabic TV or newspapers in Manchester. However, this can be compensated by the fact that Arabic satellite channels are widely available now; Arabic newspapers are also available, at least on the internet. In stage one, some government activities are offered in the community language. In Manchester, although government activities are carried out in English, public notices are offered, besides English, in other languages including Arabic. For example, public notices in Arabic are issued on health, education, safety, traffic codes, legal questions and rights, etc. In addition, Arabic interpreters can be provided in different locations: in hospitals, police stations, courts, etc.

To sum up, these are some of the models concerned with maintenance/shift; of course there are other models that have not been discussed above since it is difficult to handle all models [9]. Moreover, most of these models have things in common. For example, a number of maintenance/shift factors are referred to in most of them, e.g., the institutional support for the community language, numerical strength of the minority group, educational level of immigrants, point of immigration, linguistic, religious or cultural distance from the mainstream, etc.

---

[9] For example, Giles, Bourhis and Taylor's model of ethnolinguistic vitality (307-348), which is based on Tajfel's (1974; 1974a) theory of intergroup relations and Giles's (1973; 1977) speech accommodation theory. The model explains language shift in terms of the relative extent to which an individual desirers to preserve his identification with the group or pass into the other group. That is, the value of preserving individual's own group's integrity as opposed to accommodating to the mainstream group. The continuity of the group relies on its vitality and its acting "as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (Giles et al. 1977: 308). The structural variables influencing the ethnolinguistic group's vitality include: status factors, e.g., economic, social, sociohistorical and language status; demographic factors, e, g., numbers and group distribution factors; and institutional support factors.

1.5 The theoretical framework for the study

The framework of this study, in which language choice among Arabic-English bilinguals is discussed and the findings are analyzed, is based on Fishman's (1965) model of 'domains of language use'. The domains refer to contextualized spheres of communication, e.g., home, friendship, work, education, religion, etc. Such domains are helpful in that they give us insight into language choice in bilingual situations. These domains are not fixed; Fishman (1965: 93-95) states that they may differ in number and designation from one bilingual or multilingual setting to another depending on the "socio-cultural dynamics" of the particular setting. In addition, topic and role-relations are important factors contributing to the concept of domain. That is, if a group in a bilingual situation tend to handle a specific topic in a specific language, this may be because this topic belongs to a domain in which that language is dominant in this group. This applies, for instance, to the informants in my study who use English, which is the unmarked choice in the university domain, when talking about study, especially for terminology. Role-relation is also an important factor. That is, in some groups particular language behaviours are required or at least expected of particular individuals with each other. For example, in the Arab families interviewed in the present study, Arabic is required as the means of communication at home between the different dyads: father to mother, mother to father, father to children, children to father, mother to children, and children to mother.

The degree of language maintenance or shift may differ from one domain to another. Thus, the importance of the different domains in maintaining the minority language is relative. Certain domains seem to resist language shift more than others; for example, the family domain resists language shift more than the occupation domain

does (Fishman 1964). In fact, the home is often cited as an important factor in maintaining the minority language.

In order for the minority language to survive in the long term in a bilingual situation, there must be a compartmentalization in function between the minority language and the dominant language similar to that in diglossic situations; such a distinction helps language maintenance since it promotes a situation of stable diglossia (Clyne and Kipp 1999: 47, discussing Fishman 1985). However, sometimes a kind of overlap within the same domain may be encountered, but this must be kept to a minimum in order to preserve the state of stability in a bilingual situation.

1.6 Methodology

Following Fishman (1965), I divided the spheres of language use into domains comprising: home, friendship, university/work, media, shopping, children and mosque. I prepared the questionnaire to use in the interviews with the participant families. The questionnaire is divided into the same domains mentioned above. In addition to this questionnaire, I prepared two other questionnaires. The first contained the questions that I would use in the interviews in Manchester City Council. This has two parts: the Translation Department's questions and the Education Department's questions. The other questionnaire contained the questions that would be used in the interviews in the Arabic schools in Manchester. It has three parts: the head teachers' questions, Arabic-language teachers' questions, and teachers of other subjects' questions.

The participant families are from different Arab countries. I divided them into two groups; first, families that have been living in Manchester for four to ten years. This group consists of five Egyptian families, four Libyan, one Jordanian, and one Syrian. The second group includes families that have been living in Manchester for

more than fifteen years. It has three families from Egypt, Tunisia and Libya. I also interviewed two international families with Egyptian fathers and non-Arab mothers, who have been living in Manchester for ten years. In total, I interviewed 16 families.

In these families I interviewed the father, but in a few cases I interviewed the mother. The language used in the interviews was Arabic. All the interviews were semi-structured, and all were tape-recorded. Most of the interviews took place in a friendly atmosphere since I have good relations with most of the subjects.

Due to my good relations with the subjects, and my being a member of the Arabic community, I managed to do participant observation in two Egyptian families in different domains. Thus, I spent four hours in each family; i.e., with the father and children, starting from bringing children from school with the father, then having lunch together at home, and then playing and speaking with the children. During these hours I was observing which language was being used for communication between the fathers and children, and whether this conforms to what the fathers said in the interviews. Moreover, I talked and played with children in order to see whether they can speak and understand Arabic. I also accompanied these fathers many times at mosque, at university, with friends, and when shopping.

In addition to interviewing families, I went to Manchester City Council to investigate the status of Arabic in the services that the council provides. I made two interviews: one with the deputy manager of the Translation Department, and another with the coordinator of support for supplementary schools in The Diversity and Inclusion Team, Education Department. I also visited four Arabic schools in Manchester (two Libyan schools, a Saudi school, and a Jordanian school) and interviewed the head teachers, Arabic-language teachers, and other subjects' teachers. Moreover, I attended some classes in one Libyan school because I used to teach there.

1.7 Description of the families

Table 1 gives information about the families[10]:

family No.	Father's education/ occupation	Mother's education/ occupation	Number and age of children[11]		Years in Manchester[12]	Nationality
			Daughters	sons		
F1	University teacher	MA student	-------	2: 4/6 Y	8	Egyptian
F2	PhD student	Bachelor degree	-------	1: 6 Y	4	Egyptian
F3	University teacher	Bachelor degree	2: 9/12 Y	1: 6 Y	8	Egyptian
F4	PhD student	Bachelor degree	-------	2: 5/7 Y	4	Egyptian
F5	PhD student	Teacher at an English Islamic school	-------	2: 8/11 Y	8	Egyptian
F6	MA student	PhD student	1: 4 Y	2: 8/10 Y	5	Libyan
F7	Researcher	Teacher at an English school	-------	2: 8/10 Y	7	Libyan
F8	PhD student	Bachelor degree	-------	2: 6/9 Y	4	Jordanian
F9	PhD student	Teacher at an English Islamic school	-------	2: 10/13 Y	10	Libyan
F10	Lecturer	Bachelor degree	3: 3/5/8 Y	-------	8	Syrian
F11	MA student	Teacher of Quran	1: 15 Y.	3: 3,6, 11 Y.	8	Libyan
F12	Arabic school's head teacher	Bachelor degree	2: 20/22 Y	1: 17 Y	18	Libyan
F13	Translator	Bachelor degree	2: 6/10 Y	1: 8 Y	18	Tunisian
F14	PhD holder	English school's head teacher	2: 18/25 Y	1: 27 Y	21	Egyptian
F15	PhD student	English school's teacher	1: 10 Y	-------	10	[13]
F16	Education social worker	Administrative work in an English school	1: 3 Y	2: 7/12 Y	10	[14]

Table (1)

---

[11] The number of daughters/sons will be mentioned first, then the age followed by the letter Y (YEARS OLD). Thus, in F1, for example, 2: 4/6 Y mean two boys: one is 4 years old and the other is 6 years old.
[12] For how many years the family have been living in Manchester.
[13] The father is Egyptian and the mother is Scottish.
[14] The father is Egyptian and the mother is Spanish.

2. Chapter two: The data

2.1 Describing the findings of the interviews with the families

The information obtained from the interviews is mostly consistent among all the families in the different domains. In the domain of 'home', for example, the language used between the parents in all the families is Arabic except for certain words that all the families are used to saying in English, such as 'school, homework, teacher, juice, milk, G.P., and shopping.' Also in the families in which both of the husband and the wife work in the same career or have the same specialisation English is used when saying scientific terminology related to their work or specialisation.

In the domain of 'friendship', all the subjects speak English with non-Arab friends. With Arab friends they speak Arabic except, like the domain of home, for the words that they are used to saying in English and when saying scientific terms related to work or study. Another yet more important exception is a situation in which the subjects are talking to Arab friends in the presence of a non-Arab. In such a case, they speak English, or they speak Arabic and then translate what is being said into English to the non-Arab person with them.

In the domain of 'university/work', the subjects who are PhD students or university teachers always use English in class even when there are Arab students. They use English in this case as a lingua franca. They also always use English in their schools' official meetings, seminars and when talking about scientific topics, even with Arabs. However, they use Arabic in informal talks with Arab colleagues, especially greetings or when they are not in the company of non-Arabs. Similarly, the other subjects who are teachers in English schools use English with the administration: with the head teacher, English colleagues, and in the official meetings. However, they speak Arabic in informal talks with Arab colleagues. The subjects use English with an Arab

when there is difficulty in understanding each other due to a dialect barrier like when talking to Algerians.

In the domain of 'media', the parents watch the news mainly on the Arabic satellite channels, such as Al-jazeera and Al-arabia, or via the sites of these channels on the Internet. Some of the subjects watch the news also on English channels, like the BBC, almost to the same degree. The reason why they watch English channels for news is to improve their English and to see what the foreign media say about the Arab and Islamic world, so as to be able to talk about these issues with non-Arabs. There is only one subject who watches the news on English channels only and this is because she does not have access to any Arabic satellite channels.

As for newspapers, almost all the subjects read the Arabic newspapers on the Internet because it is difficult to get Arabic newspapers in hard copy in Manchester. Some of the subjects read English newspapers, but not too often. For example, in one of the families the father reads The Guardian and The Times in the train on his way to university. Some other subjects read English newspapers only when they happen to find one accidentally, e.g., in transportation where some English newspapers are available for free.

For entertainment, the parents always watch Arabic channels. The majority of what they watch is in colloquial Arabic. Some of the subjects sometimes watch English channels for entertainment but not as much as they watch Arabic channels. There is only one subject who does not watch Arabic channels at all since, as mentioned previously, she does not have access to an Arabic satellite. Children prefer the English channels; however, they also like to watch Arabic movies and TV series.

In the domain of 'shopping'; first, for food, the subjects use English in non-Arabic shops, and Arabic in shops where there are Arab workers. However, if the Arab

worker's dialect is difficult to understand, e.g., Algerians, then English is used. Moreover, they talk in Arabic to the person that they are shopping with, e.g., a friend or a wife, except when saying the names of products, such as 'donuts, mushrooms, juice'. I noticed this myself during the participant observation which I made in the families of two subjects in different domains. That is, I went shopping several times with each of these two subjects separately, and during shopping they were talking to me in Arabic except when saying the names of the things that they wanted to buy.

In shopping for clothes, English is mostly used since almost all the shops are English or non-Arabic. The only exception is when the subjects shop for women's clothes, especially items like 'Al-hijab' (head scarf) which they buy from Arabic shops. Shopping for books is mainly done through the Internet, so the language used is written English. Also, when buying books from English bookshops as in the case of the PhD students, English is always used. However, sometimes when the subjects shop for Islamic books, which rarely happens as they often buy these books from their home countries, they use Arabic, but only if the seller is an Arab; if the seller is a non-Arab Muslim, they use English. Also, most of the books that they buy are in English, even the stories that they buy for children.

In the domain of 'children', all the families send their children to English schools when they are three years old where they spend about seven hours a day. In addition, all the families send their children or register them in Arabic schools. For example, the Egyptian families register their children from the age of six in the Egyptian school in London to study the Egyptian curricula that are taught in schools in Egypt since there are no Egyptian schools in Manchester. In this case, the children study the Egyptian curricula, which are in Arabic except for Maths and Science, at home and go to London twice a year to sit for the exams. The rest of the families send their

children to the Arabic schools in Manchester, e.g., the Libyan schools, the Jordanian School, the Saudi School, etc., which work outside the normal school hours. Of course, each family prefers the school that teaches the curricula used in the schools in their home country. That is, the Libyans send their children to the Libyan schools; the Jordanians to the Jordanian School, and so on. However, occasionally we may find Libyan students in the Jordanian School or vice versa. The factors that determine which school a given family send their children to, besides the nationality, are whether or not it is close to the place where this family lives, and whether or not its opening hours suit the family.

The main reason why these families send children to Arabic schools is that they are keen that their children learn Arabic; all the subjects in these schools are taught in Arabic except for English language. There is also an Arabic-language curriculum in which children study Arabic language; i.e., grammar, reading, writing, spelling, etc. Another reason is that the parents want their children to study the Arabic curricula that their peers study in their home country so that they can cope with them when they return home.

Another important thing is that all the families send their children to mosques at the weekend. At the mosque, the children do not learn reading or writing in Arabic; they just learn the Quran. However, the families consider the mosque as important in helping children to learn Arabic. Also, for some families (i.e., those whose children are just registered in Arabic schools to take the exams, but do not actually study there, like the Egyptian families) the mosque is considered a good substitute for the Arabic school. The teaching at mosque is done in Arabic, and the communication between the teachers and the children is also in Arabic.

At home, the children speak Arabic with their parents, who insist that they speak Arabic. For example, when the children talk to their parents in English, the parents reply in Arabic and tell them to speak Arabic as long as they are at home. The parents think that their children speak English for quite enough time at their English school; therefore, they should speak Arabic for quite enough time, as well, to maintain their home language. However, in two families the parents speak with children mainly in English and do not exert much effort to make them speak Arabic. When the children talk to their siblings at home or to other children, they mostly use English, especially when they are playing[15]. However, they are continually urged by their parents to use Arabic.

Children mostly read English stories. Moreover, they prefer English TV; however, they like to watch Arabic movies and TV series. Evidence for this is that during my work in The Arabic School, the children used to ask me about the meaning of colloquial words used in Egyptian Arabic, which they heard in the Egyptian movies and TV series. The parents always encourage and urge the children to watch the Arabic channels along with the English ones.

These findings, concerning children, conform to the findings of the study conducted by Pearson and McGee (1993: 91-101) on language choice among Hispanic-background junior high school students in Miami. Despite the difference in age between the informants in the above-mentioned study and the children in the present study, language choice is almost the same. That is, the majority of the informants in Pearson and McGee's study use Spanish; i.e., the community language, when talking to their parents, but with siblings and friends, Spanish is the least used. The same applies to reading and watching TV in which Spanish is the least used.

---

[15] This is the case also at mosques and in the Arabic schools. I noticed this during my work as a teacher at a mosque and also during my work as a teacher in one of the Libyan schools; i.e., The Arabic School. Also the teachers in the other Arabic schools say that although children talk to them in Arabic, they mostly speak with each other in English. However, the teachers continually urge them to use Arabic.

Although Pearson and McGee consider these findings as signs of Spanish being replaced by English to a significant degree, I do not think this is the case with Arabic. That is, although children in my study mostly use English with siblings and mostly watch English TV, the parents consistently urge them to use Arabic in these situations. This will lead these children in the future to use Arabic with siblings and watch Arabic TV. In support of this view, in one of the families, who have been in Manchester for more than sixteen years, the sons and daughters who are more than sixteen years old speak to each other in Arabic and watch Arabic TV since the parents kept urging them to do this when they were children.

In the domain of 'mosque', all the subjects go to mosque but with different degrees of regularity. Most of the subjects go to mosque regularly at least once or twice a day. A few subjects go to mosque more than twice a day. There is only one subject who goes to mosque only once a week to attend the Friday congregational prayers. The language that the subjects use at the mosque is mostly Arabic because most of them go to mosques where there is a lot of Arabs. Occasionally, with non-Arab Muslims they use English. Most of the subjects attend the Friday prayers at mosques where the preaching is usually given in Arabic and English, or only in Arabic.

When we compare these findings with the findings of the study by Clyne and Kipp's (1999: 137-216) on the Arabic community in Melbourne, Australia, we find some similarities. As in my study, the adults in Clyne and Kipp's study use Arabic at home, mosque and with friends; the majority of them also watch Arabic TV. English is mostly used at work. As for children, they mostly use English among themselves; prefer English TV, although they also like watching Arabic TV; and go to English schools. There are also Arabic schools in which Arabic is taught. In both studies the children are better in listening and speaking than reading and writing in Arabic.

2.2 Analysing the findings of the interviews with the families

To analyze the findings, it is better for the purpose of clarification to differentiate between the parents (i.e., the first generation) and the children (i.e., the second generation).

2.2.1 The first generation

The findings show that there is compartmentalization in function between Arabic and English in the parents' use of the two languages. That is, Arabic is consistently used at home (either between the parents or between the parents and their children), with friends, in news and entertainment media, and also at mosque. In other words, Arabic is the unmarked choice in these domains. English is consistently used at university/work, in formal situations in general, when talking to non-Arabs, and in shops. That is, English is the unmarked choice in these domains. Thus, we are dealing here with "compound bilinguals with each language assigned to separate and minimally overlapping domains" (Fishman 1965: 101). Given this diglossia, we can predict Arabic maintenance in the long term. For example, Fishman (1977) emphasises that for the minority languages to survive in the longer term, they must assume distinctive functions akin to those in diglossic situations.

This distinction between domains is similar to the distinction attested in a study conducted by Fishman, Cooper and Ma (1971) in the Puerto Rican community in New York City to arrive at results concerning the use of Spanish versus English in this community. In this study, Fishman, Cooper and Ma put a list of domains in which either Spanish or English was used consistently. These included: family, friendship, religion, education and employment. The results showed that Spanish was most likely spoken in the 'family' domain, followed by 'friendship' and 'religion', while it was least likely

spoken in the domains of 'education' and 'employment'. The reverse was true for English. Although the domains used in this study do not correspond roughly to the domains used in my study, the results are similar. That is, in my study the most likely place for Arabic is the family, where the percentage of using English is very low, followed by the domains of 'friendship', 'media' and 'mosque'. The most likely place for English is the domain of 'university/work'. Thus, in both studies the domains in which the home languages; i.e., Arabic and Spanish, are most likely used are almost the same. Moreover, the distinction between Arabic and English among my informants is also similar to some extent to the distinction between Spanish and English among Mexican-Americans in San Antonio; Spanish is "encountered frequently in the sphere of many informal relations [e.g., home]" whereas English "dominates in the formal spheres of work, school, business, and so on" (Hayden 1966: 204).

However, despite this consistent compartmentalization in function between English and Arabic according to the different domains, there are sometimes various types of pressures, e.g., administrative, cultural, religious etc., in each domain that "influence the bilingual in the use of one language rather than the other" (Mackey 1968: 563-4). For example, in the domain of 'friendship' all the subjects use Arabic with their Arab friends unless there is a non-Arab with them. In this situation the kind of pressure that makes the subjects speak in Arabic or English is cultural. That is, it is the cultural pressure that it is inappropriate not to use Arabic; i.e., the home language, when talking to Arab friends, which makes the subjects speak in Arabic with their Arab friends. Similarly, it is the cultural pressure that it is inappropriate to use Arabic when talking to Arab friends in the presence of a non-Arab, which makes the subjects speak in English to their Arab friends when there is a non-Arab with them. Another example of such pressures can be found in the domain of 'university/work'. In this domain, the

administrative pressure which requires that English has to be used in class and in formal meetings with the administration directs those Arab bilinguals to use English in such settings, even when talking to Arab students, colleagues or friends with whom they would otherwise speak Arabic.

There is another type of pressure which I think is very important in the case of those Arabic-English bilinguals' language choice. Its importance is attributable to the fact that it applies to all the domains of language use, and that it always influences those bilinguals in the use of one particular language and not the other; i.e., English and not Arabic. This pressure can be referred to as the 'academic terminology gap' pressure. In other words, due to the worldwide dominant status of English in the field of science, and due to the fact that the Arab world is not advanced in science, the majority of Arab researchers and graduate students use the English terminology in the different fields of science. In fact, as most of the subjects say, it is easier for them to use the English terms than looking for the Arabic equivalents which are sometimes unclear[16]. Thus, whenever those bilinguals get involved in a conversation of academic or scientific nature, they use English terminology, regardless of the domain; i.e., whether they are at home, with friends, or even at mosque.

I observed this myself during the Arabic gatherings which I usually attend with my Arab friends; whenever we start talking about scientific or academic topics we use English terminology. I noticed this also during the participant observation. That is, I was shopping with one of the subjects, and we were accompanied by one of his Arab friends who studies with him in the same school. We were talking in Arabic, but when they started talking about their study, they used English terminology. This is the case also in the domain of 'home' according to what some subjects said in the interviews.

---

[16] For example, one of the subjects who studies Finance says that it is easier for him to use an English term like 'financial disclosure' than the Arabic equivalent.

For example, one of the subjects, who and his wife are both pharmacists, said that when he and his wife talk about scientific topics, they use English terminology.

When we compare the information obtained from the interviews with the information obtained from the participant observation in two families, we may sometimes find some kind of discrepancy between what the subjects reported about their language choice in the different domains and what really happens. For example, in the domain of 'home' one of the fathers said, like all the others, that he always talks to his children in Arabic, and that if they talk to him in English he answers in Arabic. However, during the participant observation which I made in this family, this father sometimes used English words when talking to his children. For instance, within fifteen minutes he used English words in his speech with children eleven times. Consider examples (1), (2), and (3) in which the father was asking his son in a friendly way about what he had done in school; and example (4) in which he was answering his other son who asked him how many times they would play on the stairs in their house:

(A) 1- 'amal-t   il-*homework*?[17]

Do.PAST-2MSG   DEF-*homework*?

'Did you do the *homework*?'

2- it-*teacher* 'aʔṭa-k   *sticker*?

DEF-*teacher*   give.PAST-2MSG *sticker*?

'Did the *teacher* give you a *sticker*?'

3- li'ib-t   bil-*bike*   illi   zay il-*horse*?

Play.PAST.2MSG   with.DEF-*bike*   that   like DEF-*horse*?

---

[17] The transliteration system used in this study follows the conventions of Arabic linguistics.

'Did you play with the *bike* which resembles the *horse*?'

4- Ha-nil'ab   'ala   s-sillim *three times, seven times,*

Will-play.1PL.1PL   on   DEF-stair *three times,   seven times,   ten*

times.

ten times.

'We will play on stairs *three times, seven times, and ten times.*'

And within the next fifteen minutes he used English words seven times as shown below:

(B) 1- inta   kunt *good boy*   in-naharda?

2MSG.   was   *good boy*   DEF-today

'Was you a *good boy* today?'

2- šil   i- *shoes*   bita'tak.

IMP.2MSG.take   DEF-*shoes*   yours.

'Take your *shoes.*'

3- 'i'ra   l-*story*   illi   gibta -ha

IMP.2MSG.read   DEF-*story*   that   2MSG.bring.PAST-3FSG

mil-   *school.*

from.DEF- *School.*

'Read the *story* that you brought from *school.*'

4- bukra   h-tru?   il-*school* wi   til'ab

Tomorrow   will-2MSG.go.   DEF-*school* and   2MSG.play.

bil-*ball.*

with-DEF *ball*.

    'Tomorrow you will go to *school* and play with the *ball*.'

In (1) the father was asking his son whether he behaved well in school; in (2) he was asking him to take his shoes and put them in the right place; in (3) he was answering his other son who asked what he (the son) would do after lunch; and in (4) he was answering the same son who asked when he could play football.

Thus, sometimes there is a kind of discrepancy between what is ideal and what is real. However, "this distinction between the ideal and the real ……. is not a matter of truth and falsehood, and should not be put in a negative light" (Saville-Troike 1989:118). It cannot affect the credibility of the information that this father gave in the interview. In fact, the two sets of examples given in (A) and (B) were observed in the first half an hour of the time I spent with this family: the first set was observed on the way home from school which took fifteen minutes; the second set, in which the number of English words decreased to almost the half, was observed in the first fifteen minutes after arriving at home. Thus, this use of English words may be an attempt of the father to get closer and accommodate to his children after spending seven hours at school. What supports this view is that for the rest of the time, which extended for three hours, the overwhelming majority of this father's speech with his children was in Arabic. Also, some of these words can be included under the words that most of the subjects said they are used to saying in English, e.g., school, teacher, homework, story, and sticker. Moreover, the credibility of the information can also be supported by the fact that almost all the subjects said the same thing in the interviews. Besides, during the participant observation with another family I noticed that the father was talking to his children almost only in Arabic, exactly as he said in the interview.

2.2.2 The second generation

The children speak Arabic very well except for the children in two families whose Arabic is not good[18]. Evidence of this is that, as the fathers said, they speak Arabic without making mistakes when they go to their home countries on vacations. They also understand spoken Arabic; for example, when they listen to a conversation in Arabic or when they watch Arabic movies, they understand the language. Thus, since they use Arabic at home, Arabic school, mosques, and also when involved in Arabic gatherings with older people, they are as good at speaking Arabic as they are at English. I noticed this during the participant observation. In the two families that I observed at home I dedicated some time for children. During this time we were playing and talking in Arabic about various things: school, friends, parents, toys, etc. I was talking to them only in Arabic, and they were responding in Arabic except for some words that they used to say in English, such as 'school, teacher, homework, story, book, etc.'

This competence in the two languages, along with the parents' instructions that teach them when to use Arabic or English, enable those bilingual children to make appropriate decisions about the use of one language rather than the other according to the situation (i.e., which language to use, and when). For example, during the participant observation in the two families, whenever the children started talking to me, they talked in Arabic. Thus, since they speak Arabic with their parents, the children took it by analogy that Arabic has to be used when talking to older Arab people. Moreover, in one of the two families when I asked a child whether he speaks English all the time at school, he said that when he plays with his friend Mohamed he speaks Arabic. Then, I asked him whether he speaks Arabic or English with a girl called Mozon, who goes to the same school. He said that he speaks English with this girl

---

[18] The parents in these families speak with their children mainly in English.

because she is not his friend. When I asked the father about Mohamed and Mozon, he said that his son and Mohamed are friends, while Mozon is not a friend of his son; he just used to meet her in the way to school. The father also said that his son always speaks to Mozon in English, while with Mohamed he usually speaks Arabic. Thus, we can say that the child associates the use of Arabic with the domain of friends, particularly in informal situations like playing.

However, the children are not as good at reading and writing in Arabic as they are in English. This is because the language they use for reading and writing is mostly English. Nevertheless, the Arabic schools play an important role in helping children learn reading and writing in Arabic. For example, some parents said that since their children go to Arabic schools, they are better in reading and writing in Arabic than their peers, in other families that the parents know, who do not. This is because in the Arabic schools children study the different subjects in Arabic, do their homework in Arabic, and also study Arabic language as a separate subject. On the other hand, in the case of the children who do not go to Arabic schools, teaching them reading and writing in Arabic is done at home by the parents, which is not done regularly.

2.2.2.1 Is the second generation going to maintain Arabic?

The question now is: if these families are to stay in Britain and not return home, are the children going to maintain Arabic? I think they will since there are many factors that can help them to preserve Arabic. The most important factor is the use of Arabic at home, which is consistently encouraged and emphasised by the parents. Using the community language at home is often cited as highly important in transmitting it intergenerationally, hence maintaining it, since it keeps the language functional; i.e., it continues to be used in daily life. For example, one of the important factors contributing

to the maintenance of Spanish in Miami is "the child-rearing practices in the Hispanic community that provide support for diglossia, with the home as the exclusive domain of Spanish" (Pearson and McGee 1993: 93, discussing Gaarder 1977, Garcia and Otheguy 1988, and Resnick 1988). Thus, the children's use of Arabic at home will help them maintain Arabic as a language for communication in the family and Arabic communities.

The importance of using the community language at home is emphasised by other researchers as well. For example, Hayden (1966: 190-205) investigates the community context of ethnic mother tongue maintenance; the investigation involves three languages in the U.S.A.: French in Fall River (Massachusetts), Spanish in San Antonio and New York, and Ukrainian in Olyphant (Pennsylvania) and Newark (New Jersey). One clear finding of the investigation is that "the active use of the ethnic mother tongue in the home is primarily responsible for enabling children to attain mastery of it. Without this the best of school instruction is likely to fall far short of functional mastery" (Hayden 1966: 198). Thus, the most successful communities in maintaining the mother tongue and transmitting it intergenerationally in Hayden's investigation are to be found among recent immigrants; i.e., Puerto Ricans in New York and Ukrainians in Newark, and also among the San Antonio immigrants (Hayden 1966: 198-199). In these communities the ethnic language is functional since it is used at home. On the contrary, the remaining two communities (the Ukrainians in Olyphant and the French in Fall River) have completely delegated the responsibility of maintaining their respective mother tongues to ethnic and even non-ethnic educational institutions (Hayden 1966: 198). Thus, their ethnic languages will become non-functional in daily life and unable to be transmitted intergenerationally.

The parents' consistent encouragement for their children is very important in making them use Arabic at home since it helps them form a positive opinion about

Arabic, such an opinion which makes them feel that they need Arabic as much as English. The importance of this encouraging attitude of the parents towards the children's use of Arabic can be better illustrated when we compare it with the elders' discouraging attitude towards the children's use of their ethnic heritage language in other communities and how it leads to the children's decision to stop using the language. Take, for instance, two of the minority languages in the United States: Chinook in the Pacific Northwest and Swedish in areas of the northern Midwest populated by Swedish immigrants. It is said that in both cases "the elders in the community laughed at the children for making mistakes in the community's ethnic-heritage language; unwilling to undergo continual teasing, the children simply switched completely and permanently to English" (Thomason 2001: 53).

Besides the parents' encouragement, in some families the mothers' limited skills in English is important in making children use Arabic at home. This conforms to the findings of the study conducted by Dabène and Moore (1995: 25-38) on the Algerian communities in the Grenoble area in France to examine the development of bilingual linguistic behaviour in migratory situations. Because women in these communities developed limited skills in the host language (since they often did not need to have extensive relations with the host society), they used the home language; i.e., Arabic, in family interaction. Other members of the family were, consequently, obliged to use the same language when speaking with them.

The roles of the parents' encouragement to children to use Arabic and of the mothers' limited proficiency in English in making children use Arabic at home can be better illustrated when compared with the role that these two factors play in other studies. Saville-Trioke (1989: 212-213) provides a study conducted by Kleifgen and others (1986) on three hundred children of foreign graduate students and visiting

faculties in America. They found a shift to English among children; however, with different degrees. The least shift was among Japanese and Korean children. One of the reasons for this is that the Japanese and Korean mothers generally spoke little or no English. The rate of shift among Arabic children was faster; one of the factors responsible for this is the value the parents placed on their children learning English and their encouragement to them in this direction.

Another important factor that will help children maintain Arabic is the wide availability of Arabic satellite channels nowadays. All these families are keen on having Arabic channels not only for entertainment but, more importantly, for the purpose of maintaining a link with their home language, so that children can maintain and speak Arabic. Even the only family that do not have an Arabic satellite intend to get one because, as the mother said, her children's peers who have Arabic channels at home speak and understand Arabic better than her children do. Although the children in these families prefer the English TV, they also like to watch the Arabic TV. In fact, there is a consensus among the parents that the children like the English TV more just because it shows cartoons that are more attractive than those shown on the Arabic TV. Indeed, English TV is more advanced than Arabic TV in this field. However, the parents said also that their children like watching Arabic movies and TV series because they find them interesting as well, and that the more they grow up, the more they like watching them[19].

A third factor is that all the families send their children to mosques to learn the Quran, where the teaching and communication with the teachers are in Arabic. Also, learning the Quran is itself a good way to learn Arabic although its language is to a great extent different from the various dialects of Arabic. Moreover, although "Koranic

---

[19] I noticed this, as mentioned previously, with the children in The Arabic School; they used to ask me about the meaning of colloquial words used in the Egyptian dialect of Arabic, which they heard on TV.

Arabic", as Fishman (1991: 360) describes it, is not the vernacular, everyday language of the Arabic community, it remains important in maintaining boundaries between the host culture and the minority culture, a factor which Fishman considers as the main issue in language maintenance. This is supported by the fact that Arabs regard "Koranic Arabic" as central to the practice of their faith. This belief helps language maintenance exactly as the belief that Armenian is the appropriate language of worship helps the maintenance of Armenian language in America and Syria (Saville-Trioke 1989: 205).

The role of the Arabic schools is also important in helping children maintain Arabic since in these schools children are intensively exposed to Arabic. That is, the teaching and communication with teachers are in Arabic, homework is done in Arabic, and Arabic is taught as a separate subject. Of course, it is unrealistic to place the whole responsibility of transmitting Arabic to children on schools. This is what the families are aware of quite well; they consider the role of the Arabic schools as integral to the role that they themselves must play to transmit Arabic to children. Schools are particularly important in maintaining Arabic literacy, especially because the Arabic script is completely different from the English script. Evidence for this is that children who go to Arabic schools are better at reading and writing than those who do not (cf. section 2.2.2).

The geographical proximity and ease of travel to the Arab world also help Arabic maintenance since it encourages the families to go regularly to the Arab world; thus, children have the chance to practise Arabic in a monolingual setting where they have to use Arabic in order to mingle and socialize. In one of the families who have been in Manchester for more than twenty years, the mother said that her children's Arabic remarkably improved when they started to go regularly to their home country

and spend vacations their. All these factors may be enough to maintain Arabic in the second, and even, the third generations.

3.   Chapter three: Patterns of language mixing

3.1   Code-switching versus code-mixing

Code-switching can generally be defined as the use of two or more languages by the same speaker during the same conversation. According to Myers-Scotton it "is the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation" (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 4).The matrix language in her definition refers to the main language in code-switching utterances, while the embedded language is the other language (or languages) which is also used in the code-switching utterance, but with a lesser degree. Whether the home language of bilinguals/multilinguals is the matrix or embedded language, and the patterns of code-switching that they use reflect their language choice and the home language maintenance/shift.

Code-switching can be either intersentential or intrasentential. Intersentential code-switching refers to the alternation of two languages between utterances. According to Myers-Scotton, it "involves switches from one language to the other between sentences: a whole sentence (or more than one sentence) is produced entirely in one language before there is a switch to the other language(s) in use in the conversation" (Myers-Scotton 1993b: 3-4). Intrasentential code-switching refers to the use of two languages within the same sentence or the same utterance. It is sometimes referred to as code-mixing. For example, Muysken (2000: 1) uses "the term code-mixing to refer to all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in

one sentence" and the term code-switching "for the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event". In the present study, I am concerned with intrasentential code-switching; i.e., code-mixing, as Muysken refers to it. I will discuss its structural and functional aspects. The terms intrasentential code-switching, code-mixing, and switching will be used interchangeably.

3.2 The structural aspects of Code-mixing among the first generation

Muysken (2000: 3) differentiates between three patterns of code-mixing: 'insertion', 'alternation', and 'congruent lexicalization'. I am concerned here with the first two since they are the patterns that I noticed in my subjects' speech during the interviews and the participant observation.

Insertion is the most attested type of code-mixing in the subjects' speech. It refers to the use of "material (lexical items or entire constituents) from one language into a structure from the other language" (Muysken 2000: 3). Insertion occurs at specific points in the utterance, not randomly. There is also variation in what can be inserted, and this differs according to the languages used: "in some languages this consists mostly of adverbial phrases, in others mostly single nouns, and yet others again determiner + noun combinations" (Muysken 2000: 5).

During the interviews and the participant observation the subjects inserted words and phrases from English (i.e., the embedded language) in the course of their speaking in Arabic (i.e., the matrix language). For example:

(1) 'awlad-i   'andu-hum   *good understanding.*

    Children-1SG   have-3MPL   *good understanding.*

    'My children have *good understanding.*'

(2) Hat-   li   *glass of water.*

43

IMP.2MSG.bring- to1SG   *glass of water*.

'Bring me *a glass of water*.'

Here we have a noun phrase insertion into Arabic sentences. The inserted element is a constituent. This conforms to one of the features of insertional code-mixing as given by Muysken; i.e., the 'adjacency principle' which states that "if in a code-mixed sentence two adjacent elements are drawn from the same language, an analysis is preferred in which ....These elements form a unit" (Muysken 2000: 61).

Another feature of insertion, as given by Muysken (2000: 63), which matches what I found, is that the inserted elements tend to be content words, e.g., nouns, adjectives, etc., rather than function words. Consider these examples:

(3) ʻašan   kul i-*society*   kida.

Because   all   DEF-*society*   like this.
'Because all the *society* is like this.'

(4) ʻšan   kul il-*muscles* mitʻawwid-a   ʻla kida.

. Because   all   DEF-*muscles*   are used to.PRES.PART-3PL   on   this.
'Because all the *muscles* are used to this.'

(5) Mumkin in-nas   taʻtaqid   in   il-biʻa   hina

Possible   DEF-people PRES.think.3PL   that DEF-environment   here

mumkin   tinassi-na   i-*religion*.

possible   3FSG.CAUS.forget-1PL   DEF-*religion*.
'Poeple may think that the environment here can make us forget the *religion*.'

44

(6) ′i-ššariʔ   biykun bil-ʻarabi lakin fih   qalil min

    DEF-explanation   be.PRES with.Arabic   but   there is   little   from

 i- *translation.*

    DEF-*translation.*

    'Explaining is in Arabic but there is little *translation*.'

(7) law ma ʻind-u   *background* ′il-*communication* biykun

    If   NEG   have-3MSG *background*   DEF-*communication*   be.PRES

    ʔaʻib.

    difficult.

    'If he does not have a *background*, the *communication* is difficult.'

 In these examples the inserted element is a noun and is preceded by the Arabic definite
article. That is, the switch occurs between the article and the noun. This contradicts
Lipski's view that switching between the article and the noun is impossible, but
supports the findings of Pfaff which prove that this type of switch does occur (Muysken
2000:13, discussing Lipski 1978 & Pfaff 1979).

    Adjectives, also, were inserted; for example:

(8) saʻat nilaʻi   nafsi-na *strange* fil- mugtamaʻ da.

    Sometimes PRES.find.1PL   ourselves *strange* in.DEF-society   this.

    'Sometimes we find ourselves *strange* in this society.'

(9) Mumkin akun   ′na   *excited* min musalsal lakin

    Possible PRES.be.1SG   1SG.   *excited*   from   a series   but

    ibn-i   muš fahim.

45

son-1SG   NEG   3MSG.understand.PRES.PART

'I may be *excited* at a series whereas my son does not understand.'

These adjectives are not preceded by the Arabic definite article; however, in the following examples the subjects switched between the article and the adjective:

(10)   Mumkin in-nas   ta'taqid   'in il-bi'a   hina

Possible DEF-people PRES.Think.3PL that DEF-environment here

mumkin tinassi-na   i-*religion* lakin il-*opposite*

possible 3FSG.CAUS.forget-1PL DEF-*religion* but   DEF-*opposite*

tamaman.

totally

'People may think that the environment here can make us forget the *religion*, but the *opposite* is absolutely true.'

(11)   'l-wagib   il-*easy* biy'mil-u   bi-nafsuhum.

DEF-homework DEF-*easy* PRES.do-3PL.3MSG with-themselves.

'They do the *easy* homework themselves.'

(12)   'l- 'awlad   biyšuf-u   kul il-*programs* il- *English*.

DEF-children   PRES.watch-3PL   all DEF-*programs* DEF-*English*

'Children watch all the *English programs.*'

Although the insertion of nouns and adjectives is common in my subjects' speech, the insertion of verbs is rare. There are only two cases of verb insertion as given below:

(13)   ma- *cancel*- t- iš   il- mi'ad.

NEG-*cancel*- 1SG- NEG   DEF-appointment.

'I did not *cancel* the appointment.'

(14)   ma- *sayyif*- t- iš   il- malaffat.

NEG-*save*- 1SG- NEG   DEF-files.

'I did not *save* the files.'

Notice that the English verb is integrated fully into the verb inflection pattern of Arabic, and this includes the marking of tense and person as well as negation. Moreover, in the case of 'save' it is also integrated into the derivation pattern of Arabic verbs, and this is accompanied by phonological adaptation in the pronunciation of the verb. That is, the verb is used as a transitive causative verb in the same way in which Arabic tri-consonantal verb roots are changed to transitive causative. For example, the verb *nazala*, 'get down', in Arabic becomes 'nazzala' in the transitive causative by doubling the second consonant 'z'. In the case of 'save' it is changed to 'sayyif'. Thus, the first part of the diphthong /ei/ in the English verb 'save' is reinterpreted as part of the derivation pattern, and the second part is reinterpreted as a consonant representing the second consonant of a tri-consonantal root, and gets doubled. Moreover, the English /v/ sound is changed to /f/ to conform to the Arabic sound system which does not have /v/.

Since 'cancel' and 'save' are inserted between the two particles of negation in Egyptian Arabic, we can say that this conforms to Muysken's (2000: 63) view that insertion "tends to exhibit a nested a b a structure [i.e.,] the fragment preceding the insertion and the fragment following are grammatically related".

To sum up this point, we can say that in Arabic/English mixed utterances the inserted elements tend to be content words like nouns and adjectives, but not verbs, which tend to come from Arabic, the matrix language. This agrees with the view of Nait M'barek and Sankoff (1988) that in Moroccan Arabic/French mixed utterances the

inserted French elements; i.e., the embedded language elements, tend to be nouns and noun phrases, but not verbs, which tend to come from Moroccan Arabic; i.e., the matrix language (cited in Muysken 2000: 82).

There is an alternative view in which the use of 'cancel' and 'save', in the examples above, can be explained. According to Poplack's "Free- Morpheme" constraint, switching can occur "after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme" (Poplack 1980: 585). 'Cancel' and 'save' are used after a bound morpheme; i.e., the negation particle. Therefore, they cannot be considered as switches. Alternatively, they are cases of nonce borrowing.

Adjective/noun insertion from English into the speech of my subjects has two forms. Examples of the first are given in (15), (16), and (17):

(15) ′inta ′axa-t   *blue toy*.

      2MSG   take.PAST-2MSG   *blue toy*.
      'Did you get a *blue toy*?'

(16) ′awlad-i ′andu-hum   *good understanding.*

      Children-1SG have-3PL   *good understanding*.
      'My children have *good understanding*'

(17) Humma gir naʔiq-in   bil-   ′arabi yaʕni

       3MPL   NEG   3MPL.speak.PRES.PART   with.DEF- Arabic   means

       different nationalities.

       different   nationalities
       'They are not Arabic speaking; they are from *different nationalities*.'

Here the internal structure of the inserted English constituent (the embedded language constituent), is different from that of Arabic (the matrix language). In other words, in English the adjective precedes the noun that it modifies, while in Arabic the adjective follows the noun. Nevertheless, the insertion occurs without any difficulty because the placement of the embedded constituent conforms to the rules of the matrix language in which it is inserted. This is the view of Sridhar and Sridhar (1980: 412), represented in their 'Dual-structure' principle which states:

> "The internal structure of the guest constituent [EL constituent] need not conform to the constituent structure rules of the host language [ML], so long as its placement in the host sentence obeys the rules of the host language".

In the second form, however, the internal structure of the embedded language constituent is modified to obey the rules of the matrix language; i.e., Arabic. Consider these examples:

(18) law fi *program interesting* bin-šuf-u.

    If   there is *program   interesting*   PRES.see.1PL-3MSG.

    'If there is *an interesting program*, we watch it.'

(19) 'ana 'andi   fil- bit *satellite Arabic*.

    1SG   have.PRES   in.DEF- home *satellite   Arabic*.

    'I have *an Arabic satellite* connection at home.'

In these examples the head-first noun phrase system of Arabic is followed, rather than the head-last noun phrase system of English. Thus, the adjective follows the noun.

Moreover, there are cases in which an English adjective is inserted to modify an Arabic noun within the Arabic sentence as in (20):

(20) ka-qaʕda *general* ʔastaxdim   il-luga   il-muštaraka.

As-rule   *general*   PRES.use.1SG   DEF-language DEF-common.

'As a *general* rule, I use the common language.'

There are also cases in which the opposite is attested. That is, an Arabic adjective is used to modify an inserted English noun as in (21):

(21) haniʔra   *story* ʔadima.

Will.read.1PL   *story*   old.

'We will read the old *story*.'

Notice, however, that the Arabic word order is followed in (20) and (21); i.e., the adjective follows the noun. Thus, in Poplack's view, these are not switches since, according to her equivalence constraint, "a switch is inhibited from occurring within a constituent generated by a rule from one language which is not shared by the other" (1980: 586).

The other type of code-mixing which was attested, although to a much lesser degree than insertion, is 'alternation'. Alternation is a "strategy of mixing, in which the two languages present in the clause remain relatively separate" (Muysken 2000: 96).

Muysken (2000) gives some diagnostic features that characterises alternational code-mixing, based on the types of alternation found in French/Dutch code-mixing in Brussels (Treffers-Daller 1994). Some of these features apply to what I found. For example, Muysken (2000: 96) states that using "several constituents in sequence" from the embedded language (i.e., English) into a sentence from the matrix language (i.e., Arabic) is considered alternation. This applies to (22), in which we have a sequence of two constituents: 'here' and 'around my place':

(22) ma-fi-š   maʔillat kitira *here around my place.*

NEG-there are-NEG shops many *here around my place*.

'There are not many shops *here around my place*.'

Muysken argues also that "when the switched string is preceded and followed by elements from the other language, elements not structurally related, it is likely to be a case of alternation" (Muysken 2000: 97). This applies to these examples in which the elements preceding and following the embedded string are not structurally related:

(23) binitkallim   'arabi lakin ka-'usra *including our*

PRES.speak.1PL   Arabic   but   as-family   *including   our*

children lazim   yikun   fi   šwayya   nglizi.

children   should   be.PRES   there is   some   English.

'We speak Arabic but as a family, *including our children*, there should be some English.'

(24) lakin iʔna *encouraging them*   yitkalim-u   'arabi.

But   1PL   *encourage*   *them*   PRES.speak-3MPL.   Arabic

'But we *encourage them* to speak in Arabic.'

(25) sa'at   ya'ni *they send leaflets*   wi 'ašya '   tanya.

Sometimes means   *they   send   leaflets*   and thing.PL   other.

'Sometimes *they send leaflets* and other things.'

Another feature is that "the more complex structure a switched fragment contains, the more likely that it is a case of alternation rather than insertion" (Muysken 2000: 97). In the examples below, the fragments 'I don't lose anything' and 'we have to talk in English' are full sentences; therefore, they should be treated as cases of alternation:

51

(26) ʿašan amma nirgaʿ   balad-na *we don't lose anything*.

Because when   PRES.return.1PL   country-1PL *we don't lose anything*.

'In order *not to lose anything* when we return to our country.'

(27) lakin maʿa il-ʾidara   *we have to talk in English*.

But   with   DEF-administration *we have to talk in English*.

'But with the administration, *we have to talk in English*.'

Notice that the switch in these examples occurred between clauses, which conforms to Muysken's (2000: 99) view that "if the switch takes place at a major clause boundary, alternation is a plausible option".

Moreover, English adverbs were sometimes used by my informants; for example:

(28) *just* inna-k   tiʿmil   iš-šiʾ   da.

Just   that- 2MSG   PRES.do.2MSG   DEF-thing.   this

'You *just* do this thing.'

(29) ma-yiʿraf-u-š   in il-walad *already*

NEG-PRES.know-3MPL-NEG   that DEF-boy   *already*

fi biʾa   ingliziyya.

in   environment   English.

'They do not know that the boy is *already* in an English environment.'

(30) ʾil-kalam   biykun *mainly* bil- ʿarabi.

DEF-speech   be.PRES *mainly*   with.DEF- Arabic.

'The speech is *mainly* in Arabic.'

These are most likely cases of alternation since "the switched element [i.e., the adverb] is at the periphery of the sentence [i.e., not central to the core proposition]" (Muysken 2000: 100).

Thus, as shown above, in all examples Arabic is the matrix language while English is the embedded language; i.e., Arabic is the main language in which forms from English are embedded. This indicates that Arabic is the dominant language, hence reflects Arabic maintenance. Moreover, the most attested type of switching is insertion; this also reflects Arabic maintenance. In other words, insertion characterises "recent migrant communities where there is a considerable asymmetry in the speakers' proficiency in the two languages" (Muysken 2000: 9). Thus, insertion is the most common type of switching in the informants' speech since they are recent immigrants and are much more proficient in Arabic than English; hence, Arabic is the dominant language in their speech. In fact, it does not require much proficiency in English to insert English elements in Arabic utterances.

3.3 The motivations for code-mixing among the first generation and its functional aspects

In this section I will give some explanations for intrasentential code-switching (or code mixing) in the informants' speech and discuss its functional aspects.

There are different proposals concerning the motivations for switching. Gumperz (1982), for instance, handled the conversational aspects of code-switching. He defines conversational code-switching as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (Gumperz 1982: 59). He argues that this type of switch is triggered by

factors within the conversation itself. For example, bilinguals juxtapose two languages to metaphorically signal the contrast between parts of the conversation. He separates this 'metaphorical switch' from 'situational switching', "a shift in topic and in other extralinguistic context markers that characterize the situation" (Gumperz 1982: 98). He also introduces the idea that code-switching is "contextualization cue"; i.e., it helps the participants in conversation to interpret the relations between utterances (Gumperz 1982: 98). Gumperz gives a number of conversational functions of code-switching; i.e., points in conversation at which switching tends to occur. These include "quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, etc." (Gumperz 1982: 75-80).

Auer (1995), as well, attempts to account for the conversational functions of code-switching. He gives a number of "conversational loci in which switching is particularly frequent." These include "reported speech, side-comments, reiteration, etc."(Auer 1995: 120). Auer emphasises also that the meaning of code-switching "depends in essential ways on its 'sequential environment'"; that is, on the preceding and the following utterances (Auer 1995: 116).

Myers-Scotton (1993a) deals with the socio-psychological motivations for codeswitching. In her "markedness model" she proposes that "speakers have a sense of markedness regarding available linguistic codes for any interaction, but choose their codes based on the persona and/or relation with others which they wish to have in place" (Scotton 1993a: 74). Speakers generally make the unmarked choice because it is the expected choice which conveys no surprises. However, they sometimes make the marked choice, which is intended to convey a particular message.

Thus, there are various explanations for the different instances of switching in my subjects' speech. Consider, for instance, the following example:

(1) 'adatan il-luga   l-'arabiyya ba?is

54

Usually   DEF-language DEF-Arabic   PRES.feel.1SG

inna-ha ʹafʔal ʻašan ʹawlad-i   yismaʻ-u

that-3FSG better   because children-1SG PRES.listen-3MPL

l- lahga l- maʔriyya wi ykun   ʻandu-hum

DEF-dialect   DEF-Egyptian   and   be.PRES   have-3MPL

good understanding.

good understanding.

> 'Usually I use Arabic. I feel it is better in order for my children to listen to the Egyptian dialect and understand it.'

In this example a female teacher, who teaches Arabic to non-Arabs in an Islamic high school for girls, was answering a question about which language she uses at home. She gave this utterance in Arabic which ended in English. The motivation for switching here is that the speaker is activating association with another domain; that is, the domain of work or school in which she uses English almost all the time since she works in an English school with non- speakers of Arabic. There are two reasons that support this view. The first is that the interview took place at school; i.e., in her work place which is associated with the use of English as a means of communication. In fact, she is the only one in my subjects that I interviewed at work, and she is the one who most switched during the interview. The second reason is relating to the English lexical items that she inserted; i.e., 'good understanding'. As mentioned above, she teaches Arabic to non-Arab students. Therefore, it is natural for her as a teacher to use such lexical items during work either with students or with the administration, especially if we take into account that she teaches reading comprehension, listening and other language skills.

This is obvious in other instances in which she code-mixed; for example:

(2) il-luga   l- 'arabiyya sawa' fir-   raʔalat   illi

DEF-language   DEF- Arabic   either   in.DEF- trips   that

bni'mil-ha   'aw fit- tagammu'at   wi da

PRES.make.1PL-3PL   or   in.DEF- gatherings   and   this

'afʔal in iʔna nitkalim   bil-   *mother tongue.*

Better   that   1PL   PRES.speak.1PL   with.DEF- *mother tongue*.

'We use Arabic either on the trips that we organize or in the gatherings; it
is better to speak in the *mother tongue*.'

(3) fi   'a'ilat   ma- byitkalim-u-š   'arabi ma'a

there are   families   NEG-PRES.speak-3MPL-NEG   Arabic   with

l- 'awlad 'ašan   yi'mil-u-lhum   *improving*

DEF-children   because   PRES.make-3MPL- to 3PL   *improving*

lil- *English.*

to.DEF-*English*.

'There are families that do not speak Arabic with the children to improve
their English.'

(4) Fit- tadris   batkalim   'arabi 'ašan 'andu-hum

In.DEF-teaching   speak.PRES.1SG   Arabic because have-3MPL

speaking, reading, writing.

Speaking,   reading,   writing.

'In teaching I speak Arabic because they have *speaking, reading* and *writing*.'

In (2), she was answering a question about the language that she uses with her Arab friends. She gave this utterance in Arabic and inserted the English phrase 'mother tongue', which she uses in teaching to refer to her students' home languages and how they differ from or resemble Arabic. In (3), she was giving an answer to a question about which language she uses with her children. Thus, she inserted the English word 'improving' which she uses at school when talking about her students' progress in learning. Finally, in (4) when I asked her about which language she uses in teaching, she inserted three English words, which are all the names of language skills subjects, in her speech.

The frequent instances of switching in this teacher's speech may also be attributable to her competence in Arabic and English: Arabic due to her being an Arab; English due to receiving her education in Egypt in English, as she said, and living in Manchester for eight years. Nevertheless, this view loses credit when we know that some of the informants have been living and working in Manchester for more than fifteen years, hence, they must be competent in English. However, I can hardly find any instance of switching in their speech during the interviews. Consequently, there should be another explanation. In the case of this school teacher, it is the first explanation given above; that is, she activates association with the domain of work.

In the following example, as well, the trigger for the switching is the integration of another domain; i.e., the domain of mosque or religion:

(5) Mumkin in-nas   taʕtaqid   in   il-biʔa   hina

Possible DEF-people   PRES.think.3PL   that   DEF-environment   here

mumkin tinassi-na   i-*religion* lakin il-*opposite*

possible 3FSG.CAUS.forget-1PL   DEF-*religion*   but   DEF-*opposite*

tamaman.

totally

'People may think that the environment here can make us forget the

religion, but the *opposite* is absolutely true.'

This utterance was said by one of the subjects while answering a question about whether he goes regularly to mosque. He always hears the word 'religion' being said in English at the mosque to which he goes, especially during the 'Friday's weekly speech' which is given in English since this mosque is overwhelmingly used by non-Arabs. Thus, the speaker, by referring to religion in English, is activating association with the domain of mosque.

Sometimes the subjects used English discourse markers while speaking in Arabic. Consider the following example in which the subject was answering a question about whether he uses Arabic or English with Arab workers in shops:

(6) *Once* inn-i   'a'raf   inn-u   'arabi

Once that-1SG   PRES.know.1SG   that-3MSG   Arabic

batkallim   'arabi.

PRES.speak.1SG   Arabic.

'*Once* I know he is an Arab, I speak Arabic.'

Using an English discourse marker in this example may be because "discourse markers must be highly salient within the discourse which they help structure"; the use of a foreign language highlights this saliency (Rooij 1996, cited in Muysken 2000: 114). Although I prefer this explanation, there is an alternative possible explanation. That is, an English marker is the first form that comes to the speaker's mind in this context.

58

This has to do with the specific function of discourse markers as monitoring-and-directing operators to the hearer's responses, which impose a stronger processing load, and where there is therefore a stronger cognitive pressure to simplify. The speaker would then be simplifying his language inventory by choosing the one, English marker for all occasions, regardless of whether the context is Arabic or English (Matras 2000).

Switching serves other functions in conversation. For example, Auer (1995: 120) gives a number of conversational loci where switching is frequent, e.g., "reported speech" and "reiteration". Consider these instances in my subjects' speech:

(7)   Mainly   English ya'ni   s-sit   ti?ki-li

         Mainly   English   means   DEF-wife   PRES.say-to 1SG

         bid-na   *underwear*   lil- wilad,

         PRES.want-1PL.   *underwear*   to.DEF-children,

         bid-hum   *training suits.*

         PRES.want-3MSG.   *training suits.*
         'Mainly English; for example, my wife says to me, "We want *underwear* for children and they want *training suits.*" '

(8) 'adatan il-luga   l-'arabiyya lakin fi   ba'? kalimat

         Usually   DEF-language DEF-Arabic but   there are   some   words

         Ingliziyya, ya'ni gal-it-li   bukra 'indi-na

          English   means say.PAST-2FSG-to 1SG tomorrow have-1PL

         shopping wi l-wilad   'indu-hum   *parents day.*

         shopping   and DEF-children   have-3MPL   *parents day.*

'Usually Arabic, but there are some English words; for example, she said to me, "Tomorrow we have *shopping*, and the children have *parents day*." '

Example (7) is an answer from a subject to a question about the language that he uses in shopping for clothes. He said that it is mainly English and started telling me that his wife uses English when saying the things that she wants. Thus, he reported the words that his wife says in English in the same language that she uses; i.e., English. In (8) the same speaker was answering a question about the language that he uses with his wife. He said that it is mainly Arabic, but sometimes they use English words. Then, he started telling me about his wife when she said to him that the next day they had to do 'shopping', and that the children had 'parents day'. Thus, during speaking in Arabic he reported the words that his wife said in English, using English; i.e., in the language in which they were originally said.

Moreover, sometimes the subjects 'reiterated' what they said in Arabic by translating it into English; for example:

(9)   Law binitkallim ʻan mawʔuʻ ʻam *general topic*

If   PRES.talk.1PL about topic general *general topic*

binitkallim inglizi ʻašan iš-šaxʔ il-gir ʻarabi

PRES.talk.1PL English   because DEF-person DEF-NEG Arabic

yifham.

PRES.understand.

'If we are talking about a *general topic*, we use English in order for the non-Arab person to understand.'

(10) ʻand-i   birnamig yawmi yimaris   il- kitaba

Have-1SG   program   daily   PRES.practice.3MSG   DEF- writing

il-*practice* li-mudit   saʻa.

DEF-*practice*   to-duration   an hour.

'I have a daily program in which he practices writing for an hour.'

Example (9) is an answer to a question about the language this subject uses when talking to an Arab friend in the presence of a non-Arab. After saying 'general topic' in Arabic, he reiterated by translating it into English for the purpose of emphasis and clarification. In (10) another subject is answering a question about what he does to teach his children reading and writing in Arabic. After saying 'practices writing' in Arabic, he translated it into English using the English word 'practice'. Again, the translation here is for the purpose of clarification and emphasis.

Sometimes switching serves as a strategy to indicate solidarity and closeness to the addressee. Consider this example in which a father was addressing his son:

(11) hat-   li   *glass of water*.

IMP.2MSG.Bring- to 1SG   *glass of water*.

'Bring me *a glass of water*.'

I noticed this example during the participant observation in one of the families at home. The father was playing and speaking with his son in a very friendly way. Then he asked his son to bring him a glass of water, inserting the English noun phrase 'glass of water' into his Arabic utterance. The father, here, is accommodating to his son to get his approval by using the same language that his son uses to reduce the dissimilarities between them. What supports this view is that the son speaks Arabic and English well and sometimes switches in the same way when asking for things. For example, he once

said to his father, " ʿawiz *juice*", 'I want *juice*'. Although it is difficult to say who

influences who, we can say that the father is using the language of his son for the

purpose of accommodation. This agrees with the view of Giles and Powesland (1997:

234) that sometimes the purpose of accommodation is "causing the sender to be

perceived more favourably."

In most cases, however, the motivation for switching is that there are certain

words that the subjects are used to saying in English. Consider these examples:

(12) batkallim   inglizi lamma baʿmil   *shopping.*

      PRES.talk.1SG   English   when   PRES.do.1SG   *shopping*.

      'I speak in English when I do *shopping*.'

(13) batkallim   ʿarabi lakin fi   mawaqif

      PRES.talk.1SG   Arabic   but   there are   situations

binitkallim   inglizi zay ʿand i- *G.P.*

      PRES.talk.1PL   English   like   at   DEF-*G.P.'s*

      'I speak Arabic but there are situations, e.g., at the *G.P.'s*, in which

      we speak English.'

In (12) the subject was answering a question about the language he uses in shopping; he

said 'shopping' in English. In (13) another subject was answering a question about the

language he uses with his wife; he said 'G.P.' (General Practitioner) using English.

During the interviews the subjects frequently used these words and other words, as well,

e.g., 'contract, daily ticket, and computer cluster' in the course of their speaking in

Arabic. They are used to saying these words in English because it is easier for them to

use the English word than looking for the Arabic equivalent, which is sometimes very

difficult to find since these words were first encountered by the subjects in England. This applies also to the academic terminology that is associated with study, such as 'viva, panel, supervisor, etc.'

Certain words that are associated with children were frequently said in English by many subjects. These include 'school, teacher, homework, toy' and the names of some beverages like 'milk and juice'. The trigger for these switches is relating to a particular sphere of experience; i.e., the children's world of experience. In other words, the children always refer to their school, teacher and homework using English. They also ask their parents for juice and milk using English. Thus, the parents get used to saying these words using the same language that their children use when saying them. That is, the parents are quoting their children. What supports this view is that during one of the interviews one of the fathers referred to 'juice' and 'milk' using English, whereas he referred to other beverages like 'tea' and 'coffee', which children do not usually drink or ask for, using the Arabic names.

To sum up, the motivations for switching in the informants' speech are restricted to a specific set. Even within the set itself some motivations, e.g., being used to saying certain words in English and activating association with other domains, are the most frequent. This means that the informants' reliance on switching is restricted to a limited group of conversational functions, and that they rely on Arabic for fulfilling most of these functions. This reflects Arabic maintenance since it shows that Arabic is functional in the daily life. Such a view is supported by the fact that they are recent immigrants and are much more proficient in Arabic than English.

4. Chapter four: The status of Arabic schools in Manchester and the status of Arabic in Manchester City Council's services

4.1 The status of Arabic schools in Manchester

There are many Arabic schools in Manchester; Arab children go to these schools besides the English schools. For example, there are two Libyan schools, a Jordanian school and a Saudi school[20]. I visited these schools and interviewed the head teachers and some teachers[21]. The two Libyan schools; i.e., the Jamahiriya School and the Arabic School teach the curricula, e.g., Arabic, Geography, Maths, etc. , that are taught in schools in Libya. They work three days a week outside normal school hours. The first is sponsored by the Libyan government. It has about 300 students, mostly Libyans, from the elementary until the secondary stage. The latter is not sponsored by the Libyan government, but is registered in the Diversity and Inclusion Team, Education Department, Manchester City Council, and receives funds from it. It has about 150 students, mostly Libyans, from level 1 until level 9.

The Jordanian School and the Saudi School teach the Jordanian and the Saudi curricula respectively. They work three days outside normal school hours. The first is registered in the D.I.T. and receives funds from it. It has about 100 students from different Arab countries from the elementary until the secondary stage. The latter is

---

[20] There are also two English Islamic schools in which Arabic is taught: The Islamic High School for Girls and The Islamic High School for Boys. However, the number of Arab students in these schools is very small. In these schools Arabic is an obligatory subject from level 7. After level 9 students have the option to continue the GCSE in Arabic.
[21] All these schools are monolingual Arabic schools, and all the teachers are Arabs, either studying or living in Manchester.

sponsored by the Saudi government. It has about 200 students from different Arab countries from the elementary until the secondary stage.

According to the Coordinator of Support for Supplementary Schools, the registration of these schools in the D.I.T. is optional. But they do not receive funds unless they are registered and meet certain criteria, e.g., being voluntary schools, serving their community, and being open to everyone. Moreover, the team has no legal inspection on the schools registered in it; there are only monitoring visits to see how schools are run and give suggestions. Also, the team does not require these schools to teach certain curricula.

The Arabic schools provide the opportunity for children to receive education in Arabic. As mentioned above, children go to both English and Arabic schools. Thus, besides receiving education in English in the English schools, children receive education also in Arabic in the Arabic schools. Consequently, we can say that, for children, the English schools and the Arabic schools are two separate domains of language use: in the former, English is used while in the latter, Arabic.

Ethnic schools play an important role in maintaining the minority language literacy, which in turn helps language maintenance (cf. section 1.4.2.). For example, stage 5 in Fishman's (1991) model of reversing language shift emphasises that arresting language shift requires community language literacy through agencies or institutions that are under the ethnic group's control and that do not need to satisfy the dominant group's standards regarding compulsory education (cf. section 1.4.5). Ethnic schools are one of these institutions. As shown above, the Arabic schools play an important role in promoting Arabic literacy among children; they teach the curricula taught in schools in different Arab countries, and the medium of instruction is always Arabic. As the findings of the study show, children who go to Arabic schools are better in reading and

writing Arabic than those who do not (cf. section 2.2.2). Also, all these schools are run and controlled by members of the Arabic community, and they set their own policies regarding curricula, methods and teachers, even those that are registered in the D.I.T.

4.2 The status of Arabic in Manchester City Council's services

The council considers providing information to the public in their own languages as its responsibility. It has a translation department whose main function is to provide translation services in different languages including Arabic. Thus, when an Arab asks for information in Arabic, the council provides it in order to achieve the goal of providing its services to everybody on equal basis. For instance, one can get information in Arabic about housing, social services and education (e.g., information about the most suitable school for his/her children). The council also provides booklets and leaflets in Arabic about its services. Generally, any document by the council can be provided in Arabic if requested.

In addition, the council's advice telephone lines have Arabic speakers to give advice in Arabic. Moreover, the translation department has Arabic interpreters who are always available and ready to go anywhere when requested, e.g., in police stations, courts, hospitals, etc. These interpreters work full time and receive good salaries. There are also free lance Arabic interpreters who are employed as part-time or supplementary interpreters, so that they can be called when full-time interpreters are occupied. The department is keen on having qualified translators; hence, it gives the priority to native speakers of Arabic. It gets interpreters by advertising in the local and national newspapers, and the council's news letter. Then it selects the most qualified applicants as implied by their CVs and after giving them written and spoken tests. It also gives them training and an induction course before starting work.

This interest in Arabic language and the Arabic community in Manchester is due to the increasing number of Arabs that come to Manchester either for educational purposes or seeking political asylum as in the case of those from Iraq and Libya. As the translation department's deputy manager says, the department provides between four and five interpretation sessions in Arabic everyday in different places.

As shown above, Arabs can use Arabic to carry out all their dealings in Manchester City Council and in other locations, as well. Thus, the council can be considered as one of the domains in which Arabic can be used (this is actually the case with some Arabs whose English proficiency is too low to communicate in English). This shows a good rate of Arabic maintenance. For example, stage 1 in Fishman's (1991) model asserts the importance of some government activities being offered in the community language in reversing language shift (cf. section 1.4.5). This is the case in Manchester; some government activities are provided in Arabic.

5. Chapter five: Conclusion

The findings of the study show signs of Arabic maintenance in the informant families. The parents assign different functions to each of the two languages, Arabic and English. Arabic is used consistently at home (either between the parents or between the parents and their children), with friends, in news and entertainment media, and also at mosques. English is used consistently at university/work, in formal situations in general, when talking to non-Arabs, and in shops. This diglossia indicates Arabic maintenance. There are sometimes situations in which both languages overlap within the same domain; however, this occurs in a few cases due to different types of pressures, e.g., cultural, administrative, etc., that cause those bilinguals to use one language rather than the other.

Code-switching, as a strategy in communication other than assigning each code to specific domains, was observed in the informants' speech. This is confined to intrasentential code-switching, or following Muysken (2000) code-mixing, specifically, insertion and alternation. However, insertion is the most common; this reflects Arabic maintenance since it indicates that the informants are more proficient in Arabic than English which is true due to their being recent immigrants. That is, insertion is the most frequent since it does not require much proficiency in English; it is just the use of English forms, e.g., lexical items or constituents, in utterances dominated by Arabic. Thus, in all the instances of switching in the informants' speech Arabic is the matrix or main language in which elements from English are embedded. The motivations for switching in the informants' speech are restricted to a specific set, e.g., activating association with other domains, reporting speech, reiterating, accommodating to the addressee, being used to saying certain words in English, etc. However, within this set some motivations; e.g., being used to saying certain words in English and activating

association with other domains, are the most frequent. Thus, the informants' reliance on switching is restricted to a limited group of conversational functions; i.e., they rely on Arabic for fulfilling most of these functions. This means that Arabic is functional in their life, which reflects Arabic maintenance.

Children use Arabic with parents at home, teachers at mosques and Arabic schools and older people. With each other, they mostly use English; however, the parents and teachers continually urge them to use Arabic. This has a good result in making them speak Arabic with each other as the parents say. Children mostly read English stories. Moreover, they prefer English TV; however, they also like watching Arabic movies and TV series. Children are not as good at reading and writing in Arabic as they are at speaking and listening. Nevertheless, Arabic schools play an important role in maintaining Arabic literacy among them.

Children will maintain Arabic since there are many factors that will help them in this regard, e.g., the availability of Arabic satellite channels and the ease of travel to the Arab world. Also, mosques and Arabic schools play an important role in helping children maintain Arabic. However, the most important factor is the use of Arabic at home which is consistently encouraged and emphasised by the parents. In fact, using the community language at home is often cited as highly important in transmitting it intergenerationally and maintaining it since it keeps the language functional; i.e., it continues to be used in daily life. Thus, we may be witnessing the birth of a second-generation Arabic-speaking community in Manchester.

It can be suggested, then, that "contextual" and "inter-generational stability", quoting Hayden's (1966) terms, underlies Arabic maintenance in the families: "contextual stability provides for the continued use of the mother tongue [i.e., the use of Arabic in distinctive domains, notably, home], while generational stability provides for

its transmission from parents to children" (Hayden 1966: 205). This may be enough for maintaining Arabic in the longer term in the first, the second and even the third generations. Thus, unlike Dutch in Australia, for example, which witnessed the highest rate of shift in both the first and second generations; or Greek, which was maintained in the first generation but witnessed high shift in the second generation (Clyne 2003), Arabic is maintained in both generations in my informant families. In this regard, we have to take into consideration that my informant families are living in Manchester temporarily, as they said. Therefore, they do not need to abandon Arabic to assimilate in the dominant group, and are keen on transmitting Arabic to their children to keep the possibility of returning home open. The Dutch and the Greeks, on the contrary, had gone to Australia with no intention to return home. Thus, the Dutch shifted to English trying to assimilate in the dominant group; and the Greeks, although maintained Greek in the first generation, there was shift in the second generation that did not see any benefit in transmitting Greek to their children so they did not use it at home (cf. section 1.3). Arabic will also be maintained in the third generation if the second generation have the same attitude toward Arabic as their parents, which is very likely to happen due to the way of children-rearing adopted by the parents.

The status of Arabic schools in Manchester and the status of Arabic in Manchester City Council's services show signs of Arabic maintenance, as well. That is, there are many Arabic schools in Manchester which provide the opportunity for children to receive education in Arabic besides receiving it in English in the English schools. Arabic schools are important in promoting Arabic literacy among children; this helps Arabic maintenance. Also, these schools are run and controlled by Arabs, and they have freedom over their policies; i.e., they set their own policies regarding curricula, methods and teachers. This is important in maintaining Arabic (cf. section 4.1).

Many of the services in Manchester City Council are available in Arabic, e.g., advice telephone lines, booklets, information about social services, education, health, etc. Moreover, the council's Translation Department have Arabic interpreters who provide translation services in many locations, e.g., courts, police stations, hospitals, etc. Thus, those Arabs whose proficiency in English is low can use Arabic to carry out their dealings in the council. This shows a good rate of Arabic maintenance. For example, stage 1 in Fishman's (1991) model asserts the importance of some government activities being offered in the community language in reversing language shift (cf. section 1.4.5).

To sum up, we may draw the generalization that there are some factors that are particularly important in order for a minority group in an immigrant context to maintain its language. For example, there must be a compartmentalization in function in their use of the home language and the dominant group's language, so that each is used in different domains from the other; this keeps the minority language functional. The most important domain in which the minority language must be used in order to survive is the 'home' since the 'home' is the most effective in the intergenerational transmission of it, a factor that the minority must be keen on achieving. Moreover, the minority group must also have its own schools in which children can receive education and learn the home language. These schools are more effective if the medium of instruction is the home language. It remains to say that these factors are most effective when they are combined together.

Bibliography

Auer, P. 1995. The pragmatics of code-switching: A sequential Approach. In: L. Milroy and P. Muysken, eds. *One speaker, two languages. Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 115-135.

Clyne, M. 2003. *Dynamics of Language Contact.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clyne, M. and Kipp, S. 1999. *Pluricentric Languages in an Immigrant Context: Spanish, Arabic and Chinese.* Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Conkline, N. and Lourie, M. 1983. *A Host of Tongues: Language Communities in the United States.* New York: Free Press.

Dabène, L. and Moore, D. 1995. Bilingual speech of migrant people. In: L. Milroy and P. Muysken, eds. *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 25-38.

Dorian, N. 1981. *Language Death: The Life Cycle of a Scottish Gaelic Dialect.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Fishman, J. 1964. Language maintenance and language shift as a field of inquiry. *Linguistics* 9: 32-70.

Fishman, J. 1965 (2000). Who speaks what language to whom and when? In: L. Wei, ed. *The bilingualism reader*. London: Routledge 89-106.

Fishman, J. 1977. The social science perspective: keynote. In: J. Fishman, ed. *Bilingual Education: Current Perspectives*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University. 1-49.

Fishman, J. 1991. *Reversing Language Shift*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Fishman, J., Cooper, R. and Ma, R. eds. 1971. *Bilingualism in the Barrio*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Fishman, J., Gertner, M., Lowy, E. and Milan, W. 1985. *The Rise and Fall of the Ethnic Revival: Perspectives on Language and Ethnicity*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Gaarder, A. 1977. Language maintenance or language shift. In: W. Mackay and T. Andersson, eds. *Bilingualism in early childhood*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House. 409-434.

Gal, S. 1979. *Language Shift. Social Determinants of Linguistic Change in Bilingual Austria.* New York: Academic Press Inc.

Garcia, O. and Otheguy, R. 1988. The language situation of Cuban Americans. In: S. Mackay and S. Wong, eds. *Language diversity: Problem or resource?* Rowley, MA: Newbury House. 166-192.

Giles, H. 1973. Accent mobility: a model and some data. *Anthropological Linguistics* 15: 87-105.

Giles, H. 1977. Social psychology and applied linguistics: towards an integrative approach. *ITL: Review of Applied Linguistics* 33: 27-42.

Giles, H., Bourhis, R and Taylor, D. 1977. Toward a Theory of Language in Ethnic Group Relations. In: H. Giles, ed. *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations.* London: Academic Press. 307-348.

Giles, H. and Powesland, P 1997. Accommodation theory. In: N. Coupland and A. Jaworski, eds. *Sociolinguistics. A Reader and Coursebook.* Houndmills/London: Macmillan. 232-239.

Grosjean, F. 1982. *Life with Two Languages. An Introduction to Bilingualism.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Gumperz, J. 1982. *Discourse strategies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hayden, R. 1966. Some Community Dynamics of Language Maintenance. In: J. Fishman, V. Nahirny, J. Hofman and R. Hayden, eds. *Language Loyalty And the United States.* The Hague: Mouton. 190-205.

Kleifgen, J., Ham, S., El Noory, A., Fritz, M. and Saville-Troike, M. 1986. Shifting patterns of language dominance in bilingual children. Paper presented to the annual convention of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, CA.

Kloss, H. 1966. German-American language maintenance efforts. In: J. Fishman, V. Nahirny, J. Hofman and R. Hayden, eds. *Language Loyalty in the United States.* The Hague: Mouton. 206-52.

Lipski, J. 1978. Code-switching and the problem of bilingual competence. In: Paradis. 250-64.

Mackey, W. 1968. The description of bilingualism. In: J. Fishman, ed. *Readings in the Sociology of Language.* Mouton: The Hague. 554-84.

Matras, Y. 2000b. Fusion and the cognitive basis for bilingual discourse markers. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 4: 4. 505- 528.

Muysken, P. 2000. *Bilingual speech. A typology of code-mixing.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Myers-Scotton, C.1993a. *Social Motivations For Codeswitching. Evidence from Africa.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Myers-Scotton, C.1993b. *Duelling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Codeswitching.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nait M'Barek, M. and Sankoff, D. 1988. Le discours mixte arabe/français: des emprunts ou alternances de langue ? *Canadian journal of Linguistics/ Revue Canadienne de linguistique* 33 :143-54.

Papadametre, L. and Routoulas, S. 2001. Social, political, educational, linguistic and cultural (dis-) incentives for languages education in Australia. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 22: 134-51.

Pearson, B. and McGee A. 1993. Language choice in Hispanic-background junior high school students in Miami: A 1988 update. In: A. Roca and J. Lipski, eds. *Spanish in the United States. Linguistic Contact and Diversity.* Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 91-101.

Penny, J. and Khoo, S. 1996. *Intermarriage : a study of migration and integration.* Canberra: AGPS.

Pfaff, C. 1979. Constraints on language-mixing: Intrasentential code-switching and borrowing in Spanish/English. *Language* 55: 291-318.

Poplack, S. 1980. Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino En Espanol: Toward a Typology of Code-Switching. *Linguistics* 18: 581-618.

Resnick, M. 1988. Beyond the ethnic community: Spanish language roles and maintenance in Miami. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 69: 89-104.

Rooij, V. 1996. 'Cohesion through contrast. French-Swahili code-switching and Swahili style shifting in Shaba Swahili', doctoral dissertation, Universiteit Van Amsterdam/ IFOTT.

Saville-Troike, M. 1989. *The Ethnography of Communication. An Introduction.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Smolicz, J. 1981. Core values and ethnic identity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 4: 75-90.

Sridhar, S. and Sridhar, K. 1980. The Syntax and psycholinguistics of bilingual code-mixing. *Canadian Journal of Psychology* 34: 407-16.

Tajfel, H. 1974. Social identity and intergroup behaviour. *Social Science Information* 13: 65-93.

Tajfel, H. 1974a. Intergroup behaviour, social comparison and social change. Katz-Newcomb Lectures, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Thomason, S. 2001. *Language contact. An introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Treffers-Daller, J. 1994. *Mixing two languages, French-Dutch contact in a comparative perspective*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Weinreich, U. 1966. *Languages in contact*. Mouton: The Hague.

Appendix : The questionnaires

1. The families' questionnaire

(A)   'Home/Family' domain.

1- Do you use Arabic or English when you talk to your wife?

2- Does she use Arabic or English when she talks to you?

(B)   'Friendship' domain.

3- When you speak with your friends, do you use Arabic or English? What about your friends?

4- When you talk with an Arab friend in the presence of a non-Arab, do you use Arabic or English?...... What about your friend?

(C)   'University/work' domain.

5- At university, which language do you use, Arabic or English?

6- If you have an Arab colleague at the same university, when you meet him/her do you greet him/her in Arabic or English?...... What about him/her?

7- When you speak with an Arab colleague about work or study, do you speak Arabic or English?.....What about him/her?

8- Does this differ according to the country from which this Arab colleague comes, e.g., Syria, Libya, Algeria etc.?

(D)   'Media' domain.

9- Do you prefer Arabic TV or English TV for news?

10- For entertainment, do you watch Arabic TV or English TV?

11- Do you read Arabic newspapers or English newspapers?

(E)   'Shopping' domain.

12- When you go shopping for food, do you use Arabic or English?

13- Are there Arabic shops where you can go shopping for food?

14- When shopping for clothes, do you use Arabic or English?

15- When shopping for books, do you use Arabic or English?

(F)   'Children' domain.

16- Do you send your children to Arabic schools or English Schools?

17- What do your children learn at the mosque?

18- Do the children communicate with their teachers at the mosque using Arabic or English?..... What about the teachers?

19- What do you do to teach your children reading and writing in Arabic?

20- Do the children talk to you in Arabic or English?

21- Do they talk to their mother in Arabic or English?

22- Do they talk to their brothers and sisters in Arabic or English?

23- When their friends visit them do they talk in Arabic or English?

24- Do they watch Arabic TV channels or English TV channels?

25- Do they read Arabic or English stories?

(G)   'Mosque' domain.

26- Do you go to mosque regularly? How often?

27- Do you use Arabic or English there?

28- Is Friday weekly preaching given in Arabic or English?

2. The city council's questionnaire

2.1 *Translation department's questions:*

1- What is the status of Arabic in the services that the council provides?
   - Does the council provide publications in Arabic?..... Like what?
   - Does it offer telephone lines in Arabic?
   - Does it offer help lines in Arabic?
2- Why is it important for the council to offer services in Arabic?
3- Why does it address the Arabic community?
4- In what domains does the council offer services to the Arabic community?
5- How does the council find qualified translators?
6- Does it test the applicants?
7- Does it give them any training?
8- Does it give them good salaries?
9- Is it a full time or a part time job?
10- Is it a must that the translators are Arabs?
11- Are they always available and ready to go anywhere when required?
12- In what kind of thing (in what domains) is the council asked to send an Arabic translator?
13- How often?

2.2 *Education department's questions*:

1- Are there Arabic schools in Manchester?
2- How many ?
3- What is the council's policy in connection with these schools?
4- Are they authorised?
5- Who authorises them?
6- Does the council inspect them?
7- Are these schools government schools?
8- Does the council require these schools to teach specific curricula?

9- Are there English Islamic schools in Manchester?
10- How many?
11- Do they teach Arabic as one of the subjects?
12- Who designes the Arabic language curriculum?
13- Are there Arabic students in these schools?

3. The Arabic schools' questionnaire

3.1 *Head teachers' questions:*

1- Is your school registered in Manchester City Council?
2- Is it obligatory to register with the Diversity and Inclusion Team?
3- Does it require that your school teach a specific curriculum?
4- Does it inspect or supervise your school?
5- Does your school receive any subsidies from the Diversity and Inclusion Team?
6- Why do parents send their children to your school?
7- Are all the students Libyan/ Saudis/ Jordanians?
8- Why do students from other Arab countries go to your school?

3.2 *Arabic- language teachers' questions:*

1- What does the Arabic language curriculum consist of?
2- Do you think it is suitable for Arab students in Manchester?
3- Do you use Arabic or English in teaching?
4- When asking questions, do students talk to you in Arabic or English?
5- If they use English how do you respond?
6- Do students talk to each other in Arabic or English?
7- Do you ask them to speak Arabic?
8- Can they talk in Standard Arabic?
9- Can they read and write in Standard Arabic?
10- What are the difficulties that they face in learning Standard Arabic?
11- Do you ask the parents to help at home?

3.3 *Questions asked to teachers of other subjects:*

1- Which subject do you teach?
2- Do you use Arabic or English in teaching?
3- Do students communicate with you in Arabic or English?
4- If they ask you a question in English how do you respond?
5- Do students communicate with each other in Arabic or English?