

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.



On the Fringes of a Diaspora:  
An appraisal of the literature on language diaspora and  
globalization in relation to a family of Tamil-speaking,  
Sri Lankan migrants to South Africa

Shanali Candice Govender

Supervisor

Prof. Rajend Mesthrie

A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the  
degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics

Faculty of the Humanities, University of Cape Town

2012

# Acknowledgements

I have been supported in the writing of this thesis by numerous staff, friends and colleagues, whose support has been invaluable but not all of whom can be individually thanked here. However, I would like to extend my particular thanks to those named below.

I would like to sincerely thank my supervisor, Professor Rajend Mesthrie, for his patience, constructive criticism and guidance at all stages of this project. I truly appreciate and value his willingness to take on a student new to his field of study, and to allow me the time and freedom to find a niche within this field. In addition, I am grateful for the financial support provided by the NRF and Professor Mesthrie in his capacity as holder of a SARChI Chair in Migration, Language and Social Change.

Allowing an outsider, even a friendly one, access to one's ideas and families is, I imagine, a fairly stressful process. With this in mind, I would also like to express my gratitude to the participants in this study, who allowed me access to their lives and histories, humoured my ignorant questions and shared their stories and enthusiasms.

There are three people whose support during the research and writing of this thesis I would particularly like to acknowledge: Sepideh Azari, for the generous sharing of resources and the endless late nights writing; Gillian de Kock, for her tolerance even when I was ridiculously ill-tempered; and Menelisi Potwana, for journeying with me through my partly-conceived ideas and his unshakeable determination on my behalf.

Finally, I would like to thank my family: my parents, Tessa and Sathaseevan Govender, and my brothers, Reuben Govender and Rowan Govender – your support has been financial, emotional, spiritual and practical, in all instances constant and precious, and I cannot thank you enough for your faith in my capacity to finish this project.

## **Compulsory Declaration**

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

University of Cape Town

# Contents

Acknowledgements.....	i
Compulsory Declaration .....	ii
Figures and Tables .....	vi
Abstract.....	vii

## **CHAPTER 1: An Introduction to a Mobile World .....1**

1.1 Globalization and Super-diversity: Framing mobility in the new millennium.....	2
1.1.1 Classifications of mobility .....	4
1.1.2 Diasporas.....	6
1.1.3 Transnationalism .....	9
1.2 Language in the Global Context .....	16
1.2.1 Language Contact Situations and language outcomes .....	16
1.2.2 Mother-tongue, Ethnic, Heritage...?: Labelling language .....	19
1.3 Reviewing the framework.....	20
1.4 Topic.....	21
1.5 Rationale.....	22
1.6 Outline of Thesis .....	22

## **CHAPTER 2: In search of a methodology for language attitude research.24**

2.1 Introduction .....	24
2.2. Theory of Language Attitude Studies.....	24
2.3 History of Language Attitude and Behaviour Studies .....	27
2.3.1 Direct Approaches: Questionnaire and Interview techniques .....	27
2.3.2 Indirect Approaches: Matched Guise and Verbal Guise Studies .....	28
2.3.3 Limitations of Direct and Indirect Approaches .....	29
2.3.4 Case Study Theory .....	29
2.3.5 An Ethnographic Comment on Language Research .....	31
2.4 Description of this study and the participants.....	32
2.5 Limitations.....	33
2.6 Ethics .....	34

## **CHAPTER 3: “Moving up”, “Fitting in” and “Standing out”: a migrant family’s reported attitudes and language practices.....36**

3.1	Introduction .....	36
3.2	Language Places .....	36
3.2.1	Sri Lanka .....	36
3.2.2	The Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora .....	37
3.2.3	South Africa in the mid-1990s .....	38
3.3	Family Language Repertoire .....	40
3.3.1	Tamil .....	40
3.3.2	Sanskrit.....	41
3.3.3	Englishes .....	41
3.4	Language attitudes and practices: A performance of identities .....	43
3.5	“Moving up”: Attitudes to, and use of English.....	45
3.5.1	Education.....	45
3.5.2	Technology.....	47
3.6	“Fitting in”: Attitudes to, and use of Tamil and English .....	49
3.6.1	Ethnicity .....	49
3.6.2	Social affiliation .....	53
3.6.3	Public Spaces .....	54
3.7	“Standing out”: Attitudes to and use of Sanskrit .....	54
3.7.1	The Intersection of language and Religion: An under-researched field.....	55
3.7.2	Religious Languages .....	56
3.7.3	A Hindu Migrant View of Sanskrit in a South African context.....	59
3.8	“Moving up”, “Fitting in” and “Standing out”: The human business of relating .....	63

## **CHAPTER 4: The Migrant World: A Layered Experience.....64**

4.1	Considering Language Outcomes in a Mobile World .....	64
4.1.1	Objectives and Methods .....	66
4.2	“Moving up”, “Fitting in” and “Standing out” .....	66
4.2.1	Findings.....	67
4.2.2	Limitations .....	67
4.3	Ways forward .....	68

Appendix A: Table of Receiving Countries.....69

Appendix B: Sri Lanka .....70

Appendix C: A brief history of the South African Indian community .....74

Bibliography .....77

University of Cape Town

# Figures and Tables

Figure 1:Diagram of theoretical framework .....	20
Figure 2: Number of legal migrants to South Africa (1993 - 1997) .....	38
Figure 3: Composition of Asian Migrants to South Africa (1993 - 1997) (StatsSA, 2001) .....	39
Figure 4: Number of Internet users per language in millions (Adapted from Internet World Statistics, 2010) .....	47
Figure 5: Percentage of Internet Users by language (Adapted from Internet World Statistics, 2010) .	48
Figure 6: Migrant’s religious choices in societies with a dominant religion .....	58
Figure 7: Integration of diaspora and transnationalism studies in the context of globalization and superdiversity .....	65
Figure 8: Map of Sri Lanka.....	70

University of Cape Town

# Abstract

While the language attitudes and reported behaviours of migrants have long been of interest to linguists, educationalists and sociologists, increased levels of global mobility and technological activity are changing the nature of migration. This mini-thesis considers competing paradigms of mobility including diaspora, transnationalism and super-diversity and emerges at the recognition that the shape of migration has changed considerably over the last 20 years, especially in the South African context. This new migration, characterised in this paper as a shift from diaspora to transnationalism, might have significant consequences for the way migrants conceptualise host countries and countries of origin.

This study sought to investigate the language attitudes and behaviours of a family of recent Sri Lankan migrants to South Africa. The aim of the study was to describe their attitudes and reported language behaviours, and having done so, to consider whether, in theory, any of these language attitudes or behaviours might be related to longer-term language attitudes and behaviours such shift, maintenance or loss. Adopting an ethnographic, single case-study methodology, this study focussed on the language attitudes and reported behaviours of a single family of recent Sri Lankan migrants to South Africa. This family was purposively chosen as an example of an exceptional case, a case which cannot be described as typical but rather one that illustrates one of the extreme boundaries of the field. In-depth, semi-structured interviews were accompanied by participant observation methods to generate the data for a thematic analysis.

Based on the data generated from interviews and the observational data, several key ideas emerged. Firstly, family language attitudes and behaviours seemed linked to performance in specific situations of identity including ethnicity, religion, age and gender. While all members of the family were strongly and positively attached to their mother-tongue, Tamil, this language loyalty was by no means absolute. Secular demands such as educational and professional success placed Tamil-loyalty under pressure, as did basic human identification needs such as “fitting in”. The family’s attitude to and reported use of Tamil was described in relation to another homeland language, Sanskrit, which holds an authority and loyalty far beyond that of their mother-tongue. While one might assume Sanskrit to hold this authority solely in relation to religious matters, the centrality of religion to this family’s daily life and livelihood means that Sanskrit has a wider reaching influence and importance. In comparison to these three languages, English, Tamil and Sanskrit, local languages such as Afrikaans and Zulu are learnt and used purely as instrumental practices with very little positive affect and some negative affect.

During the course of this study, two key theoretical points emerged. The first relates to the theorising of attitudes and offers the notion of situated attitudes in response to the challenges uncovered. The second relates to the apparent conflation of categories such as ethnicity and religion which has had consequences for the way in which language attitudes and reported behaviours are associated with particular identities. While this study makes interesting observations about the language attitudes and reported behaviours of this exceptional family, it does not seek to make sweeping claims so much as to offer a starting point for further, more comprehensive study.

University of Cape Town

# CHAPTER 1: An Introduction to a Mobile World

In 2005, there were 191 million people living outside the country of their birth (UN Popul. Div. 2006). Further, in the most common receiving countries, one in every four or five individuals is foreign-born (OECD 2007). While human mobility is an ancient phenomenon, the nature of mobility has altered significantly as wide-spread changes to political configurations coupled with technological advancements, permit a new type of mobility. Indeed, Stuart Hall (in)famously claimed “we are all migrants now”, insisting on a world that can no longer be blindly local but that is, and must be, global in its interests and concerns (Westwood and Phizacklea 2000:3).

Locally, between 1996 and 2001, more than 158 000 migrants from SADC (Southern African Development Community) countries migrated to South Africa, the number of migrants from other African countries doubled, and an additional 12 000 migrants from various Asian countries entered South Africa (StatsSA 2004). Thus, in addition to South Africa’s 11 official languages, nine of which are deemed to be “minority” languages in need of protection and promotion, there are multiple languages spoken by migrants from, in particular, other parts of Africa and Asia. Emerging as we do, in the South African context, from a history of overt, state-imposed language domination and oppression, we are particularly aware of the challenges and potential contributions of “minority” languages. Although, constrained by various historical and contemporary social, economic and political factors, this awareness might not immediately translate into the real-world protection and propagation of minority languages, we, nonetheless, possess an awareness of the tension between languages of power and minority languages<sup>1</sup>, including those spoken by migrants.

Drawing on definitions of globalization, this section proposes that the world in, through, to, and from which migrants currently migrate, might be significantly different from that of two or three generations ago. Attributing these differences to the processes and states of globalization and its associated diversity, the chapter arrives at the question of whether a globalized world might lead to different kinds of migration, and thus different kinds of migrant behaviour, including linguistic behaviours. Through a brief review of migration studies and linguistics, in light of theorists’ claims about globalization and super diversity, this chapter attempts to find ways to talk about how people move around in the world. The chapter then examines some issues pertaining to language in such a world including how languages are labelled, and the kinds of language situations theorized in the field

---

<sup>1</sup> Minority languages in the South African context refer not only to the number of individuals who speak the language but also to the level of dominance enjoyed by the language, historically and currently in local and global settings.

of linguistics. Having identified how the key questions of this study arise from the new ways in which mobility and language are spoken of in a globalised world, this chapter concludes with an outline of the thesis.

## **1.1 Globalization and Super-diversity: Framing mobility in the new millennium**

In the distant past, the movement of even a single individual from one settlement to another often constituted a significant change, both for the individual and the settlement into which he moved. Even in the recent past, international or inter-continental travel literally changed the traveller's world and often had far-reaching consequences for the community which he encountered. This type of mobility presupposed a largely unidirectional migrant experience. However, modern travel technologies are within the reach of significant numbers of people, in both the developed and developing world. Similarly, technologies of communication, plagued in the past by constraints of time and distance, have in the information age been streamlined to previously unimaginable efficiency. Where previously communications took weeks or even months to reach their destination and return, email, phones, internet and faxes ensure that communications can be almost immediately received and acted on. Given these significant changes to the shapes of the world, the ways in which we conceive of human mobility have also shifted from the description of unidirectional migration patterns, from assimilation and integration of immigrants, to notions of diaspora and transnationalism.

Despite “globalization” appearing for the first time in published English in 1930, some 80 odd years ago, and currently generating no less than 10 million Google hits, defining “globalization” remains a highly contested activity. MacGillivray’s review of a limited selection of published definitions suggests that there are narrow and broad definitions of globalization (2006). Narrow definitions have tended towards the economic (Higgot 2000) and, while precise, can exclude even popularly recognised instances of globalization. On the other hand, various authors note that globalization has been used broadly to speak of economic, social, cultural and technological states and processes. Examples of this are the claims that globalization is “a spacial process and a phenomenon (Herod 2009: 3); “a process, a theory or a paradigm” (Reich 1998) and “a process, a condition, a system, a force and an age” (Steger 2003).

Linguist Mac Giolla Chríost’s (2007) review of definitions of globalization highlights three key points. Firstly, globalization is characterized by a reconfiguring of the relationship of the nation-state to macro and micro-level institutions. Secondly, globalization paradoxically poses the threat of homogeneity while offering the opportunity of plurality. Finally, unlike narrow definitions, Mac

Giolla Chríost's globalization is multidimensional, cultural, political and economic to varying degrees in varying circumstances. In bringing these factors together, he defines globalization as:

a combination of key characteristic features, involving the development of a transnational, global infrastructure and stretched social relations. The process inevitably entails the intensification of flows and interaction and an increasing interpenetration of global and local social activities (2007: 21).

The integration of state and process in globalization characterises a new complex of local, national, regional and world-wide relationships achieved through economic, political and cultural dimensions.

Definitions of globalization are seldom complete without a discussion of the mechanisms of globalization. While his definition does not make specific mention of the means by which these changes occur, Mac Giolla Chríost (2007) discusses in some detail the revolution in information technology and how transformation and information technology can become bound up with resistance to the homogenizing forces of globalization. The ever-increasing and increasingly accessible range of telecommunications technologies possess the capacity to reshape society, by reducing the extent to which propinquity constrains the individuals and groups with which we have contact. This is true across all dimensions with political support for homeland projects being generated on a global scale (Fair 2005; Wayland 2004), economic support in the form of humanitarian activities and remittances, and cultural support through communication and the dispersal of mass media, including news, movies, music and literature.

While Chanda (2007:246) describes globalization as "an ancient historical process", Herod (2009) argues that the degree and extent of globalization is novel. Vertovec (2007:1025), writing of the kind of diversity to be found in Britain, uses the term "super-diversity" to designate a diversity that goes beyond ethnic or national diversity to encompass

differential immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, divergent labour market experiences, discrete gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses by service providers and residents

Describing these wide-spread and far-reaching, but not universal, changes, in *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*, Blommaert (2010:1) confidently asserts:

Sociolinguistically, the world has not become a village. That well-matured metaphor of globalization does not work, and that is a pity for sociolinguistics – a science traditionally more at ease when studying a village than when studying the world.... The world has not become a village, but rather a tremendously complex web of villages, towns, neighbourhoods, settlements connected by material and symbolic ties in often unpredictable ways.

Drawing on Bourdieu, Bernstein and Hymes's arguments that language implies linguistic inequality, Blommaert claims that the linguistic marketplace has shifted from a relatively closed system to an increasingly mobile one with "flexible and changeable boundaries" where the distinction between semiotic meaning and linguistic meaning point to processes of localization and delocalization.

Citing Hannertz (1991), Blommaert (2010) challenges the "absolute spatiality of cultures", arguing instead for a theoretical de-coupling of territory from culture. Distinguishing between "space", a physical concept, and "place", a socially constructed conception of space, he notes that a culture can exist in multiple spaces. While there is value in this proposition, each of the **spaces** Blommaert refers to is a **place**, offering different affordances and constraints, thus, the ways in which culture might be enacted, through for example language, would perforce be different. Blommaert (2010) offers three tools for the analysis of local/global phenomena which can productively be applied to language attitudes and behaviours: sociolinguistics scales, orders of indexicality and polycentricity. While much sociolinguistic study of language has focused on the variation in specific syntactic, lexical or phonological features across geographical spaces, socio-economic classes, age ranges, genders or ethnic groups, these three concepts offer alternative ways of engaging with attitudes and language behaviours.

### **1.1.1 Classifications of mobility**

In brief, migration literature seems to label the process by which new-comers are incorporated into host societies as assimilation, integration or multiculturalism, according to the degree to which migrants were expected to give up their heritage identities and assume the identities of their host nation. The following section briefly traces significant eras and associated perspectives on mobility, before turning to the notions of diaspora and transnationalism as ways of understanding mobility in contemporary societies.

Various theorists describe assimilation as the process of losing the country of one's birth in order to be accepted into the country of one's future. Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc (1995: 52) note "In the past immigrants were forced to abandon, forget, or deny their ties to home and in subsequent generations, memories of transnational connections were erased". Castles (2002:1154) describes assimilation as "encouraging immigrants to learn the national language and to fully adopt the social and cultural practices of the receiving community". Similarly, Modood (2011), describes assimilation as a unidirectional process, requiring migrants to give up the "languages, identities, cultural practices, and loyalties" of their country of origin in order to assume those of their host country. This notion of unitary and exclusive citizenship is often associated with modern notions of the nation state, as a unitary and sovereign body. In the USA, for example, assimilation has, in practice, resulted in one of

three outcomes:

traditional assimilation into the white middle class; selective integration when immigrants of color retain ethnic ties and culture to facilitate upward socio-economic mobility; or “downward” assimilation into a racialized urban minority with limited economic opportunities (Bloemraad et al. 2008:163).

Migration policies have been both blatantly discriminatory and assimilationist in the past, ranking migrants according to their ability to fit in to the dominant moulds of the host society, including ethnicity, language and value systems. However, by the 1960s, assimilation policies were losing favour, as they were deemed to be illiberal, discriminatory and impractical for individuals who were physically different (Modood 2011).

In contrast to assimilationist policies, integration, multiculturalism and pluralism all acknowledge the bi-directional relationship that exists between migrants and their host countries. Bloemraad et al (2008) note that integration, while requiring the involvement of immigrants in certain aspects of citizenship, permits differences in other aspects, for example culture. Thus, by a process of acculturation, a migrant may take on some of the core aspects of the host society such as type of occupation, educational endeavours etc while maintaining contact with his or her heritage community. Critically, this is might not be a unidirectional process with host countries acquiring tastes for food, music or dress from their migrants (Entzinger and Biezeveld 2003).

Multiculturalism recognises the diversity not only of groups but of the ways in which groups might become part of a host society. While integration acknowledges a bi-directional relationship between migrant and host society, multiculturalism recognised similar relationships between migrant and their society of origin. Thus, Castles (2002) claims that multiculturalism turns away from the notion of the nation-state as having a single, unitary culture to which all citizens adhere, instead acknowledging a multiplicity of cultures with divergent histories. However, while countries may espouse migrant-friendly policies, such national multicultural policies are not the sole arbiters of migrant experience which can be radically different in reality.

In the last three decades, two often competing terms have been used to label migrant experiences: transnationalism and diaspora. Sections 1.1.2 and 1.1.3 offer overviews of the affordances and constraints of these two terms.

### 1.1.2 Diasporas

Although for many years, 'diaspora' was inevitably coupled to 'Jewish', from the mid-1980s onwards, the term came to be attached to a variety of ethnic, nationalistic and geographical descriptors such as the African Diaspora, the Sikh Diaspora or the Indian Diaspora. The term diaspora grew rapidly in use: Brubaker (2005), enumerating the use of the terms in the 1970s, 1980s and 2000s, notes that usage increased from once or twice annually to 130 times in 2001. While the concept of diaspora gained considerable popularity in the 1990s through the work of Safran, Cohen and Vertovec, it garnered some criticism as well (Anthias, 1998; Soysal, 2003). Despite the validity of these critiques, the diaspora concept offers useful ways of theorising home, imagined community and diaspora consciousness when examining the attitudes, behaviours and motivations of migrants in a complex, globalized society.

#### Defining Diaspora

Safran (1991) offered seven criteria for categorising communities as diasporic. In order to be a diaspora, a community must:

- be dispersed from an original centre to at least two peripheral places;
- maintain a memory, vision or myth about their original homeland;
- believe that they are not - and perhaps cannot be – fully accepted by their host country;
- see the ancestral home as a place of eventual return;
- be committed to the maintenance or restoration of this homeland;
- and, define their consciousness and solidarity by this continuing relationship with the homeland.

Cohen (2008) argues for a differently nuanced application of Safran's features, offering a typology of diaspora, each example of which would conform, to a greater or lesser extent, to the features offered by Safran's definition. He suggests that diaspora be understood in terms of victim diasporas (characterised by a violent, traumatic moment of forced exit from the homeland), labour and imperial diasporas (characterised by some sense of voluntary involvement in departure from the homeland), and trade and business diasporas (largely voluntary but under the influence of global market forces. In summary of his analysis, he turns to Wittgenstein's rope, arguing that each of Safran's features operates in tandem with the others like strands of a rope. Not all the features of a diaspora need be simultaneously present in each individual or community for the group to be considered diasporic (Cohen 2008).

In a further focussing of the term, Brubaker (2005) offers three core concepts for the defining of a diaspora: dispersal, orientation to a homeland and boundary maintenance. Dispersal, voluntary or forced, is the least disputed criteria. As some diasporas seek not to return to the homeland, but to recreate the ways of the homeland in other countries, the second criteria, orientation to a real or imagined homeland, while widely accepted initially, has been challenged. The final criterion, boundary maintenance, refers to the maintenance and propagation of difference between diasporic immigrants and the host society and may be conducted by the migrants or the host society through exclusionary measures.

### **Home and Away: Diaspora Consciousness**

The idea of diaspora is deeply rooted in conceptions of home. We know where our home is. It is a place of “natural” belonging. It, somehow, unequivocally belongs to us and we to it. It is a place where we feel safe, secure, “at home”, where we are knowledgeable about the space itself, the practices and people embedded in it. There is also embedded in the idea of home a sense of family – people who are like us and who we are like. Inherent in “home” is the idea of the familiar. The notion of homeland draws on these ideas and elevates them to a national level. A homeland, like home, is a social construct that is based on feelings of “at home-ness”, community, familiarity and a social network. The modernist project, furthered through imperialism, was to bring homelands and nation-states into alignment – for much of the modernist era, the political drive was to create a home-land, a nation-state: a place limited to people who were, at best, the same or, at least, agreed to pretend to be the same.

Having discussed conceptions of home and homelands, Cohen (2008) shows how these are modified in a diaspora space by extending these ideas in two directions. Firstly, he notes that in the diaspora, “home” and “homeland”, products of the imaginative mind, assume a mythical quality. Diasporic notions of “home” convey as much about the diaspora as any objective understanding of the homeland in question. Home, in the diasporic imagination, becomes a space plagued by tensions. It is, at once, perfect and, in the case of voluntary diasporas, deeply flawed. It is, simultaneously, permanently part of, and divorced from, daily life. Secondly, Cohen (2008) moves the definition of “home” from a largely physical construct, grounded in language of space, politics, exclusive nationhood and concomitant citizenship, to an understanding that, although grounded in the physical, encompasses a communally-held, abstract notion of “home” that encompasses notions of self, other, culture etc. Critical to the field of diaspora studies is an idea that deeply disturbs traditional unitary notions of “home” - within a diaspora consciousness, it is possible, indeed likely, to have multiple homes that exist in a complex relationship to each other. “Home-here” and “home-there” sit in tense opposition and yet are mutually constitutive, allowing for connections to the countries of residence and origin

that are complex, deeply rooted and equally real. Critical to notions of home is the extent to which, in a diaspora space, “home” becomes separate from physical locality – it is possible to be “at home” in varying physical spaces, to count two national spaces as home.

### **An Imagined ‘Us’**

The final, critical notion Cohen (2008) brings to the process of understanding diaspora is a claim about the mobilization of identity where the idea of identity as fixed and immutable falls away, allowing for identity to be seen as process, management, negotiation of various propensities arising from our cultural capital. Different aspects of diaspora identity can be foregrounded, elicited or appealed to, to achieve certain objectives. These claims about mobilization of identity are particularly relevant in the contemporary era. Communication technologies have permitted a type of contact between host and home countries that is rapid, efficient and capable of meeting the range of human communication needs, making demands on the loyalties of diaspora communities that pose a new challenge to communities, and those who try to map and theorise the patterns of mobility and influence. Thus, while current trends in globalization draw migrants more fully into the life of the host country, globalization also allows for more renewed, regular and varied forms of contact with countries of origin, resulting in multilayer, unidirectional flows of influence which can, however, create loyalty demands on migrant communities.

### **Critiquing Diaspora**

While the term diaspora holds value both as a descriptor and a perspective for analysis, Brubaker (2005) argues that researchers have risked over-stating the case, stretching the term to subsume all instances of dispersed people. Terms such as the Francophone diaspora privilege linguistic identity, with little consideration for a sense of community, homeland, or indeed, even dialects of French that might distinguish between groups. The notion of a Muslim or Catholic diaspora fails to align with the core notions of diaspora on similar grounds. Inclusion of groups assimilated into host countries, including for example, the Italian diaspora, has further muddied the waters (Brubaker 2005).

If a sense of belonging, an imagined ‘us’, is central to diaspora, then Cohen (2008) tackles this largely through his arguments about home and mobilization. Manger and Assal (2006) challenge the notion of a homogenous diaspora, noting that diaspora are not “homogenous phenomena” (2006:16) and arguing for an approach that takes into account an awareness of processes of identity construction.

### 1.1.3 Transnationalism

In a response to the ever-increasing and increasingly wide-spread global mobility, Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (1999:218) argue for the development of a new field or perspective of study: transnationalism. Writing in the late 1990s, they describe this emergent field of study as “highly fragmented”, “lacking a well-defined theoretical framework” and seeking to “turn the concept of transnationalism into a clearly defined and measurable object of research”. These claims point to a problem central to the field of transnationalism: the phenomenon of international mobility has been, in the past, and is, in the present, studied under different labels with different foci of analysis. Thus, a crucial task for transnationalism is to establish the precise boundaries of the phenomenon it wishes to make its focus. An unavoidable part of establishing these boundaries is gaining consensus on a definition of transnationalism.

#### Defining Transnationalism

While studying three separate groups of “migrants/immigrants” in the United States in the mid-1990s, Basch, Glick-Schiller and Szanton Blanc realised that their subjects’ “experiences and lives [were] not sharply segmented between host and home societies” (1994:4). Identifying where such subjects “belonged” became problematic, because they seemed to belong simultaneously both “here” **and** “there”. Drawing on this realisation, Basch, Glick-Schiller and Szanton Blanc (1994:7) defined transnationalism as

the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many individuals today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders.

Basch, Glick-Schiller and Szanton Blanc's definition is cited repeatedly<sup>2</sup> in the body of literature on transnationalism that emphasize different aspects of the definition of transnationalism. The authors (1994) highlight the features of transnationalism by contrasting the immigrant and the transmigrant. Immigrants, they claim, “uproot” themselves from their country of origin in order to establish a superseding “rootedness” in their host country. The immigrant experience is one of rupture and unidirectional movement away from the country of origin. In contrast, transmigrants are seen as living simultaneously in multiple spaces.

Transmigrants are immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state... they settle and become

---

2 A recent Google-Scholar search revealed at least 1646 citations of this definition.

incorporated into the economy and political institutions, localities, and patterns of daily life of the country in which they reside.

The critical difference is that while the immigrant experiences migration as a process of loss and, more or less successfully, replacement, the transmigrant experiences migration as additive and transformative.

In their introduction to *Migration, Diaspora and Transnationalism* (1999: xx – xxi), Cohen and Vertovec highlight key aspects of transnationalism. Firstly, transnationalism relates to the traversing of boundaries which, secondly, creates ‘diaspora consciousness’ – a dual or multiple awareness that, critically, is additive, rather than subtractive in nature. Westwood and Phizacklea (2000:2) note that increasingly the term transnational is being used to refer to the growing number of people who have the freedom, legally and economically, to move across borders and between cultures, doing business on their way.

While these behaviours have been a way of life for groups for centuries (Westwood and Phizacklea 2002), it is the frequency and spread of this mobility that is of significance.

While, as Portes points out, there is increasingly consensus on definitions of transnationalism (2003: 874), recent studies have focussed on particular aspects of the definition of transnationalism. Yeoh, Willis and Kader Fakhri (2003) propose the notion of transnational spaces, highlighting the importance of physical location to the concept of transnationalism, but argue that these spaces criss-cross the globe. While earlier definitions of transnationalism focussed on the physical mobility of immigrants and on labour migration or trade, more recent work considers the importation of symbols of culture, ethnicity and identity into new settings. Blunt (2007:4) argues that transnationalism includes the notion of transnational cultures, and the producers and consumers of such cultures. Ten years after the original definition, Gilmartin’s (2008:1841) claim that transnationalism is concerned with how national boundaries are made more porous to economic, political and social activities is unequivocally related to the definition offered by Basch, Glick-Schiller and Szanton Blanc in the early 90s. For this thesis, transnationalism offers three key ideas: the stretching of home, “othering” in multicultural environments and the de-centring of the nation-state.

### **The stretching of “home”**

One of transnationalism’s major contributions to the field of human mobility is the interrogation of the conception and position of ‘home’ in mobility, posing critical challenges to traditional diasporic notions of home. Transnational theory offers a distinction between being ‘at home’, implying social competence in a place, and labelling a place ‘home’. While the migrant and the immigrant may be ‘at home’ or socially competent in two spaces, they are unlikely to describe both as ‘home’. In contrast,

the transnational has a complex notion of home that is steeped in multiplicity and, as Westwood and Phizacklea (2000:2) claim, is 'stretched over time and space'. Fouron and Glick Schiller (2001:36) describe the ways in which 'home' is constructed by transnationals:

Some people who emigrate cut their ties to home, although the lack of home ties at any one point in a migrants' life cannot predict a person's life course. While some individuals attenuate their transnational connections as they become increasingly incorporated into their new land, others revive or construct new ties to their homeland only when they become well incorporated.

Suggesting the range of relationships that can be constructed to "home" goes a long way to destabilizing the assimilation/isolation dichotomy that often characterises the descriptions of migrant relationships to their host/new home country.

The transnational perspective destabilizes the notion of a unitary, discrete home. Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc (1995: 52) claim that

What has been uniformly defined as unacceptable was a migration in which immigrants settled permanently in their new country while maintaining ties to countries they still saw as homelands. And yet this is an emerging pattern among many immigrant populations currently settling in the U.S.

They cite the work of various authors in the early 90s who demonstrate that "the interweave of transnational family relationships preserved a place for returning migrants at home". The creation and maintenance of links between homes in their receiving and sending countries has been accomplished through child care, involvement in family decisions, regular visits, the purchase of property, and the establishment of homes and businesses (1995:53). Gonzalez (1988: 10) notes that many Garifuna, despite becoming citizens of the US, 'think of themselves as members of two (or more) societies'. Similarly, Vertovec (2004:976) claims 'that women buy, consume, display and exchange commodities from their "other home" in order to symbolize their ongoing sense of double belonging'. While in the past, home was absolute, unitary, defined, and not conceived of as actively constructed, home is now a series of choices within the structures offered to the migrant. The notion of having "a home" has been destabilized – one can have "homes", one can be "at home" in a place that is one of multiple homes. The impetus to choose a singular home, and thus a singular set of loyalties has been displaced, in so doing, challenging the power structures of the nation-state.

### **The de-centering and reimagining of the nation-state**

Another major contribution that transnationalism makes is that of decentring the nation state. While Portes (2003) argues that transnationalism, by its choice of subject, fixes the nation-state in the discourse, on a practical level, transnationalism is at pains to demonstrate the degree to which the

powers of the nation state are being challenged and even usurped by transnationals through transnational spaces.

The vehicle of modernism was, arguably, the nation-state with an imagined national history, national language, national culture, national coherence, and finally a state apparatus of its own as symbolized by a national anthem, flag, museum, and map (Miyoshi, 1993:730). According to Westwood and Phizacklea (2000:7), the nation-state was the means by which modernity attempted to make race or ethnicity and geographical boundaries synchronous. Furthermore, the nation-state produced fictive ethnicities and identities and awarded them specific rights and responsibilities. While transnationalism places an awareness of the impact of the state at the heart of its field of interest, it reveals how this is crossed by transnationals.

In “The politics of belonging”, Westwood (in Westwood and Phizacklea 2000: 60) demonstrates a practical application of the Derridean argument of the self and the other, with reference to the architectural styles of Mexico and Miami. She shows that the boundary between the two has effectively been dissolved, with American styling surfacing in Latin American and South American styling surfacing in the United States. She describes the relationship between the United States and Latin America as a “mirror dance”, with increasing Latin American mobility into the US, despite control measures. She describes an interview with her land-lady, who claims to be equally Ecuadorian and American, who has business interests in both countries and who alternates residences. Westwood does note, however, that lower income earners face different ways of dealing with national boundaries.

Writing in the United Kingdom, Avtar Brah introduces Cartographies of Diaspora with an account of her college entrance interview in which she was asked if she saw herself as Ugandan or Indian. Her answer reflects the process of dissolution and addition that characterises the trans-migrant state:

At first, this question struck me as somewhat absurd. Could he not see that I was *both*? Uganda was my home. I held a Ugandan passport. This was where I spent all but the first five years of my life. ... But I had memories too of early childhood in the Punjab - the dazzling yellow fields of mustard, playing hide and seek in the sugar-cane fields, sitting on a charpoy in the evening listening to fairytales or ghost stories told by a family elder. ...I remember the childhood pain of displacement during my first years in Africa, mediated by my identification with my mother's acute longing for her daughters and her “home” in India.

Brah argues that while racialised discourses of nation, in the context of Europe, continue to construct non-white citizens as outside the nation, the experiences, demands and challenges of transnationals force the possibility of dual-allegiances, constituted as not this or that, but this **and** that. Similarly,

Smith (cited in Yeoh et al 2003) claims that while transnationalism acknowledges the significance of borders, this is in relation to the traversing of these by transnational migrants. While transnationalism refuses to part company with these allegedly essentializing notions, it subverts them to an alternate purpose, making clear that all identities are embedded in a context, social, political, cultural, economic from which they cannot escape and from which they should not be abstracted.

### **Transnational spaces and transnational identities**

Vertovec (2004: 975) draws on several studies to make the point that migrants possess an inherent and unavoidable awareness of an inter-related here and there. He cites Guarnizo's description of a transnational *habitus* (1997):

a particular set of dualistic dispositions that inclines migrants to act and react to specific situations in a manner that can be, but is not always, calculated, and that is not simply a question of conscious acceptance of specific behavioural or socio cultural rules. . . . The transnational habitus incorporates the social position of the migrant and the context in which transmigration occurs. This accounts for the similarity in the transnational habitus of migrants from the same social grouping (class, gender, generation) and the generation of transnational practices adjusted to specific situations (Guarnizo, 1997:311).

Vertovec then draws on the work of Wright and Mountz to argue that migrants see “here” and “there” as “complementary aspects of a single space of experience” (2004:975). With reference to Gardner, Vertovec claims that coexisting with conflicting ideas of “here” about “there” and perceiving a way of reconciling both, or indeed I argue, living with the tension, is endemic to the condition of the migrant. Citing Golbert, but no doubt also drawing on the work of Gilroy, Vertovec (2004:276) asserts the “double consciousness” of migrants, which situates all experiences in a dual space. Significantly, Goldberg (1992) suggests that migrants who return to their communities of origin have “a powerful impact even on the transnational orientations of those who have never left”.

Kivisto labels this dual space “transnational space”, defining it as “a boundary-breaking process in which two (usually) or more nation-states are penetrated by and become a part of a singular new social space” (2001:565). This social space is populated not only by people and products, but also ideas, values and symbols. Similarly, Blunt, in line with Kivisto, concludes that these spaces include both material geographies, in terms of goods and people, but also symbolic and imaginary geographies. In a similar vein, Collins (2008: 440) talks about “border spaces”, considering the impact of occupation on workers who regularly cross national borders as a part of their employment such as sea-farers, airline staff, travelling artists or academics, highlighting the awareness of connection as opposed to disassociation. Critically, such spaces allow for a shift away from the

dichotomy of national and non-nation, foreign or international communities, towards an understanding of all space as inherently transnational, marked by a “multiplicity” of relations (Blunt 2007:4).

Brah’s<sup>3</sup> (1996) construction of ‘diaspora spaces’ relates clearly to Vertovec’s ‘bifocality’ and Gilroy’s ‘double consciousness’. The metaphor of ‘diaspora space’ offers a way of examining, understanding and speaking about the inherently intertwined connections that construct people, capital, commodities and culture in specific and varying ways that are, critically, simultaneous. These dual ways of thinking about identity, subject creation, differentiation allow for multiplicity – so that one is not X or Y, but X and Y, and additionally, that X and Y have an inevitable effect on each other. Brah makes the point that diaspora space entangles the “genealogies of dispersal with those of ‘staying put’” (242). Diaspora space conceives of multiple axes of differentiation that intersect to shape the performance of power along each axis. Power does not exist except that it is produced in action or thought.

Responding to transnational experiences of dual spaces, Gilroy (1993) offers two seemingly oppositional, but actually complementary ideas, which have been profitably applied to the field of transnational studies: cosmopolitan disloyalty and double consciousness. In the first instance, Gilroy (1993) claims that it is imperative that we develop “cosmopolitan disloyalty”, disassociating ourselves from the traditional ties of nationality, race and culture and, by so doing, detach ourselves from an absolutist attachment to those things. In relation to migrants who live in a “transnational space”, the questioning and affirmation of loyalties, exhibition and rejection of disloyalty is likely to be part of integrating spaces. In the second case, Gilroy (1993:1), in response to “racist, nationalist or ethnically absolutist discourses”, argues that to be black and European requires a “double consciousness”. He goes on to note that while neither of these is a “finished” identity, “occupying the space between them or demonstrating their continuity” has been a provocative act. Gilroy (1993:3) claims that there is special effort in “trying to face (at least) two ways at once”. Although Gilroy applies his notion of “double consciousness” to diaspora subjects, the transnational, who straddles boundaries, moving with varying degrees of confidence between and within worlds, must also be a possessor of this “double consciousness”.

---

3 Although Avtar Brah explicitly situates her work in relation to diasporas, the presence of diasporas under the umbrella of transnationalism is not too great a stretch. My inclusion of Brah, most obviously a sociologist interested in diaspora groups, reflects the extent to which transnationalism is part of varying international mobilities. Although Brah seems to avoid the word “transnational”, seeming to prefer diaspora, the way she constructs her analysis as a revelation of the balancing of tensions that her subjects negotiate seems to me to place her work at the heart of transnationalism.

Transnationalism's recognition of the duality of spaces for the transmigrant points to an awareness of the other in the self. An awareness of the other, even if the other is one's self, is critical to the contribution of transnationalism to both mobility studies and the wider social sciences.

### **Critiques of Transnationalism**

As definitions of transnationalism have expanded from ideas closely tied to physical location of "here" and "there" to subjects' imaginative and cognitive constructions of "here" and "there" and associated beliefs and behaviours, there have been increasing criticisms of the widening definitions and scope of transnational studies. There is considerable debate about who should constitute the object of transnationalism and under what circumstances such an individual or group is the appropriate object of study (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt 1999:218). Some researchers emphasize the physical presence of an individual in another country, excluding those who maintain contact in other ways. Collins (2009) offers two additional criticisms of the field of transnational studies. Firstly, he notes that much of the early work of transnational scholars was based to a large extent on a limited sample of hyper mobile individuals or groups. Secondly, he claims that transnationalism, despite attempting to disassociate the study of migration from the nation-state, writes within a discourse that achieves the reinforcing of those hegemonic structures.

While criticisms of transnationalism may be valid, unlike migration or mobility which focus largely on movement of people's without addressing issues of belonging and identity, transnationalism offers critical theory around ideas of home, multiplicity of identity and the decentralisation of the nation-state. Theories critical, not only to mobility studies, but to social sciences in general have arisen from the perspectives of transnational scholars. While like most fields of study, transnationalism has its critics and its defenders and those who attempt to police the boundaries of what constitutes transnationalism, its value comes not in the acceptance of absolutes but in the disagreements over the border cases. An increasing awareness of the impact of transnational trends, not only on the lives of the super-wealthy and hyper mobile, but on migrants of necessity and even more interestingly, those left behind, is rooted in transnational studies offering valuable insights into the relationships of agency and structure that exist in our globalised world. Furthermore, studies under the banner of transnationalism are increasingly focusing on multiple ways in which individuals can maintain presence in more than one country, through the sending of money or gifts to relatives in their country of origin, the maintenance bank accounts or properties in these countries, or the preservation of contact and interest through various technologies.

## 1.2 Language in the Global Context

While there is no paucity of research on the language attitudes and behaviours of migrants and indeed, one might argue, a proliferation of such studies from the 1970s onwards, most studies are trapped in a paradigm of the migrant as a settler with minimal contact with the country of birth. In relation to this, Blommaert (2007: 116) argues that

globalisation compels us to take multilingualism and multiculturalism as a rule rather than as an exception, and address the phenomenology of non-nativeness in language usage as something that crucially connects with social, political and ideological processes characterising Late Modernity.

Indeed, a growing global body of research seems to suggest that multilingualism may be becoming an increasingly prominent characteristic of a globalized society. The previous section (Section 1.2) sought to demonstrate that globalization has resulted in wide-spread processes, if not an equally present state, of super-diversity which, one can only imagine, must have consequences for ideas and practices of language, culture and ethnicity. This section aims to briefly review historical examples of language contact situations as a context for this study.

### 1.2.1 Language Contact Situations and language outcomes

While all language contact situations end in one of three outcomes, loss, maintenance or development, no language contact situation is precisely like another, as each is shaped by a unique combination of three broad categories of influence: factors pertaining to the receiving country, factors pertaining to the sending country and factors specific to the migrant groups in question. Factors pertaining to the receiving country include linguistic landscape<sup>4</sup>, language policies, rural or urban migrant communities, and access to technology. Those pertaining to sending countries might include migration policies, dual citizenship, remittance permission, access to technology of the populace and relationship to the sending country. Intra-migrant factors might include ethnicity, gender, language repertoire, class, religion or age. These three groups of factors intersect in varying, and sometimes unconventional ways to produce specific language outcomes. For example, the socio-economic landscapes of the receiving and sending countries may enable or constrain particular types of migrant behaviours, including behaviours relating to language use or attitudes. However, both the spaces and the migrants themselves are in a case of constant interaction, mutually reshaping people and spaces. Thus, migrants and migrant groups change in constantly evolving spaces, participating in or rejecting certain behaviours, including specifically language attitudes and behaviours. Language attitudes are intrinsically related to language maintenance, especially in relation to minority languages. Further,

---

<sup>4</sup> See Appadurai (1996) for a detailed explanation of the term “linguistic landscapes.”

they have an impact on the integration of immigrants into countries, affecting the degree to which immigrants and their children become bilingual, either constraining or enabling economic or educational outcomes.

Much of what we know about the language behaviour of migrants comes from traditional receiving countries during a particular era of mobility, between World War 2 and the 1980s. Our expectations of the language attitudes and behaviours of migrants are shaped by the work of scholars such as Joshua Fishman in the United States, and Michel Clyne in Australia. This section briefly considers each of these researchers' work, in light of the framework suggested above, asking what specific factors might have contributed to particular outcomes, proposing that some of these factors might be in flux, leading to potentially unexpected language outcome in the future.

Research widely suggests that, in the United States, migrants whose mother tongue is not English can be expected to become English-monolinguals within three generations. Fishman (2004) firmly asserts that while the United States is a nation of immigrants, the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of immigrants have overwhelmingly become English monolinguals, having lost direct and socially patterned contact with speakers of the language brought to this country by their grandparents and great-grandparents. He further argues that the most common migrant experience in the United States is one of language shift to English. Despite the regular arrival of groups of migrants<sup>5</sup>, the United States has never developed a truly multilingual landscape. While this may be the case, one must consider what particular intersection of factors might be held responsible for this outcome. While the migration policy of the USA might have been labelled integrationist, the so-called "melting pot theory", the reality is much closer to an assimilationist model (Modood, 2011), with migrants facing considerable pressure to adopt an "American" life-style, including American English as the language of preference. Shored up by language policies that are permissive rather than supportive (Fishman 2004), languages other than English came under considerable threat. Given the permanent migration model adopted by the USA, and the limited and expensive long-distance communications technologies until the mid 1990s, contact with mother-tongue communities elsewhere in the world was radically constrained. While this thesis simply cannot expand upon this argument fully, one might at least consider that language shift in the USA occurred as a result of a particular confluence of political, economic, technological and social factors.

In another traditionally receiving country, Australia, immigration policies have long been characterised by a strong emphasis on assimilation. While the Immigrant (Education) Act of 1971

---

<sup>5</sup> Fishman (2004) notes the central, then eastern European waves of migrants, followed later by Asian and Hispanic migrations.

established the idea of multiculturalism and the teaching of English as a second language, Jayasuriya (1990: 127) asserts that “the pre-eminent place given to English in matters of public policy and community affairs remains unchallenged, politically uncontested and eminently sensible”. Subsequent legislation, such as National Language Report (1987) of Lo Bianco, asserts the primacy of English in the linguistic landscape of Australia as a force for national identity and cohesion. Clyne (1997:471-472) using census data for a decade from 1986 to 1996, makes two claims. Firstly, that language shift occurs less for those languages that are culturally distant from English and that carry value in the cultural system; and secondly that second generations shift more than first generations with out-group marriage playing a significant role. Clyne acknowledges the era of migration, noting that it is too soon to tell what future language outcomes might arise from increasingly pluralistic language policies.

From my brief review of the language shift literature, two key issues arise. Firstly, much of the migrant language attitudes and practices research comes from traditional receiving countries, many of which held strongly assimilationist or integrationist migration policies. Indeed, migrants were carefully chosen for their economic, political, social and linguistic capacity to integrate into host societies and were then placed into political, economic and social landscapes that made such integration desirable if not inevitable. Secondly, these migrants were, for the most part, long-term settlers, fully intending to hold singular citizenship of the country to which they were migrating. Further, for these migrants, migration signalled an unequivocal break with their country of birth. Long-distance communication and travel were expensive and, typically, outside the reach of migrants attempting to establish themselves in developed world economies.

Mackay (2003) takes issue with three key constructs in language shift research: language users, languages and countries. He begins by arguing that such research, especially of the variety dependent on census data, is plagued by the one-user-one-language misconception. Having pointed out that in much of the developing world, multilingualism, speaking a local language, a regional language and a world language, is not uncommon, he moves on to recognise the argument that the notion of a language, unitary, whole and the same to all its speakers, is a fiction. Finally, he argues that the link between a nation, a people and a language is rapidly failing. The consequence of these three claims, according to Mackay, is that the capacity to forecast the fate of languages is more questionable than it has been for the last hundred or so years. If we accept Mackay’s claims that, in fact, the world is more welcoming of linguistic diversity than it was fifty years ago, then we have to ask whether the migrants of the last ten years will be subject to the same pressures around language use and attitudes than those who migrated in the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the globalized world in which we live, there might be a greater variety of migrant interactions with the complex landscapes of sending and receiving countries, leading to unexpected language outcomes such as new Englishes such as Chicano English (Mesthrie and Bhatt, 2008) and “passing” (Rampton, 2005).

### 1.2.2 Mother-tongue, Ethnic, Heritage...?: Labelling language

Developing a label for the language spoken by immigrants in the land of their birth and in the countries they are currently resident in seems, at first glance, a simple task. There is no shortage of terms from which to choose: heritage language (Cho *et al* 2004), ethnic language (Ndhlovu *et al* 2010), native language (Sparks and Ganschow 1991), ancestral language (Eisenlohr 2004), home language (Clyne and Kipp 2010), language of origin (Brubaker 2001), immigrant minority language (Broeder and Extra 1991), community language (Hornberger 2005), and, allochthonous language (Van Deusen-Scholl 2003). Upon further examination, however, it is the very multiplicity of these terms and the multiple contexts in which they are used that create considerable confusion.

Certain terms, for example heritage, ethnic and native language, seem to be more commonly used and will be considered for possible use in this thesis. While the terms ethnic, native and heritage language are often used interchangeably to describe the languages spoken by immigrants or minority groups in societies, none of these terms is wholly satisfactory, carrying problematic ideological connotations that either misrepresent or fail to capture the increasing range of relationships immigrants have with the language of the land of their birth.

The notion of an ethnic language assumes the existence of a singular ethnic identity with which a singular language is associated. In so doing, it glosses over the complex relationship between identity and ethnicity and pre-emptively asserts the existence and centrality of an ethno-linguistic identity. In a related vein, Wharry (cited in Van Deusen-Scholl 2003:217) notes that some of her subjects claimed as their native language, “a language they could neither speak, write, read nor understand”. Similar objections can be levelled against the use of the term “native language”. Especially in the South African context, “native” has been widely used to indicate anyone not of European or Caucasian descent and thus, the term “native language” has come to be misconstrued as referring only to language spoken by people not European or Caucasian descent.

The term “heritage language”, too, has limitations. While Fishman’s definition, in the US context of “a language of personal relevance other than English” (Van Deusen-Scholl 2003:216), seems devoid of problematic associations, this is far from the case. Central to the notion of “heritage” is a sense of historicity, a sense of “pastness” that may belie the living and lived status of a language in certain domains, creating a sense of distance between “here” and “there” that assumes rather than reflects the migrant experience. Van Deusen-Scholl (2003:216) refers to a number of scholars (Wiley *et al* 1999; Baker and Jones 1998; Garcia 2005) who argue against the use of “heritage language” on grounds of this historical aspect. Further what constitutes a “heritage” language in one country, for example, Spanish in the United States, may well be a widely spoken language elsewhere in the world and that

labelling such a language a “heritage language” may well divorce it from its global context. While one might argue that the label allocated to a language should arise from its local context, the intensification of relations between the global and local make this kind of simplification unhelpful.

Labelling the language spoken by those I interviewed is a fraught process, signalling theoretical positions that I was initially reluctant to assume, and, thus, I chose to allow respondents to nominate the term that they would like to use without undue pressure from me. In interviews, I chose to accommodate respondents’ choice of terminology to label their languages, and where possible avoided using particular terminology myself. When discussing respondents’ comments I have, where possible, referred to languages by name (i.e. Tamil, English etc) and reserved the use of the term heritage language for the languages of groups that have clearly undergone language shift.

### 1.3 Reviewing the framework

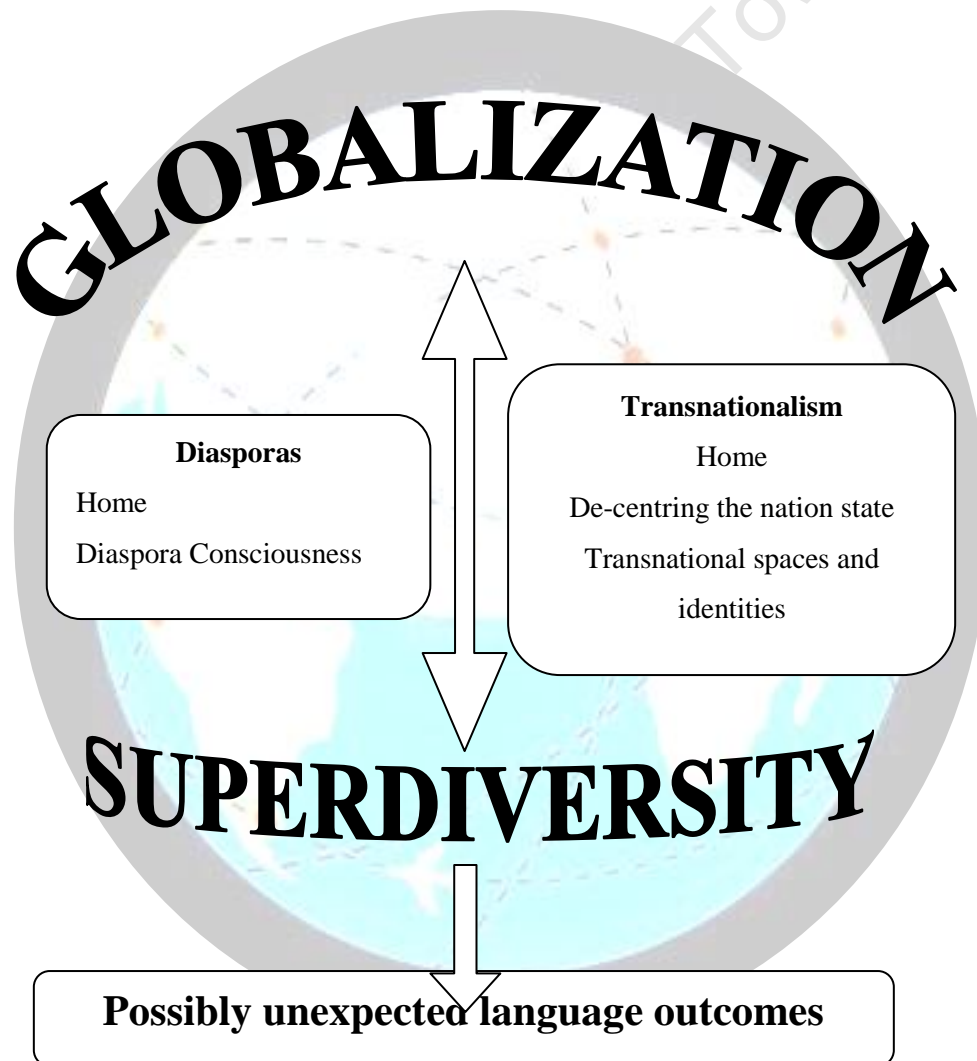


Figure 1: Diagram of theoretical framework

As the diagram above suggests, the forces of globalization and inevitably localization act to produce an environment that can be described by the term “superdiversity”. Drawing together two overlapping fields of terminology from diaspora and transnationalism studies, key themes of home, the nation-state and othering emerge which pose questions for the linguistic outcomes of migrants, especially migrants resident in countries not traditionally thought of as receiving countries that possess less-studied linguistic landscapes.

## 1.4 Topic

This drawing together of two key concepts in mobility studies, diaspora and transnationalism, highlights the presence of a new kind of mobility, birthed in a globalized context, both shaped and characterised by the forces of globalization and superdiversity. In the light of this newly imagined world, I ask if this context, distinct from the shapes of society that have existed previously, has the potential to shape language attitudes and practices in ways that might have been less likely under previous dispensations.

I began this mini-thesis as an attempt to identify the language attitudes and reported practices of a Tamil-speaking, Sri Lankan family who have been living in South Africa for the last 15 years. I sought to describe their attitudes to Tamil, English and Zulu by considering the degree of prestige, the social value, the economic value and the aesthetic value of the language reported by the family, attempting to answer the following:

- What are the attitudes of this family to the languages (and dialects) they encounter?
- What can this family report with regard to language behaviours?
- How do they justify these attitudes and reported behaviours?
- To what extent do the experiences of this family align with the language related experiences of migrants as discussed in existing research?

However, the interview process raised a number of issues related to language attitudes and reported behaviours that have forced me to reconsider the initial framework within which this study was located. Thus, although this thesis began as a description of the reported language attitudes and behaviours of a particular family, in the final instance, it seeks to demonstrate the significant impact of the changing global context on the reported language attitudes and behaviours of this family, admittedly an unusual case, and potentially others in similar situations, by drawing on ideas of transnationalism and diaspora consciousness.

## 1.5 Rationale

This study, conducted under the auspices of the South African Research Chair (SARChI) in Language, Migration and Social Change, sits at the intersection of two fields of inquiry: migration and language. The history of migration from the Indian subcontinent to South Africa has been sporadic. While there is evidence of trade between Africa and India prior to the colonial era, the arrival of significant numbers of Indians as indentured labourers and so-called “passenger Indians” began in the 1860s and ended abruptly in 1911. Under apartheid, the legal movement of people of colour, including South Asians was severely restricted. South Africa’s migration policy under the apartheid era government led to limited immigration into SA. What immigration existed came largely from Europe and via the migrant labour system from the “independent” homelands and neighbouring countries like Botswana and Mozambique. As a result, the presence of migrant communities of Asians (specifically from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka) into SA was severely limited, often deemed to be undesirable and at various times considered to be illegal by both South Africa and various Asian countries. Those few who immigrated during the last years of apartheid seem to have been absorbed into the existing Indian community. Following the first democratic election in 1994 and South Africa’s re-admittance into the international fold, changes in migration patterns are likely to emerge.

However, there are still few studies available on the presence of South Asian migrants in SA. Conventionally, such studies would be accomplished through the application of large scale questionnaires. This study is intended to be precursor to a more comprehensive study of South Asian migrants to SA.

## 1.6 Outline of Thesis

Chapter 1 seeks to contextualize this study. It provides a detailed review of diaspora and transnationalism, seeking key concepts to frame respondents’ experiences. It considers some of the literature on globalization, seeing this as a background for current understandings of diaspora and transnationalism. The chapter argues that South Africa’s particular socio-economic and political situation has radically limited study of recent South Asian migrants to South Africa, creating both an opportunity and rationale for such a study. Critically, this chapter situates this study within the field of linguistics, using concepts such as language contact, with its corollaries of maintenance and loss, and power to contextualise this thesis.

Chapter 2 reviews the history of language attitude studies, highlighting the theoretical and methodological contributions relevant to this study. It considers the affordances and limitations of various methodological options in the context of the logistical constraints of this study, including direct and indirect methods and ethnographic case studies, before providing a rationale for the methodological choices of this thesis. This is followed by a discussion of the ethical concerns of such a study and the constraints of the methodology chosen.

Chapter 3 introduces the concept of “layering”, drawing on literature to briefly describe the multi-layered landscape in which these migrants function. The chapter offers a description of the family’s linguistic repertoire and situated language attitudes in light of the context of acquisition. It reports specifically on the family’s three key languages, Tamil, Sanskrit and English, and the attitudes and practices reported in relation to these languages. This chapter is arranged according to the functions that family members attribute to these three languages, including acts of affiliation and disaffiliation.

The final chapter reviews the theoretical foundations of this study as a frame for the situated identities and emphasizes the metaphor of “layering” for understanding language attitudes and practices in a globalized context.

# CHAPTER 2: In search of a methodology for language attitude research

## 2.1 Introduction

This chapter will briefly review a range of language attitude studies, describing the methodologies used in an attempt to elicit attitudes, and noting specifically how the behaviouralist or mentalist approach affects the research design. Both behavioural and mentalist approaches have faced critique that rightly challenges the capacity of each approach to make strong claims about attitudes. In order to compensate for these weaknesses, a study might triangulate methodologies; comparing data from surveys, interviews and “living in the community” in order to reach as definitive and nuanced an understanding of attitudes in context, *situated attitudes*, as possible. While such an undertaking would produce the most useful findings, it is beyond the scope of this mini thesis. Thus, this chapter will address the theoretical demands of such a study, while this research focused, in practice, on the initial stage of such a project.

## 2.2. Theory of Language Attitude Studies

The concept, “language attitudes” brings together two complicated bodies of meaning. Trying to define language brings to the table issues of the stability of language: geographically, or in ways relating to ethnicity, religion, gender or age. English is an elucidating case. We have, until quite recently, spoken of English as if it were a singular, immutable system. However, as Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008:3) argue in their justification of why the term “English language complex” might more accurately capture the array of types of English that are used than simply English:

It has become customary to use the plural form “Englishes” to stress the diversity to be found in the language today, and to stress that English no longer has one single base of authority, prestige and normativity.

Thus when talking about the language in language attitudes, the waters are far from clear, leading to the very real possibility of misunderstanding between interviewer and respondent.

Similarly, attitudes are often spoken of as if they were stable and assessable, as if we could measure them directly, while they are more valuably seen as complex, contextualised constructs incorporating a cognitive and affective dimension. Richards and Schmidt, in the Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics (1992:199), define “language attitude” as:

The attitude which speakers of different languages or language varieties have towards each others' languages or to their own language. Expressions of positive or negative feelings towards a language may reflect impressions of linguistic difficulty or simplicity, ease or difficulty of learning, degree of importance, elegance, social status, etc.

According to Fasold (1987: 147), language attitudes are distinguished from other attitudes by the fact that they are precisely about language. He further points out that some language-attitude studies are strictly limited to attitudes towards language itself. Subjects in these studies are asked if they think a given language variety is "rich" or "poor", "beautiful" or "ugly", "sweet sounding" or "harsh" and the like. He notes that the definition of language attitudes can be broadened to include attitudes toward speakers of a particular language or dialect. Language attitude research falls into two camps, research on attitudes to a language or research focussed on attitudes towards speakers of a language. Botsali (1995, in Karahan 2004) describes such research as focused on attitudes towards the language itself, in terms of formal structures of language such as lexical, grammatical, and phonological structures; individual languages; diglossic situations; ethnicity; dialects; accents; second language learning; language used in television advertisements and broadcasts. Where research has turned to language speakers, it has investigated speakers' attitudes towards themselves; teachers' attitudes towards their students; attitudes in employment; and attitudes towards speakers coming from different social groups (Botsali 1995: 11-14).

Theoretically, the structure of a language attitude study can be understood to be influenced by three key factors: the definition of language attitudes, the level at which the attitude is being assessed, and the field or context in which the research is undertaken.

The definition of language attitudes (see Section 1.3.3) results in considerable complexity in the design of studies intended to investigate language attitudes. As Fishman (1970:137) notes, variation in definition results in variation in both theoretical construction and methodology. Behaviourist understandings of attitude result in methodologies focussed on observable actions and responses, reducing attitude to the status of a dependable, observable variable (Fishman 1970: 138). Examples of such studies include Lambert et al. (1960), O'Ragain (1993) and Bayard et al (2001).

Alternatively, a mentalist conception of attitude gives rise to methodologies focussed on subject "introspection" from which inferences about attitude can be drawn (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 138). Examples of such studies include the work of Garrett, Coupland and Williams (1995) and Ndhlovu (2010).

While both behavioural and mentalist conceptions of attitude have much to commend them, a definition of attitudes that combines these perspectives, and adopts a social constructionist perspective is most useful for this study. Edwards (2011) proposes a definition of attitudes that contains a cognitive component, an affective component and an action (or predisposition to act) component, and frames these in terms of Wicker's (1969, as cited in Edwards 2011) "situational threshold". The notion that attitudes exist in the moment and space of an interaction has significant consequences for any study interested in language attitudes.

Various researchers have noted that research design is also influenced by the level of language attitude being elicited and assessed. Agheyisi and Fishman (1970:141) claim that the three broad levels of language attitude design can be related to the objective of the research. Studies can focus on the language itself, conventionally establishing qualities which listeners attribute to the language itself. These commonly include descriptors such as beautiful, musical, interesting and richer (Garrett 2010; Karahan 2004). Alternatively, the focus can be on the speaker/listener of a language, conventionally establishing the extent to which the speaker is viewed as superior, socially attractive or dynamic (Zahn and Hopper 1985 in Garrett, 2001:628). Finally, language studies may opt to elicit attitudes related to implementation, including language use, proficiency, education and planning (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970). More recently, Karahan (2004: 63), drawing on Botsali (1995 in Karahan 2004), suggested a binary split in the construction of language attitude studies between studies attempting to investigate attitudes related to the language itself and attitudes pertaining to speakers of the language, conflating Agheyisi and Fishman's levels pertaining to language and implementation.

Although all language attitude research can be categorised primarily in terms of the behaviouralist/mentalist distinction already discussed, the field in which this research is conducted tend to also have consequences for the design. Fields of study such as education or language planning tend to focus their studies at Agheyisi and Fishman's third level, that of implementation (for examples see: Day 1980; Hill and Hill 1980; De Klerk and Bosch 1995; Cargile and Giles 1997; and Mucherah and Yoder 2008). Further, studies in the fields of education and language planning have tended to use large-scale survey methods, targeting hundreds of respondents (for examples see: Gorter 1987; Beykont 2010). In contrast, studies in the fields of identity research have tended to favour interview or ethnographic methods, sometimes in combination with survey-type questionnaires (for examples see: Akere 1982; Tsitsipis and Elmendorf 1983; De Klerk and Barkhuizen 2001; De Ruiter 2008).

Thus, the methodological choices of this study are shaped by prevalent understandings of attitudes, the levels of attitudes this study was interested in and the field of research in which I chose to locate my study.

## 2.3 History of Language Attitude and Behaviour Studies

This section will address the direct approaches to language attitude research and the critiques levelled against such approaches, indirect approaches and the critiques that challenge these, and finally, ethnography as a way of thinking about language attitude research.

### 2.3.1 Direct Approaches: Questionnaire and Interview techniques

Some of the earliest investigations of language attitudes, including choice and usage, education, planning, bilingualism, and dialectology was accomplished through the use of questionnaire techniques. As early as 1970, Agheyisi and Fishman (1970: 142 – 144) described the questionnaire as “the most popular instrument for eliciting data”, providing a list of more than 27 language attitude studies that made use of questionnaire techniques. Despite some critique of the questionnaire as a means for eliciting language attitudes, language attitude studies, including recent studies by Mucherah (2008), Garrett and Young (2009) and Ndhlovu (2010), continue to use this method. Garret et al (2009) used a questionnaire to investigate Welsh ethnolinguistic identification, grouping both closed and open-ended items under four categories: attitudes to the Welsh language, knowledge about Wales, feelings about Wales and being Welsh and involvement in Welsh activities. Mucherah (2008) and Ndhlovu (2010) both used questionnaire techniques to establish the language attitudes of migrants in the United States and Australia respectively, using purposive sampling techniques and allowing respondents to return questionnaires by mail. Both researchers had about a 50% return rate<sup>6</sup>. Although questionnaires produce easily coded and analysed data, data collection opportunities are restricted.

While the questionnaire or survey technique has the capacity to generate a great deal of information very rapidly, it has been criticised on two grounds. Firstly, many questionnaires suffer from poor construction with ambiguous, leading or difficult to understand questions. However, careful construction can overcome this pitfall, increasing validity and reliability (Boynton and Greenhalgh 2004). Secondly, and more difficult to refute, however, is the argument that attitudes are socially constructed phenomena, which are inextricably associated with the social context in which they are expressed. Edwards (2011) reviews the work of La Pierre (1928; 1934 in Edwards, 2011) on racial attitudes which powerfully challenges the capacity of individuals to predict their actions, despite their affective or cognitive expressions. Thus, even if questionnaires are able to directly elicit attitudes, the

---

<sup>6</sup> Mucherah’s sample consisted of 218 questionnaires (out of 400) while Ndhlovu’s respondents only returned 20 questionnaires (out of 40, with one being spoilt).

value of the expression of such cognitive and affective positions outside of a meaningful social context can be questioned.

As a technique, interviews have been used by researchers espousing behaviouralist and mentalist view of attitudes. While mentalists ask questions specifically about attitudes and use this information as their data, behaviouralists have taken the interview transcripts and using linguistic theory to inform their analysis, demonstrated attitude. An example of the mentalist use of interview data is the research of De Klerk and Barkhuizen (2001) on the linguistic landscape of South African prisons. Interview data was combined with observations in order to produce as full a description of language use and belief as possible within a prison environment. On the other hand, Harlow's work on Maori attitudes to English and Maori is a useful example of a behaviouralist use of interview data (2005). Harlow differentiates between overt attitudes, consciously held which can be verbally expressed, and covert attitudes, largely unconscious and which a respondent is unlikely to be able or willing to express. Using a syntactic analysis of sentence structure, albeit briefly, Harlow argues that, despite largely positive attitudes to Maori, there is considerable interference at a syntactic level from English, which he claims hints at a covert valuing of English (2005).

### **2.3.2 Indirect Approaches: Matched Guise and Verbal Guise Studies**

The indirect approaches to investigating language attitudes are based on the belief that subjects cannot accurately report on their language attitudes and choices and must be observed displaying an attitude or engaging in a practice. The earliest versions of these approaches used experimental designs such as the matched and verbal guise techniques. Later studies have been situated in an ethnographic paradigm, observing practices in context and inferring attitudes from these behaviours.

Developed in the 1950s by Lambert et al (cited in Garret, Coupland and Williams 2003), the matched guise technique (MGT) and verbal guise study involves administering an experimental procedure which misleads respondents about the purpose of the study. Designed in response to the critiques of survey-type questionnaires, this methodology, described by Garret (2010: 57) as a "neat and rigorous design", aims to indirectly elicit subjects' private attitudes. In the MGT and VGT subjects are, most commonly, presented with audio texts and rate these texts according to attitude rating scales. The audio texts are constructed differently for different studies. Respondents complete a series of attitude assessing questions after hearing the audio texts. Matched and verbal guise studies have been used largely within languages to ascertain respondents' reported attitudes to speakers of varieties of a language. Similar techniques, using stimuli presented in different languages, have been used to elicit respondents' attitudes to languages and speakers of languages other than their own.

### **2.3.3 Limitations of Direct and Indirect Approaches**

The preceding sections have examined two approaches to language attitude studies: the direct approach and the indirect approach, briefly reviewing exemplars of these types of methodology. However, both types of methodology have faced criticism.

Although direct approaches are cost and time efficient, generalisable in the case of large scale studies and, if carefully constructed, they have been challenged for the assumption that respondents can report on their attitudes to language and language implementation. Although interviews can produce rich, nuanced data, obtaining “good” interview data is very much an art, reliant on the skill of the interviewer. Secondly, such data is challenged by the argument that respondents, because of the interviewer’s presence, respond not only to the question, but also to the interviewer. Their responses might be shaped by who is doing the asking with factors such as in-group/ out-group status, age, gender, perceived class and ethnicity playing a role in shaping what respondents feel may or may not be said, or choose to say or omit. Thus, interviews, while producing interesting data, may not offer the most complete on the attitudes or reported behaviours of migrants. Finally, interviews offer particular analytical challenges to the researcher. Unlike questionnaires, which are largely close-ended or offer only restricted opportunities for the respondent, interviews may result in large quantities of data which are less easily coded than questionnaire data.

At the opposite end of the spectrum, indirect approaches which try to avoid respondents giving calculated responses can be criticised for taking too experimental a stance, attempting to study attitudes out of social contexts and reducing attitudes to observable behaviours (Garret, Coupland and Williams 2003). The following section draws on the case study literature of social studies to consider an alternative way of studying language attitudes.

### **2.3.4 Case Study Theory**

Various definitions of case studies point to differing key concepts. Gillham (2000) defines a case study as investigating a case (an individual, group, community or institution, although other researchers include countries) in order to answer a particular research question. Mabry usefully extends Gillham’s definition of a case to include processes such as a case study of an intervention or an evaluation (2008). While Gillham’s wide category of case may be useful, his insistence on “a particular research question” contrasts with Gomm and Hammersley’s (2003) emphasis on a lack of structure and notions of case study research as “exploratory”. Yin (2003) and Mabry (2008) sidestep a direct definition for a description of when a case study methodology is most apt. Yin (2003: 4) claims

that this is when “the phenomenon under study is not readily distinguishable from its context” and Mabry asserts that a case study is an “[e]mpirical investigation of a specific or bounded phenomenon” (2008: 215).

Describing the goal of case-study research has, like the definition, been approached from multiple perspectives. Gomm and Hammersley (2003) situate case studies in opposition to experiment and survey based research, hinting at an expansionist as opposed to reductionist paradigm. Thus, while the goal of scientific research is to uncover the broad principles which govern outcomes, the goal of case study research is a deep understanding of people’s experiences and perceptions in particular demographic contexts (Mabry 2008). While case-studies may seek to describe cases, they also seek to reflect, through the researcher, networks of meaning that are attributed to events by participants.

Case study is variously described as method and approach; each of which has particular theoretical consequences. Stark and Torrance (2004) acknowledge the popularity of case study methods in the social sciences which tend to assume a constructivist position, in contrast to fields such as medicine or criminology which assume a more positivist position. In a similar vein, Gomm, Hammersley and Foster (2003) claim that when case study is viewed as an approach rather than a method, it points to a particular way of seeing research in the world as naturalistic and constructivist, as opposed to positivist and interpretivist. As an approach, case study informs the selection of a site and participants, the development of a method, and can even impact the way in which research is reported.

Drawing then on these descriptions of case-study research, one must clarify the kinds of claims that case studies can typically make. While case-studies are concerned with validity and generalisability, this is typically in different ways than experimental methodologies that seek to ensure the replicability of findings. Case studies, while concerned with the validity of data, acknowledge that, captured in a naturalistic setting with a particular researcher, it is unlikely that such data, the product of a very specific context, will be reproduced. Thus, case-studies avoid attempting to generate grand theory, aiming instead for what Mabry (2008) terms “petite generalizations” and interpretations that are carefully contextualised and framed by theoretical perspectives. In order to strengthen claims of validity, triangulation by data source, time, observer and theory can be implemented.

Unlike experimental methodologies that demand an inflexible data collection method to ensure the replicability of the research, case-study methodology can allow an iterative, emergent design using purposive sampling. In a naturalistic setting, a researcher has an opportunity to engage in mixed method data collection that focuses the study over a period of time. Typically, in case studies, researchers observe participants and events, conduct interviews and collect documentation. Semi-structured interview methods allow researchers to pursue topics of interest in areas where there is little

existing research. The analysis of data gathered tends, according to Mabry (2008) to follow either a grounded theory or thematic analysis approach.

Developing in response to more scientific methodologies within the social sciences, case-study theory apportions a very particular role to the researcher. In tracing the historical antecedents of case-study research, Mabry (2008: 215) locates case-study theory within a constructivist paradigm, citing Nietzsche (1882) who said “We behold all things through the human head” and Erickson (1986) who demanded researchers “put *mind* back into the picture”. Unlike in more positivist approaches, “case study researchers work to document human perception and experiences, consciously using their own perceptions in the process” (Mabry 2008:215). Researchers assume a particularly active role in the selection of cases, a process which is driven by researcher’s interest, industry in locating a suitably informative case and skill in gaining access to the site of research.

The position of the researcher in case study research has two categories of consequences: theoretical and pragmatic. Theoretically, a researcher’s status as internal or external to a community can impact on their interpretation of the data. Insider-researchers may find it difficult to avoid accusations of vested interests or face the challenge of distancing themselves sufficiently to consider alternative theoretical positions. On the other hand, outsider-researchers may struggle to engage with data in the context of the case, lacking the tools to understand local meaning or to identify subtle variations within groups. On a pragmatic note, the proximity of researchers to their subjects may result in changed patterns of interactions or inappropriate dependencies.

### **2.3.5 An Ethnographic Comment on Language Research**

Studies conducted under the banner of ethnography provide an alternate source of data on attitudes to language. Blommaert and Jie (2010:3), in their introduction to *Ethnographic Fieldwork: A Beginner’s Guide*, highlight respondents’ limited ability to report their linguistic behaviour. This theoretical stance seems to support the behaviourist approach to language attitude studies while challenging the more direct techniques employed by language attitude studies, such as questionnaires and interviews. However, in the following chapter, they argue that ethnography, far from being simply a method, is a paradigm that defines language as “a set of resources”, that

deeply situates language in a web of relations of power, a dynamics of availability and accessibility, a situatedness of single acts vis a vis larger social and historical patterns such as genres and traditions (2010:8).

It is this notion of a situated language that is particularly salient for understanding the language attitudes and reported practices of migrants in this study.

The ethnographic understanding of language, with its emphasis on language as a resource, product and process of a community, can inform techniques for eliciting language attitude, providing, not only a specific methodology or technique, but also a way of thinking about the data collected in this way. Blommaert and Jie's (2010) description of the ethnographic view of language contrasts with the notion of language as a neutral tool.

Language in this tradition is defined as a resource to be used, employed and exploited by human beings in social life and hence socially consequent for humans....To language, there is always a particular function, a concrete shape, a specific mode of operation and an identifiable set of relations between singular acts of language and wider patterns of resources and their functions. Language is context, it is the architecture of social behaviour itself, and thus part of social structure and social relations.

(Blommaert and Jie 2010:7)

The results of ethnographic studies are sometimes challenged on their capacity to be representative. Blommaert and Jie (2010: 13) tackle the issue of representativeness by arguing that, as an inductive science, ethnography works toward theory, rather than from theory to data; thus theory emerges from the data. Ethnographic approaches which offer a useful way of thinking about language and gathering of data, rely to a large extent on the researcher's conceptual frameworks (Blommaert and Jie, 2010: 12), and are not exempt from the observer paradox.

## **2.4 Description of this study and the participants**

The methodology for this study underwent a series of iterations, influenced in part by theory, and in part by the constraints of time and access. Having stumbled upon the method-approach of a case study, I realised that this could provide a more meaningful framework for study. I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with one migrant family. Interviews were divided into three sections: demographic details, what their life was and is like in Sri Lanka and what it is like in South Africa. I asked specifically about family networks, travel, and technology access and use. However, because of the roles of the various family members and issues of what was or was not appropriate to ask individuals, each interview was guided to a large extent by what the individual family members wanted to talk about. In addition to the semi-formal interviews, I was able to interact with the family in other ways, depending on which family member I was observing. This family has visited my parents' home periodically, and these interactions while not appearing directly in this text, no doubt inform my claims. I was able to visit the temple with my father when he performs prayers and while not directly involved was able to observe and interact with the family. Finally, my teaching

background allowed me to offer assistance with the children's homework which was accepted, allowing me to see both written work and to talk about school in a school context.

The nuclear family with which I interacted has five members: the father is a priest, the mother a housewife, and three children, two boys, and a girl. My key male informant arrived in South Africa shortly before the 1994 elections. His uncle had suggested that he come to Kwazulu Natal, as the local Tamil community in Pietermaritzburg required the services of an additional priest. He arrived as a single man and was apprenticed to his uncle who served at one of the temples in Pietermaritzburg. After living and working in Pietermaritzburg for a few years, his family organized a suitable girl from Sri Lanka. The pair met for the first time in Sri Lanka a month before the wedding ceremony. The wedding was carried out in Sri Lanka before the couple returned to South Africa. They lived in accommodation on the temple property along with another priest. While they were living on the property, they had three children, two boys and a girl. When the oldest was in Grade 1, a close relative in Sri Lanka became seriously ill. The female informant and the three children returned to Sri Lanka for a period of five years, to take care of the ailing relative. During this time, the children attended Tamil-medium schools in Sri Lanka. The male informant visited the family annually until they were able to return to South Africa some six years later. Since then, the family have lived in Pietermaritzburg where the children have attended English medium schools. They have since established a second, satellite temple in a previously Indian suburb in Pietermaritzburg, where once again, they live on the property. The children's grandparents have visited and the family has made multiple trips to Sri Lanka and to a sibling in Norway.

## **2.5 Limitations**

Although the design of this study attempted to elicit the attitudes of the informants, the definition of "attitude" provided in Chapter 1, embedded as it is within varying contexts and constraints, suggests that a complete or accurate assessment of such an attitude is beyond the scope of this research. Participant self-reports are almost certain to be shaped by some sense of self and the interviewer. Attitudes might have been presented in ways that participants felt would best reflect on them or align with my expectations of them. Participants might have censored certain attitudes that they might have thought I would find offensive.

Alternatively, attitudes can be inferred from behaviour. There are two concerns with this approach. Firstly, the researcher might not possess the linguistic and cultural codes to infer most accurately the motivation behind actions. Secondly, behaviour can not be held to be a representation of internal phenomena as behaviour is shaped by the presence, real or imagined, of other actors and situational

constraints pertaining to identity and power. Thus this study acknowledges the challenges of accessing attitudinal data.

While I am female, and come from a partly Tamil-speaking background, I am English-speaking, and do not identify as Hindu. My life-style and choices fall very far from those my heritage community espouses as ideals of goodness or femininity. As a result of these, I am very much an outsider to the family in question. However, the family are family friends, and they visit periodically. Thus, I hold an odd relationship in relation to my participants – I am both close to them and yet not like them. We live in the same community and yet we access very different identities from outside of that community. This different-but-close relationship both allowed for certain confidences and limited what respondents were able or willing to share. My own inability to fit unobtrusively into their home, for both linguistic and religious reasons, limited my capacity to engage in truly ethnographic work.

This study does not make any claims to generalisability. What it does do is offer a special case that falls outside the bounds of South Asian migrant language behaviour in the South African context. In addition to offering possible reasons for this difference, this thesis argues the need to consider the language attitudes and behaviours of new South Asian migrants to South Africa outside of the traditional paradigm.

## **2.6 Ethics**

Fischer and Anushko (2008) suggest three guidelines to ensure ethical treatment of subjects: beneficence, respect and justice. Beneficence highlights the need to maximise research outcomes while not harming research subjects or participants. While Fischer and Anushko (2008) define respect as ensuring voluntary participation and the acquisition of informed consent, Mabry (2008) argues that respect should, in the context of qualitative research, be extended to the representation of participants in a way that they do not find offensive or misleading. Fischer and Anushko (2008) deem justice to be concerned with apportioning both researcher interest, and research costs and benefits across populations.

In the case of exploratory research, obtaining informed consent can be argued to be impossible, unless it is obtained both prior to the data gathering process and after the data has been analysed. In the case of the participants in this study, consent was verbally obtained prior to the interviewing process. Respondents were offered the opportunity to decline interviews. Participants were assured that the tapes that I recorded were exclusively for research purposes. However, due to the size of the community in question, they were alerted to the fact that absolute anonymity could not be guaranteed.

Researchers are warned against an invasion of privacy. During the interview process, I encouraged respondents to say if they did not want to answer a question. As these interviews were conducted within a family group, the risk of upsetting family interactions or introducing an external element into the family structure was high. Obtaining access to the children was critical. Although both parents very kindly gave consent and brushed off my concerns with anonymity or harm, I was nonetheless anxious about engaging with the children. One of my most serious concerns about the process was how my interaction with the daughter might affect her. Unlike the rest of the family, who are privileged by traditional structures, she is not. My concern was that even just asking her questions might lead her to question her parents and suffer adverse consequences. In order to prevent this, I opted to avoid certain questions that I felt she was too young to answer. In addition, the parents did not offer me access to their youngest son, who experiences social and learning difficulties. Although this is widely known through the temple community, the nature of these difficulties is deemed to be private and is not discussed.

# **CHAPTER 3: “Moving up”, “Fitting in” and “Standing out”: a migrant family’s reported attitudes and language practices**

## **3.1 Introduction**

As noted in Chapter 1, mobility has changed the ways migrants function in, and conceive of, the world they inhabit. These changes can be seen in the way that migrants’ conceptualizations of home have shifted, associated with shifting understandings of identity, with migrants in increasingly diverse situations constructing their identities in relation to evermore diverse “others”. This chapter begins by describing, briefly, two locations (Sri Lanka and South Africa) and a virtual place, the Sri Lankan diaspora, as a context for the experiences of this migrant family. Following this, the chapter describes family members’ reported repertoire before considering the family’s reported language attitudes and use within the framework of identity linguistic construction of identity. The chapter concludes with a reflection on the possible implications of these reported language attitudes and behaviours for language shift, loss or maintenance for this family in the South African context.

## **3.2 Language Places**

Places are geographical and imagined sites of attitudes and practices. Before describing the family’s language repertoire, an examination of two geographical and one diaspora space was necessary. Only a brief description is offered here, although a more detailed review of the relevant literature can be found in Appendix B and C.

### **3.2.1 Sri Lanka**

According to the 2001 National Census, 73.8% of Sri Lanka’s population is Sinhalese, 7.2% Moor, 4.6% Indian Tamils, and 3.9% Sri Lankan Tamils. Religious denominations are similarly distributed: 69.1% is Buddhist, 7.6% Muslim, 7.1% Hindu and 6.2% Christian (CIA 2011). The national and official language is Sinhala (Punchi 1999), spoken by 74% of the population, while Tamil, spoken by 18% of the populace, has the status of a national language (CIA 2011). English, taught in schools, is spoken competently by only 10% of the population. Sri Lanka’s language policies are at the heart of the complex political situation that exists on the island. In the Sri Lankan case, the close association

between language, ethnicity and religion has resulted in the use of the terms Tamil and Sinhalese as labels for both ethnicities and languages. Further, each ethno-linguistic group is strongly associated with a particular religion and cultural practices: Tamils, largely with Hinduism, and Sinhalese with Buddhism.

Sri Lanka's 25 year long civil war between the Sinhalese majority and Tamil minority formally ended in May 2009. Fuglerud (1999) attributed the displacement of between 400 000 and 700 000 Tamils and the death of at least 70 000 citizens to civil war (Bandarage 2009: 1). Despite this, the Human Development Index places Sri Lanka 81<sup>st</sup> in the world, due largely to Sri Lanka's high rate of adult literacy (91.4%), life expectancy (72 years) and income levels, while its per capita income places the country at the lower end of middle- income countries, ranking 100 out of 174 countries (Srikandarajah 2002). According to Srikandarajah (2002), the improvements to Sri Lanka's welfare and GDP can be attributed to increases in export earnings, private remittances, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and development assistance. (See Appendix B for a more detailed description of Sri Lanka.)

### **3.2.2 The Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora**

Describing Sri Lanka as a "migrant-sending" country, Srikandarajah (2002) distinguishes between the "maid" and the "refugee" streams of migration. Labour migration, largely associated with the Sinhalese and Muslim Tamils, is characterised as a voluntary movement, motivated by economic factors. It is temporary and typically involves a single migrant who migrates through formal channels. In contrast, Srikandarajah's "refugee" or diasporic migrant is driven by the ongoing conflict and is typically Tamil-speaking Hindu who migrates permanently with a family group through informal channels (2002).

There are a number of estimates of the size and dispersion of the Tamil diaspora. The Sri Lankan National Migration Policy (2008) reports estimates that over one million Sri Lankan migrants work overseas with in excess of 200 000 migrants leaving annually. Almost half of the Tamil-speaking population of the north and east provinces of Sri Lanka were displaced, internally and externally, by the civil war, and of that more than 700 000 Tamil-speaking Sri Lankans found refuge internationally (Fuglerud 1999; Srikandarajah 2004) in countries like Canada and the United Kingdom (see Appendix A).

In a study of the role of the family in language maintenance in three sites in the Sri Lankan diaspora, Canagarajah describes a clear and rapid shift towards English. Children are described as being more proficient in English than Tamil, even if they are bilingual, choosing to speak to each other in English.

Canagarajah’s analysis of his data suggests that this “attrition crosses lines of gender, class, and country of residency in the Tamil diaspora”.

### 3.2.3 South Africa in the mid-1990s

South Africa, in the mid-1990s, had held its first democratic general election and turned its attention to creating a national identity. In the face of overwhelming social and economic challenges, discourses and acts of exclusion of legal and undocumented migrants were pursued through policy and policing (Perbedy, 2001). Figure 2, below, illustrates the regions of origin of legal migrants over a five year period. The figure demonstrates a reduction in the number of migrants from Asia this period.

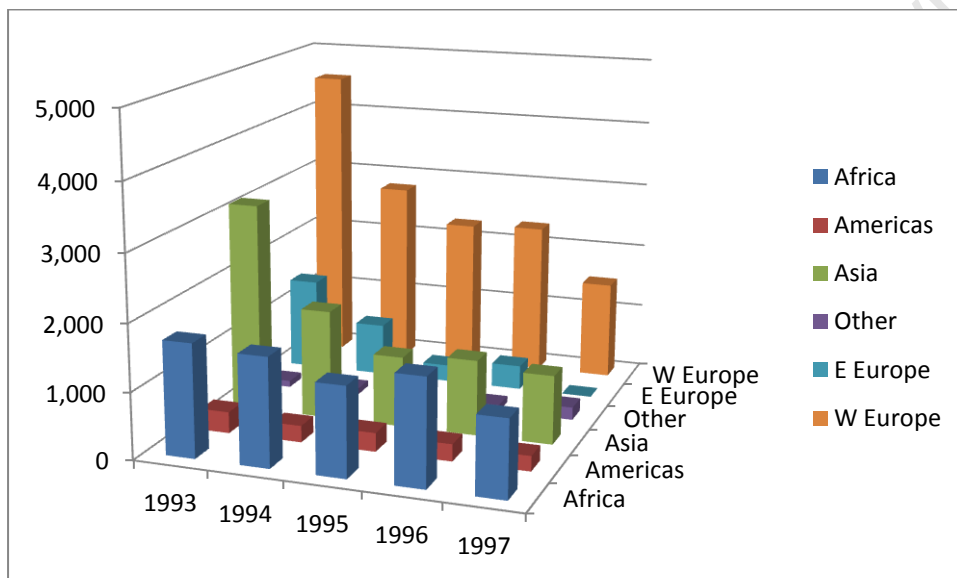


Figure 2: Number of legal migrants to South Africa (1993 - 1997) (StatsSA, 2001)

While the number of migrants from Asia reduced over this period, a regional perspective conceals conflicting trends at the national level. Figure 3, for the same time period, shows that while the number of Chinese and Taiwanese migrants reduced radically, the number of migrants from India grew fractionally. The migrants I have studied are most likely to be seen as part of this group.

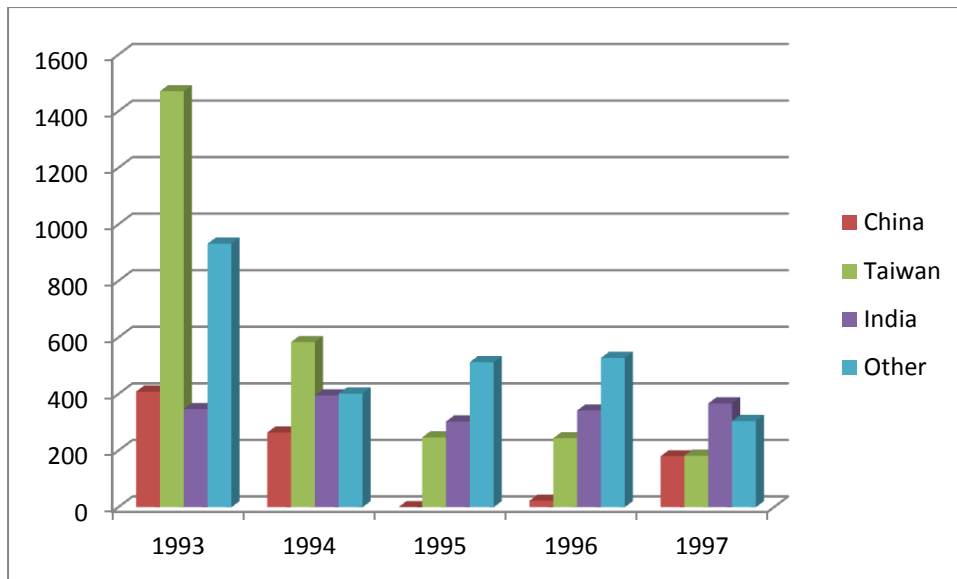


Figure 3: Composition of Asian Migrants to South Africa (1993 - 1997) (StatsSA, 2001)

South Africa's particular colonial history<sup>7</sup> resulted in a country of great linguistic diversity<sup>8</sup> which was then kept linguistically segregated by the apartheid philosophy of separate development. The enforced social, political and economic separation of races and ethnicities imposed by the apartheid state led, in part, to the development and subsequent preservation of distinct, racially bounded varieties of South African English (SAE) such as South African Indian English (SAIE), Black South African English (BSAE) and Cape Flats English (Kamwangamalu 2006). The transition to majority rule in 1994, the integration of the education systems and the promotion of indigenous and minority languages have resulted in significant, if slow moving, changes to the South African linguistic landscape.

SAIE, arguably the variety of English most commonly spoken in Kwazulu Natal by South Africans of Indian descent (Mesthrie 2006), is characterised by specific lexical choices, regularly different syntactic formulations, morphological and phonological differences from other varieties (see Mesthrie 2006 for a detailed discussion). In addition to SAIE, migrants to South Africa in the 1990s would have encountered two other forms of English: so-called standard English, largely spoken by white, middle-class speakers; and Black South African English, sometimes characterised as an English second language variety spoken by black speakers and carrying specific phonological and syntactical

<sup>7</sup> "Discovery" and subsequent colonisation by the Dutch, followed by the English and the importation of indentured and slave labour from the East

<sup>8</sup> There are more than 25 recognised languages, from three distinct families African, European and Asian, spoken in SA and in most cases more than one variety of each is spoken.

features. Migrants are likely to have encountered some Afrikaans, in all likelihood through the media and for school-going children, the education system. Finally, in Kwazulu Natal, Zulu is widely spoken as a mother tongue but migrants, on grounds of their ethnicity, are likely to have been exposed to Fanagalo, a Zulu pidgin, spoken by many South African Indians. (See Appendix C for further detail.)

### **3.3 Family Language Repertoire**

In the context of this study, it is valuable to attempt to delineate the languages and ranges of languages that the family is likely to have access to. While a list of such languages might be a good starting point, it is hardly an adequate description of the parts, what Blommaert calls “fragments” (2010), of a language they might have access to. In order to do this, I draw on the explanation of the English Language Complex offered by Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008) and Fought (2006) to consider the varieties or parts of varieties that might be of use. In addition, the section also briefly indicates their exposure to other languages in the South African linguistic landscape.

#### **3.3.1 Tamil**

All the family members describe Tamil as their mother-tongue, learnt in the home and from birth and the family almost exclusively speak Tamil to each other. This includes, they report, situations when only family members are present, or, when in the presence of others, something needs to be efficiently and authoritatively communicated such as an instruction to the children. The family use Tamil when conversing socially with other speakers of, in particular, Sri Lankan Tamil; it is their preferred medium of conversation. Conversation with grandparents via weekly phone calls also happens through the medium of Tamil and does contact with the rest of the family including an uncle and cousins in Norway.

The family’s use of Tamil with South Africans is limited. While the parents will inevitably greet South African Indians in Tamil, the younger members of the family limit their use of Tamil with South Africans and will exchange greetings in English. The parents will conduct more extensive conversation in Tamil with older Tamil-speakers, but will generally, by report and observation, change rapidly to English after customary greetings have been concluded.

Most media, religious books, television shows, films and music are in Tamil. The family subscribe to the Tamil bouquet on DSTV. Conversely, there is, it seems by choice, little access to such media in English with the exception of materials related to education.

### 3.3.2 Sanskrit

In addition to regular and widespread use of Tamil in a range of domains, both in South Africa or on regular and extended trips to Sri Lanka, the family uses Sanskrit for religious purposes. Sanskrit is used daily, in both private and public prayer. It is introduced at a young age, especially for the male members of the family, by participation in religious activities, prayers and rituals. Female family members' access to Sanskrit is reported to be slightly constrained, possibly as a result of more limited access to religious ritual to which Sanskrit is central. Nonetheless, both female members of the family report assisting in prayer (although I have not personally witnessed this) for which the use of Sanskrit would be unavoidable.

### 3.3.3 Englishes

Using McArthur's description of the English Language Complex (2003, as summarised in Mesthrie and Bhatt, 2008), and Fought's (2006:73) description of coding for multiple identities as guides, it is possible to describe the English linguistic repertoires of family members. While the family speak an ESL form of English, the ways in which this was acquired and the precise limits of it vary within the family. It is the degrees of difference in acquisition, capacity and domains of use that have consequences for how individuals might use their linguistic repertoire to produce identities.

Both the parents initially acquired English from the Sri Lankan school system, as a subject that was taught at school, rather than a language of learning and teaching. Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008:5) describe two varieties of English, English Second Language (ESL) and English Foreign Language (EFL) which are helpful in categorising the parents' usage. They describe ESL varieties as arising out of a colonial context where English did and continues to play a significant role in education, the creative spheres and government. In contrast, English is categorised as a foreign language in countries that use it for international communication and commercial purposes (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008:5).

While Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008) explicitly locate Sri Lanka in the ESL category, on grounds of a period of British colonisation and influence, there might be some argument against this. Firstly, the position of English in the Sri Lankan education system has been radically weakened by government mother-tongue initiatives, resulting in English being taught as a subject rather than a medium of instruction. Secondly, the political situation has polarised itself to a large extent around the two significant mother-tongues, Tamil and Sinhalese, leading to a re-affirmation of these in political forums at the cost of English use. While a political resolution might shift the power relations between speakers of these languages, the polarised and exclusionary relationship of Sinhalese and Tamil is most salient for my respondents. Finally, while a body of literature by people of Sri Lankan origin in

English exists, this emerges largely from the diaspora, raising questions about the centrality of English in Sri Lanka. Thus, the parents' variety of English when they migrated to South Africa could be described as an ESL/EFL variety.

While the type of English as outlined by the ELC initially acquired by the parents is a good starting place, it is an inadequate ending point for a description. Fought's (2006) listing of the types of languages available in the Latino community in the USA is instructive in this regard. She considers not only the discrete languages, in her case English and Spanish, but also the varieties pertaining to class, region or type of acquisition. Further, she includes African American vernacular, as a kind of allied language choice. My description of the family's possible repertoire follows Fought's (2006) outline for locating the varieties the family might have access to.

Since migrating to South Africa, both parents have experienced exposure to a variety of Englishes in the South African context. The variety they have the most regular and sustained contact with is South African Indian English (SAIE). As described in Chapter 3, this variety has specific phonological, syntactic, lexical and suprasegmental features. In addition to this, SAIE is spoken across a range of what Mesthrie (1992) terms lects, reflecting among other things education and class and both parents interact with speakers who are representative of SAIE across the three lects. In addition to SAIE, the parents have some limited contact with "standard" White South African English (WSAE) in commercial or other formal settings. This contact is limited to meeting particular needs such as obtaining travel visas, or banking. In the context of this family's activities, their degree of involvement with speakers of BSAE is quite severely constrained. The family do not have a domestic worker, and live in an ethnically limited space. Like WSAE, their contact with Black South African English (BSAE) is exceedingly limited, occurring predominantly in commercial settings. While the parents have some exposure to SAIE, WSAE, and BSAE, exposure need not, and in this case, does not, translate into production of the variety involved.

The children's linguistic repertoires are slightly different from that of their parents' reflecting different educational and linguistic settings. While both children began their education in Sri Lanka, they returned to South Africa in grades seven and one respectively, severely limiting their exposure to Tamil as a language of learning and teaching and thus, in all likelihood, constraining their range of use of the language. While both parents completed their secondary education in Sri Lanka through the medium of Tamil, the children did not. Further, unlike in the extensive Hindu network in Sri Lanka, they are unlikely in the South African context, with only paternal input, to have the same regular exposure to Sanskrit unless active steps are taken to avoid this. Finally, unlike their parents, the children have considerably wider exposure to varieties of South African English. Their exposure to SAIE has been a more formative period than that of their parents and as they grow up, their exposure

is only likely to increase. While they remain within their parents' sphere of influence, they are unlikely to be exposed to considerably more WSAE. However, as the son moves away to university, this will change. Their exposure to BSAE is slightly wider than that of their parents as a result of the demographics of the schools they attend. South Africa's education system mandates the learning of at least two languages. The siblings will be exposed to English as a subject, a medium of instruction and through contact with English mother-tongue speakers. Further, they learn Afrikaans as a second-language from second-language speakers of the language, and are exposed to it in very limited ways through various media. In addition to their mother tongue of Tamil, their religious language of Sanskrit and varieties of SAE, the children are likely to be exposed, at least through contact in the classroom, to Zulu speakers and to the varieties of English spoken by first language speakers of Zulu. The primary school which the daughter attends teaches Zulu in addition to Afrikaans.

Having provided a description of the family's linguistic repertoire as a background, this chapter moves to consider how the family might use their linguistic repertoire to signal traditional ethnic or religious affiliations, and index identities related to nationality, gender or modernity.

### **3.4 Language attitudes and practices: A performance of identities**

If identity is socially constructed, then particular resources, linguistic and otherwise, must exist within the individual and the society to be marshalled in the production and recognition of identities. Fought (2006) identifies six categories of linguistic resource:

- Specific linguistic features
- Suprasegmental features
- Discourse features
- Heritage language
- Code-switching
- Borrowing

The first three are relevant for monolingual, bi-and multi-lingual speakers who can manipulate phonology, intonation or discourse features such as turn-taking or politeness in order to foreground specific affiliations or disaffiliations. The latter three are more likely to be available to bi-and multi-lingual speakers and communities able to draw on linguistic resources from more than one language. An interesting variation on this might be the case of individuals who borrow very specific linguistic formulations to index particular identities, such as Asian youth in London who adopt characteristics of African American Vernacular to index hip-hop identities (Rampton 2005, Fought 2006).

A key concept in the discussion of language as a way of producing identity is that particular linguistic formulations may index multiple identities. An individual may use particular resources to index age, gender, location, sexual orientation, or group affiliation. Thus, linguistic effects being produced in one of the six ways listed above may point to multiple, even conflicting aspects. Fought (2006:20) directs us to Barrett (1999) who claims:

Speakers may heighten or diminish linguistic displays that index various aspects of their identities according to the context of an utterance and the specific goals they are trying to achieve... This practice implies that speakers do not have a single identity but rather something closer to what Paul Kroskrity...has called a “repertoire of identity”, in which any of a multiplicity of identities may be fronted at a particular moment. In addition, [...] speakers may index a polyphonous, multi-layer identity by using linguistic variables with indexical associations to more than one social category.

Barrett’s observations about polyphonous identities resonate with Bhaktin’s (1981) notion of double voiced discourse. While the descriptions of the production of identity as polyphonous and double voiced are relevant to monolingual speakers with access to different linguistic scales, they are even more useful when considering bi- and multi-linguals who might have access to multiple scales of multiple languages.

It is difficult to talk about identity without talking about categories that create boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. Identity seems to be about saying, in the moment but with some sense of historicity, who is alike and who is different and how we want to position ourselves or others in relation to that sameness or difference. It is unavoidably about class, gender, age, ethnicity, nationality, religion and, the black sheep of the family, race. The relationships between these categories and the groups that they mark become even more confusing when we recognise that some of these categories are imbricated with other categories. After all, what is ethnicity when it is not hopelessly tangled up with descent, culture, religion and language? And while we are on shaky ground, is there any possibility that descent is just a polite way of talking about race? What might the implications of this be for understanding the constituent categories and processes of identity? This is further complicated by the claim that these categories are not either-or options but may be simultaneously, affiliatively, disaffiliatively or antagonistically present.

Further complicating the process of analysis is that multiple scales of identity exist at once and point to different kinds of affiliations and disaffiliations. Within the family, there seem to be different degrees of alignment with identities associated with “here” or “there”:

- national identities (Sri Lankan or South African),
- linguistic identities (Tamil-speaking or English-speaking),

- religious identities (Hindu or secular), and
- racial identities (Indian or not Indian).

While the family continues to maintain strong links with Sri Lanka through extended family networks, a referencing of Sri Lankan is slightly more marked in the adults than the children, with the children just beginning to express local connections and affiliations. In addition to this, the children, more so than the parents, express hints of a global connectivity that might pose interesting consequences for their language attitudes and reported behaviours.

### **3.5 “Moving up”: Attitudes to, and use of English**

In South Africa, my informants’ host country, the linguistic landscape is complex but many would argue dominated by English (Mesthrie, 2002:23). The local Indian community has become largely English-speaking and education is conducted primarily in English with Afrikaans or a local African language being selected as a compulsory second language. As explained in Section 3.4 above, the family has access to a variety of Englishes. All members of the family have had extended access to a Sri Lankan ESL variety. With the exception of the younger son, who experiences learning difficulties, the other four members of the family are competent users of this variety of English in the Sri Lankan setting. The family has exposure to, through their contact with the local South African Indian community, SAIE. The school-going children are also educated through the medium of this variety and have friendship networks which would use this variety of SAIE as the medium of communication. At the time of this study, the children’s contact with speakers of other varieties of South African English was limited.

In order to obtain information about the family’s attitude to and use of English, I asked all family members about who they spoke English to, how often they spoke with those people and where these conversations occurred. For all members of the family, English is used for conversations with “outsiders”, either “close outsiders”, members of the local Indian community who do not speak Tamil, or “distant outsiders”, individuals from other ethnic or cultural groups who would definitely not be Tamil speakers.

#### **3.5.1 Education**

The children attend English medium schools and experience different levels of difficulty. Having completed, in the case of the son, five years of primary education in Sri Lanka, and, in the case of the daughter, three years, they experienced some challenges returning to the South African education system. The son says about the change:

It was a bit of a very big change compared to the schooling the place itself.

Teaching and way of assessments and all that. Because of these the assessments were...end of each term we have an exam, I wasn't really used to the continuous assessment it was different.

When describing his challenges in the classroom, the son observed, "Just my English that I struggle with it". He reported obtaining a mark in the 50s and explained that he had problems with comprehension and essay writing, particularly arguments and Paper 3 (which is the writing examination, consisting of a transaction and creative writing section). He also commented that "I understand it more when someone speaks in English but it's just the reply takes time." Having worked with him on his written English, the problem does not seem to be one of poor grammatical constructions, or even a poorly developed vocabulary. Indeed, in the examples of creative writing I saw, his written grammar seemed closer to standard English than his spoken English grammar and his written vocabulary is well developed. However, the son's use of and capacity to engage with English at a metaphorical level seems limited. In addition to this, where he does seem to experience serious challenges is with an experience of the world that allows him to relate to the material he is reading. Fairly common teenage experiences such as movies, visiting friends, dating and spending time at sporting events, mall etc are not events with which he is personally familiar or knowledgeable about through contact with others.

While the family would like to fix languages to spaces (speaking Tamil in the home and among family members, and using English at school and with the local Indian populace, this is made increasingly difficult because of the pressure to speak a certain kind of English to be able to cope in schools and the public arena. The family's general practitioner, who is also a family friend and a regular visitor to both the home and the temple, has advised the family against the use of Tamil in the home environment. When asked about when and where the family speaks English, the daughter noted that "Doctor scolds us for speaking Tamil because we are making it harder for my brother". The family has a son with learning difficulties who is at an English medium school (the option of a Tamil medium school does not exist) and the exclusive use of Tamil in the home environment is being linked to his reduced ability to learn English as a second language.

In the South African context, access to employment and business opportunities, use of banking and public services, and many commercial activities are conducted through the medium of English. After some years of living in South Africa, the mother obtained first her learners and then her driver's licences. The mother described her learners and driving tests which she had to carry out with South African English speakers. While she found the experience to be a little difficult, her pride in being able to drive and transport the children to extra classes was obvious. When asked why she had waited

so many years to apply for her licence, she acknowledged that she could drive but the test was hard, and that the responsibilities of having a young family dissuaded her.

### 3.5.2 Technology

Long-distance information technology, conducted largely through the medium of language, has far-reaching consequences for the language beliefs, choices and use of migrants across the globe. While in its early days, much of the material available online was only available in English (Everard, 2000 cited in Mac Giolla Chríost 2007), this is changing. Crystal writing in 2001 (cited in Mac Giolla Chríost, 2007) claimed that the World Wide Web would soon be predominantly non-English. The figures on the following page offer a breakdown of the languages in which websites are created and the internet is accessed.

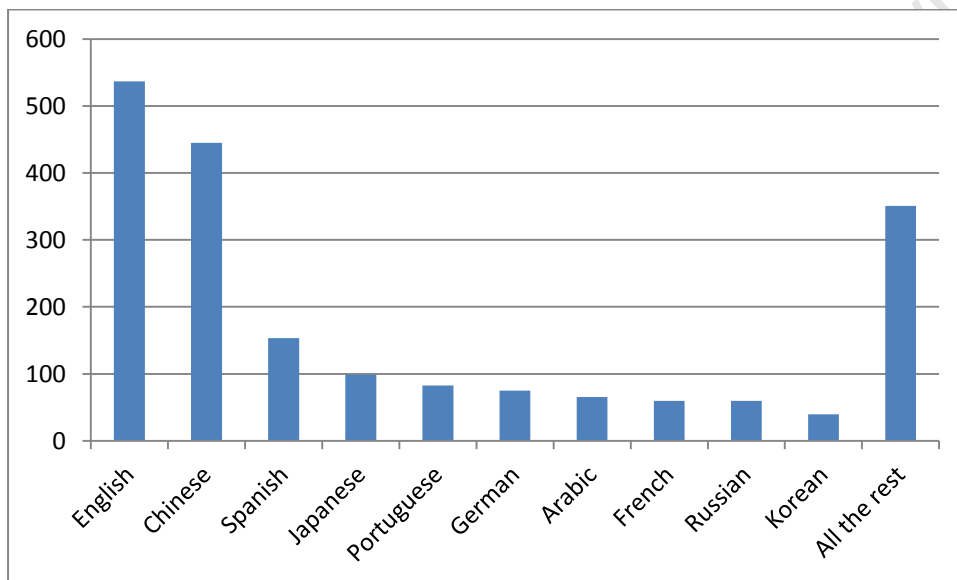


Figure 4: Number of Internet users per language in millions (Adapted from Internet World Statistics, 2010)

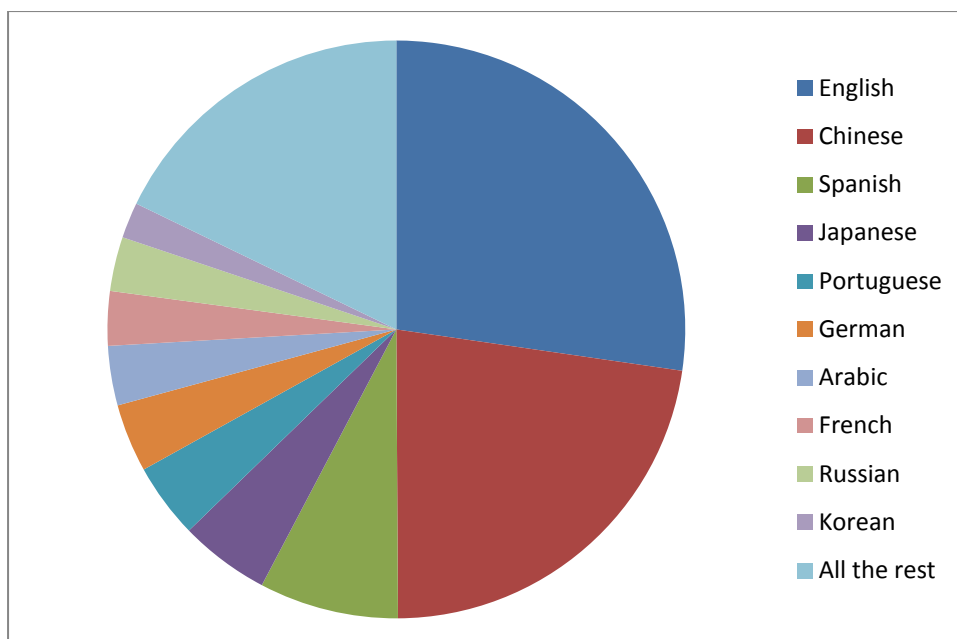


Figure 5: Percentage of Internet Users by language (Adapted from Internet World Statistics, 2010)

The figures above indicate that individuals accessing sites in English, now amount to little more than one quarter of global internet access, with an almost equal amount of access happening in Chinese. More than 70% of the World Wide Web's communication seems to be in languages other than English, demonstrating that the internet is no longer monolingually English and other languages are finding their place on an international, virtual stage. While the data provided above does not specifically refer to Tamil material on the web, a personal, informal search uncovered blogs, celebrity websites, movies and music to download, and activism sites.

The family have limited information and communication technological access. Until recently, the only communication technologies the family had access to was a telephone. At the beginning of my research, only the father had a cell phone, however, within six months, the son was given a cell phone. In relation to information technology, since the children require a computer for school research purposes, the family has acquired one which is located in the son's room, and the family has dial up access to the internet. The family make use of email to remain in contact with family members overseas. There is a single family email account, nominally in the father's name to which the rest of the family has access.

The family's limited communication technology access enables and limits access to certain languages and to spaces within which to exercise their linguistic repertoires. Increased access to family members living overseas, including grandparents and the father's siblings and their children in Norway, ensures that the language of family communication, Tamil, is regularly used within a global Sri Lankan

Tamil-speaking network. The family speak regularly to the grandparents in Sri Lanka who provide a concretised version of Bhaktin's "super-addressee". Until recently neither of the children had a cellphone and, thus, they were unlikely to be able to communicate extensively with their peer group without parental consent. This absence of after school hours contact maintains the family space as an almost exclusively Tamil-speaking one.

Similarly, the family's access to information technology is quite limited. Given the physical location of the computer, one would assume a degree of privacy was possible; however the son denied having either a private email or Facebook account. The daughter did not seem to use the computer very much, except for school project purposes. Thus, the virtual world does not seem to act as a space for the children to explore the identity affordances and constraints of their language repertoire without being observed by their parents.

### **3.6 "Fitting in": Attitudes to, and use of Tamil and English**

Language as a tool for "fitting in" has been well studied in the linguistics literature, particularly in relation to migrants and multilinguals, although more recently, particular varieties of languages, such as African American Vernacular, have received attention from scholars.

#### **3.6.1 Ethnicity**

While race and ethnicity are now widely considered to be social constructs, for a considerable period, ethnicity and race were held to be real. Describing this primordialist perspective, Mac Giolla Chríost (2003) says:

ethnic identity is natural and unalienable. That is, that all individuals possess a certain fixed ethnic identity from birth and carry that identity with them until death. Ethnicity therefore is defined by cultural and biological heritage and is territorially rooted.

In relation to this, ethnicity, while a commonly used word in everyday speech, poses definitional challenges for at least three reasons. Firstly, ethnicity is, at a common-sense level, bound up with beliefs about race. Fenton (1999) and Fought (2006) all begin their definition of ethnicity with brief discussions of race. Given the highly disturbing ways that the construct of race has been marshalled in the world, it is not surprising that alternative ways of classifying phenotype arise in relation to processes of inclusion and exclusion. Nonetheless, it is very difficult to talk about ethnicity without acknowledging that race is implicated via people's perceptions. Secondly, ethnicity, like identity, is relational (Fenton 1999:6); it emerges from interactions where it is evoked to achieve particular acts

of affiliation and disaffiliation. If it emerges within particular interactions, it is not fixed and thus the relations of what Fenton terms its “centres of gravity”, ancestry, culture and language, are equally complex – complementary, contradictory, multilayered and simultaneously present and active. Finally, definitions of ethnicity are challenged by the ways in which we ascribe ethnicity. Problematically, words like “Indian” are simultaneously used to describe nationality, race, geographical origins and ethnicity; “African”, similarly, indexes a continental affiliation, a race, a culture.

Despite these challenges, Fenton’s (1999:7) description of ethnicity as “socially grounded, culturally elaborated, and a socially constructed phenomenon” is valuable in that it emphasizes the role of society in understanding ethnicity. It is grounded in social interactions and resources and is constructed by society. Seeing ethnicity as a socially constructed category by no means implies that it is not real, indeed it is an integral part of the way in which societies are organised and has wide-reaching influences. Underlying ethnicity is a claim of shared descent which may be direct, referring to common ancestry, or perceived, referring to a myth of common ancestry (Fenton 1999). Typically, ethnicity incorporates a sense of shared culture, which can be defined as a shared set of symbols, values, codes, and norms, language and history. Thus, ethnicity exists in a convoluted network of meanings including issues of race, culture, and language, in a way that makes the analysis of the components of such a network, in isolation from one another, challenging.

Standing in contrast to the primordialist view described earlier, is the instrumental approach to understanding identity. This approach emphasises agency in the construction of ethnic identity. Barth (1969:14 -15, cited in Mac Giolla Chríost, 2003) claims:

[E]thnic categories provide an organisational vessel that may be given varying amounts and forms of content in different sociocultural systems ... The critical focus of investigation from this point of view becomes the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses.

Thus, particular features mark identity because they mark difference from other groups. The construction of an ethnic group occurs in relation to other groups and the significance of certain features are heightened or reduced as markers of distinction which become a mechanism of boundary maintenance. Worsley (1984, cited in Mac Giolla Chríost, 2003) argues that identities are enacted through the appropriation of cultural features which then legitimise access to particular rights or resources. In enacting these identities, individuals assert access to resources or limit the access of others to these spaces.

While individuals may exert a degree of agency in constructing their identities, there are two ways in which this is constrained. Firstly, Fought (2006) observes that while an individual may assert an

identity, an identity can also be ascribed to them. Thus, attempts at the production of ethnic identity are either accepted or rejected by the audiences of this production. Secondly, the production of identity occurs at specific sites including language, clothing, behaviour, values, or association. In terms of language, Wolfram, Phillips and Moriella (2004) notes that there are crucial sites at which identity is enacted, where quantitatively more and qualitatively more significant marking of identity boundaries is carried out. Conversely, identity produced at a site that is not marked as significant by interlocutors or audience is unlikely to be positively received.

The family's attitudes to, and use of Tamil is influenced by country of origin influences, local heritage use of Tamil by the South African Indian community in which they live and global migrant use of the language. In Sri Lanka, Tamil and Sinhalese are most widely spoken as mother tongues and are predominantly used as the languages of secular education in Sri Lanka. English is used only in certain schools and in certain formal environments. However, while many Sinhalese and Tamil speakers are bilingual, speaking English to various extents (Canagarajah, 1995; Fernando, 1977), there seems to be almost no research documenting Tamil-Sinhalese bilingualism. This may be attributable to the very strong connection between language and ethnicity, reflecting both the North-South ethnic divide of the Indian subcontinent and the decades of Sri Lankan, ethnic civil war (McGillivray, 1998) The wide-spread use and political will behind the use of Tamil accords it a healthy status in a language hierarchy. However, this strong Tamil-speaking tradition exists simultaneously with an equally strong Sanskrit tradition, supported by religious affiliations.

Despite foregrounding a religious identity, that of being Hindu, in this extract, the father appears to align himself quite strongly with a Tamil identity while acknowledging other identity positions.

Ok if you are a Hindu person maybe you can little understand. I mean not in this country, it not possible but in our side, they know what is a priest means, what power they have because they know Hindu philosophy, they know Hindu religion properly but our people over here, they ignorant they don't know anything they are just starting to learn ... putting their hand together praying the basic things, very little... very little knowledge, the writing, how you do certain things they don't know

This extract prompts three observances in relation to ethnic, encompassing linguistic and cultural, identity.

Firstly, the informant conveys a hierarchy of communities, with the Sri Lankan Tamil community, with which he overtly aligns himself, "in our side", being superior to the South African one. The Sri Lankan Hindus' understanding of the Hindu religion, "they know Hindu philosophy, they know Hindu religion properly", is clearly positioned in opposition to the local South African Indian

community's loss of knowledge about their religion and cultural beliefs, "very little knowledge, the writing, how you do certain things they don't know". Although the informant explicitly aligns himself with a Sri Lankan Tamil identity, the relationship of this identity to a wider Tamil identity is unavoidable. Thus, the informant rapidly aligns himself with the South African Tamil-speaking Hindu people. His choice of personal pronoun, "our people over here", could be understood to indicate a degree of affiliation that might index a common linguistic and cultural identity.

Finally, the informant recognises his interlocutor's position and alters his discourse choices, taking this into consideration. During the interview, he supported this belief with a narrative about a woman who, in accordance with cultural/religious beliefs, was instructed not to pick flowers at night. My informant explained that the woman perceived this to be a religious injunction to prevent displeasing the gods, but to Sri Lankan Tamils the prohibition against cutting flowers after dark is related to when trees release carbon dioxide which is poisonous. While the informant misunderstood the chronologies of photosynthesis, what is of significance for this thesis is the way in which Sri Lankan understandings of Hinduism were allied with scientific discourses. The informant harnessed a powerful discourse, that of science, and linked it to a religious one, and in so doing, attempted to strengthen the position of the religious identity.

Like their parents, the children express positive attitudes to Sri Lanka and use of Tamil in the home. When questioned, both the son and the daughter said that they spoke Tamil almost exclusively in the home. Additionally, the son noted that he watched only Tamil television: "I only watch Tamil movies and programmes. It's not that I don't like it [English]... I am not prone to watching... I don't like it." His attitude to television in English appears confused: "It's not that I don't like it" followed, after some hesitation and assurance from me, with "I don't like it". His uncertainty about whether or not he could say that he did not like English television to me suggests he was unsure of how I would receive his opinion, which positions me quite clearly as someone with different identities and affiliations. The son is an older teenager, on the verge of finishing school. This age group is characterised by a high level of media consumption. The respondent's willingness to watch movies, series and other programmes and listen to music that is different from that of his peers is rather unusual.

When asked to reflect on the way in which Tamil was spoken, the daughter had a number of valuable comments. Firstly, she noted that Tamil was spoken in different ways in different parts of Sri Lanka. She justified this by saying that her mother's family in Colombo speaks differently from her father's family from Jaffna. Secondly, she claimed that while the Tamil the family spoke here was like the Tamil they spoke in Sri Lanka, it was different from the Tamil spoken locally. When I asked her to explain what she meant by this, she turned suddenly quiet, saying she was too young to explain. I suspect the daughter's opinion to be aligned with her father's comments about the kind of Tamil

spoken by the South African Indian community being inferior to the Sri Lankan variety, but that as a child, she felt it to be rude to say so. Most interestingly, this points to the extent to which the use of a Sri Lankan Tamil separates the family from the local Tamil-speaking community and allows a kind of hierarchical arrangement of homeland linguistic purity. In terms of the family's position within the community, this strengthens their status drawing on their different linguistic heritage to convey prestige.

Despite the use of Tamil conveying a sense of prestige within the home and the community, the daughter's attitude to the use of Tamil is ambivalent. When asked whether she would like to live in South Africa or Sri Lanka, the daughter responded ambivalently. She explained that she liked South Africa because her father had good work here and she liked school here but that she preferred Sri Lanka's culture: "Sri Lanka...I like the music there, the culture what do we say for culture...it's a bit... what do we say ... the way they pray". She found it very difficult to articulate what it was about Sri Lankan culture she liked but returned to the music, saying that she was learning to play the violin there and that now she had to learn from her aunt here.

### **3.6.2 Social affiliation**

While the children's friends are South African Indians and in all likelihood, from my experiences in classrooms in the area, speak variations of SAIE, the children's contact with them is limited to school hours. The children report that they have friends at school, but explain that these friendships are limited by their father specifically to school hours. Their friends do not visit them, nor do they visit their friends or accompany them on special outings of any kind. Talking about the shape of his social circles, the son said:

I make friends at school. Yeah guys and girls. I have friends. No...I don't visit friends. Father doesn't allow it...no ...I have enough things to do at home but. We have different lives in a way. They go out, partying you know... I do have friends who are more reserved. I prefer it that way...I realise it is safe.

The daughter explained

My best friend? Her name is Kimera. Visiting Kimera? No...My dad doesn't allow. My dad won't let her visit. We talk, share answers in a test. I help her if she is absent in school.

The way in which the children's social circles are shaped by parental influences and decisions might be a significant factor in their language attitudes and use. Further, the degree to which these associations are currently limited might contribute to the continued use of Sri Lankan Tamil in the home environment.

The exclusion of outsiders from the home environment is likely to be motivated by multiple factors including religious requirements of purity and the fear of polluting behaviours. Nonetheless, this physical separation has significant consequences for exposure to different language types and the kinds of identity affiliations that might promote attitudes of openness to language shift or change.

### **3.6.3 Public Spaces**

English is to a great extent the language of public spaces for this family. All the family members indicated that they used English outside the home when conducting business transactions or engaging in more social interactions. However, family motivation for this seemed to differ slightly.

When I questioned the daughter about the language she speaks outside the home in public spaces, while for example shopping, she claimed to speak English to others, and English to her mother. She explained:

In the shopping, with others or to mum? English to others. With mum, mostly Tamil. Uh but when people are a bit curious what language we are speaking then I start speaking English I don't like for people to come and ask what language? I don't like that.

Earlier in the interview the daughter claimed Tamil as her mother-tongue, but in this instance, her desire not to stand out in the local community seems to be expressed more clearly. Unlike the son, who does not seem to mind if his choice of language in his consumption of media is different to that of his peers, the daughter seems more inclined to fit in within the local community. Her response seems to be similar to the responses of young people in other migrant communities in predominantly English-speaking communities (Delargy 2007, Fong 2007). The daughter's desire to appear to "fit in" to the local Indian community is satisfied through the use of English. In contrast, her parents continue to use Tamil outside the home, in public spaces, which can be interpreted as a desire to "stand out" of the local community.

## **3.7 "Standing out": Attitudes to and use of Sanskrit**

Spolsky (2003) concludes in his review of the literature pertaining to the intersection of language and religion that the relationship between religion and language, including attitudes and practices such as loss, shift and maintenance, has not been extensively explored. Having outlined the reasons for this relative paucity of research, I turn to two separate fields of study to inform my data. Firstly, I consider research conducted under the sociology of religion banner and uncover useful understandings about religious language; secondly, I turn to research done in the field of migration

and mobility that has considered the impact of religion on migrant attitudes and behaviours. The insights gleaned from these two fields of research inform my interpretation of the interviews with my informants.

### **3.7.1 The Intersection of language and Religion: An under-researched field**

The literature offers two reasons that the intersection of language and religion has been an under-researched<sup>9</sup> field. Spolsky (2003:82) attributes the absence of research in this field to the secular orientation of researchers while other researchers (Constant *et al* 2006, Safran 2008 and Ruane and Todd, 2010) argue that the relationship between religion, ethnicity and culture are responsible.

Various researchers (Constant *et al* 2006, Safran 2008 and Ruane and Todd, 2010) note an unfortunate conflation of religion and ethnicity. Most recently, working from a more political perspective, Ruane and Todd (2010) argue that, to a large extent, ethnicity and religion have, in many contexts, becomes conflated such that being labelled according to a particular ethnicity presupposes a particular religious orientation and vice versa. Indeed, Ruane and Todd (2010:4) point out that such a conflation would result in research that “misses the insights that could be gained from comparing religion and ethnicity as contrasting sources of identity, community and conflict.” They note the various relationships that could exist between religion and ethnicity:

[Religion and ethnicity] can also overlap, with ethnic and religious boundaries coinciding, partially or completely, internally nested or intersecting. What happens in these cases? Is ethnicity or religion prioritised, and by whom, in what areas of life? Are the effects additive, with ethnic and religious distinctions each reinforcing the other? Do they coexist in tension? Or are there interactive effects with dynamic and emergent properties producing a much more complex field of relationships? When are there additive, when conflicting, when interactive effects?

Ruane and Todd’s observation of the ways that religion and ethnicity interact points to the need to investigate the effect of religion separately from that of ethnicity, including in the fields of linguistic study. Further, their questioning of how religion and ethnicity interact offers a useful way of thinking about my informants religious and ethnic identities and how these might influence their language attitudes and behaviours.

---

<sup>9</sup> However, Spolsky (2003) notes three events at the beginning of the millennium: the events and consequences of 9/11, the publication of an Encyclopaedia of Language and Religion, and the hosting of the of the first international colloquium on the Sociology of Language and Religion at the University of Surrey, point to the establishment of this intersection as a valid field of research.

### 3.7.2 Religious Languages

Religious languages are “languages or scripts used only or primarily in a religious context”; these include languages such as Avestan, Pali, Hebrew, Arabic and Sanskrit (Sawyer 2001). While the vocabulary, syntax and morphology of such languages have been carefully mapped by linguists and theologians, Spolsky claimed that little consideration has been given to “the way that religion and language interact to produce language contact” (Keane 1997 cited in Spolsky 2003). While this might indeed have been the case a decade ago, the last ten years have seen considerable work done in the Western world on languages of religion, particularly Arabic, among migrant communities. Before considering this body of work, I consider the role of Sanskrit in Hindu practice to provide a context for my informants’ comments.

#### The Role of Sanskrit in Hindu Practice

While the *Encyclopaedia of Language and Religion* (2001) offers a detailed overview of Sanskrit history, some indication of language syntax and morphology, it fails to offer any clear sense of the language in context. However, three brief comments made by Brockington hint at a consideration of religion and language. Firstly, the primary religious texts of Hinduism, the Vedas<sup>10</sup> are seen as “authoritative, timeless and—on some views—authorless”. Secondly, the Samhitas<sup>11</sup> include “spells and incantations for every purpose” (2001: 127). While Brockington’s description of these texts as “spells and incantations” could be offensive, his comments on the universal application of the Vedas resonate strongly with the ideas expressed by my informant. Thirdly, a second part of the Vedas, the Brahmanas are seen as esoteric texts, “only to be studied outside the gaze of society at large, in the forest” (2001: 127). In addition to this, he notes that studying of the Vedas was prohibited for women and lower castes. Read in conjunction, these three comments suggest that in the context of Hinduism, the language of religion, Sanskrit, might be accorded particular attributes and its use limited by custom to privileged groups. Thus, many Hindus (Brockington 2001), unlike adherents of other religions, while acknowledging the ultimate, “revealed” authority of the Vedas, worship and read religious texts in more modern languages.

Brockington’s arguments are considerably strengthened by Lipner (2001: 295) who writes:

for traditional, orthodox Hinduism the Sanskrit of the Vedas had always had a mystique of its own, an inner efficacy and power which can be controlled and

---

<sup>10</sup> Written in Sanskrit in four parts

<sup>11</sup> The oldest part of the Vedas and a collection of religious songs

implemented in certain circumstances. Even in the present day, there is a residual deference in the educated Hindu mind to the sacred use of Sanskrit.

In Hindu philosophy, Sanskrit is considered a sacred language. Its power, far from being resident in people or constructed by the relations between or within people, “is discovered and then implemented for human wellbeing” through the Vedas by the select few who have access to

an inexhaustible and unmanifest reservoir, like a river dammed up and unflowing (*aksard*), which then streams forth (*ksarati*), via various promulgators, its power and purity intact, in the form of the Vedic syllables.

This understanding of power and the way it shapes beliefs about language form a useful frame for engaging with my informants. For centuries, the replication of Hindu texts was oral. Lipner (2001: 297) claims that “Speech here is conceived of as an expression of divine power and in appropriate ritual context can help control those forces through which liberation (especially in this life) can be achieved”. Thus, for many Hindus, Sanskrit words possess an “inherent efficacious power”. Thus, for Hindus, while the mother-tongue may be valued, Sanskrit, as claimed by Brockington (2001) and Lipner (2001), takes precedence in matters of religion and ritual and holds a religious prestige.

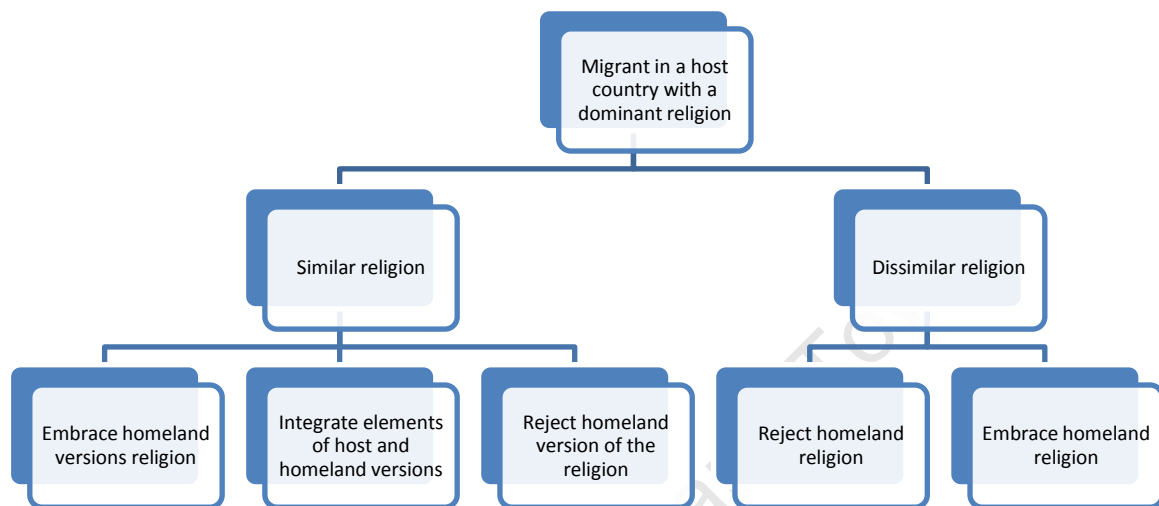
### **Religion, Religious Languages and Migration**

As is the case with the intersection of religion and ethnicity, so too has the intersection of language and religion in the field of migration, under-researched. When reviewing the research on the link between migration and religion, Hagan and Ebaugh (2003: 1145) note that, in the case of the United States, “scholars of both immigration and religion have tended to neglect the role of religion and spirituality in the process of international migration”. They argue that an excessive emphasis on the economic drivers of migration has resulted in what they term the “cultural context of migration” being under-researched. Further, where the intersection of language, religion and migration has been studied, language and religion have tended to be glossed under the notion of culture or even ethnicity (Constant *et al*, 2006), thus failing to adequately address the relationship between these distinct factors.

A review of the limited literature of the last decade suggests that most studies seem to focus on how religion impacts on the experiences of migrant groups entering either Europe or the United States of America (USA). Hagan and Ebaugh’s (2003) study of a transnational, Pentacostal Protestant Mayan community explores the relationship between religion and migration over the migration event, from the decision-making process to the ways that connections with the community of origin are maintained. In the European context, Constant *et al* (2006), studying Christian and Muslim migrants to Germany, claimed that, while gender, age, education and economic standing played a role, religion seemed to be the most significant factor for predicting a migrant’s attachment to home and host

countries. Significantly, these studies tend to focus on groups of migrants, “othered” on multiple levels whose religions are not the hegemonic religion in their host countries.

In terms of religious contact with host countries in the Western, developed world, most studies of migrants fall into one of two categories: either professing a similar or dissimilar one to the dominant religion in their host country. Figure 6, on the following page, offers an illustration of this.



**Figure 6: Migrant’s religious choices in societies with a dominant religion**

In the first case, if the migrant’s religion is nominally in line with the dominant religion of the host country, it is then often a resolutely different version of that religion. This may result in either a move closer to the host norm or a removal to home religious extremes, alternatively migrants may choose to adopt religious practices that hybridise the two varieties. In the second case, the migrant practices a religion different from that of the host country; resulting in the migrant either clinging to his or her religion at which point it becomes a marker of otherness, or he or she attempting to align with the host nation, either adopting local religious or non-religious behaviours. In either case, however, the migrant may either align him/herself more closely with the religion of their homeland or the dominant religion in their host-land.

The use of classical Arabic, in contrast to other Asian or Middle Eastern languages, is akin, in some ways to the use of Sanskrit. Seymour-Jorn (2004) in an investigation of Arabic study in an Arab American community in Milwaukee researched students’ reported motivations for the study and acquisition of Arabic. Students cited reasons related to personal, cultural and religious identity. They described Arabic as being their parents’ language and the language of their family outside the United States and stressed the importance of Arabic in maintaining family connections. They commented on the link between language and culture, describing Arabic both as a medium for expressing and

receiving their culture and as an artefact of that culture. Finally, of most interest to this section of my argument, respondents in the study strongly associated language with religious identity. The capacity to read and recite the Qur'an in the original Arabic was felt to be of primary importance. According to Seymour-Jorn (2004), other studies conducted in this area which included Christian Arabs report that Christian Arabs in this community seem less determined to maintain their use of Arabic, and conclude that religion seems to be a significant factor in the acquisition and maintenance of Arabic as both a religious language and a medium of daily communication.

Marranci's (2007) study of Muslims in Scotland and Northern Ireland reveals that both the Arabic of the Qur'an and contemporary Arabic are valued. Indeed, the Arabic of the Qur'an is held in high esteem, regardless of the individual's ability to understand it. In addition to this, the capacity of an individual to understand and speak colloquial Arabic supersedes his apparent national or ethnic identity. Despite this valuing of Arabic, there is some linguistic variation in the languages used in the *khutba*<sup>12</sup>. In some cases, English translations are provided and the community of believers, Marranci notes, blames itself for not understanding Arabic. In Dundee, two mosques, largely attended by Urdu speaking Pakistanis, have opted to perform the *khutba* in Urdu rather than Arabic, hoping that the use of Urdu in a religious domain will have the twofold benefit of encouraging more widespread language maintenance and because of access to scholarly books in this language. In Northern Ireland, where English is used for the *khutbas* and all other communication, its use is commonly associated with peaceful integration into Ireland.

The case of migrants who immigrate to countries where the position of the dominant religion is contested or where there is no clearly dominant religious practice, has, to date, not been the subject of much research. Further, and of greater relevance to my research, is the case where the immigrant is nominally part of a non-dominant, but established, religion and the effect that this position might have on their language attitudes and beliefs.

### **3.7.3 A Hindu Migrant View of Sanskrit in a South African context**

There are three possible areas of influence on my informants pertaining to the creation of hierarchies of language: firstly and most crucially for this and the previous chapter, there is the sphere of home country influences, including mother tongue, and religion. These may be supported or mitigated by the sphere of host country influences, such as competing languages, educational or work place demands (discussed more fully in Chapter 6), and the influences of a globalized diaspora, such as technology and transnationalism, (discussed in more detail in Chapters 7 and 8). In the case of Sri

---

<sup>12</sup> Part of an order of service, akin to a sermon

Lankan Tamils, a critical home country influence seems to be that of religion. While Tamil may be both the language of education and the home in Sri Lanka, a language that cannot be discounted from the language hierarchy is Sanskrit, the language of Hinduism. Hinduism, as already discussed in Section 5.1, views Sanskrit as a sacred language, possessing the unique capacity to link people to power. This section brings the interview data, into conversation with existing research, demonstrating the concordances and discordances between the migrant family in question and the wider research pool.

Within the first moments of my interview with my adult male informant, his attachment to his mother tongue, Tamil, and the high esteem in which he held Sanskrit, became apparent. In a discussion of names, my informant explained that his names were given to him by his father and his grandfather, and that “lot of meaning they have...our names have very much meaningful, they don’t have very much sounding, very meaningful”. Despite demonstrating an awareness of a Westernised South African response to the multi-syllabic names of Tamil and Sanskrit, my informant also conveyed considerable pride in his mother-tongue, Tamil. He explained how his first name, “Sinthalnatha”, meaning a very happy person, was bestowed by his father while his second name, “Sahasthranatha”, “kept” by his grandfather, was a very powerful Sanskrit name, meaning that “one person for 1008 persons...kick...like equal power I have”.

In a similar vein, when questioned about the meaning of her name, my adult female informant explained that she was named for one aspect of the Goddess Lakshmi and promptly rattled off the eight names of the Goddess, noting proudly that she had a “special name”. However, in her interactions with the broader community, my female respondent seems to most commonly be addressed by a shortened form of her name, while her husband is almost always addressed exclusively by his title by visitors to his temple and his wife when I was present. When I questioned the children about the meaning of their names, they both indicated that they knew the meaning, but the daughter admitted that she had forgotten. Nonetheless, a strong integration of language and religion is apparent even at the level of naming.

When describing his initial experiences with Sanskrit, the informant explained that like a home language, he learnt Sanskrit as a young child from his grandfather:

The Sanskrit we would learn from our grandfather he teach you come eight or seven partial. Then you learn slowly but slowly... Before you go to the college... If you are born into a priest’s family, you learn gently all the time... When you go to a college you know but still you learn there.

When questioned about whether his children were learning Sanskrit, he indicated that this was the case. As my informant had been responsible for assisting his father as a child, so too his son was

responsible for assisting him on weekends when the temple was excessively busy. Thus, in this family, Sanskrit has, until their move to South Africa, been acquired at two levels, once informally through immersion in the language practices of family members and then again through at the *gurukullum* in more formal ways, including participation and classroom learning. The female members of the family, who do not attend the *gurukullum*, learn their Sanskrit in more informal ways, through participating in ritual and assisting their fathers and husbands in the absence of a suitable male assistant.

Prayer is a particular type of linguistic activity, reflecting how religion and language intersect in a specific context. Sawyer (2001), describing prayer, makes three observations. Firstly he notes that particular languages used in public prayer enhance the sense of community and sense of spirituality; the use of Sanskrit, believed by devotees to have inherent power, achieves this purpose. This distribution of power in the relations of prayer can also affect the language used. In Hinduism, this is particularly pertinent as prayer is typically conducted through a priest who is understood to have special access to the language and ritual of prayer. Finally the use of an ancient language, specific words and rituals which are reserved for spiritual activities, may enhance the religious experience.

When questioned about what language was used in the temple for prayers, the adult male informant asserted that it was mostly Sanskrit because “Sanskrit have power”. He talked about prayer in a way that conveyed his belief in the power of Sanskrit, which resonates with the claims made by Brockington and Lipner, that Sanskrit, for Hindus, is characterised by an “inherent efficacious power”. He began by explaining how he understands Christian prayer to function:

Christianity the way to the prayer to the god Hinduism they pray to the god in different ways. In Christianity, they tell you:

Oh Lord, Shanali is here; please help her; she is going to tell you something; she wants to go furthermore studies; she wants to go to university. Oh lord, help her; she is a good child; she is your child.

Then god will help you. That’s the way they pray, I am sure that that’s that how they pray.

The understanding of Christian prayer foregrounds the supplicant, as the initiator and the enactor of the prayer where the priest’s role is limited to one of guidance and support. In contrast, when describing his view of Hindu prayer, the importance of the priest and the words of the prayer, as ritually established are given pre-eminence:

Hinduism, they pray differently, different way. It’s very different how, the way they do. What we do now, we tell you, the god, we tell you... ok now the situation in South Africa, continent of South Africa, Africa, in Natal area, Pietermaritzburg place and today is a special day and we say in the Sanskrit the name of the day this

year, this month, so everyday we got today name. We are going to do a little prayer for Shanali because she want to pass her exam. This is the specific prayer you are going to do so we are going to do the prayer behalf of Shanali. I am going to do the prayer then there is a prayer written in Sanskrit in a sentence so we read that one... I study the prayer that is going to help more for [the situation] to help him that's my duty we we have a power how can I say like how a pastor have some kind of a deal to the god talking direct so this is prayer, I study no, so for job situation, interviews, I know this is the best for him I am going to do the prayer to help him

Three key differences can be drawn from my informant's explanation. Firstly, in Hinduism, the priest is essential to the prayer process. Fuller (1979:462) notes that

The efficacy of public worship is thought to depend mainly on its regular and correct performance by the priests and the attendance of devotees is unimportant. The purpose of private worship is to ask the gods to exercise their power on the behalf of the individual devotee having the worship performed or some other person nominated by him.

The second difference is that a Hindu priest's training enables him to select from the Vedas the correct prayer to ensure a positive outcome and to present offerings in a manner that finds most favour with the gods. Priests receive their religious training at a "gurukulam" after the completion of secondary school, which typically takes five years. Initiates are required to learn to read prayers in Sanskrit. The strongly ritualistic element of Hinduism demands also that devotions be performed in physical ways such as the washing of statues, the moving of images at the beginning and ending of the temple day and the observance of ritual purity. Fuller (1979) asserts that all offerings must be made by a priest. Finally, Hindu priests are perceived to have a power beyond that of the ordinary devotee, as hinted at by the name given to my informant. My adult male informant explained this in terms of radio waves and cell phones.

You got cell phone. Your brother got a cell phone. You press the button how does it come to you – waves. Hinduism found the spiritual base long before that. The man found the cell phone waves, sounds coming, whatever. That's how it works for Hinduism as well, Hinduism have a lot of power. Energy. So when I do prayer here you are there the waves will go giving the good energy. But sometimes fail, sometimes pass but 90% work, yes 90% work...

We have to be spiritual power have to be highest ...

You have to be cleansing your thoughts cleansing your five six sense... so you can never lose power so that your prayer is able to help.

The position of the Hindu priest as a possessor of power is considerably different from the position of non-priest migrant Hindus and even further removed from the way in which power is available to non-Hindu migrants. Fuller (1979: 468) contextualises this understanding of spiritual power in terms of purity: Brahmins are thought to be intrinsically able, by virtue of their Brahmin caste, to attain the purity necessary to mediate between the gods and men. This understanding of power contributes to the relationship this family maintains to its host context, and to extended global networks.

### **3.8 “Moving up”, “Fitting in” and “Standing out”: The human business of relating**

This chapter has been shaped around three human actions: “moving up”, “fitting in” and “standing out”. It has tried to convey the ways in which participants in this study relate to the people and the society around them through the language choices they report making, and through the language attitudes they express.

While the use of English is indisputably tied to public spaces and matters of education and employment, the need to use it fluently is beginning to make inroads on the family’s private spaces. Further, for the younger members of the family, English is a tool and marker of social affiliation, used with younger family members, peers and for engagement with the virtual world, albeit in a limited sense.

Tamil is used as a tool of family coherence, connecting the family, regardless of geography, but also to emphasize difference. The father describes the family’s Tamil as better than the Tamil spoken locally. However, in her description of her language practices in public spaces, the daughter acknowledges the “exoticising” consequences of speaking Tamil. Thus, the family’s mother tongue is characterised by a tension, attitudes to which are inevitably tied to physical spaces. While the migrant family in question continue to use Tamil within the family and extended family networks, it remains to be seen if the third generation will continue to do so.

The notion of Sanskrit as a language of real, physical and spiritual power challenges wide-spread contemporary understandings of spirituality and accords this language a very special status. Through the knowledge and use of Sanskrit, the family retains a social standing, ensures their livelihoods, and maintains a spirituality that is a significant motivator for the continued use of this language.

# CHAPTER 4: The Migrant World: A Layered Experience

*When I was 17, my father made what he thought was a terrible mistake. At my grandparents' 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary, in the days before digital cameras, caught up in the excitement, he succeeded in running a roll of film through his camera twice, in effect "double exposing" the negative. I remember his horror at the "lost" photographs: images superimposed on each other, my cousin's eyes, my grandmother's hair, people and places juxtaposed in surreal ways. He felt he had failed to capture the moment; in hindsight, I think he captured the moment and the people perfectly. From the oldest person to the youngest, regardless of place of birth or country of residence, we were, almost without exception, people of a diaspora<sup>13</sup>, walking through a landscape characterised by duality. While the feeling of duality, dual allegiances, dual affections, and dual homes has in many ways characterised my life, the notion of double exposure has particularly occupied my mind for the latter weeks of this project as it became clearer to me that the experiences of migrants in a globalised space can be understood in terms of a double exposed photograph.*

The language attitudes and behaviours of migrants have long been a field of linguistic enquiry, studied through topics such as language loss, maintenance, shift, variety, acquisition, and pedagogy. While in earlier eras of migration, a sending-receiving paradigm framing these linguistic behaviours might have sufficed, this may no longer be the case. Drawing on arguments about the changing nature of mobility in the world (Chapter 1), this mini-thesis set out to explore the language attitudes and behaviours of a Sri Lankan family who migrated to South Africa at the end of the apartheid era. Having charted the family's linguistic repertoire, it became apparent that the use of language was not restricted to simple functionality by domain. Rather language attitudes, behaviours, and their attitudes to these behaviours seemed to be caught up in a complex relationship with the aspects of the speaker's identity, including ethnic, religious, national and gendered aspects of identity.

## 4.1 Considering Language Outcomes in a Mobile World

While human mobility is almost indisputably an age-old phenomenon, the extent, intensity and quality of this mobility is almost certainly unprecedented. In an attempt to describe this new landscape, this

---

<sup>13</sup> My mother's family is Anglo-Indian, a community which from the 1970s onwards left India for various countries including the United Kingdom, Canada, America and Australia.

thesis has leaned towards definitions of globalization that recognise the duality of globalization as both process and phenomenon. The processes of globalization can also be valuably thought of as “proximizations” that result in heightened tensions. Thus, fixedness is brought into proximity and tension with mobility, singularity with multiplicity, and impermeability with permeability. In summary, processes of globalization bring into focus tensions between the fringes and the centre. Thus, whether one is at the centre or living on the fringes, globalization can be experienced as “shrinking space”, “shrinking time” and “disappearing borders” (UN Hum. Dev. Report. 1999: 29).

This mini-thesis began with an examination of two theories of mobility that frame the study of migrants, diaspora and transnationalism then linked these to a global context through theories of globalization and super-diversity.

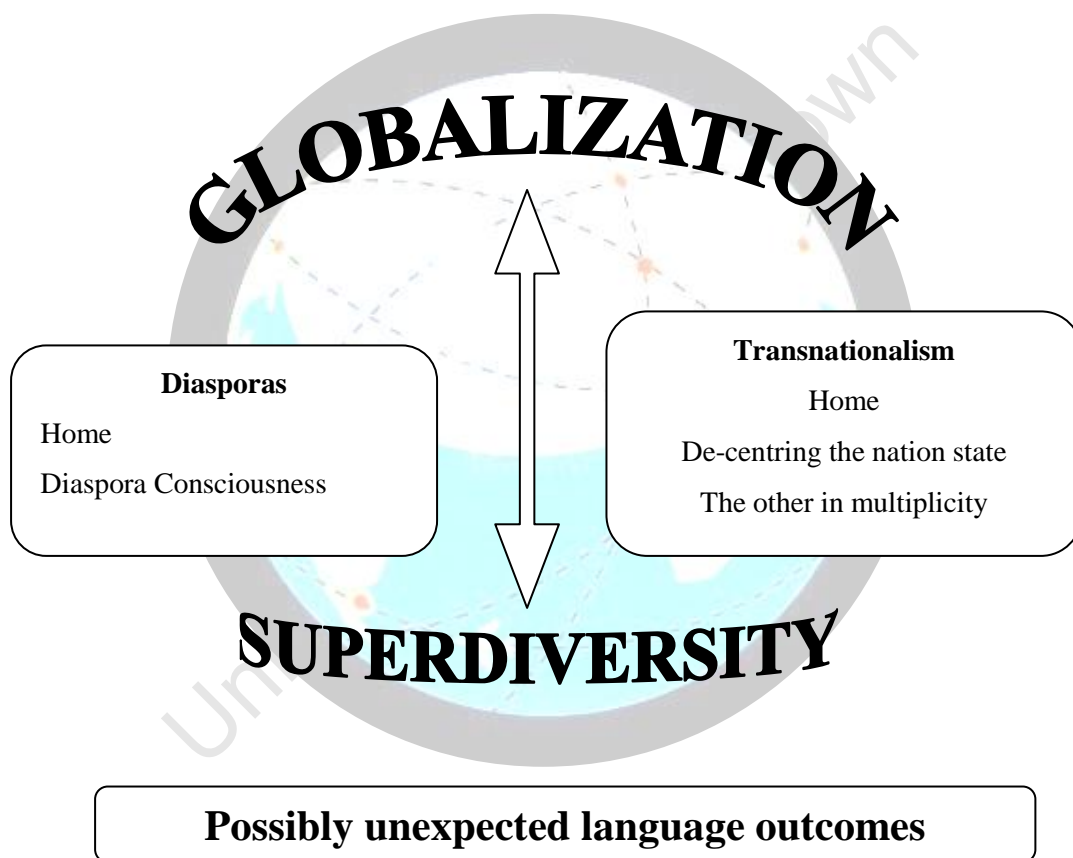


Figure 7: Integration of diaspora and transnationalism studies in the context of globalization and superdiversity

A juxtaposition of the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism offers useful ways of understanding migrant identities in context. Central to the migrant experience is a “stretched” understanding of home – home as a dual, mutually constitutive space and home as the distinction between a place and a way of being in a place. Diaspora studies locate the duality of the home in a general diaspora consciousness, characterised by a sense of loss. In contrast to this, transnationalism conceives of Vertovec’s ‘bifocality’ and Gilroy’s ‘double consciousness’ as a possible gain or a resource for migrants, extending this duality into Brah’s “diaspora spaces” or Kistivo’s “transnational spaces”.

These dualities of perspective and space have consequences for previously unilateral allegiances to nation-states which are increasingly de-centred or, at least, brought into different configurations of relation by transnational perspectives. Replacing the nation-state as an institution of belonging is the imagined diasporic, transnational community, contested and affirmed at local and global levels. The remainder of this thesis presupposes a world where to be a migrant exists within the framework outlined above. In this “new” world, challenges to ideas of the self and belonging might well produce unexpected language attitudes and behaviours.

#### **4.1.1 Objectives and Methods**

This mini-thesis began as an attempt to investigate the language attitudes and reported practices of a Tamil-speaking, Sri Lankan family who have been living in South Africa for the last 15 years. I expected to describe their attitudes to Tamil, English and Zulu by considering the degree of prestige, the social value, the economic value and the aesthetic value of the language reported by the family. However, it quickly became apparent to be that despite being in a South African context, the family’s Sri Lankan experiences continued to exert a strong influence and a reflection on the role of Sanskrit in their worldview became necessary.

#### **4.2 “Moving up”, “Fitting in” and “Standing out”**

The relationship between language and identity can be considered, broadly, in two ways. Traditionally, language has been seen as a part of identity by drawing on the connections between particular labelled languages and their historical contexts and the particular positions afforded by particular languages. For example, describing one’s self as Tamil-speaking as opposed to Sinhalese-speaking is likely to align with particular ethnic or political alignments. However, affiliation, disaffiliation or antagonism to a language label is only part of the story. Language and identity are linked at the level at which speakers use specific languages, or varieties of languages, to perform certain identities. For example, a dialect or variety of English, such as SAIE, used in a particular social context or interaction may mark relationships of similarity, difference or opposition. Thus, language attitudes (what speakers are willing to openly claim) and behaviours (what they do, regardless of claims of alignment) are both unavoidably shaped by matters of identity, both the individual’s and the identities of the individuals who are witness to the performance of language.

### **4.2.1 Findings**

Chapter 3 focussed on three human actions: “moving up”, “fitting in” and “standing out”, in an attempt to convey how participants use their language repertoires in service of particular ways of relating.

Participants’ attitudes to and use of Tamil and English, “mundane” languages reflect a degree of linguistic competition. Participants’ seem to associate English with social mobility through education and financial attainment. The ability to speak, read and write fluent English is, in the South African context, strongly related to educational success and employment possibilities. However, English also plays a localising role, with younger family members using it to signal affiliations to friends and in public spaces. If English is the language of looking outwards at the world, then Tamil is the language of looking inwards, primarily to the family, and secondly to a wider Sri Lankan global network. Tamil evokes notions of a home-away-from home, in constant tension with the establishment of a local home.

Unlike both English and Tamil that are languages of everyday use and thus possibly in competition, Sanskrit is the family’s religious language and is held to have a spiritual and effective power beyond that of mundane languages. Thus, the family’s attitudes to Tamil. English and Sanskrit seem to reflect particular aspects of identity that they wish to foreground.

This study is an example of an exceptional case, a case that does not, at this point, seem to follow the expected patterns of language attitudes and behaviours. While this may in part be accounted for by quite unusual circumstances, it might also be possible that certain languages, transported into host countries, may not be quite as highly at risk as has traditionally believed.

### **4.2.2 Limitations**

As addressed in detail in my methodology chapter, this study suffered from challenges which partially account for its limitations. While attitude studies are the bread and butter of fields such as social psychology, definitions of attitude have become increasingly complex and consequently difficult to make general claims about. The primary challenge facing this study was a theoretical one: quite simply, can attitudes be investigated? While some researchers have argued that participants can inform us of their attitudes, others have argued that such research suffers from interviewer effects. In turn, those who have chosen to investigate attitudes experimentally have faced criticism from constructivists. Ethnographers have stressed the importance of locating attitudes in a particular context, which opens the door for challenges about the capacity of the researcher to authentically

interpret behaviours in context. On a more practical level, as discussed in the limitations section of Chapter 2, my access to the family in question was constrained by my inability to speak Tamil and social strictures which limit my contact with them.

### **4.3 Ways forward**

This mini thesis does not attempt to make claims about the language behaviours of migrants in general; rather it considers an exceptional case, a migrant family who must negotiate their language choices for maximum utility. Given the theoretical challenges to the conceptualisation of attitudes in language attitude studies, there is a need for a theoretical revisiting of attitudes in order to take into consideration both context and interlocutor. In the increasingly mobile and the highly interconnected society in which we live, a widening of research, especially in developing world contexts, into the language attitudes and practices of minority, marginal groups is indicated. Finally, consideration might be given to whether and how recent South Asian migrants to South Africa might impact on Indian heritage languages in South Africa.

## Appendix A: Table of Receiving Countries

Country	Sri Lankan Tamils <a href="http://www.hinduismtoday.com/modulesmartsection/item.php?itemid=4843">http://www.hinduismtoday.com /modulesmartsection/item .php?itemid=4843</a>	Sri Lankan Tamils (Sriskandarajah, 2004)
Canada	160 000	400 000
United States of America	35 000	40 000
United Kingdom	100 000	200 000
Germany	50 000	
France	60 000	
Switzerland	40 000	
Denmark	6 000	
Norway	8 000	
Italy	25 000	
Australia	30 000	
New Zealand	2000	
Africa	20 000	
Gulf States	60 000 (Short term contracts)	
Other		80 000
	596 000	750000

## Appendix B: Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka, an island state of 65,610 sq km, situated off the southern-most point of India, is home to a population of 21,283,913 people. Prior to independence in 1948, Sri Lanka was under the control of colonial powers including the Dutch, Portuguese and British for a period of some 400 years. Before this, Sri Lanka was populated and, largely, controlled by two groups: Sinhalese Buddhists and Tamil-speaking Hindus. Since Sri Lanka's independence, its national politics have been characterised by periods of violent political upheaval, leading to numerous deaths and to relatively large scale migration by both Sinhalese and Tamil Sri-Lankans (Sriskandarajah 2002: 288).



Figure 8: Map of Sri Lanka

In order to contextualise respondents' attitudes to language and identity, a basic understanding of Sri Lanka, from which they come, is invaluable. This section provides a wider context for these respondents by investigating, through the available literature, three key aspects of Sri Lankan society: its political history, its current and historical economic situation, and its ethnic, linguistic and religious composition.

### History and Politics

While the earliest history of Sri Lanka is most often gleaned from mythological sources (De Silva 1981:3), for the purposes of this research, it is the actions of the colonial powers, particularly Britain that sets the Sri Lankan stage for the respondents of this study, resulting in the conflict that, combined with the forces of globalization, has seen the migration of 1 000 000 Sri Lankans with an annual outflow of 200 000 (Ministry For Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare 2008)

Ceylon, renamed Sri Lanka in 1972, was a British colony from 1815 to 1948. During this time, while politically the centralization of power drew the previously separated regions into a unified state, "colonial rulers promoted an essentialist approach which saw ethnic groups as inherently separate" (Bandarage 2009:29 – 30). Having failed to acquire sufficient labour for coffee and tea plantations on the island itself, the British imported one million south Indian, Tamil-speaking immigrants in the 1840s and 50s, and pursued a divide and conquer strategy, ensuring that their labour force had

minimal contact with local inhabitants. These divisions were heightened by the English-based education offered to certain Tamil-speakers, in what is considered to be “historically the Tamil heartland of the Jaffna peninsula” (Spencer 1990: 1), resulting in a disproportionate representation of this group in the professional strata, government and in the subsequent Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora (Bandarage 2009: 30 – 32; Spencer 1990: 1). This disproportionate representation of the Tamil-speakers in the upper strata of society became a source of conflict upon independence from Britain.

The declaration of Ceylon’s independence from colonial Britain in 1948 marked the beginning of decades of conflict, described, for the most part, as either “a terrorist problem” or “an ethnic problem” (Bandarage 2009). According to Bose (1994: 40 – 41), the “ethnic problem” is marked by a disturbing homogenizing, on the basis of language, of ethnic groups, which are, however, characterized by not inconsiderable internal differences of caste and class, religion. The election, in 1956, of a coalition government of Sinhalese parties on the back of demands for equitable distribution of employment led to communal rioting in eastern Sri Lanka, and what Kearney (1985: 898) describes as “relentlessly” increasing intentions, culminating in the 1956 and 1958 riots. Demands for a separate Tamil state surfaced by the 1970s. Between 1976 and 1983, according to government figures Tamil separatist movements were responsible for 73 assassinations and more than 265 bombings, assaults, robberies and other criminal acts (Kearney 1985: 906). The early 1980s were marked by regular attacks and communal riots, destabilizing the fabric of communal leading to the riots of 1983 and the killing of thousands of Tamils in the Sinhala-dominated south after a massacre of government soldiers in northern Sri Lanka.

Figures reflecting the extent of the impact of the conflict vary considerably, depending on the source. Manor (1983: 450) states that the 1983 riots displaced in the region of 135 000 individuals, wrecked 70 factories and destroyed as much as 70 – 90% of Tamil homes in certain areas. Bandarage (2009: 105) places the death toll at between 200 and 2000, and notes that “some 100 000 Sri Lankan Tamils were forced to enter refugee camps when thousands of their homes, shops, factories, vehicles and other belongings were destroyed”. Furthermore, the destruction of workplaces left in the region of 30 000 individuals without employment. Sriskandarajah (2002), on the other hand, claims that more than 3000 Tamils died in the 1983 riots. Fuglerud (1999), reflecting on the events of the last three decades, attributes the displacement of between 400 000 and 700 000 Tamils and the death of at least 70 000 citizens to the events of the civil war (Bandarage 2009: 1).

While elections were held in 2010, Sri Lanka remains, by many accounts, a troubled country with continuing tension colouring the political landscape. The Tamil community describes violations of human rights including freedom of speech, association, and movement. Large numbers of Tamil-speakers remain in refugee camps, unable to return to homes and businesses.

## **Economy and Education**

While Sri Lanka's current per capita income places the country at the lower end of middle-income countries, ranking 100 out of 174 countries, the Human Development Index places it 81<sup>st</sup> in the world. This is due largely to Sri Lanka's high rate of adult literacy (91.4%), life expectancy (72 years) and income levels (Srikandarajah 2002). According to Srikandarajah (2002), the improvements to Sri Lanka's welfare and GDP can be attributed to increases in export earnings, private remittances, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and development assistance. These financial gains were accompanied by high levels of adult literacy particularly in the north east of Sri Lanka, in largely Tamil-speaking areas. Despite the economic improvements in much of Sri Lanka, Hennayake reports a contradictory economic situation in the largely Tamil-speaking city of Jaffna where the fishing industry suffered a collapse, accompanied by crop losses and transport difficulties to markets in Colombo.

A number of studies of the impact of the ongoing civil war on the Sri Lankan economy have been undertaken (Arunatilake, Jayasuria, and Kelegama 2001). Arunatilake, Jayasuria, and Kelegama, drawing and expanding on this area of study, offer a valuable overview of the economic cost of the Sri Lankan war. They divide the costs into direct and indirect costs. Considering military expenditure, refugee costs, relief programme costs and the loss of infrastructure, Arunatilake, Jayasuria, and Kelegama estimate the direct cost of the war to be 61.9% of Sri Lanka's 1996 GDP or slightly in excess of \$6 billion at the exchange rate at the time. In calculating the indirect cost of the war, loss of income is calculated due to local and foreign investment, loss of tourism earnings, loss of income generation due to human capital losses and the cost of human displacement. In conjunction with the direct costs, Arunatilake, Jayasuria, and Kelegama (2001) estimate that the Sri Lankan conflict had, at the time of publication, cost in the region of 168.5% of the Sri Lankan GDP, Rs 1, 135 billion, or US\$ 20, 6 billion.

Prior to the colonial era, Sri Lanka's education system catered, almost exclusively, to the sons of the nobility. Under the era of British control of Sri Lanka, schools were either English medium or Sinhalese or Tamil medium. English medium, fee-charging schools followed a largely Western syllabus and led more easily to a career in the British controlled public service. In contrast, schools that taught in either Sinhalese or Tamil were free and led to limited career opportunities (Kearney 1978; Punchi 1999). This distinction led to a further stratification of society based on education. In the mid-1940s, education reform within Sri Lanka led to Sinhalese and Tamil being declared the national languages and the languages of instructions. Mother tongue education has been credited with

a rapid increase in school enrolment, such that by 1985, school enrolment rates increased to 83.5% (Punchi 1999).

### **Language, Religion and Culture**

Sri Lanka is somewhat of a demographic anomaly, given its geographical proximity to southern India. The closest southern state, Tamil Nadu, is largely populated by Tamil-speaking Hindus. Unlike its large neighbour, the largest ethnic group in Sri Lanka are the Sinhalese who comprise 73.8% of the population; distinctive minority groups are the Sri Lankan Moors/ Muslims (7.2%), Indian Tamils (4.6%), and Sri Lankan Tamils (3.9%). Similarly, according to the 2001 National Census, Sri Lanka is largely Buddhist (69.1%), but Islam (7.6%), Hinduism (7.1%), and Christianity (6.2%) are represented to a significantly lesser degree. The national and official language is Sinhala which is spoken by 74% of the population; Tamil, spoken by 18% of the populace, has the status of a national language. While English is taught in schools, it is only spoken competently by 10% of the population (CIA 2011). Further, the Tamil-speaking population is considered to be divided along ethnic lines into Sri Lankan Tamils and Indian Tamils.

Sri Lanka's language policies are at the heart of the complex political situation that exists on the island. This is further complicated in the Sri Lankan case by the close links between language, ethnicity and religion such that Tamil and Sinhalese are used inter-changeably as labels for ethnicities and languages, and each ethnic group is largely associated with a particular religion and cultural practices: Tamils, largely with Hinduism, and Sinhalese with Buddhism.

# Appendix C: A brief history of the South African Indian community

The modern history of Indians in South Africa spans at least 150 years from 1860 to the current day. For the purposes of describing the South African Indian community, I will consider three time periods: 1860 – 1911 (51 years), 1911 – 1990 and 1990 – current day, focusing on how the events of these time periods shaped the South African Indian community that the migrants in this study would have encountered.

## Period of Indentured Labour: 1860 – 1911

Between 1860 and 1911, 152, 185 Indians arrived in South Africa as cheap, indentured labour for sugar cane plantations as part of Britain's indentured immigration scheme. Labourers from the north east of India spoke Bhojpuri, Awadi and other dialects of Hindi while those from the South would have spoken Dravidian languages: Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam and Dakhini Urdu (Mesthrie 1992: 7). Labourers engaged in indentured service to avoid various economic and social problems and, despite difficult conditions, resisted repatriation, perceiving their prospects in South Africa to be better than the subcontinent (Mesthrie 1992:7 – 8). From 1875 onwards, so-called *passenger Indians* arrived from India, attracted by the possibility of trade with indentured labourers. These traders spoke, for the most part, the languages/dialects of western India including Gujarathi, Marathi, Konkani and Meman. The Indian community, despite geographical origins, was divided on grounds of language, religion, caste and economic status (Mesthrie 1992). However, by the end of the 50 years of indentured labour, the use of English in the Indian community had begun to change. When the 1904 Census was taken, 5% of Indians claimed to be literate in English.

## Post-Indentured Labour: 1911 to 1990

This period was characterised by the South African community pursuing community development. The Cape Town Agreement, signed by the governments of India and South Africa in 1927, began a process of educational and thus linguistic change for the Indian community. By 1958, more than 4000 Indian students were enrolled in high schools, 4.4% of the total Indian school population, suggesting that in the twenty year period that high schools were available, only limited numbers of Indian students gained access to them (Mesthrie 1992). While the many Indians in the 1940s did not consider themselves English speakers, leaving the task of speaking English to their children, the English of the

Christian elite approached very closely the standard, varying only in certain lexical choices, the use of the modal auxiliary and certain article use.

By the 1960s, although first and second children may have entered school with little or no knowledge of English, later-born children would certainly have begun school comfortable in English and with only a passive competence in their ancestral language (Mesthrie 1992). Children brought English into the domestic environment, speaking it to their parents and to their grandparents, many of whom learnt the language from their children. By the 1990s, only a very limited group of people, usually grandparents, spoke the ancestral language at home, while parents and children freely conversed in English. Access to media such as radio, newspapers, books and television became common – making a range of varieties of English increasingly available as a linguistic resource (Mesthrie 1992).

This rapid shift to English use can be attributed to a number of factors. Firstly, the use of English carried the promise of academic and economic opportunity. Secondly, it provided a neutral lingua franca which none of the Indian languages could do. While most of the Indian languages were low prestige, village dialects, English carried considerable social prestige. Lack of a systematic education process for teaching the ancestral Indian languages, combined with a lack of contact with the state of the language in India, and placed under pressure by the introduction in 1960 of Afrikaans as an official second language, resulted in Indian languages quickly assuming the status of second-class citizens in the classroom (Mesthrie 1992). This stage saw the Indian community undergoing language shift, as ancestral languages gave way to a variety of English (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008).

### **1990s to the Current Day**

The rapid and extensive political changes of the 1990s resulted in education reform, allowing children of colour to attend what were previously all-white schools. Although almost all South African Indian children entering such schools, even at an entry level would have done so as first language English speakers, the English in question in all except the most unusual cases would have been of the SAIE variety. As children of colour were first introduced to “white” schools on a quota system, there would have been a limited number of other children of colour to associate with, leading to enforced and possibly desired social contact with white learners, and therefore English as spoken by white, MT English South Africans. Although most South African Indian children who attend Model C or previously white schools adopt sometimes many of the markers of white SAE, they often retain their “first language” SAIE for use in the domestic or other informal situations. The extent to which a child will do so is dependent on a range of social factors, not least of all the degree of their assimilation into the school culture and the maintenance of family and friendship groups in their ethnic group.

## The South African Linguistic Landscape

South Africa's particular colonial history<sup>14</sup> resulted in a country of great linguistic diversity<sup>15</sup> which was then kept artificially linguistically segregated by the apartheid philosophy of separate development. The enforced social, political and economic separation of races and ethnicities imposed by the apartheid state led, in part, to the development and subsequent preservation of distinct, racially bounded varieties of South African English (SAE) such as South African Indian English (SAIE), Black South African English (BSAE) and Cape Flats English (Kamwangamalu 2006). The transition to majority rule in 1994, the integration of the education systems and the promotion of indigenous and minority languages have resulted in significant, if slow moving, changes to the South African linguistic landscape. On paper, SAIE is the variety of English most commonly spoken in Kwazulu Natal by South Africans of Indian descent (Mesthrie 1992). It varies from Indian English (that is the variety of English that is spoken on the Indian subcontinent), from the English spoken by white South Africans and from the metropolitan standard varieties of the United Kingdom and America. SAIE is characterised by specific lexical choices, regularly different syntactic formulations, morphological and phonological differences from other varieties.

In the current South African context, the group of features that most immediately mark SAIE as being different from other SAEs would be phonological features – what ordinary South Africans would identify as an “Indian” accent. Mesthrie (1992) lists five major variations that mark SAIE from other Englishes. There are many syntactic features, pertaining to, for example, reduplication, plurals, and tag questions in SAIE that could relate to the influence of substrate languages, second language acquisition processes and language universals or a complex interaction of these factors. In addition to phonological and syntactical variation, there is considerable lexical variation, contingent on the heritage language of the speaker or community in question.

---

<sup>14</sup> “Discovery” and subsequent colonisation by the Dutch, followed by the English and the importation of indentured and slave labour from the East

<sup>15</sup> There are more than 25 recognised languages, from three distinct families African, European and Asian, spoken in SA and in most cases more than one variety of each is spoken.

# Bibliography

- Agheyisi, Rebecca and Fishman, Joshua A. 1970. Language Attitude Studies: A Brief Survey of Methodological Approaches. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 12 (5): 137-157.
- Akere, F. 1982. Language use and language attitudes in a Yoruba suburban town: A sociolinguistic response to the factors of traditionalism and modernity. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, 15(2), 87-96.
- Allport, G.W. The Composition of Political Attitudes. *American Journal of Sociology*, 35 (2): 220-238. Online: Article Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2766124>. Accessed: February 2011.
- Anderson Bridget L. 2008. *Migration, Accommodation and Language Change: Language at the Intersection of Regional and Ethnic Identity*. Palgrave Macmillan: Hampshire.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis.
- Arunatilake, Nisha, Sisira Jayasuria, and Saman Kelegama. 2001. The Economic Cost of the War in Sri Lanka. *World Development*, 29 (9): 1483-1500.
- Anthias, Floya. Evaluating "Diaspora": Beyond Ethnicity. *Sociology*, 32: 557 – 580.
- Baba, H. K. 1994. Frontlines/Borderposts. In, Bammer, A. 1994. *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question*. Indiana University Press: Bloomington and Indianapolis.
- Baker, Colin. 1992. *Attitudes and Language*. Multilingual Matters: Clevedon, U.K.
- Baker, C., & Jones, S. P. 1998. *Encyclopaedia of bilingualism and bilingual education*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Bakhtin, M. M. 1982. *The dialogic imagination: Four essays* (Vol. 1). University of Texas Press.
- Bammer, A. 1994. *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question*. Indiana University Press: Bloomington and Indianapolis.
- Bandarage, Asoka. *The Separatist Conflict in Sri Lanka: Terrorism, Ethnicity, Political Economy*. New York: iUniverse, Inc.
- Barrett, R. (1999). Indexing Polyphonous Identity in the Speech of African American Drag Queens. In M. Bucholtz, A. C. Liang, and L. Sutton (eds.), *Reinventing Identities: The Gendered Self in Discourse* (pp. 313–331). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Basch, Linda, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc. 1994. *Nations Unbound*. Gordon and Breach Science Publishers: USA
- Basch, Linda, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc. 1995. From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration. *Anthropological Quarterly*. 68(1): 48-63.
- Bayard, D., Weatherall, A., Gallois, C. and Pittam, J. 2001. 'Pax Americana? Accent attitudinal evaluations in New Zealand, Australia and America', *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5: 22–49.

- Beykont, Z. F. (2010). "We should keep what makes us different": youth reflections on Turkish maintenance in Australia. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2010(206), 93-107.
- Blanc, Cristina Szanton, Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller. 1995. Transnationalism, Nation-States, and Culture. *Current Anthropology*. 36(4): 683-686
- Bloemraad, I., Korteweg, A., & Yurdakul, G. 2008. Citizenship and Immigration: Multiculturalism, Assimilation, and Challenges to the Nation-State. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 34:153-79.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2007. Sociolinguistics and Discourse Analysis: Orders of Indexicality and Polycentricity. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 2(2), 115-130. doi:10.2167/md089.0
- Blommaert, Jan. 2011. *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Blommaert, Jan and Jie, Dong. 2010. *Ethnographic Fieldwork: A Beginner's Guide*. Multilingual Matters: Bristol.
- Blunt, Alison. 2007. Cultural geographies of migration: mobility, transnationality and diaspora. *Progress in Human Geography*. 1-11. Online: <http://blog.lib.umn.edu/globerem/main/Cultural%20Geographies%20of%20Migration%20%28Blunt%29.pdf>. Accessed: May 2010.
- Bose, Sumantra. 1994. *States, Nations, Sovereignty: Sri Lanka, India and the Tamil Elam Movement*. Sage Publications: New Delhi.
- Boynton, Petra M. and Greenhalgh, Trisha. 2004. Hands-on guide to questionnaire research: Selecting, designing, and developing your questionnaire. *British Medical Journal*, 328: 1312-1315.
- Brah, Avtar. 1996. *Cartographies of Diaspora*. Routledge: London
- Brockington, J.L. 2001. Hindu Sacred Texts. In, Sawyer, John F. A. and J.M.Y. Simpson. 2001. *Concise Encyclopaedia of Language and Religion*. Elsevier Science Ltd: Oxford.
- Broeder, Peter and Extra, Guus. 1991. *Language, Ethnicity and Education*. Multilingual Matters Ltd: London.
- Botsali, S. I. 1995. Attitudes of university students from different educational, social, and geographical backgrounds towards Turkish varieties. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Hacettepe University, Ankara.
- Brown, James Dean. 2004. Research Methods for Applied Linguistics: Scope, Characteristics, and Standards. In, Davies, Alan and Catherine Elder. (Eds.) *The Handbook of Applied Linguistics*. Blackwell Publishing: Oxford.
- Brubaker, Rogers. 2001. The return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on immigration and its sequels in France, Germany, and the United States. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24 (4): 531-

548. Online: <http://hevra.haifa.ac.il/~soc/lecturers/smooha/files/1751.pdf>. Accessed: August 2011.
- Brubaker, Rogers. 2005. The 'diaspora' diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28 (1): 1 – 19.
- Bryne, D., & Ragin, C.C. 2009. *The Sage Handbook of Case-Based Methods*. Sage Publishers: London.
- Bucholtz, M. and Hall, K. 2005. Identity and interaction: a sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies*. Sage: London.
- Cadge, Wendy and Elaine Howard Ecklund. 2007. Immigration and Religion. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 33:359-79.
- Canagarajah, Suresh. 1995. The Political Economy of Code Choice in a "Revolutionary Society": Tamil-English Bilingualism in Jaffna, Sri Lanka. *Language in Society*, 2(24):187-212.
- Canagarajah, Suresh. 2008. Language shift and the family: Questions from the Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12(2): 143-176.
- Carter, Bob and Fenton, Seteve. 2009. Not Thinking Ethnicity: A Critique of the Ethnicity Paradigm in an Over-Ethnicised Sociology. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 40(1): 1-190
- Castles, S. 2002. Migration and Community Formation under Conditions of Globalization. *International Migration Review*, 36(4): 1143-1168.
- Castles, S. 2007. The Factors that Make and Unmake Migration Policies. In, Portes, Alejandro and Dewind, Josh. (eds) 2007. *Rethinking Migration: New Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives*. Berghahn Books: Oxford.
- Central Intelligence Agency. 2011. Sri Lanka. In "The World Factbook". Online: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ce.html>. Accessed: October 2011.
- Cho, Grace, Shin Fay and Krashen, Steven. 2004. What Do We Know About Heritage Languages? What Do We Need To Know About Them? *Multicultural Education*, 11(4): 23-27.
- Clyne, Michael and Kipp, Sandra. 1997. Trends and Changes in Home Language Use and Shift in Australia: 1986-1996. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 18(6): 451-473. Online: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01434639708666334> . Accessed: August 2011.
- Clyne, Michael. 2003. Dynamics of Language Shift. In Clyne, Michael. 2003. *Dynamics of Language Contact*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Clyne, M., & Kipp, S. 1997. Trends and changes in home language use and shift in Australia, 1986-1996. *Journal of multilingual and multicultural development*, 18(6), 451-473.
- Cohen, Robin. 2008. *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. Routledge: London.
- Collins, Francis Leo. 2008. Transnationalism Unbound: Detailing New Subjects, Registers and Spatialities of Cross-Border Lives. *Geography Compass*. 3(1): 434-458

- Constant, Amelie, Gataullina, Liliya, Zimmermann, Klaus F, & Zimmermann, Laura. 2006. Clash of Cultures: Muslims and Christians in the Ethnosing Process. IZA Discussion Paper No. 2350. Online: <http://ftp.iza.org/dp2350.pdf>. April 2011.
- De Klerk, V., & Barkhuizen, G. 2001. Language usage and attitudes in a South African prison: who calls the shots?. *International journal of the sociology of language*, 97-116.
- De Klerk, V. & Bosch, B. 1995. Linguistic stereotypes: nice accent—nice person?. *International journal of the sociology of language*, 116(1), 17-38.
- Delargy, M. 2007. Language, Culture and Identity: The Chinese Community in Northern Ireland. In Nic Craith, Mairead (ed).2007. *Language, Power and Identity Politics*, Palgrave: London.
- De Ruiter, J. J. 2008. Morocco's languages and gender: evidence from the field. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2008(190), 103-119.
- De Silva, K. M. 1981. *A History of Sri Lanka*. Hurst and Company: London.
- Edwards, John. 2009. *Language and Identity*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Edwards, John. 2011. *Challenges in the social life of language*. Palgrave Macmillan: London.
- Eisenlohr, Patrick. 2004. Temporalities of Community: Ancestral Language, Pilgrimage, and Diasporic Belonging in Mauritius. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 14(1): 81–98. Online: <http://www.artsci.wustl.edu/~anthro/research/Temporalities%20of%20community.pdf>. Accessed: August 2011.
- Entzinger, H. and Biezeveld, R. 2003. Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration. European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations: Rotterdam. Online: <http://repub.eur.nl/res/pub/1180/SOC-2003-011.pdf>. Accessed: March 2012.
- Fair, C.C. 2005. Diaspora Involvement in Insurgencies: Insights From the Khalistan and Tamil Eelam Movements. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 11:125–156.
- Fasold, R.W. 1987. *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. Basil Blackwell: Oxford.
- Fenton, Steve. 1999. *Ethnicity: Racism, Class and Culture*. Macmillan Press Ltd: Hampshire.
- Fernando, Chitra. 1977. English and Sinhala Bilingualism in Sri Lanka. *Language in Society*, 6(3): 341-360.
- Fink, Arlene. 1995. *How to design surveys*. Sage Publications: London.
- Fischer, C.B. & Anushko, A.E. 2008. Research Ethics in Social Science. In, Alasuutari, P., Bickman, L. & Brannen, J. 2008. *The Sage Handbook of Social Research Methods*. Sage: London.
- Fishman, J. A. 2004. Multilingualism and non-English mother tongues.Language in the USA.. In Finegan, E., & Rickford, J. R. (Eds.). 2004. *Language in the USA: Themes for the Twenty-first Century*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 115-132.
- Fong, Rebecca. 2007. Intercultural Communication: Chinese Culture in UK education. In, Nic Craith, Mairead (ed).2007. *Language, Power and Identity Politics*, Palgrave: London.
- Fought, Carmen. 2006. *Language and Ethnicity*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

- Fouron, Georges and Nina Glick Schiller. 2001. All in the Family: Gender, Transnational Migration, and the Nation-State. *Identity*, 7: 539-582.
- Fuglerud, Øivind. 1999. *Life on the Outside: The Tamil Diaspora and Long Distance Nationalism*. Pluto Press: London.
- Fuller, C.J. 1979. Gods, Priests and Purity: On the Relation Between Hinduism and the Caste System. *Man*, New Series, 14 (3): 459-476.
- García, O. 2005. Positioning heritage languages in the United States. *Modern Language Journal*, 601-605.
- Garret, Peter. 2001. Language Attitudes and Sociolinguistics. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 5: 626-63.
- Garrett, P., & Young, R. F. 2009. Theorizing affect in foreign language learning: an analysis of one learner's responses to a communicative Portuguese course. *The Modern Language Journal*, 93(2), 209-226.
- Garrett, Peter. 2010. *Attitudes to Language*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, U.K.
- Garrett, Peter, Nikolas Coupland and Angie Williams. 1995. 'City harsh' and 'the welsh version of RP': Some ways in which teachers view dialects of welsh English. *Language Awareness*, 4(2), 99-107.
- Garrett, Peter, Nikolas Coupland and Angie Williams. 2003. *Investigating Language Attitudes: Social meanings of Dialect, Ethnicity and Performance*. University of Wales Press: Cardiff, U.K.
- Gillham, B. 2000. *Case Study Research Methods*. Continuum: London.
- Gilmartin, Mary. 2008. Migration, Identity and Belonging. *Geography Compass*. 2(6): 1837-1852
- Gilroy, Paul. 1993. *Black Atlantic*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass.
- Goldberg, B. 1992. Historical Reflections on Transnationalism, Race, and the American Immigrant Saga. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 645: 201-215.
- Gomm, R., Hammersley, M. & Foster, P. 2000. *Case Study Method*. Sage Publishers: London.
- Gonzalez, Nancie. 1988. *Sojourners of the Caribbean: Ethnogenesis and Ethnohistory of the Garifuna*. University of Illinois Press.
- Gorter, D. (1987). Surveys of the Frisian language situation: some considerations of research methods on language maintenance and language shift. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 1987(68), 41-56.
- Guarnizo, Luis E. 1997. The emergence of a transnational social formation and the mirage of return migration among Dominican transmigrants. *Identities Global studies in Culture and Power*, 4 (2): 281 – 322.
- Hagan, J., & Ebaugh, H. R. 2003. Calling upon the sacred: migrants' use of religion in the migration process. *International Migration Review*, 37(4), 1145-1162.
- Harlow, R. (2005). Covert attitudes to Māori. *International journal of the sociology of language*, 2005(172), 133-147.

- Herod, Andrew. 2009. *Geographies of Globalization*. Wiley- Blackwell: United Kingdom.
- Higgot, Richard. 2000. Contested Globalization: The Changing Context and Normative Challenges. *Review of International Studies*, 26: 131-153.
- Hill, J. H., & Hill, K. C. (1980). Mixed grammar, purist grammar, and language attitudes in modern Nahuatl. *Language in Society*, 9(3), 321-48.
- Hornberger, Nancy H. 2005. Heritage/Community Language Education: US and Australian Perspectives. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 8(2 and 3): 101-108. Online: [http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1009&context=gse\\_pubsands\\_ei-redir=1#search=%22community%20language%22](http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1009&context=gse_pubsands_ei-redir=1#search=%22community%20language%22). Accessed: August 2011
- Internet Statistics. 2010. Online: <http://www.internetworldstats.com/>. Accessed February 2012.
- Jayasuriya, Laksiri. 1990. Language and Culture in Australian Public Policy: Some Critical Reflections. *International Migration Review*, 24(1): 124-148.
- Jobe, Jared B. and Mingay, David J. 1989. Cognitive Research Improves Questionnaires. *American Journal of Public Health*, 79(8): 1053-1055.
- Kamwangamalu, N. M. 2006. Religion, social history, and language maintenance. *Explorations in the sociology of language and religion*, 20, 86.
- Karahan, F. 2004. Ethnolinguistic vitality, attitudes, social network and code-switching: the case of Bosnian-Turks living in Sakarya, Turkey. *International journal of the sociology of language*, 59-92.
- Kearney, Robert N. 1978. Language and the Rise of Tamil Separatism in Sri Lanka. *Asian Survey*, 18(5): 521-534
- Kearney, Robert N. 1985. Ethnic Conflict and the Tamil Separatist Movement in Sri Lanka. *Asian Survey*, 25(9): 898-917.
- Kivisto, Peter. 2001. Theorizing transnational immigration: a critical review of current efforts. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 24 (4): 549-577.
- Koopmans, Ruud. 2003. Good Intentions Sometimes Make Bad Policy: A Comparison of Dutch and German Integration Policies. In, Stiftung, Friedrich E. *Migration, Multiculturalism, and Civil Society*. Online: [http://www.vu.nl/nl/Images/Koopmans-Good-intentions-sometimes-make-bad-policy\\_tcm9-36207.pdf](http://www.vu.nl/nl/Images/Koopmans-Good-intentions-sometimes-make-bad-policy_tcm9-36207.pdf). Accessed: November 2011.
- Lapiere, R. T. (1928). Race Prejudice: France and England. *Social Forces*, 7(1), 102-111.
- LaPiere, R. T. (1934). Attitudes vs. actions. *Social forces*, 13(2), 230-237.
- Lal, Brij V. 2006. *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian Diaspora*. University of Hawai'i Press: Hawai'i.
- Lambert, W., Hodgson, R., Gardner, R. and Fillenbaum, S. 1960. 'Evaluational reactions to spoken languages', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 60: 44-52.

- Lewin, C., & Somekh, B. (Eds.). 2004. *Research methods in the social sciences*. Sage Publications Limited.
- Lipner, J. J. 2001. Hindu Views on Language. In Sawyer, John F. A. and J.M.Y. Simpson *Concise Encyclopaedia of Language and Religion*. Elsevier Science Ltd: Oxford.
- Mabry, L. 2008. Case Study in Social Research. In, Alasuutari, P., Bickman, L. & Brannen, J. 2008. *The Sage Handbook of Social Research Methods*. Sage: London.
- Manger, Leif O. & Assal, Munzoul A. M. 2006. *Diasporas within and without Africa: dynamism, heterogeneity, variation*. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet: Uppsala.
- Mac Giolla Chríost, Diarmait, 2003. *Language, identity, and conflict: a comparative study of language in ethnic conflict in Europe and Eurasia*. Routledge: London.
- Mac Giolla Chríost, Diarmait. 2007. "Globalization and Transformation: Language Planning in New Contexts. In Nic Craith, Máiréad (Eds). 2007. *Language, Power and Identity Politics*. Palgrave MacMillan: New York.
- Mackay, W. 2003. Forecasting the fate of languages. In Maurais, J. & Morris, J.A. 2003. *Languages in a Globalising World*. Cambridge Press: Cambridge.
- Manor, James. 1983. Sri Lanka: Explaining the Disaster. *The World Today*, 39 (11): 450-459.
- Marranci, G. 2007. Faith, Language and Identity: Muslim Migrants in Scotland and Northern Ireland. In, Nic Craith, Mairead (ed). 2007. *Language, Power and Identity Politics*, Palgrave: London.
- McGilvray, Dennis B. 1998. Arabs, Moors and Muslims: Sri Lankan Muslim ethnicity in regional perspective. *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 32: 433-483.
- Mesthrie, R. 2002. Language change, survival, decline: Indian languages in South Africa. In, Mesthrie, R. 2002. *Language in South Africa*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Mesthrie, R. 2006. *English in language shift: The history, structure and sociolinguistics of South African Indian English*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mesthrie, R. 2010. A bird's eye view of Tamil in South Africa. *Language Matters*, 38(2): 179-194.
- Mesthrie, R. and Bhatt, R.M. 2008. *World Englishes: The Study of New Linguistic Varieties*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Ministry for Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare. 2008. *National Labour Migration Policy for Sri Lanka*. Online: [http://www.ilo.org/public/english/protection/migrant/download/mpolicy\\_srilanka\\_en.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/public/english/protection/migrant/download/mpolicy_srilanka_en.pdf). Accessed: October 2011.
- Ministry of External Affairs. 2000. Online: <http://indiandiaspora.nic.in/contents.htm>. Accessed: August 2011.
- Miyoshi, Masao. 1993. A Borderless World? From Colonialism to Transnationalism and the Decline of the Nation-State. *Critical Inquiry*, 19: 726-751.

- Modood, Tariq. 2011. Multiculturalism, ethnicity and integration. In, Modood, Tariq and Salt, John. (eds) 2011. *Global migration, Ethnicity and Britishness*. Palgrave Macmillan: Hampshire.
- Modood, Tariq and Salt, John. (eds) 2011. *Global migration, Ethnicity and Britishness*. Palgrave Macmillan: Hampshire.
- Mucherah, W., & Yoder, A. (2008). Motivation for reading and middle school students' performance on standardized testing in reading. *Reading Psychology*, 29(3), 214-235.
- Ndhlovu, Finex. 2010. Belonging and Attitudes towards Ethnic Languages among African Migrants in Australia. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 30(3): 299-32.
- OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development). 2007. *International Migration Outlook: SOPEMI*. OECD Publishers: Paris. Online: <http://www.oecd.org/els/migration/imo>. Accessed: October 2011.
- O’Raigain, P. 1993. ‘Stability and change in public attitudes towards Irish since the 1960s’, *Teangeolas* 32: 45–9.
- Pandey, A., Aggarwal, A., Devane, R., and Kuznetsov, Y. 2006. The Indian Diaspora: A Unique Case? In The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank. 2006. *Diaspora Networks and the International Migration of Skills: How Countries Can Draw on Their Talent Abroad*.
- Peberdy, S. 2001. Imagining Immigration: Inclusive Identities and Exclusive Policies in Post-1994 South Africa. *Africa Today*, 48(3): 15-32.
- Portes, Alejandro. 2003. Conclusion: Theoretical Convergencies and Empirical Evidence in the Study of Immigrant Transnationalism. *International Migration Review*. 37(3): 874-892.
- Portes, Alejandro and Dewind, Josh. (eds) 2007. *Rethinking Migration: New Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives*. Berghahn Books: Oxford.
- Portes, Alejandro, Luiz E. Guarnizo and Patricia Landolt. 1999. The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 22(2): 217-237
- Posel, Dorrit. Have Migration Patterns in post-Apartheid South Africa Changed? University of Natal. Online: <http://pum.princeton.edu/pumconference/papers/1-posel.pdf>. Accessed: June 2011.
- Punchi, Lakshman. 1999. Resistance towards the Language of Globalization: The Case of Sri Lanka. *International Review of Education*, 47 (3/4): 361-378.
- Rai, Rajesh and Reeves, Peter. 2009. *The South Asian Diaspora: Transnational Networks and Changing Identities*. Routledge: London.
- Rampton, Ben. 2005. *Crossing: Language and Ethnicity among adolescents*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. St Jerome Publishing: Manchester, U.K.
- Reich, Simon. 1998. What is globalization? Four Possible Answers. Online: <http://kellogg.nd.edu/publications/workingpapers/WPS/261.pdf>. Accessed: March 2012.

- Richards, J & Schmidt, R. 1992. Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics. Pearson Education Limited: England.
- Roudometof, Victor. 2005. Transnationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Glocalization. *Current Sociology*, 53(1), 113-135.
- Ruane, J. & Todd, J. 2010. Ethnicity and religion: redefining the research agenda. *Ethnopolitics*, 9 (1): 1-8.
- Salant, Priscilla and Dillman, Don A. 1994. *How to conduct your own survey*. John Wiley and Sons: New York.
- Sapsford, Roger. 2007. *Survey Research*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Sage Publishing: London.
- Sawyer, John F. A. 2001. Prayer. In Sawyer, John F. A. and J.M.Y. Simpson. 2001. *Concise Encyclopaedia of Language and Religion*. Elsevier Science Ltd: Oxford.
- Schostak, John. 2006. *Interviewing and Representation in Qualitative Research*. Open University Press: Berkshire.
- Seymour-Jorn, C. 2004. Arabic language learning among Arab immigrants in Milwaukee, Wisconsin: a study of attitudes and motivations. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 24(1), 109-122.
- Silverman, David. 2005. *Doing Qualitative Research*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Sage Publications: London.
- Soysal, Yasemin. N. 2000. Citizenship and identity: living in diasporas in post-war Europe? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23 (1): 1 – 15.
- Sparks, Richard L. and Ganschow, Lenore. 1991. Foreign Language Learning Differences: Affective or Native Language Aptitude Differences? *The Modern Language Journal*, 75(1): 3-16.
- Spencer, Jonathan. 1990. *Sri Lanka: History and the Roots of Conflict*. London: Routledge.
- Spolsky, Bernard. 2003. Religion as a Site of Language Contact. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 23, 81–94.
- Sri Lanka, Ministry for Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare. 2008. *National Labour Migration Policy for Sri Lanka*. International Labour Office: Colombo.
- Sriskandarajah, Dhananjayan. 2002. The Migration-Development Nexus: Sri Lanka Case Study. *International Migration*, 40 (5): 283-305.
- Sriskandarajah, Dhananjayan. 2004. Tamil Diaspora Politics. In: Ember, M., Ember, C.R. and Skoggard, I. (Eds). 2004. *Encyclopaedia of Diasporas: Immigrant and Refugee Cultures Around the World*, Volume 1: Overviews & Topics. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers. Online: <http://www.tamilnations.com/diaspora/060209sriskandarajah.pdf>. Accessed: July 2011.
- Stark, S., & Torrance, H. 2004. Case Study. In, Lewin, C., & Somekh, B. (Eds.). 2004. *Research methods in the social sciences*. Sage Publications Limited.
- StatsSA. 2001. Report of the Census Sub-Committee to the South African Statistics Council on Census 2001. Online:

- <http://www.statssa.gov.za/timeseriesdata/pxweb2006/Dialog/Saveshow.asp>. Accessed: September 2010.
- StatsSA. 2004. Census 2001: Primary tables South Africa Census '96 and 2001 compared. Online: <http://www.statssa.gov.za>. Accessed: September 2010.
- Steger, Manfred. 2003. *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford Press: Oxford.
- Tsitsipis, L. D., & Elmendorf, W. W. (1983). Language shift among the Albanian speakers of Greece. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 288-308.
- UN Popul. Div. 2006. *International Migration and Development Report 2006*. UN Publishers: New York.
- UN Hum. Dev. Report. 1999. Globalization with a human face. New York: UNDP and Oxford University Press.
- Van Deusen-Scholl, Nelleke. 2003. Towards a definition of Heritage Language: Sociopolitical and pedagogical Considerations. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 2 (3): 211-230.
- Vertovec, Steven. 1999. Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22 (2), 1 –14.
- Vertovec, Steven. 2001. Transnationalism and identity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27 (4), 573-582.
- Vertovec, Steven. 2004. Migrant Transnationalism and Modes of Transformation. *International Migration Review*. 38(3), 970-1001.
- Vertovec, Steven. 2007. Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30 (6): 1024 – 1054.
- Vertovec, Steven and Robin Cohen. 1999. Introduction. In Vertovec, Steven and Robin Cohen. 1999. *Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism*. Elgar Reference Collection: Cheltenham, UK.
- Wayland, Sarah. 2004. Ethnonationalist Networks and Transnational Opportunities: The Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora. *Review of International Studies*, 30(3): 405-426.
- Westwood, Sallie. 2000. "The politics of belonging" in Westwood, S and Phizacklea, A.(eds) 2000. *Trans-nationalism and the Politics of Belonging*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Westwood, S and Phizacklea, A. 2000. *Trans-nationalism and the Politics of Belonging*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Wigglesworth, Amanda Eve. 2008. The Role of Language in Religion and Ethnic Identity: A Study of Liturgical Language Use in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada. *The Canadian Journal of Orthodox Christianity*, 3(2): 33-49.
- Wilkinson , Michael. 2002. The Globalization of Pentecostalism: The Role of Asian Immigrant Pentecostals in Canada. *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies*, 3(2): 219-226.
- Wiley, T. 1998. The imposition of World War I era English-Only policies and the fate of German in North America. In T. Ricento & B. Burnaby (Eds.), *Language and politics in the United States*

and Canada. Myths and realities (pp. 211–241). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Wilson, A. Jeyarathnam. *Sri Lankan Tamil Nationalism: Its Origins and Development in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*. London: Hurst and Company.

Wolfram, W., Carter, P. M., & Moriello, R. 2004. Emerging Hispanic English: new dialect formation in the American South. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 8(3), 339-358.

Worsley, P. 1984. The three worlds. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Yeoh, Brenda S.A., Willis, Katie D. and Fakhri, S.M. Abdul Khader. 2003. Introduction: Transnationalism and its edges. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 26(2), 207-217.

Yin, R. 2003. *Applications of Case Study Research*. Sage Publications: London.

University of Cape Town