

# **BOURDIEU, MULTILINGUALISM, AND IMMIGRATION:**

**Understanding how second-generation multilingual immigrants reproduce linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages in Cardiff, Wales**

Mirona Moraru

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School of Modern Languages

Cardiff University

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## Summary:

The thesis investigates the phenomenon of multilingualism from a Bourdieusian-derived perspective with a focus on the conditions enabling second-generation immigrant agents to produce, reproduce, and negotiate linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages in the officially bilingual context of Cardiff, Wales. The thesis follows in the footsteps of Pierre Bourdieu, using his model of linguistic production and circulation as a conceptual lens for the analysis of the linguistic biographies of thirteen second-generation multilingual participants. In doing so, the project also tests the suitability of this model to account for the production of alternative linguistic practices other than the dominant ones, for transformation, and ultimately, for the phenomenon of multilingualism associated with the process of immigration.

The analysis of the linguistic biographies focuses on the development of the linguistic habitus of the second-generation agents taking into consideration the socio-historically constructed power relations which have influenced their trajectory. This involves understanding the relationship between such a linguistic habitus and the linguistic market(s) with which the interviewees have interacted. First, the thesis suggests that in Cardiff English is recognized as the legitimate language, Welsh is partially legitimate, while non-autochthonous minority languages are illegitimate. Second, in light of the linguistic biographies the project examines how the interplay between the home, the school, religious practices, and digital practices influenced the construction of alternative linguistic markets according to which the linguistic habitus of the participants developed, enabling them to reproduce linguistic practices with Arabic, Bengali, Somali, Urdu, or Punjabi. The study thus suggests that the phenomenon of multilingualism can be redefined from the perspective of an individual's linguistic habitus understood as an integral and generative set of dispositions which develops and functions according to the socio-historically constructed conditions and power relations within and, crucially, among multiple linguistic markets.

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## Abbreviations:

- AIRS** *An invitation to reflexive sociology* (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992)
- IOW** *In other words: essays towards a reflexive sociology* (Bourdieu 1990)
- LSP** *Language and symbolic power* (Bourdieu 1991)
- OTP** *Outline of a theory of practice* (Bourdieu 1977a)
- PM** *Pascalian meditations* (Bourdieu 2000)
- SSSP** *Social space and symbolic power* (Bourdieu 1989)
- TBB** *The bachelors' ball: the crisis of peasant society in Béarn* (Bourdieu 2008)
- TBI** *The biographical illusion* (Bourdieu 2000)
- TLP** *The logic of practice* (Bourdieu 1990)

## 1. Introduction

This is a multidisciplinary study which explores the relationship between multilingualism, immigration, and power relations in the officially bilingual context of Cardiff, Wales. Starting from the phenomenon of multilingualism among second-generation immigrants in Cardiff, the main aim of the present thesis is to explore the conditions which enable them to produce, reproduce and negotiate linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages in this context. The thesis follows in the footsteps of Pierre Bourdieu, using his model of linguistic production and circulation developed primarily in *Language and Symbolic Power* (1991) as a conceptual lens for the analysis of the linguistic biographies of thirteen second-generation multilingual participants. In doing so, the present project also tests the suitability of this model to account for the production of alternative linguistic practices other than the dominant ones, and thus for transformation, linguistic and social heterogeneity, and ultimately, for the phenomenon of multilingualism associated with the process of immigration. The thesis proposes a partial adaptation of the Bourdieusian model introducing a new conceptual tool which may help in providing a more accurate analysis of such phenomena.

### 1.1. Cardiff, immigration, and multilingualism

Like Belfast, Edinburgh, and London, Cardiff is the capital city of one of the four nations making up the United Kingdom of Britain and Northern Ireland: Wales. The context of Wales and more specifically, that of Cardiff, is particularly interesting due to at least two reasons. First, following a long and arduous process, since 2011 Wales is the only officially bilingual nation in the UK; its minority autochthonous language, Welsh, is recognised as an official language together with English. The capital city of Cardiff has been one of the main arenas where fundamental institutional and grass-roots battles for the status of the Welsh language have been fought. Thus, it represents a key point for both the diffusion of institutional power and negotiation of different values for linguistic practices with the two official languages. Second, as one of the most important industrial centres in the United Kingdom at the beginning of the twentieth century, Cardiff has an extensive history of immigration. Furthermore, its contemporary status as a capital city and its subsequent increased economic activity has led it to become home to an extremely diverse population; indeed, 19 per cent of the total population of Cardiff<sup>1</sup> declared in 2011 that they were neither British nor Irish (Cardiff Research Centre 2012), this city being the most diverse local authority in Wales. This ethnic and cultural diversity also implies a highly heterogeneous linguistic reality, with more than 94 different languages being spoken in Cardiff, apart from English and Welsh (CILT 2006). In addition, the 2011

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<sup>1</sup> The total population of Cardiff according to the 2011 Census was 346,090 people (Cardiff Research Centre 2012).

Census showed that more than 9.5 per cent of all households in Cardiff<sup>2</sup> were inhabited by at least one person whose main language<sup>3</sup> was not English or Welsh (Office for National Statistics 2012b). This means that 8.3 per cent of the total population of Cardiff stated not having English or Welsh as their main language (Office for National Statistics 2013a); instead, Arabic, Polish, Bengali, Chinese, Somali and Urdu are the languages with the highest percentages of respondents declaring them as their main language<sup>4</sup>. Thus, minority non-autochthonous languages enter the already complex equation of the linguistic make-up of this context. In light of this, Cardiff could be described as a site where potentially clashing forces intersect, leading to complex, multi-layered processes of linguistic reproduction and transformation.

Substantial research has been carried out with regards to the Welsh language from a multitude of perspectives. Particular attention has been paid to the process of language revitalization. This has involved exploring and documenting the history of the Welsh language (e.g. Southall 1893; Williams 1964; Aitchison and Carter 1987; 1994; 2000; 2004; Thomas 1987; Thomas 1972; Davies 1993; 2007; Williams 1994; Jenkins 1997; 2000; Jenkins and Williams 2000a; Morris 2010a), which is intrinsically linked to that of the English language. It also implied a thorough look at language policy and planning (e.g. May 2000; Williams 2000a; Williams and Morris 2000), and fundamentally, at the implementation of such policies in the educational context (e.g. Baker and Prys Jones 2000; Gruffud 2000; Jones and Williams 2000). Consequently, the phenomenon of bilingualism has been explored starting from the case of Welsh and English, particularly as potentiated by formal schooling. Thus, extensive research has been carried out with respect to the forces and processes underlying the situation of the Welsh language. What is more, it could be argued that the research itself may have functioned as a contributing factor to the endeavor of language revitalization in Wales.

Furthermore, although not as fruitful as the academic field investigating issues related to the Welsh language, there is some research which explores the phenomenon of immigration in Wales, and

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<sup>2</sup> The total number of households in Cardiff in 2011 was 142,557 (Office for National Statistics 2012b).

<sup>3</sup> According to ONS, "main language" refers to "the language that is a person's first or preferred language" (Office for National Statistics 2012b). Given the ambiguity of this interpretation, the results of the Census with respect to language may hide crucial details; especially multilingual respondents may have had difficulties in choosing their 'main language' given that their essential characteristic is that of living their lives in two or more languages. Under these circumstances, the purpose of the question, as part of an official national Census, may have led some respondents to declare English or Welsh, one of the two official languages as their "main language". Potentially, the number of speakers of languages other than English or Welsh may be much higher than the one the Census results imply.

<sup>4</sup> More precisely, the percentages are the following: Arabic: 1.1%; Polish: 0.8%; Bengali (with Sylheti and Chatgaya): 0.7%; Chinese (Mandarin, Cantonese, and other types of Chinese) 0.7%; Somali: 0.4%; Urdu 0.4% (Office for National Statistics 2013a). Given that no other question was asked in the Census with reference to the languages spoken by the residents apart from the one referring to their "main language", the percentage of people actually speaking these languages and others is potentially much higher.

particularly in Cardiff. Some scholars have focused on the effects the industrial peak of Cardiff had on its ethnic diversity (Holmes 1988; Evans 2003a; Gilliat-Ray and Mellor 2010). Indeed, due to Cardiff having become the largest port exporting coal in the world at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, by the 1940s Butetown, one of the surrounding areas, is thought to have become home to people from over fifty ethnic groups (Jordan and Weedon 2015, p. 183). After the Second World War and the fall of the British Empire, Cardiff experienced similar patterns of immigration to the rest of the UK, with post-war recovery attracting millions of people from all former British colonies. Since then, the UK and Cardiff have experienced further waves of immigration as a result of political unrest in different parts of the world, the end of the Cold War, and different stages of enlargement of the European Union. Some research has been carried out exploring the consequences of these different types of migrations to South Wales, outlining issues of race, diversity and integration – reference is made here particularly to the books edited by Williams et al. (2003; 2015) and the reports edited by Threadgold et al. (2007; 2008). Nevertheless, apart from the fact that the existing research is limited both in scope and quantity, crucially, there is little research which explores the experience of minority ethnic people in Wales (Threadgold et al. 2008, p. 4).

While there is considerable research with respect to the Welsh language as well as some research with regards to immigration in Cardiff, very little is known about the relation between language and immigration in this context. Linguistic diversity in Cardiff is outlined by a handful of reports (e.g. CILT 2006; CILT Cymru and CILT 2010), but very few studies have been conducted so far in this direction. In their report, Threadgold et al. (2008) briefly tackle the issue of language in relation to immigration and integration in South Wales. Taking English proficiency as a key indicator of economic and social integration, the researchers bring forth the idea of generational differences: the second generation, i.e., the children of those who relocated to Cardiff, has “less difficulty learning English than their parents” due to schooling (Threadgold et al. 2008, p. 55). This usually leads them to act as mediators between the first generation and the rest of the society (Threadgold et al. 2008, p. 55). Thus, particularly the second generation appears to be multilingual; as an initial definition, this means that they live their lives using English and at least one other language on a regular basis. However, far too little is known about the phenomenon of multilingualism among the second-generation immigrants in the context of Cardiff.

Usually born and raised in a country different from that of their parents and close family, the case of second-generation immigrants is particularly intriguing as they find themselves at an intersection of processes driven by potentially clashing forces. Different cultural traits, culinary preferences, religious affiliation, dress styles, and, crucially, linguistic practices may be subject to processes of

reproduction and transformation. Such agents are in the middle of a particularly complex web of power relations whose constant negotiation makes them who they are, potentially enabling them to produce highly heterogeneous linguistic practices. In addition, the second generation's production of linguistic practices in Cardiff may be even more complex due to the existence of two official languages, English and Welsh. The only relevant study found with respect to the linguistic practices of the second generation examines the type of support offered to community languages in secondary schools throughout Wales (CILT Cymru and CILT 2010). The results pinpoint a markedly low level of institutional support for community languages in the educational field of Wales, signalling the supplementary/complementary sector as the main formal platform for these languages. Apart from these studies, there is a general lack of research on any aspect related to the languages employed by the immigrant population in Cardiff. In addition, no substantial research has been found that surveyed the phenomenon of multilingualism among second-generation immigrants in Cardiff.

## 1.2. Research questions

The overall purpose of this study is to develop an understanding of the phenomenon of multilingualism among second-generation immigrants in Cardiff employing the conceptual framework developed by Pierre Bourdieu, particularly in *Language and Symbolic Power* (1991 henceforth LSP). More specifically, the core aim of the present research project is to examine the conditions which enable these agents to produce and reproduce<sup>5</sup> linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages in the already officially bilingual context of Cardiff.

The main research questions are the following:

1. What are the conditions enabling second-generation immigrants to produce multilingual practices in the context of Cardiff?
2. What is the linguistic hierarchy of the linguistic market of Cardiff?
  - a. Are English and Welsh, the official languages of Wales, also the legitimate languages in the linguistic market of Cardiff?

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<sup>5</sup> In the present thesis the term reproduction is employed in the sense developed and used by Pierre Bourdieu (e.g. AIRS; LSP; TLP). Briefly, the concept of reproduction designates a process through which social relations, inequalities, or the production of particular (linguistic) practices in a specific context is reinforced through certain socio-historically embedded power relations. Therefore, the term reproduction does not simply refer to what could be defined as mere repetition (e.g. an agent repeating an utterance produced by a different agent), but to a much broader perspective that takes into consideration the socio-historical factors and power relations that determine the possibility of an agent to produce certain linguistic practices in a particular context. For a more detailed explanation of this concept, see section 2.2.2.2.

- b. Are non-autochthonous minority languages rendered illegitimate in the linguistic market of Cardiff?
3. What are the conditions enabling second-generation immigrants to produce, reproduce and negotiate linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages in the linguistic market of Cardiff, if they are rendered illegitimate?

Bourdieu (LSP) offers a model of linguistic production and circulation based on the fundamental idea that language itself is not intrinsically powerful, but rather the value of linguistic practices is influenced by the power relations between interlocutors in a particular context. The model consists of three key conceptual tools: linguistic habitus, linguistic market, capital (power). Particularly helpful is the concept of linguistic habitus, which represents the main principle of production of linguistic practices within this framework. Briefly, the linguistic habitus of an individual functions as a repository of dispositions which enable them to produce utterances. However, utterances are never produced in a vacuum, but they become meaningful and valuable only within a certain context. Bourdieu calls this context, or basically any interaction, a linguistic market. Thus, this model states that the production of utterances is the result of a linguistic habitus in contact with a linguistic market. Nevertheless, the model has more depth than it may seem at a first glance. This is mainly because neither the linguistic habitus nor the linguistic market are fixed or static; they are both products of the history of their relationship mediated by specific power relations. A linguistic habitus is constantly shaped by the agent's interaction with the linguistic market, while, in turn, the conditions of the linguistic market are also shaped by these interactions. Fundamentally, language serves for communication, but crucially, also as an instrument through which the power relations among interlocutors are actualized. In an interaction, those agents with most capital, such as economic or social capital, can also impose their linguistic products as the most valuable ones, and thus gain linguistic capital. In conjunction with a potential economic, political and educational unification of a context, such as in the case of a nation-state, those agents with most capital, and thus power, can impose their practices as the most valuable ones, leading to the construction of what Bourdieu calls a relatively unified linguistic market. Within such a unified linguistic market, the practices of the most powerful agents become the legitimate practices against which all other practices are measured, and thus become illegitimate. Legitimacy implies the possibility of making oneself both listened to and heard, thus gaining linguistic capital. When recognised as such, this linguistic capital can be converted into other types of capital, such as social or educational capital, reproducing the social position of that particular agent. Illegitimacy refers to the impossibility of one's utterances to gain any meaning or value in an interaction.

Thus, when trying to examine the production of multilingual practices of second-generation immigrant agents in Cardiff through the lenses of the Bourdieusian conceptual tools, it is necessary to examine the development of the linguistic habitus of these agents, which represents the main principle of production of linguistic practices. However, given that the linguistic habitus is defined by its relationship with the market according to the rules of which it develops and which is mediated by power relations, it becomes crucial to first map the dynamics of the contemporary linguistic market of Cardiff.

Thus, the first step is to outline the linguistic hierarchy prevailing in the linguistic market of Cardiff. This involves exploring the rules and laws of price formation of this particular market, which implies identifying what linguistic practices are recognised as legitimate or illegitimate. As the conditions of linguistic markets in general are shaped by socio-historical processes and power relations, it is necessary to carry out a diachronic analysis of the immanent factors leading to the linguistic hierarchy prevailing in today's linguistic market of Cardiff. The hypothesis is that the context of Cardiff functions as a relatively unified linguistic market where historically understood power relations have resulted in English being recognised as the legitimate language while the autochthonous minority language, Welsh, is gradually gaining more legitimacy. Linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages are at the bottom of this hierarchy, usually being rendered illegitimate. It is fundamental to underpin these conditions of price formation because the production of any linguistic practices within this market is dependent upon them. Consequently, it is only in light of what linguistic practices are recognised as legitimate that the issue of production and reproduction of illegitimate practices can be posed.

The second step is to focus on the development of the linguistic habitus of second-generation multilingual immigrants in Cardiff. Relying on the Bourdieusian theoretical framework, the production and reproduction of linguistic practices of the second generation can be understood as the result of a combination of wider socio-historical and socio-economical processes, as well as the agents' personal trajectory and experiences within such structural dimensions. Therefore, the thesis employs a series of linguistic biographies collected from 13 main participants with a linguistically heterogeneous background. In light of the conditions of the linguistic market of Cardiff, the analysis of the participants' understanding of their linguistic and social trajectory allows for a fine-grained and multi-layered exploration of the processes which enable them to produce multilingual practices. Assuming that English represents the main legitimate language in Cardiff means that the second generation has undoubtedly been in contact with symbolically powerful institutions and agents reproducing this language as legitimate. Consequently, this has potentially led to their linguistic

habitus adjusting to these conditions, enabling them to produce linguistic practices with English. Nevertheless, what becomes particularly compelling is understanding how this order of the linguistic market of Cardiff is partially challenged, and thus, how relative transformation is possible in a context where clear power relations reproduce a particular linguistic hierarchy. This involves asking how linguistic practices with illegitimate languages can nonetheless be validated in the linguistic market of Cardiff. In other words, the main specific aim of the present thesis is to identify and examine the conditions under which the linguistic habitus of the second generation enables them to produce and legitimise linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages in the linguistic market of Cardiff, in spite of their illegitimacy.

### 1.3. Main contributions

From a theoretical perspective, employing the theoretical framework designed by Bourdieu to explain the production of multilingual practices in the officially bilingual linguistic context of Cardiff automatically involves testing this framework's suitability and limitations. Therefore, one of the underlying aims of the present thesis is to explore whether the conceptual tools comprising this model of linguistic production and circulation allow for the exploration of a much more heterogeneous linguistic context than the one it was originally designed for (i.e. the context of France).

The case analysed in the present thesis offers a perfect platform for showing that Bourdieu's conceptual tools (linguistic habitus, linguistic market, capital) and understanding of language are highly appropriate for exploring the phenomenon of multilingualism. Particularly, the present thesis shows that this model can account not only for processes of linguistic domination and the reproduction of legitimacy, but, crucially, also for processes of transformation, and the production of otherwise illegitimate practices.

Nevertheless, while the Bourdieusian model undoubtedly offers the fundamental conceptual tools to investigate the phenomenon of multilingualism, it is argued that in order to better account for heterogeneity, this model needs to be partially adapted. Thus, one of the most significant theoretical contributions of the present thesis is the introduction of a novel conceptual tool, the linguistic submarket. The research project shows that this is a malleable instrument which can aid in the exploration of the production of alternative practices other than those which become legitimate within a relatively unified linguistic market. At the same time, as this is a notion derived from the logic of the Bourdieusian model of linguistic production and circulation, it can account for understanding how value is attributed to a specific linguistic competence or practice as strongly linked to the entire network of power relations present in a particular social space.

From a more general perspective, the present thesis does not only suggest that the Bourdieusian framework can be successfully adapted and applied to examine the phenomenon of multilingualism. Rather, it shows that this is a particularly suitable alternative model for exploring linguistic heterogeneity due to at least two main reasons. On the one hand, it focuses on the immanent processes and power relations which lead to the production of linguistic practices in a particular context, while on the other hand it dissolves the structure/agency dichotomy, showing that both linguistic reproduction and transformation need to be understood from a relational perspective instead. The empirical analysis showcases the malleability and potency of this adapted model to explore in-depth issues of linguistic reproduction and transformation in a context characterised by potentially clashing power relations brought along by the phenomenon of immigration.

A further contribution of this thesis is the original pairing of the Bourdieusian framework with linguistic biographies. On the one hand, linguistic biographies can shed light on the personal experiences and trajectories of agents, offering a unique insight into their worlds. On the other hand, interpreting these narratives through Bourdieusian lenses steers the analysis away from understanding them as an end to themselves, making it compulsory to take a step back and understand an individual's trajectory as influenced by wider socio-historical conditions and power relations within a specific social space.

In addition, the main investigations that tackle the linguistic situation of either Wales or Cardiff have focused almost exclusively on the relationship between the two official languages (English and Welsh), without addressing the problem of non-autochthonous minority languages. Consequently, in the specialised literature regarding the process of immigration to Cardiff and Wales there is very little research with regards to the linguistic aspect of multilingual immigrants, and a significant lack of research with respect to the linguistic practices of second-generation immigrants. In this sense, the present project is at the forefront of research in this particular context.

Furthermore, the project looks into the reproduction of non-autochthonous minority languages as a result of immigration in a context characterised by official bilingualism. From a supra-national, European perspective, this research is valuable as it provides the analysis of a case-study that can serve as a framework when investigating similar contexts defined by the presence of an official dominant language, an autochthonous minority language, and several other non-autochthonous minority languages. In addition, this project also contributes to a better understanding of the constantly changing linguistic situation of Europe.

The originality of this research also resides in the diversity of the data obtained and analysed. Rather than focusing on a single linguistic minority, the project draws on a linguistically heterogeneous pool of participants. This choice enables exploring not only the relationship between the value attributed to a specific non-autochthonous minority language in relation to English and Welsh, but also in relation to other non-autochthonous minority languages present in this context. In doing so, this project reveals the multi-layered dynamic of linguistic production and reproduction in a heterogeneous linguistic context, drawing not on a one-dimensional perspective, but rather a relational one.

#### 1.4. Thesis outline

The present thesis is divided into two main parts. The first part outlines the research context and the theoretical framework of the thesis (Chapter 2), as well as the conditions of the contemporary linguistic market of Cardiff (Chapter 3). The second part focuses on the analysis of the empirical data. Chapter 4 functions as an introduction to the second part of the thesis as it outlines the research methodology, introducing all relevant aspects regarding data collection and analysis. Consequently, Chapters 5 and 6 explore the development of the linguistic habitus of the second-generation multilingual immigrants interviewed. Chapter 7 represents the conclusion of the project.

Inevitably, the structure of the thesis is directly influenced by the Bourdieusian theoretical framework which offers the key analysis instruments for the present research project: linguistic market and linguistic habitus. Thus, as explained in section 1.2, understanding the development of the linguistic habitus of the second generation actually implies understanding the relationship between such a linguistic habitus and the linguistic market(s) with which the interviewees have interacted. Fundamentally, it first requires outlining the conditions of the contemporary linguistic market of Cardiff, as these may potentially represent the norms against which all other linguistic practices are measured. Consequently, it is only in relation to such norms that the possibility of production of different linguistic practices can be explored. As a result, it becomes mandatory to first examine the linguistic market of Cardiff and then focus on the linguistic habitus of the second generation.

Following the logical relationship between the two main conceptual instruments also involves a difference in the type of information provided and data analysed, leading to certain constraints on the thesis structure. On the one hand, the first part engages primarily with theoretical material (Chapter 2) and it outlines an original Bourdieusian diachronic analysis of the linguistic market of Cardiff (Chapter 3); nevertheless, this analysis is based on socio-historical, socio-economic and sociolinguistic data readily available in an array of sources. On the other hand, the second part

focuses on the exploration of the linguistic biographies specially collected for the purpose of the present research project. In light of the difference in the data analysed and the relationship between the conceptual instruments outlined above, a more classical structure where the research methodology follows the theoretical framework would not have been suitable for the present thesis, due to potential narrative gaps. For the convenience of the reader, the two-part structure enables positioning Chapter 4, which provides crucial details regarding data collection and interpretation, as an introduction to the analysis of the linguistic biographies.

#### 1.4.1. Chapter outline

Chapter 2 has a two-fold aim. First, it presents the research context within which the present thesis is situated, thus providing a critical survey of the most significant approaches to the phenomenon of multilingualism. Second, it introduces the precepts of the Bourdieusian theoretical framework as one possible solution to some of the issues raised by previous approaches. Exploring the suitability of this model to account for heterogeneous practices, this second part also proposes certain modifications with the purpose of adapting the model to the requisites of the present research project's object.

Chapter 3 attempts to identify the contemporary rules and laws of price formation of linguistic practices within the linguistic market of Cardiff, thus determining what linguistic practices are recognised as legitimate or illegitimate and under what conditions they are reproduced as such. The main hypothesis is that English is the legitimate language, Welsh is partially legitimate, while non-autochthonous minority languages are practically illegitimate. By examining the relations between the values held by different languages at the level of this context, Chapter 3 provides the basis for the analysis carried out in Chapters 5 and 6, which focuses on how illegitimate practices can nonetheless be legitimised within this linguistic market.

Chapter 4 functions as an introduction to the second part of the thesis as it discusses the methodological aspects of the research project. It provides all details with regards to data collection and research participants as well as a theoretical and reflexive discussion regarding data analysis. This discussion focuses on the original pairing of linguistic biographies with the Bourdieusian framework.

Building both on Chapter 3, which underpins the conditions of price formation within the linguistic market of Cardiff, and Chapter 4, which discusses how empirical research has been carried out, the aim of Chapters 5 and 6 is to examine the underlying conditions which enable second-generation immigrant agents to produce and legitimise linguistic practices with a language other than English

and Welsh in the linguistic market of Cardiff. Starting from the linguistic biographies of the 13 main participants, these two chapters examine the development of the linguistic habitus of the second generation, as it represents the main principle of production of linguistic practices. Automatically, this analysis involves a focus on the relationship between these agents' linguistic habitus and the linguistic markets with which they have interacted.

Chapter 5 focuses on the development of the linguistic habitus of the second generation following the participants' statements that they had learned languages such as Arabic, Somali, Bengali, Urdu, or Punjabi at home and English at school. The chapter explores first the dynamics which enabled the constitution of a linguistic market of the home as it represents the main market where otherwise illegitimate practices can be produced. Nevertheless, by examining the agents' passage from home to school, the chapter questions the dichotomy introduced by the participants. Thus, it addresses the impact of the potential power relations among these different linguistic markets on the development of the linguistic habitus of the second generation, and their production of linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages, and consequently, multilingual practices.

The aim of Chapter 6 is to examine how religious and digital practices function as further processes and involve additional power relations which have influenced the development of the linguistic habitus of the participants in a direction that reinforces the reproduction of those linguistic practices primarily legitimised within the linguistic market of the home. Tapping into the linguistic biographies of the participants, the chapter explores the unexpected relationship between Islamic religious practices and linguistic practices. It then outlines how digital practices, closely dependent upon both religious practices and geographical mobility, influence the second generation's production of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in Cardiff.

Chapter 7, the conclusion, summarizes the main findings of the present research project and outlines ways in which these findings could be taken further and developed in potential future research.

## PART I

### 2. Research context and theoretical model: introduction

The first aim of the present chapter is to provide an overview of the most significant approaches to the study of multilingualism. In conjunction with a review of the most pertinent critiques of these approaches, the chapter introduces the most recent contemporary debates regarding the phenomenon of multilingualism. The second aim of the chapter is to introduce the theoretical framework of the present study as one possible solution to solving some of the issues raised by previous approaches.

Thus, the first section reviews the ways in which the phenomenon of multilingualism has been conceptualized by disciplines such as linguistics, sociolinguistics, the sociology of language, and linguistic anthropology. The main critique of these approaches stems from an understanding of language as an autonomous system, which poses significant issues for the ways in which the phenomenon of multilingualism has been analysed in the specialized literature. The first section provides then an overview of the more critical contemporary approaches to multilingualism, which focus on processes and practices instead of language as an autonomous system. Following this view, it is suggested that an emphasis on practices allows for a more interpretive, flexible approach as opposed to the rigid interpretation of the most canonical approaches to multilingualism. It is then argued that such approaches borrow their main ideas from social theory; in conjunction with a critique of the most recent approaches it is suggested that it may be useful to return to a particular strand of social theory which may enable filling in the gaps of the newest critical approaches.

In light of the discussion present in the first section, the second section introduces the precepts of Pierre Bourdieu's (LSP) model of linguistic production and circulation. The aim is to explore Bourdieu's conceptualization of language in relation to the classic theories presented in the first section. It is argued that the Bourdieusian model represents a significant alternative to previous approaches given its focus on linguistic practices and on the socio-historical conditions under which specific linguistic practices become legitimate/illegitimate as opposed to a focus on language as an autonomous system. It is then highlighted that such a model can bridge the gap between the object of classic theories of language and the analysis methods of social theory-imbued contemporary critiques of such theories. Acknowledging the specific historical context from which this model stems, the second section also explores the main critiques of the Bourdieusian conceptual framework, and whether it can account for the production of multilingual practices. Finally, it is argued that Bourdieu's conceptual framework and understanding of language are highly appropriate for exploring the phenomenon of multilingualism, especially if the model is partially extended. The

second section suggests and develops such an extension, which involves a vertical reading the Bourdieusian model instead of a horizontal one.

## 2.1. Multilingualism: contemporary debates

While the phenomenon of multilingualism is not a new phenomenon, its academic study is a relatively recent enterprise. This section explores the most significant approaches to bilingualism and multilingualism in the past decades. The present section first focuses on the linguistic and sociolinguistic paradigms, and on the critiques these have received. It then moves to critical contemporary debates on multilingualism.

### 2.1.1. Bilingualism and multilingualism: structural linguistics

The pioneer study in the field of bilingualism is that of Weinreich (1953), who explored the phenomenon in the context of Switzerland in the early 1950s. His study offers a descriptive account of the empirical data obtained in a bilingual community in Switzerland. It focuses on the classification of the types of bilingualism encountered from the perspective of the grammars included, the relationship between the two grammars, as well as the social and psychological conditions under which certain competences are shaped.

Some of Weinreich's concerns were clearly in line with the structural linguistics paradigm of the time, whose conceptualization of language stemmed mainly from the work of Saussure and, later, that of Chomsky. On the one hand, from Saussure's (2011) perspective<sup>6</sup>, language is understood as a formal system of signs bestowed on individuals in the form of a treasure. In this fashion, he differentiates between *langue* and *parole*; the first refers to the internal, natural, and formal rules of language, while the latter implies the actual use of *langue* by individuals. His focus is on the synchronic analysis of *langue*. On the other hand, Chomsky (1965) redefines the distinction between *langue* and *parole* to that of *competence* and *performance* (LSP, p. 44; García and Wei 2014, p. 6).<sup>7</sup> His focus is on the ideal speaker-listener who functions in a perfectly homogenous speech-community (Chomsky 1965, p. 3); he stresses the importance of exploring mainly aspects related to *competence*. Similar to Saussure, Chomsky understands this perfect competence as a treasure bestowed upon individuals.

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<sup>6</sup> The discussion here refers to Saussure's *Course in general linguistics*, originally published in 1916.

<sup>7</sup> It must be acknowledged that this may be an oversimplification. For a more comprehensive review of the similarities and differences between Saussure's and Chomsky's views on language, see, for example, Matthews (2001, pp. 88-117).

While the discipline of linguistics has developed since these theories were first proposed, it has remained primarily focused on the internal functioning of languages as invariant, static systems, which need to be understood synchronically (Fairclough 1989, p. 7). Consequently, the phenomenon of bilingualism has been largely explored from this perspective. Nowadays, the prevalent understanding of these phenomena is an individual's ability to employ a plurality of autonomous languages, understood as separate linguistic systems (Stavans and Hoffman 2015, p. 141). More specifically, *bilingualism* traditionally refers to the knowledge and use of two autonomous languages, while *multilingualism* stands for more than two languages (García and Wei 2014, p. 11). Extensive research has been carried out from this linguistic perspective of bilingualism/multilingualism as a duality/multiplicity of languages, centring on issues such as the nature of grammar in a bilingual's mind, the way in which several systems coexist, the acquisition of these systems, as well as the usage of such systems (Wei 2008, p. 5). According to García and Wei (2014, p. 12), from the linguistic perspective, the notions of *bilingualism* and *multilingualism* are additive (Lambert 1974), which means that "speakers are said to 'add up' whole autonomous languages or even partial structural bits of these languages" (i.e. bilingualism as a double monolingualism). With reference to bilingual acquisition and use, Grosjean (1997) suggests the 'complementarity principle': "Bilinguals usually acquire and use their languages for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people. Different aspects of life require different languages" (p. 165). According to Stavans and Hoffman (2015, p. 140), this principle also applies for multilinguals, "the greater number of languages [being] likely to produce even more variability in linguistic competence".

Thus, the linguistic studies on bilingualism or multilingualism focus their attention on competence, on the synchronic study of language. Furthermore, they understand language as a bounded entity with its internal characteristics, removed from the social conditions under which such competence may be acquired or used. A corrective measure in this regard is taken by the discipline of sociolinguistics.

### 2.1.2. Bilingualism and multilingualism: sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics explores the use of language in social contexts, focusing particularly on providing "descriptive grammars of languages, which describe, analyze, and explain how people actually speak their languages" (Wardhaugh and Fuller 2015, p. 3). What is most significant about this discipline is that it understands language as variable. In Woolard's words (1985, p. 738), "the simplest and yet most important contribution of sociolinguistics to social scientific knowledge is its insistence on recognizing the considerable variation that exists within even the most homogenous of societies".

From a sociolinguistic perspective, “several other kinds of linguistic varieties [apart from the standard one] may be present in a particular sociolinguistic situation” (Stavans and Hoffman 2015, pp. 140-141). Consequently, the phenomenon of multilingualism may also be understood from a broader angle: it may encompass the knowledge and use of two or more autonomous languages, different linguistic varieties, as well as the resulting combinations of two or more linguistic systems (such as code-switching<sup>8</sup>) (Stavans and Hoffman 2015, p. 141).

Some of the most authoritative early studies of bilingualism (Weinrich 1953; Ferguson 1959; Fishman 1966a; 1967; 1968a; 1968b; Mackey 1968) resorted to a structural-functionalist paradigm, which aimed to show the correspondence between different languages or language varieties and their separate social functions. Weinrich’s (1953) and Mackey’s (1968) studies were primarily concerned with describing how certain sets of linguistic forms were functionally distributed in a community. However, as Heller (2007b, p. 9) notes, the focus of these studies remained on the “relations between or among linguistic systems, albeit in connection with their social distribution”.

Ferguson (1959) and Fishman (1966a; 1967; 1968a; 1968b) continued in a similar vein, but their focus was on a reconceptualization of the relationship between different sets of linguistic forms (either languages or language varieties) and their social functions from a more socially-embedded angle. Thus, Ferguson’s concept of diglossia (1959) was introduced in order to describe a situation where certain varieties of the same language have separate social functions: the dominant variety is referred to as ‘High’ (H), while the other variety(ies) as ‘Low’ (L). The most important characteristic of diglossia is the functional specialization of H and L. This means that H is employed in certain situations (usually formal, public spheres), while L(s) is(are) employed in different situations (usually informal, private spheres)<sup>9</sup>.

While Ferguson’s concept of diglossia (1959) only referred to different language varieties, Fishman (1967) extended this concept to explain the functional social distribution of different languages in a bilingual context<sup>10</sup>. In his interpretation (Fishman 1967), coupled with diglossia and/or bilingualism was the notion of domains. In other words, Fishman (1966b) maintains that it is productive to

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<sup>8</sup> According to García and Wei (2014, p. 12), code-switching is “what has been defined as going back and forth from one language belonging to one grammatical system to another”.

<sup>9</sup> Ferguson originally summarized diglossia as follows (1959, p. 336): “Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation”.

<sup>10</sup> It must be stressed that according to Huebner (1996, p. 18), Ferguson “has steadfastly held to the original concept involving two distinct varieties of the same language”, while other scholars like Fishman (1967) expanded this definition to refer to situations of bilingualism.

investigate the functional differentiation of either language varieties or languages across domains of language behaviour<sup>11</sup>, which are essentially associated with social activities.

Fishman's work on bilingualism, diglossia, and domains is strongly linked to the early stages of the sub-discipline of sociolinguistics called language planning and policy<sup>12</sup> (LPP). According to Ricento (2000), this discipline developed after the end of the Second World War, when the process of decolonization and new state formation was taking place<sup>13</sup>. Western sociolinguists were then commissioned to work on issues of status planning in the context of the emerging nation states<sup>14</sup>. They were particularly interested in what languages should be selected as national languages for modernization and nation-building purposes. The approach taken was that of diglossia, which was inspired by the European model of one nation/one (standard) national language (Ricento 2000, p. 198). Fishman (1968a, p. 61) provided a formula for 'successful nationhood' whose elements were the following: cultural and ethnic unity in a delimited geographical space (in this case, a state) and a common language and linguistic identity. Furthermore, according to him, only 'developed' languages (i.e. written and standardized) were suited for the role of national languages. Thus, in this model of diglossia, the language of the former colonizer was seen as fit to be selected as the language of 'high-status domains' (formal and with functional value), while the indigenous languages were reserved to the private sphere, which was automatically a 'low-status domain' (informal and with sentimental value). Although Fishman (1994, p. 97) admits at a later stage that "very little language planning practice has actually been informed by language planning theory", the work carried during the decades of the 1960s and 1970s has strongly influenced the sociolinguistic debate on multilingualism in the last fifty years. It has done so particularly through the sociolinguistic constructs it coined to define language use in less homogenous situations (such as bilingualism, multilingualism, diglossia, language domains, language functions, language values, H and L varieties/languages).

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<sup>11</sup> Fishman (1966b) introduces the concept of 'domain' as a tool for exploring 'the location of bilingualism': "The qualitative aspects of bilingualism are most easily illustrated in connection with the location of languagemaintenance and language shift in terms of domains of language behaviour" (p. 428). Thus, from Fishman's perspective, bilinguals use their languages differentially, according to domains. Fishman believes that language choice according to domains is indicative of the degree of bilingualism, which, in turn, is indicative of the stage of language maintenance and shift.

<sup>12</sup> For detailed accounts of the issues investigated by this discipline throughout its history, see Ricento (2000; 2007), Baldauf Jr. (2005), May (2005), Jernudd and Nekvapil (2012), or Cassels Johnson and Ricento (2013).

<sup>13</sup> According to Ricento (2000), the discipline can be divided into three main historical stages. The first phase corresponds to the end of the Second World War, the process of decolonisation (1960s and 1970s) and the paradigm of structuralism; the second phase is represented by the failure of modernization and the development of critical sociolinguistics (1980s); the third stage corresponds to the new world order, postmodernism and linguistic human rights.

<sup>14</sup> Influential work was carried out by Einar Haugen (1966), Heinz Kloss (1966), Fishman et al. (1968), as well as Rubin and Jernudd (1971).

Particularly important for this debate is also the concomitant work on the processes of languagemaintenance and language shift of the immigrant population in the USA. Fishman (1966b, p. 424) suggests that when populations “differing in language are in contact with each other”, such as in the case of immigration, the habitual language use of the immigrant population changes and processes of language maintenance and shift come into play. Language shift represents a decrease in the habitual use of the native language and a concomitant increase in the habitual use of the new dominant language. Such processes can ultimately lead to language loss unless proper steps towards language maintenance or reversing language shift are taken (Fishman 1991; 2000). These processes take place across generations and language loss may occur within the timespan of three generations. In close relationship with this is the phenomenon of bilingualism (Fishman 1966b, p. 425). Schematically, in the context of the USA, the Anglicising generational shift has manifested in the following way: members of the foreign-born first generation may learn English, but they generally use their native language, particularly in the private domains. The second generation grows up bilingual: they maintain the mother tongue but their language competence declines, in favour of English dominance, particularly when adults. As a consequence, the third generation grows up largely monolingual (Fishman 1966b; 1972a; Veltman 1983). In this case, bilingualism seems to fulfil a transitory stage, a phenomenon which can help determine the extent of language shift (Fishman 1966b, p. 425), which can be measured according to domains of language behaviour (Fishman 1966b, pp. 428-434). Since they were first introduced, the concepts of language maintenance and shift have been particularly popular, shaping the scholarly debate on multilingualism in general and LPP in particular.

One of the most significant criticisms towards these approaches comes from Martin-Jones (1988, p. 106), who argues that the notions of diglossia (Ferguson 1959; Fishman 1967) and domains of language use (Fishman 1972b) “are derived from structuralist and functionalist views of language and society”. She maintains that the constructs developed within this framework impose certain constraints on the study of bilingualism. She refers to four fundamental faults. First, given the weight of norms and consensus in Fishman’s (1972b) framework, language practices become “mere reflections of community-wide norms” (Martin-Jones 1988, p. 108), the overly simplistic model of complementary distribution dismissing any real possibility of an individual’s choice. Second, Martin-Jones (1988, pp. 109-111) asserts that Fishman’s model is rigid and static, and that it does not question the relationship between domains as sociocultural constructs, cultural norms, and language choices of bilinguals. Third, Fishman’s diglossic model does not account for change over time. In Martin-Jones’ (1988, p. 111) words, “within this static model, it is not possible to account for the social and linguistic processes involved in language retention and shift among bilingual minorities”.

Fourth, one of the most fundamental issues with the diglossic model is that it does not account for the power relations at play in certain contexts characterised as diglossic. Martin-Jones (1988, p. 109) stresses that diglossia is defined as a “natural and common sense reality”, without taking into account the “social origins of the functional division of labour between the H and L languages”. She goes on to argue that the description of this division as a natural form of social and linguistic order reproduces the legitimation of the H language (Martin-Jones 1988, p. 109).

In the same vein, the discipline of LPP has been criticised for being presentist, as well as for employing an ahistorical and synchronic study of language (Ricento 2000; May 2011) influenced by the dominant notion of language as a finite and discrete entity prevalent in linguistics at the time. In particular, May (2011, p. 151) employs a Bourdieusian perspective to argue that early LPP failed to question the wider socio-historical processes “that had led to the hierarchizing of majority and minority languages in the first place”. The same critique can also be applied to the approach towards the processes of inter-generational language maintenance and shift. Furthermore, the early LPP proponents helped the reproduction of certain linguistic practices whose model was that of a common or standard language, heavily connected with the politics of modern nationalism, where the ideal of a homogenous language represented the tenet for national unity, modernization and westernization. Indeed, linked to the critiques received by linguistics, the discipline was criticized for its alleged descriptivism, which, in fact, might have played a prescriptive role in some contexts particularly in the 1980s<sup>15</sup>. Thus, as Ricento (2000, p. 202) argues, sociolinguists were alarmed by the negative effects of the “choice of European languages as ‘neutral media’ to aid in national development [which] had the effect of limiting the utility and, hence, influence of thousands of indigenous languages and their speakers in national (re)construction”. Consequently, instead of prescribing certain languages as the vehicles for modernization and westernization, sociolinguists started developing more complex frameworks where the social and economic status of H and L variety/language users was correlated with the status, utility and viability of these varieties/languages (Ricento 2000, p. 202). However, in the fashion of sociolinguistics, this is still a descriptive approach which may be held accountable for ahistoricity, synchrony, and failure to engage with the issue of power relations.

From a broader perspective, prominent scholars such as Fairclough (1989), Tollefson (2006), or Makoni and Pennycook (2007) are just a few of those who find fault with sociolinguistics’ lack of criticism towards its object of study. While the aim of sociolinguistics is to account for differences resulting from actual language use, such differences are understood as deviations from the norm

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<sup>15</sup>Mühlhäusler (1990; 1996) offers a critique of LPP as prescriptivist; similarly, Crowley (1990, p. 48) suggests that “rather than registering a unitary language [linguists] were helping to form one”.

(Heller 2007b, pp. 9-10), which in most cases is represented by a standardized language<sup>16</sup>. Furthermore, sociolinguists do not usually question the causes which lead to the actual norms they take for granted, failing to take into consideration a power-relations based interpretation of language use (Makoni and Pennycook 2007, p. 20)<sup>17</sup>. Fairclough (1989, p. 8) stresses the faults and merits of sociolinguistics:

Sociolinguistics is strong on 'what' questions (what are the facts of variation?) but weak on 'why?' and 'how?' questions (why are the facts as they are?; how – in terms of the development of social relationships of power – was the existing sociolinguistic order brought into being?; how is it sustained?; and how might it be changed to the advantage of those who are dominated by it?)

The above mentioned scholars disapprove of taking facts at face value and aim at uncovering the power relations that influence language use. Their inquisitiveness is usually fomented by views of language in social theory, which were particularly developed towards the end of the twentieth century in reaction to the structuralist movement. Some of the first prominent critical sociolinguists, such as Fairclough<sup>18</sup> (1989; 1995), Jaffe (1999), Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) or May (2001) draw on the work of critical theorists such as Foucault or Bourdieu with regards to language. This turn marked a step away from both the structuralist linguistics analysis of language as an object and the structural-functionalist, descriptive accounts of sociolinguistics, focusing instead on issues of language understood within matrixes of power relations. In turn, this has led to two directions of research: on the one hand, there is the field of LPP which has laid its focus on the issue of minority languages; on the other hand, the field of critical sociolinguistics has concentrated its efforts on exploring alternative definitions of language, bilingualism and multilingualism, which attempt to develop research paradigms which differ markedly from those stemming from the linguistic and structural-functionalist paradigms.

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<sup>16</sup> This is also relevant for sociolinguists who discuss variation and inequality; they are still trapped in the general linguistics paradigm, where the socio-historically constructed dominant language is taken as the universal norm. They do not engage with the social conditions under which certain modes of expression become dominant, but their understanding is that of language as a predefined, fixed model from which variation takes place (e.g. Gumperz 1962; Labov 1972; Hymes 1980).

<sup>17</sup> Makoni and Pennycook (2007, p. 20) state that "While pluralist (socio)linguistics and applied linguistics focus on linguistic differences, they fail to address the metadiscursive concern of how we understand linguistic difference, avoiding thereby an engagement with the ways in which languages and differences have been constructed".

<sup>18</sup> For example, Fairclough (1989) develops an approach to language called critical language study, which is later developed into critical discourse analysis (1995). This approach involves starting from the linguistic elements of social interactions and "sets out to show up their generally hidden determinants in the system of social relationships, as well as hidden effects they may have upon that system" (Fairclough 1989, p. 5).

### 2.1.2.1. LPP

Particularly since the 1990s, the field of LPP has experienced a significant turn, rooted in the critiques of linguistics, sociolinguistics, and the early stages of LPP. This turn was also influenced by the alleged consequences of this discipline in post-colonial contexts, as well as by the consequences of dominant global events (e.g. the fall of the Soviet Union, processes of globalization, the European Union, the rise of national ethnic identities, migration flows). Consequently, scholars such as Tollefson (1991; 1995), Phillipson (1992; 1996; 1997), Pennycook (1994), Skutnabb-Kangas (1995), or Canagarajah (1999) took a more critical stand and offered compelling critiques which partially addressed issues of power, inequality and dominance which have affected the reproduction of thousands of languages across the world.

Influenced by these trends, LPP has moved to the opposite end of the spectrum from its early phase and started focusing primarily on the challenges faced by minority and endangered languages. However, paradoxically, the framework employed by the contemporary field of LPP is heavily influenced by an understanding of language from the perspective of linguistic and structural-functional views on language. Thus, particularly since the publication of *Reversing Language Shift* (Fishman 1991), issues such as minority language shift, maintenance, or loss have dominated the LPP field in contemporary debates. At the same time, as Heller (2007b, p. 10) argues, such debates have represented the tenor of legitimacy in movements for minority language revitalization (such as in the case of Wales, e.g. Williams 2000a; Jenkins and Williams 2000a; Morris 2010) or even for political movements which have fought for minority linguistic autonomy (e.g. Canada, Catalonia, or Corsica; see Jaffe 2007; Patrick 2007; Pujolar 2001). Such debates range from the perspective of linguistic ecology (Mühlhäusler 2000) to linguistic human rights and minority language education (Skutnabb-Kangas 1994; 1998; 2000; Kontra 1999; May 2011).

Inevitably, contemporary scholarly debates on minority languages are liable to the same critiques exposed above, with reference to the early phase of LPP. They are usually descriptivist and prescriptivist<sup>19</sup>. What is more, such approaches stem from an understanding of languages as natural, bounded objects intrinsically connected to certain peoples, legitimizing their claims according to the logic of one nation, one language, one people. As Heller (2007c, p. 7) states,

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<sup>19</sup> Contemporary debates in academic settings, such as conferences and seminars, also prove this perspective. Examples of such events attended by the researcher are the following: 1) Preserving Languages, Developing Multilingualism; University of Vienna (2013); 2) Stephen May: So what to do about multiculturalism: Implications for language policy; Cardiff University (2015); 3) XV International Conference on Minority Languages; University of Belgrade (2015); 4) A Basque Politics of Language Survival; Cardiff University (2015).

Linguistic minorities are created by nationalisms which exclude them. At the same time, the logic of linguistic nationalism is available to minorities as a way to resist the power of the majority. The language revitalization movements which began in the 1960s in Europe and North America, and which continue to this day, are replications on a demographically smaller scale of the nation-building movements in Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The relationship between nationalism, language, identity, and even minority languages has led to more critical approaches to multilingualism which aim to understand both nations and languages as socio-historical constructs. Furthermore, such approaches try to uncover the power relations which lead to such constructs.

### 2.1.3. Critical approaches to multilingualism

Critical approaches to the study of multilingualism have been developed as a response to the linguistic and sociolinguistic approaches to language in general and to multilingualism in particular. Such perspectives can be broadly categorized into two inter-related clusters. First, particularly linguistic anthropologists have developed an approach based on the notion of language ideology. In their quest to break away from the perspective offered by structural-functionalist approaches, as well as by the descriptiveness of some sociolinguists, some of the most relevant approaches turn to social theory to account for the relationship between language and power relations. Second, based on the postulations of the first paradigm, there is an increasing call for the reconceptualization of notions such as language, identity, and community (Heller 2007b, p. 13). Particularly in recent years, this has encouraged the emergence of an expanding number of notions, of which the most important are reviewed below.

#### 2.1.3.1. Language ideology

Discussions with respect to language ideologies flourished particularly during the 1990s and early 2000s (see Shieffelin et al. 1998; Blommaert 1999a; Kroskrity 2000a). According to Kroskrity (2000b, p. 5), the concept of language ideology was initially advanced as a response to the dominant approaches to language, which failed to take into account both speakers' own ideas about language and the non-referential functions of language. He argues then that "this surgical removal of language from context produced an amputated "language" that was the preferred object of the language sciences for most of the twentieth century". The notion of language ideology is meant to focus instead on the speaker's ideas about language and discourse and the relationship between these ideas and other social phenomena (Kroskrity 2000b, p. 5). More specifically, Woolard (1998, p. 3) argues that language ideologies refer to "representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world", while Kroskrity (2000b, p. 8)

maintains that such ideologies “represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social and cultural group”. Thus, although there is a multitude of objects, perspectives and methodological tools<sup>20</sup>, this line of inquiry broadly sets out to explore the multifaceted relationship between social and linguistic processes. In this regard, Gal (1998, p. 318) argues that an exploration of linguistic ideologies requires the integration of both micro and macro perspectives; Woolard (1998, p. 11) characterizes linguistic ideology as the link between language use and structure, and Kroskrity (2000b, p. 21) states that “members’ language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk”. This approach becomes a complex vantage point from where to analyse certain representations of the relationship between language use and its indexicality (Silverstein 1998) in specific contexts.

Furthermore, inspired by different social theory strands, some of the most compelling approaches take as a starting point representational practices and explore their embedding with social power. From this perspective, it becomes important to explore how certain ideas and practices become dominant. Gal (1998, p. 321) notes that key social theorists (such as Bourdieu, Gramsci, and Foucault) provide a shared perspective that certain linguistic ideologies and practices become dominant “not simply because they are produced or held by dominant groups, but because their evaluations are recognised and accepted by, indeed partially constitute, the lived experience of a much broader range of groups”. Particularly in the case of linguistically heterogeneous contexts, this raises questions with respect to the discourses “in which processes of attribution of value to linguistic forms and practices are inscribed, along with the processes of construction of social difference and social inequality with which they are associated” (Heller 2007b, p. 15).

As a consequence, the idea of “a language” as a natural given is called into question. In this regard, Heller (2007b, p. 6) argues that “the structural-functional approaches were helpful for the reproduction of dominant ideologies of language as autonomous and of society as made of homogenous units”. Two main interrelated ideas can be traced in this statement: on the one hand, the notion of dominant ideologies which posed language as autonomous and society as homogenous; on the other hand, the role played by the structural-functional paradigm in the reproduction of such ideologies. It is important to discuss both these issues as they represent the basis on which contemporary discussions of multilingualism have developed.

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<sup>20</sup> See Woolard (1998) for a more detailed review.

### 2.1.3.1.1. The role of language in nation-building processes

As Kroskrity (2000b, p. 23) states, “language, especially shared language, has long served as the key to naturalizing the boundaries of social groups”. While there are various paradigms through which this relationship has been theorized<sup>21</sup>, probably the most significant one remains that of ethno-linguistic nationalism. Theorized mainly by late eighteenth-century German Romantics, and attributed particularly to the work of Herder (Kroskrity 2000b, p. 23; Wright 2000, p. 15; May 2012, p. 60), the perspective of ethno-linguistic nationalism poses the nation as a “natural, preordained entity, existing since time immemorial, possessing its own particular attributes” (Wright 2000, p. 15), out of which one of the most important is homogeneity. This is the paradigm of one nation, one language, one people: one distinct, homogenous language represents the soul of the nation and its people (May 2012, p. 61). In other words, language becomes the tenor of legitimacy for the nation and its people. As Wright (2000, p. 15) states, within this paradigm, “difference in language reflects the natural divisions between nations” which leads to the idea that national consciousness and identity are intrinsically connected with a national language (Wright 2000, p. 16). Thus, language becomes a determining marker for in and out groups (Wright 2000, p. 18). Particularly during the nineteenth century, this idea of a language as the essence of a nation and its people helped in the legitimation of various political entities across Europe according to a variety of models.<sup>22</sup>

Understanding linguistic nationalism as a particular ideology specific mainly to the context of Europe, Kroskrity (2000b, p. 23) argues that while the late-eighteenth century conceptualization of an autonomous language as the marker of a spatially bounded, homogenous nation has lost some of its validity contemporarily, “there are still features of contemporary Western European ideologies ... with more than a family resemblance to their eighteenth-century conceptual ancestors”<sup>23</sup>. One of such features is ‘homogeneity’ (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998). Blommaert and Verschueren (1998, p. 195) suggest that within the dogma of homogeneity, which is “demonstrably present across Europe”, differences within a society are perceived as dangerous. Legacy of the one nation-one language-one people paradigm, within this norm “the ideal model of society is monolingual, monoethnic, monoreligious, monoideological” (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998, p. 195). Nationalism is an endeavour to keep social groups ‘pure’ and homogenous. This means that “pluriethnic or plurilingual societies are seen as problem-prone, because they require forms of state organization that run counter to the ‘natural’ characteristics of groupings of people” (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998, p. 195). Language is thus seen as a distinctive characteristic of “natural”

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<sup>21</sup>For a review see Wright (2000).

<sup>22</sup> For a review see Wright (2000, pp. 31-60).

<sup>23</sup> Similarly, Clyne (1997) proves that linguistic nationalism is still a force to be reckoned with particularly in the aftermath of the Cold War.

groups and can represent an “element of divisiveness between such groups” (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998, p. 202).

A different perspective is that of modern nations-states understood not as natural forms of organization, but as results of political modernization. For example, Gellner (1983) links the development of the nation-state with the impact of industrialization, Giddens (1985) with the emergence of the institutional mechanisms of the modern state, while Anderson (1991) argues for the idea of an “imagined political community” based on print capitalism, language and education. From the perspective of the relationship between language and the nation-state, Anderson’s (1991) account has probably been one of the most influential. In his view, the role of language in nation-building processes has been central. Through the printing press and industrial capitalism, language became essential in the creation of narratives through which people could feel they belonged to a single political entity, to an ‘imagined’ community. However, Kroskrity (2000b, p. 24) contends that such views of the relationship between language and social groups, although distinct from the perspective of the nation as a pre-given and objective social entity, “presuppose the existence and efficacy of shared language forms as a basis for making discursive genres, which, in turn, make the nation”. In other words, he argues that both Gellner (1983) and Anderson (1991) take for granted the homogeneity and neutrality of languages. Silverstein (2000), as well as Irvine and Gal (2000) agree with Kroskrity’s (2000b) interpretation. Indeed, Irvine and Gal (2000, p. 76) postulate that

Missing from Anderson’s perspective ... is the insight that homogenous language is as much imagined as is community. That is, Anderson naturalizes the process of linguistic standardization, as if linguistic homogeneity were a real-world precondition rather than a construction concurrent with, or consequent to print capitalism.

In other words, while the idea of a nation-state as a social construction is applauded, Anderson is criticized for disregarding the processes of imposition of certain dominant linguistic ideologies, through which languages are constructed as such. Thus, while the idea of a nation-state as a natural entity has been partially displaced, two issues remain prevalent today: the idea of language as autonomous and homogenous and the relationship between language and nation-state<sup>24</sup>. This leads to the second point in Heller’s statement, that is, the role played by structural-functional approaches in the reproduction of dominant ideologies of language as autonomous, linked to a homogenous society.

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<sup>24</sup> For example, most papers in Schieffelin et al. (1998), Blommaert (1999), or Kroskrity (2000a) explore the central role played by language in nation-building processes as a central element of group distinctiveness.

### 2.1.3.2. Structural-functionalism, language as autonomous, and multilingualism: critiques

One of the most prominent critics to the understanding of language as an autonomous object is Pierre Bourdieu, particularly in *Language and Symbolic Power* (LSP). As Wright (2000, p. 65) rightly argues, Bourdieu “dissects the process of language standardization” in the context of France as a nation-state. He brings forth the idea that this process of language standardization goes hand in hand with the political and economic unification of the state. Through the socio-historical and institutional conditions associated with the construction of the nation-state, an official, standardized language is also forged. It is this form of language that linguists accept as a natural language. By taking this particular standardized form of language as the norm and treating it, and not non-referential forms of language, as a fixed code that is completely neutral, they disregard the entire process of imposition of such a form as dominant. In turn, this means that such approaches to language both reproduce the standardized form as a dominant form and, as Heller (2007b, p. 6) argues, they reproduce the dominant ideology of language as a fixed autonomous object linked to a homogenous society.

Heller (2007b, p. 15) argues that studies of language and bilingualism may be reoriented “away from autonomous structure and towards process and practice”. According to this perspective (Heller 2007b, p. 15), bilingualism emerges

as only one perspective on a more complex set of practices which draw on linguistic resources which have been conventionally thought of as belonging to separate linguistic systems, because of our own dominant ideologies of language, but which may more fruitfully be understood as sets of resources called into play by social actors, under social and historical conditions which both constrain and make possible the social reproduction of existing conventions and relations, as well as the production of new ones.

As can be noted, Heller’s (2007b) reconceptualization of bilingualism provides one of the most complex perspectives. Inspired mainly by a Bourdieusian perspective on the relationship between language and society, she focuses her attention on power as a mediator in the production of linguistic practices within socio-historically embedded contexts, thus breaking away from a structural linguistics or structural-functionalist approaches.

#### 2.1.3.2.1. Language as social construct

The critical sociolinguistic approaches to multilingualism have developed mainly in light of research conducted with respect to language ideology.

The new critical wave calls into question the concept of language as a natural given. In this vein, research has suggested that it may be more productive to understand languages as social constructs or inventions (Gal 1995; Blommaert 1999a; Heller 2002; 2007a; Makoni and Pennycook 2007). Consequently, languages can no longer be understood as fixed, bounded linguistic systems whose use is divided into perfectly corresponding domains of language use (Heller 2007b, p. 11). Homogeneity and stability as the norms in the study of languages have been recently replaced by ideas of flexibility, mobility, mixing, as well as by the importance of the political and historical conditions under which certain practices take place (Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Blackledge and Creese 2014; Blackledge et al. 2014).

By taking this approach, some researchers have focused on providing a critique of the concept of multilingualism, due to the implications and assumptions historically associated with this term (e.g. Makoni and Pennycook 2005; 2007; Otsuji and Pennycook 2010; 2014; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015). In this respect, Makoni and Pennycook (2007, p. 29) argue that

there is a disconcerting similarity between monolingualism and additive bilingualism in so far both are founded on notions of language as 'objects'. By talking of monolingualism, we are referring to a single entity, while in additive bilingualism and multilingualism the number of 'language-things' has increased. Yet the underlying concept remains unchanged because additive bilingualism and multilingualism are at best a pluralization of monolingualism.

In other words, they maintain that the concept of multilingualism stems from a structuralist understanding of language, where multilingualism becomes a multiplicity of monolingualisms, i.e. a plurality of languages understood as linguistic systems. According to them, this approach reproduces a static notion of language understood as an object removed from its context as well as a focus on competence. Arguing for a strategy of 'disinvention', Makoni and Pennycook (2007) offer convincing critiques of the underlying basis of most approaches to minority languages represented by notions such as language imperialism (see, for example, Phillipson 1992; 1996; 1997; 2006), language endangerment (see, for example, Nettle and Romaine 2000; Crystal 2000), or human language rights (see, for example, Skutnabb-Kangas 1994; 1998; 2000). According to Makoni and Pennycook (2007, p. 22), these approaches are based on a notion of languages as discrete entities and "operate with a strategy of pluralization rather than questioning those inventions at the core of the discussion". Thus, they argue instead for an analysis which uncovers "the ways in which speech forms are constructed into languages, and particular definitions of what constitutes language expertise are constructed and imposed" (Makoni and Pennycook 2007, p. 30).

Similarly, various scholars have provided an array of substitutes for the concepts of bilingualism and multilingualism. These new notions stem from the same desire to challenge the understanding of

languages as static, bounded discrete entities exposed above. Trying to break away from the paradigm of naturalness and homogeneity, scholars have focused on finding alternate notions for the phenomenon of bilingualism/multilingualism inspired particularly by practices linguistically defined as code-switching. Some of the relatively new terms include: flexible bilingualism (Creese and Blackledge 2011); codemeshing (Canagarajah 2011), polylingual languaging (Jørgensen et al. 2011; Madsen 2011); contemporary urban vernaculars (Rampton 2011), metrolingualism (Otsuji and Pennycook 2011; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015), translanguaging (García 2009; Creese and Blackledge 2010; 2015; Li Wei 2011a; García and Wei 2014; Otheguy et al. 2015), transglossia (García 2013; 2014; Sultana et al. 2015). According to Blackledge et al. (2014, p. 177), while different on many accounts, these notions are similar in that they shift away from meaning-making as confined to “the use of ‘languages’ as discrete, enumerable and bounded linguistic resources”. Instead, they focus on the idea that “signs are available for meaning-making in communicative repertoires ... which extend across ‘languages’ and varieties which have hitherto been associated with particular national, territorial and social groups” (Blackledge et al. 2014, p. 177). Thus, in spite of the differences between all these notions, the common perspective which focuses on the “mobility of linguistic resources” (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015; p. 4) is one of the most dominant contemporary critical approaches which seeks to account for what has been so far called bilingualism and multilingualism.

Relatively recently, the notion of translanguaging (which shares its basic principle with the rest of the above mentioned terms) has stolen the show and started being employed in a myriad of ways: as a pedagogic strategy, a type of linguistic practices, a reconceptualization of the nature of multilingualism, and as a conceptual lens through which complex linguistic practices could be analysed (see García 2009; Blackledge and Creese 2010; Lewis et al. 2012a; 2012b; García and Wei 2014). Initially introduced in the context of the 1980s Wales as a pedagogic strategy (Lewis et al. 2012a, p. 642), it schematically referred to the simultaneous use of two languages functionally distributed according to the input-output distinction. Remaining in the education field, a more nuanced definition is that of Baker (2011, p. 288): “Translanguaging is the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages”. More recently, García and Wei (2014, p. 2) expanded the notion of translanguaging as

an approach to the use of language, bilingualism and the education of bilinguals that considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages.

García and Wei (2014) attempt to leave behind both the traditional notion of bilingualism as dual or additive (Lambert 1974) and Cummin's (1979) idea of linguistic interdependence<sup>25</sup> and focus instead on a notion of dynamic bilingualism (García 2009; García and Wei 2014) as a basis for translanguaging, understood both as practice and as pedagogy (Creese and Blackledge 2015). This means that they regard the language practices of bilinguals as complex, interrelated, simultaneous and not functionally separate. Drawing on a single linguistic system, linguistic features are sometimes used "in ways that conform to societal constructions of 'a language'" (García and Wei 2014, p. 14) while at other times they can produce new practices.

While the notion of translanguaging (together with all other related terms) marks a significant shift towards a reconceptualization of multilingualism, the current attempts towards the constitution of a new paradigm pose some highly problematic aspects that need highlighting. First, the notion of translanguaging itself is relatively ambiguous, making it difficult to distinguish between its different uses: a pedagogic strategy imposed by teachers, a conceptual tool which can aid in the analysis of actual practices or a type of practice in itself.

Second, the claim that the concept of translanguaging relies on "radically different notions of language and bilingualism than those espoused in the 20<sup>th</sup> century" (Creese and Blackledge 2015, p. 27) is questionable, especially in light of contradictory statements with reference to the nature of this phenomenon. While rejecting any references to separate languages, and thus to fixed codes, García and Wei (2014, p. 22), state that people have a linguistic repertoire from which they select resources to communicate, resources which draw on a single linguistic system (García and Wei 2014, p. 14). At the same time, Creese and Blackledge (2015, p. 27) explain that "translanguaging goes beyond code-switching, but incorporates it", revealing the paradoxical nature of translanguaging, which, while trying to go beyond the structuralist understanding of language as a fixed code resorts to the categories of this paradigm (Orman 2013, p. 97). This is also noticeable in snippets of analyses which rely on the notion of translanguaging<sup>26</sup> (e.g. Blackledge and Creese 2014; Creese and Blackledge 2015).

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<sup>25</sup> Cummin's (1979) notion of linguistic interdependence refers to the idea that the linguistic competences of bilinguals in each language do not develop and function separately at a cognitive level, but rather interdependently.

<sup>26</sup> With reference to the development of terms such as translanguaging and its cognates, Orman (2013, p. 97) offers a critical account which stresses the paradoxical nature of such metalanguage: "Much contemporary sociolinguistic theorising exhibits a curious characteristic. That is to say while it is readily willing to embrace what might be termed a post- or late-modern sociological perspective whereby notions such as fluidity, flux, hybridity (e.g. Otsuji and Pennycook 2010) and so on are to the fore and there is a pervasive scepticism towards essentialist and determinate categorisations, when it comes to linguistic analysis it all too often seeks out the comforting certainty of a traditional structuralist approach whereby the expert researcher implicitly

Third, its proponents seem to be preoccupied with normalizing the idea of complex linguistic practices, rather than with analysing the conditions of their production. In this regard, García (2009, p. 44) argues that “worldwide translanguaging practices are seen here not as marked or unusual, but rather for what they are, namely the normal mode of communication”. Furthermore, García and Wei (2014, p. 23) suggest that “the only way to communicate in bilingual/multilingual family events is to translanguage”. Similarly, Creese and Blackledge (2015, p. 26) argue that “a translanguaging approach to teaching and learning is not about code-switching, but rather about an arrangement that normalizes bilingualism without diglossic functional separation”. This idea stems from García (2009, pp. 78-79), who argues that

unlike diglossia, languages are no longer assigned separate territories or even separate functions, but they may co-exist in the same space. Another difference is that languages are not placed in a hierarchy according to whether they have more or less power. In reality, ethnolinguistic groups do not have strict divisions between their languages, and there is much overlap.

This view seems to understand translanguaging practices as naturally complex linguistic practices, while the focus is on communication. As pedagogy, Creese and Blackledge (2015, p. 26) maintain that such a paradigm has “the potential to remove the hierarchy of languaging practices that deem some more valuable than others”. However, García (2009, p. 301) seems to contradict this when she states that “while it is important to put the minority language alongside the majority language, thus ensuring for it a place in powerful domains, it is important to preserve a space, although not a rigid or static place, in which the minority language does not compete with the majority language”. Such contradictions reflect that by focusing on the naturalness of such practices as well as the prescription of normativity of translanguaging practices, the proponents of such a paradigm are at risk of offering often confusing and naïve accounts of language practices.

As pedagogy, translanguaging practices may be useful in the legitimation of complex practices within an institutional space. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that the creation of a space where a “new languaging reality, a new way of being, acting and languaging” (García and Leiva 2014, p. 2014) is still subject to the pertinent linguistic hierarchies prevalent in specific contexts, hierarchies which cannot be ignored at the time of deciding on such a pedagogy. Furthermore, it should also be noted that the decision to employ such a pedagogy can never be regarded as a natural act, but rather as a measure towards the legitimation of specific practices. Depending on the context, such a measure may be highly imbued with political associations or even with historical associations with languages as static entities.

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claims to be able to read off both social and linguistic meanings from the features attested in the ‘data’, hence the continued reference to codes, systems, etc. The underlying ontology of language and communication remains all but unchanged”.

Similarly, in the case of 'normally' occurring translanguaging practices, such as in bilingual/multilingual families (García and Wei 2014, p. 23), it has to be stressed that such practices are not natural, but linked to the socio-historical conditions under which they take place; consequently, they need to be understood and analysed as such. Furthermore, it is necessary to emphasize the fault of understanding translanguaging practices as "released, in the family intimacy, from the social external conventions that tie them to one or another 'language'" (García and Wei 2014, p. 23). Taking certain contexts as neutral betrays an understanding of language as a natural object whose features can be employed freely, naturally, flexibly and fluidly in utopic spaces where societal 'conventions' no longer apply. This reveals a synchronic understanding of linguistic practices, whose analysis fails to take into consideration the historical ties with their conditions of acquisition as well as their conditions of production.

Further questionable characteristics of this paradigm are the understanding of language solely as a tool of communication<sup>27</sup>, as well as the focus on the agency of speakers<sup>28</sup>, which is brought forward by the ideas of criticality and creativity (Wei 2011a; 2011b; García and Wei 2014; e.g. Blackledge 2015). García and Wei (2014, p. 24) argue that "individuals are capable of responding to historical and present conditions critically. Speakers consciously construct and constantly modify their sociocultural identities and values through social practices such as translanguaging". Furthermore, Creese and Blackledge (2015, p. 24) positively reaffirm that "some speakers in modern nation-states are using their linguistic skills to negotiate new subject positions", in what Gal (2006, p. 7) characterised as "self-conscious, anti-standardizing moves". While it is, indeed, evident that new, highly heterogeneous linguistic practices are produced, taking the agency of speakers (understood as a type of transcendental creativity and absolute criticality which leads them to flout the norms) as the main mechanism of production of such linguistic practices is highly questionable.

Thus, it can be argued that in the most recent interpretations of the translanguaging paradigm (García and Wei 2014; Creese and Blackledge 2015), in spite of their claims, its proponents fail to take into account the socio-historical conditions and the power relations under which certain practices take place, the underlying processes which enable certain flexibility and under which certain practices become legitimate or illegitimate. As a conceptual tool, translanguaging does not yet seem fit to account for the entire set of conditions and resulting social relations of inequality

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<sup>27</sup> With respect to this, (García and Wei 2014, p. 25) argue that "translanguaging for us, is rooted on the principle that bilingual speakers 'soft assemble' their various language practices in ways that fit their communicative situations ... bilinguals call upon different social *features* in a seamless and complex network of multiple semiotic signs, as they adapt their languaging to suit the immediate task".

<sup>28</sup> In this regard, Creese and Blackledge (2015, p. 26) argue that "translanguaging leads us away from a focus on languages as distinct codes to a focus on the agency of individuals engaged in using, creating, and interpreting signs for communication".

under which linguistic practices are produced. Similarly, from a broader perspective, the reconceptualizations of bilingualism/multilingualism discussed above remain focused on proving that languages are social constructs. However, in such approaches, the issue of socio-historically embedded power relations according to which both the production and reproduction of specific linguistic practices and social relations are enacted gets relegated to a second priority, if even considered.

## 2.2. Bourdieu and language

While it must be acknowledged that the critical approaches to multilingualism are right in their quest to move away from an understanding of this phenomenon as a multiplication of monolingualism, the major issues brought forth by such a perspective cannot be solved by changing the name of the phenomenon. Instead, it would be more useful to seek a revised understanding of the phenomenon itself. In light of this, the present project returns to a social theory framework, that conceptualized by Pierre Bourdieu particularly in *Language and Symbolic Power* (LSP). This section argues that the adoption and partial adaptation of the Bourdieusian (LSP) framework can assist in providing a highly nuanced understanding of the phenomenon of multilingualism, thus representing a significant alternative to the previous approaches discussed so far. Such a perspective breaks with structural-linguistic and structural-functionalist perspectives on language by offering sophisticated conceptual tools that allow focusing on the relationships between the socio-historical conditions and power relations under which linguistic practices are produced. This perspective also attends to the idea that both nation-states and languages are social constructions. However, instead of disregarding it, it allows consideration of the crucial relevance attributed to such commonsensical constructions by the agents interviewed for this particular project. Thus, in light of the above literature review, the second section of this chapter introduces Bourdieu's model of linguistic production and circulation; it discusses the faults and merits of the Bourdieusian conceptual tools and the manner in which this project employs them.

Pierre Bourdieu is one of the leading social theorists whose work developed particularly in the intellectual climate of post-war France<sup>29</sup>. More specifically, his work on language and society emerged mainly as a reaction towards the understanding of language proposed by linguists (referring here mainly to Saussure 2011<sup>30</sup> and Chomsky 1965). Bourdieu's reconceptualization of language has partly influenced the critical studies on language which emerged particularly during the last decades of the twentieth century (see sub-section 2.1.3).

As Wacquant (AIRS, p. 141) puts it, in Bourdieu's view, language is an instrument "of power relations, rather than a mere means of communication, that must be studied within the interactional

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<sup>29</sup> For a contextualization of Pierre Bourdieu's work in general, see AIRS, TBB, Grenfell and Kelly (1999). Also, it is worth mentioning here that due to the vocabulary employed throughout his entire work (e.g. interest, capital, markets, etc.), Bourdieu has often been accused of 'economism', that is, of explaining social practices through the perspective of economic principles. However, as Bourdieu (AIRS, p. 118) himself argues, "the only thing [he] share[s] with economic orthodoxy ... are a number of words". As Wacquant (AIRS, p. 120) highlights, Bourdieu "rearticulate[s] the apparently economic notions of capital, market, interest, etc., into a model of action radically discontinuous with that of economics". Thus, within Bourdieu's theory of symbolic power, such notions gain new valences. For a detailed refutation of the charge of 'economism', see AIRS (pp. 115-122).

<sup>30</sup> The discussion refers to Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics*, originally published in 1916.

and structural contexts of its production and circulation". This perspective stems from Bourdieu's critique (1982, pp. 13-98; AIRS, pp. 140-149; LSP; OTP, pp. 22-30; TLP, pp. 30-41) to the structural linguistic view of language as a universal given, an autonomous and homogenous product. In this regard, he argues (TLP, pp. 30-31) that Saussure makes "speech the product of the language", thus constructing language as a static object of analysis. The consequence is a split between language (*langue*) and its realization in practice (*parole*); language is seen as a *logos*, instead of a *praxis*. This means that the speech act is reduced to the mere execution of a fixed model (AIRS, p. 142), an idea that is perfectly rendered by the Chomskyan separation between *competence* and *performance*. The linguist is the keeper of the model (TLP, p. 33); his/her purpose is to study and codify it, giving prevalence to its internal logic.

This view of language converts it into "a self-contained system completely severed from its real uses and denuded from its practical and *political* functions" (AIRS, p. 141). Modern general linguistics explore synchronically the internal characteristics of an object they construct as homogenous and autonomous, which is just put into practice through acts of speech. In this paradigm, a hypothetical perfect command of language through its grammatical correctness automatically translates into perfect social usage of that code. In other words, in this model, language and utterances have both meaning and value intrinsically. In fact, it is exactly this point that Bourdieu wants to banish completely: the idea that grammar is sufficient to confer both meaning and value to utterances (TLP, p. 32)<sup>31</sup>. In this regard, he argues (AIRS, p. 147) that "to try to understand linguistically the power of linguistic expressions, to try to ground in language the principle and mechanisms of the efficiency of language, is to forget that *authority comes to language from the outside*". In other words, the solely internal analysis of the object becomes incomplete and inadequate when trying to understand the meaning and value attributed to linguistic exchanges (AIRS, p. 142).

Furthermore, the modern general linguistics view neutralizes language, giving the false impression that it is a static model and all speakers can have access to this fixed competence. This idea is labelled by Bourdieu as the "illusion of linguistic communism" (AIRS, pp. 145-146). According to him, (AIRS, p. 145), this illusion, which "haunts all of linguistics ... is the illusion that everyone participates in language as they enjoy the sun, the air, or water"; in other words, language is a good to which everyone has equal access. Bourdieu (AIRS, p. 146) suggests that this is a fallacy, given that "access to legitimate language is quite unequal, and the theoretically universal competence liberally granted to all by linguists is in reality monopolized by some". Both *langue* and *competence* usually mirror the

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<sup>31</sup> More precisely, Bourdieu (AIRS, p. 142) argues that "grammaticality is not the necessary and sufficient condition of the production of meaning, as Chomsky ... might lead us to believe by overlooking the fact that language is made not for linguistic analysis but to be spoken and to be spoken *à propos*".

properties of what Bourdieu (LSP, p. 45) calls the official language. This official language, “as opposed to dialect ... has benefited from the institutional conditions necessary for its generalized codification and imposition”. In other words, Bourdieu (LSP, pp. 41-45) argues that the paradigm of modern general linguistics selects already dominant forms of language as the basis onto which language as a universal model is conceptualized: “to speak of *the* language, without further specification, as linguists do, is tacitly to accept the *official* definition of the *official* language of a political unit” (LSP, p. 45). By doing this, linguists convert immanent, socio-historically constructed dominant forms of language into natural, “universal norms of correct linguistic practice” (LSP, p. 44). Thus, they reproduce the ‘official’ language as dominant and its construction as a natural, bounded, homogenous and autonomous ‘language’. In doing so, linguists disregard the entire set of social conditions under which such domination is enacted.

By challenging this understanding of language as an autonomous system with intrinsic laws of production and change (Saussure 2011<sup>32</sup>; Chomsky 1965), Bourdieu (LSP) focuses on a contrastive idea which starts from an understanding of language as an instrument of power<sup>33</sup>: “*linguistic relations are always relations of symbolic power* through which relations of force between the speakers and their respective groups are actualized in a transfigured form” (AIRS, p. 142). Language is no longer a mere neutral, natural and autonomous instrument of communication, an object of analysis whose internal structure can be explored synchronically, but rather a tool through which historical power relations between interlocutors are actualized:

Even the simplest linguistic exchange brings into play a complex and ramifying web of historical power relations between the speaker, endowed with a specific social authority, and an audience, which recognises this authority to varying degrees, as well as between the groups to which they respectively belong ... a very important part of what goes on in verbal communication, even the content of the message itself, remains unintelligible as long as one does not take into account the totality of the structure of power relations that is present, yet invisible, in the exchange (AIRS, pp. 142-143).

It results that the historical, economic and otherwise external factors influencing the production of utterances gain priority over the synchronic, structural, or internal perspective of language as a model of which speech represents the mere execution. Language is understood as a *praxis*, instead of a *logos*. The notion of ‘linguistic practices’ replaces the notion of ‘language use’ which is based on the execution, the performance of a universal, static model<sup>34</sup>. This shift is based on the idea that

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<sup>32</sup> The discussion refers to Saussure’s *Course in General Linguistics*, originally published in 1916.

<sup>33</sup> This contrast is spelled out clearly when Bourdieu (AIRS, p. 141) states that “what characterizes ‘pure’ linguistics is the primacy it accords to the synchronic, structural, or internal perspective over the historical, economic, or external determinations of language”.

<sup>34</sup> Indeed, central to this perspective is the notion of linguistic practices. Comparing the concept of language use to that of linguistic practices, Pennycook (2010, p. 8) perfectly underlines the difference between the twoparadigms: “To talk of practice is not the same as talking about use. In particular, the notion of use

linguistic practices do not take place in a vacuum; indeed, language is used à propos. Neither language nor linguistic practices per se are intrinsically significant; instead, utterances gain meaning and value only under their socio-historically embedded conditions of production. Thus, Bourdieu argues that it becomes crucial to explore “the question of the economic and social conditions of the acquisition of the legitimate competence and of the constitution of the market in which this definition of the legitimate and the illegitimate is established and imposed” (LSP, p. 44)<sup>35</sup>.

It needs to be underlined that by understanding language as an instrument of power, Bourdieu (LSP) advocates a diachronic approach as opposed to a synchronic one. This is because, as Blommaert (1999b, p. 7) argues, “power can hardly be seen as a purely local/synchronic concept”. Rather, power relations emerge over time within specific socio-historical conditions. In turn, the production, distribution, circulation of linguistic resources are linked to such historical power relations. Thus, Bourdieu (LSP) employs an approach that focuses not on the intrinsic meaning and value of utterances, but rather on what Blommaert (1999b, pp. 6-7) later calls “intrinsic historicity”<sup>36</sup>. This historical dimension is key to Bourdieu’s understanding of language and it will underpin the rest of the present section.

In order to account for the connection between linguistic practices, the context in which they are produced, as well as the historical power relations between these elements, Bourdieu deploys an adapted version of his theory of practice<sup>37</sup>, whose fundamental tenet is its methodological

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suggests a prior object that can be taken up and employed for certain purposes. The notion of language use therefore suggests that languages exist out there in the world and can then be taken up and put to some use. Both the notion of languages and the notion of use implied by such a proposition are challenged by this notion of language practice, which suggests that language is a product of social action, and not a tool to be used ... A focus on language practices moves the focus from language as an autonomous system that pre-exists its use, and competence as an internal capacity that accounts for language production, towards an understanding of language as a product of the embodied social practices that bring it about.”

<sup>35</sup> For a comprehensive discussion regarding Bourdieu’s critique of modern general linguistics, see Grenfell (2011b).

<sup>36</sup> Inspired by Bourdieu’s perspective on language, Blommaert (1999b, pp. 4) notes that linguistics and most of its cognates (such as historical linguistics, sociolinguistics or anthropological linguistics) have a generally static and synchronic perspective on language. Furthermore, he remarks that even language attitudes and ideologies are understood from the same ahistorical perspective on language: “It is a common move in the linguistic tradition (including sociolinguistics), to adopt idealist approaches to language-related ideational phenomena such as attitudes or ideologies ... They are often seen as ideas which people just happen to have. One effect of this is an abstraction of the historical process in which the genesis of such ideational phenomena is contained, sometimes amounting, in fact, to a de-historization of the phenomena. The preferred locus of analysis is the synchronic place, where questions about the origin and the causes of distribution and impact of ideologies can be avoided” (Blommaert 1999b, p. 6). Therefore, he suggests that “what we need to look for, in my opinion, is a formulation of the historicity of language data *as part of the definition of our object*. In other words, the historical dimension should be intrinsic to every synchronic or diachronic observation made in and about language. Every language fact is intrinsically historical” (Blommaert 1999b, p. 6).

<sup>37</sup> For the main text where the author discusses his theory of practice, see TLP; for an overview of Bourdieu’s theory of practice mainly in relation to language, see Grenfell (2011a).

relationalism. In Waquant's words (AIRS, p. 15), "against all forms of methodological monism that purport to assert the ontological priority of structure *or* agent, system *or* actor, the collective *or* the individual, Bourdieu affirms *the primacy of relations*". While this relational perspective is neither new nor original<sup>38</sup>, Bourdieu's strength resides in the ensemble of conceptual tools that he develops throughout his career: field and habitus. These two key concepts are inseparable from that of capital, this three-fold paradigm always functioning as a whole. What is significant to note is that these concepts "*designate bundles of relations*" (AIRS, p. 16). Briefly,

A field consists of a set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital), while habitus consists of a set of historical relations "deposited" within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation, and action (AIRS, p. 16).

Arguing that "the laws of speech production are a particular case of the laws of production of practices" (Bourdieu 1977b, p. 665), Bourdieu builds on his theory of practice to provide a basic model of linguistic production and circulation<sup>39</sup>. In this model, he introduces a similar three-fold relationship between linguistic market, linguistic habitus, and capital (power) (LSP, pp. 37-38). These conceptual tools can facilitate an exploration of the social world, and the linguistic practices comprising it, understood as a web of relations. The fundamental idea of this model of linguistic production and circulation is the relationship between linguistic habitus and linguistic market, simultaneously actualizing and actualized by power relations:

Every speech act and, more generally, every action, is a conjuncture, an encounter between independent causal series. On the one hand, there are the socially constructed dispositions of the linguistic habitus, which imply a certain propensity to speak and say determinate things (the expressive interest) and a certain capacity to speak, which involves both the linguistic capacity to generate an infinite number of grammatically correct discourses, and the social capacity to use this competence adequately in a determinate situation. On the other hand, there are the structures of the linguistic market, which impose themselves as a system of specific sanctions and censorships (LSP, p. 37).

In spite of the difficulty in separating them, the next subsections explore each of these concepts, outlining thus the basic precepts of the Bourdieusian model of linguistic production and circulation.

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<sup>38</sup> For a detailed discussion of Bourdieu's methodological relationalism, including the author's own position within the scholarly tradition from which this perspective stems, see AIRS (pp. 15-19).

<sup>39</sup> It is important to note that Bourdieu posits this alternative model both in opposition to and in complementarity with the linguistic model. It is in opposition with reference to the role that language plays in society, but it is in a relationship of complementarity with regards to the analysis of such an object: "This [model] does not seek either to challenge or to replace a strictly linguistic analysis of the code. But it does enable us to understand the errors and failures to which linguistics succumbs when, relying on only one of the factors involved – a strictly linguistic competence, abstractly defined, ignoring everything that it owes to the social conditions of its production – it tries to give an adequate account of discourse in all its conjunctural singularity" (LSP, pp. 37-38).

### 2.2.1. Linguistic market

In order to clarify what a linguistic market is, it is important to first explore the relationship between markets and fields within Bourdieu's theory of practice. Briefly, Bourdieu understands a field (e.g. legal, educational, media) as a network, or a configuration which "consists of a set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power or capital" (AIRS, p. 16). In other words, a field represents a dynamic web of positions determined mainly by the amount of recognised capital an agent or an institution has. In turn, the totality of fields of a certain society functions as a social space, a larger multidimensional structure where each agent or institution occupies a specific position that is determined by its respective positions in the fields of the social space. However, these positions are not static, but fluctuating. One of Bourdieu's main ideas is that according to the position in the field, and thus, in the social space, the practices of agents receive a value. This value can be understood as capital, which, when recognised as such, may be converted into symbolic capital and symbolic power. Put differently, a field can be understood as a game (AIRS, p. 98), where players (agents or institutions) are engaged in struggles whose stakes are capital and potential symbolic power. The amount of symbolic capital and symbolic power that agents/institutions gain is crucial in their capacity to play the game, i.e., to either preserve their positions in a certain field, to gain better ones, or even to change the rules of the game (AIRS, p. 99). Furthermore, in some cases, agents or institutions with high amounts of symbolic power can engage in struggles to impose their vision of the world as legitimate against all other visions of the world, which are thus rendered illegitimate (AIRS, pp. 99-100). It must be emphasized that the notion of recognised symbolic capital, or symbolic power, is the lynchpin of the entire Bourdieusian model.

Grenfell (2011b, p. 51) maintains that Bourdieu understood "language usage as a specific form of *field* in the way that it was constituted and operated". However, he also stresses the peculiarity of such a field, stating that "language needs to be seen as a special kind of *field* since it could, of course, transverse many social fields at the same time" (Grenfell 2011b, p. 51). This is because most fields have language "as their core medium" and "in every field, the language that is used there has a specific value, defined in terms of the dominant forms ... within it" (Grenfell 2011b, p. 51). Grenfell (2011b, p. 51) claims that in order to express these processes, Bourdieu coins the concept 'market', which he outlines as a "system of relations of force which determine the price of linguistic products and thus helps fashion linguistic production" (AIRS, p. 145).

It may be useful to go a step further from Grenfell's interpretation of the relationship between markets and fields and think of a linguistic market as conceptually different from a field, albeit intrinsically connected to it; while a field represents a web of positions that agents hold, a linguistic

market refers to the arena of linguistic production, the actual interactions between different agents equipped with different types of capital. Indeed, Bourdieu argues that “all speech is produced for and through the market to which it owes its existence and its most specific properties” (LSP, p. 76). In other words, utterances are always produced within a given context, which influences not only their meaning, but also, fundamentally, their value: “The objective relation between speaker and receiver operates as a market which applies a censorship by conferring very unequal values on different linguistic products” (Bourdieu 1977b, p. 658). Thus, the production of linguistic practices is invariably connected to a linguistic market characterised by specific rules and laws of price formation according to which utterances are evaluated. If these rules are followed in specific linguistic interactions, the agent gains symbolic profits. This means that linguistic practices are never used solely for the purpose of communication, but also as “*signs of wealth*, intended to be evaluated, and appreciated, and *signs of authority*, intended to be believed and obeyed” (LSP, p. 66). Correlatively, if the rules prevailing on a specific linguistic market are not followed, usually the conditions of the market act as sanctions<sup>40</sup>. In turn, the constitution, reproduction, or transformation of such rules are always connected to the power relations between the agents/institutions that constitute the corresponding social space of a linguistic market<sup>41</sup>.

Following the interpretation of the relationship between ‘market’ and ‘field’ outlined above, it can now be argued that a linguistic market is one of the main arenas where the positions of agents/institutions in fields are actualized, reproduced and negotiated. A linguistic market can be understood as the result of the dynamics of fields combined in a continuously developing process. On the one hand, a linguistic market transverses all the fields of a social space and it is influenced by the power relations and changes that occur both within these fields and among them. Because language is not an autonomous system with its laws of production and change, the linguistic market appears as the result of these power relations, which, in turn, are ingrained in the economic and social conditions of that particular social space. On the other hand, due to the fact that a field represents the historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (AIRS, p. 16), a linguistic market, or rather linguistic practices function across all fields as catalysts for the actualization or negotiation of those positions anchored in forms of power. This dynamic two-fold

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<sup>40</sup> It must thus be highlighted that utterances in themselves have no intrinsic meaning or value. Rather, utterances gain such meaning and value only within a specific market. This means that the same utterance may gain either different meanings or different values according to the markets in which it is produced, i.e. to the rules and laws of price formation of those markets.

<sup>41</sup> In this regard, Bourdieu (LSP, p. 37) famously argues that “although it is legitimate to treat social relations – even relations of domination – as symbolic interactions, that is, relations of communication, one must not forget that the relations of communication par excellence – linguistic exchanges – are also relations of symbolic power in which the power relations between speakers or their respective groups are actualized” (LSP, p. 37).

relationship between the linguistic market and the fields of a social space is what determines the rules and laws of price formation of linguistic products in a specific linguistic market.

#### 2.2.1.1. Rules and laws of price formation

The linguistic market is the arena where linguistic practices are produced, evaluated, sanctioned or praised according to the rules and laws of price formation which apply within it. Far from being 'natural', these rules and laws of price formation are shaped by prolonged and complex processes which follow the intertwining of both the social and economic conditions of a particular social space and the symbolic struggles between agents. As mentioned above (see 2.2.1), these are struggles for capital which influence not only the position of agents/institutions in specific fields (and ultimately, in the social space), but also their leverage to play the game, i.e. to engage in the game, to negotiate their positions, and/or to change the rules of the game to their advantage.

According to Bourdieu (2008, p. 281), "depending on the field in which it functions, and at the cost of more or less expensive transformations which are the preconditions for its efficacy in the field in question, capital can present itself in three fundamental guises": economic capital, cultural capital and social capital<sup>42</sup>. In turn, when any of these types of capital are recognised as such, they are converted into symbolic capital (Bourdieu 2008, p. 289; SSSP, p. 21). The possession of symbolic capital confers agents a certain type of authority which, under special conditions, can be converted into symbolic power<sup>43</sup> (SSSP, p. 23). Symbolic power, granted to those with sufficient symbolic capital and recognition of that capital<sup>44</sup>, is the power to "impose a scale of values most favourable to their products" (SSSP, p. 21), and thus to produce and impose the legitimate, 'natural' vision of the social world. It is thus the power to organize both the perception of the social world as well as the world itself (SSSP, p. 22). In such struggles, the most symbolically powerful agents impose their own linguistic practices as the most valuable (which, in turn, functions as a precondition for the imposition of other types of practices as valuable and legitimate). The rules and laws of price formation of a linguistic market are thus shaped according to these power relations in the social

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<sup>42</sup> For a detailed account of each of these types of capital, see Bourdieu (2008).

<sup>43</sup> For a detailed account of the notion of symbolic power, see SSSP.

<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, according to Bourdieu (AIRS, p. 148) "symbolic power, the power to constitute the given by stating it, to act upon the world by acting upon the representation of the world, does not reside in "symbolic systems" in the form of an "illocutionary force." It is defined in and by a definite relation that creates belief in the legitimacy of the words and of the person who utters them, and it operates only inasmuch as those who undergo it recognizes [sic] those who wield it". In this case, the author signals the significant difference between his idea of symbolic power as residing in the social character of the conditions under which an agent's utterances can achieve symbolic efficacy and Austin's (1962) speech-act theory, which suggests that the source of such efficacy can be found in the linguistic signs themselves.

space (LSP, p. 67). According to these power relations, linguistic practices receive a value on a specific market:

Utterances receive their value (and their sense) only in relation to a market, characterized by a particular law of price formation. The value of an utterance depends on the relation of power that is concretely established between the speakers' linguistic competences, understood both as their capacity for production and as their capacity for appropriation and appreciation; it depends, in other words, on the capacity of various agents involved in the exchange to impose the criteria of appreciation most favourable to their own products (LSP, p. 67).

Therefore, it is the most symbolically powerful agents/institutions who impose their linguistic practices as the most valuable ones. Under special circumstances, such practices may be imposed as the legitimate ones on a linguistic market, i.e., as the dominant ones against which other practices on that market are rendered illegitimate. The imposition of such legitimacy is required, because it is partly through language that the formation and reformation of mental structures takes place (LSP, pp. 47-48), which, in turn, reproduces the unbalanced power relations of a particular social space. It is now important to explore the conditions of the process of legitimation of specific modes of expression.

#### 2.2.1.2. A unified linguistic market and its legitimate language

In his exploration of the case of France, Bourdieu (LSP) shows that the process of legitimation of a certain mode of expression is connected with the interlinked processes of political unification and construction of a unified linguistic market. In the case of France, the legitimate language equates to the official language. From this perspective, Bourdieu (LSP) demonstrates that the processes of construction, legitimation and imposition of a certain mode of expression as the official language of France went hand in hand with the political processes of unification of the territory: "the official language is bound up with the state, both in its genesis and in its social uses. It is in the process of state formation that the conditions are created for the constitution of a unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language" (LSP, p. 45). More specifically, he explains how the processes of devaluation of regional dialects across France before and particularly after the French Revolution as well as the simultaneous promotion of a certain mode of expression (that used by the cultivated circles of Paris) to the status of official language were linked with the political processes of territorial unification. In this exploration, he coins the notion of a 'unified linguistic market', which is defined as the main condition "for one mode of expression among others (a particular language in the case of bilingualism) to impose itself as the only legitimate one" (LSP, p. 45). This legitimacy refers to the dominance of such a mode of expression from two interlinked perspectives. In the case of France, Bourdieu shows that a certain mode of expression was objectified in writing and was quasi-legally

codified. In other words, it was standardized into an official language, it was constructed as a language<sup>45</sup>. At the same time, such an official language became the norm against which all other modes of expression started to be measured, particularly in formal situations. It is this mode of expression that linguists take for granted and convert into a natural, universal model of linguistic correctness (Bourdieu LSP, p. 50). Correlatively, in the sociolinguistic paradigm, all other modes of expression encountered within the territory of a political unit become deviations from this norm (see sub-section 2.1.2).

However, Bourdieu (LSP, p. 50) argues that while the will to political unification is one of the main factors that lead to the construction of such a language which linguists “accept as a natural datum”, it does not account for the generalization of the actual use of the official language on its own. In other words, he argues that for an official language to become legitimate and dominant, overt policies at state level do not play the most important part. In fact Bourdieu (LSP, p. 50) argues that

the effects of domination which accompany the unification of the market are always exerted through a whole set of specific institutions and mechanisms, of which the specifically linguistic policy of the state and even the overt interventions of pressure groups form only the most superficial aspects. The fact that these mechanisms presuppose the political and economic unification which they help in turn to reinforce in no way implies that the progress of the official language is to be attributed to the direct effectiveness of legal or quasi-legal constraints. (These can at best impose the acquisition, but not the generalized use and therefore the autonomous reproduction, of the legitimate language).

Thus, Bourdieu does not offer a simple top-down explanation of the logic of generalized use of the official language in the case of France as simply imposed by the nation-state. Instead, he digs deeper into what lies behind such logic and argues that “this generalization is a dimension of the unification of the market in symbolic goods which accompanies the unification of the economy and also of cultural production and circulation” (LSP, p. 50). Such unification is only possible through an entire set of institutions and mechanisms. More specifically, Bourdieu (LSP, p. 49) shows that in the case of France the unification of the linguistic market was possible through three main factors. First, through the construction of a national unified educational system, which is one of the most symbolically powerful institutions through which the inculcation of the (emergent) legitimate mode of expression

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<sup>45</sup> With respect to the role played by the state and by linguists in the construction of a standardized “language” which corresponds to the official language in the case of nation-states, such as France, Bourdieu and Boltanski (1975, pp. 2-3) argue that “The official language cannot impose itself through its own intrinsic force. Political conditions offer the official language its geographic and demographic boundaries - its borders slowly emerge out of political borders. If you analyse a specific historical context, it is very easy to prove how linguists have taken the notion of “linguistic community” ... and incorporated into theory a pre-constructed object, forgetting its social laws of construction and hiding its social genesis by invoking the criterion of ‘mutual intelligibility’ and by pretending that this is the answer to the question regarding the conditions and degrees of acquisition of the official language. The amnesia of the genesis which is implied in understanding language outside of its political conditions of imposition contributes to the process of legitimation of the official language and its social effects from which not even linguists are exempt” (translation my own).

can take place at the level of the entire linguistic market (in this case, standardized French)<sup>46</sup>. Second, through the unification of the labour market, such as the development of state administration and the civil service. Third, and most importantly, through the relation between the two, educational qualifications becoming the gatekeeper to the labour field, and thus to social mobility. Bourdieu (LSP, p. 49) argues that in the case of France it was primarily this dialectical relationship that led to the emergence of a unified linguistic market, where the official language also became the legitimate language<sup>47</sup>.

In the case of France, a unified linguistic market implied the unification of formerly local markets which used to function according to their own rules and laws of price formation. Within a unified linguistic market the linguistic products which used to be legitimate within the formerly enclosed local linguistic markets are faced with a “generalization of the dominant criteria of evaluation” (LSP, p. 50) at the level of the politically unified territory of France. This unification leads to the emergence of a new hierarchy of linguistic practices which started competing against each other, or rather, competing against those linguistic practices of the most symbolically powerful agents/institutions who/which had the capacity to “impose the criteria of appreciation most favourable to their own products” (LSP, p. 67). In turn, these practices become the ‘norm’ against which all other practices are measured and, consequently devalued. Within this unified linguistic market, benefiting “from the institutional conditions for its generalized codification and imposition” (LSP, p. 45) as shown so far, the official language becomes the legitimate language<sup>48</sup>.

Discussing primarily the linguistic power relations between “*the different uses of the same language*” (LSP, p. 53), Bourdieu argues that the fundamental principle according to which a hierarchy of linguistic practices functions is the constitution of a “system of *sociologically pertinent* linguistic oppositions ... which has nothing to do with the system of *linguistically pertinent* linguistic

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<sup>46</sup> With respect to the educational system, Bourdieu (LSP, p. 59) argues that it is “charged with the task of sanctioning heretical products in the name of grammar and inculcating the specific norms which block the effects of the laws of evolution, [contributing] significantly to constituting the dominated uses of language as such by consecrating the dominant use as the only legitimate one, by the mere fact of inculcating it”.

<sup>47</sup> Consequently, without this dialectical relationship the inculcation of a certain mode of expression (in this case, the official language, ‘French’) through the education field would not have been necessarily imposed as the legitimate language, which means that it would not have led to its general use. In this regard, Bourdieu (LSP, p. 49) explains the results of this dialectic relationship: “to induce the holders of dominated linguistic competences to collaborate in the destruction of their instruments of expression, by endeavouring for example to speak ‘French’ at home, with the more or less explicit intention of increasing their value on the educational market, it was necessary for the school system to be perceived as the principal (indeed, the only) means of access to administrative positions”.

<sup>48</sup> For an excellent analysis of a similar process of devaluation of practices as a consequence of the unification of a market, see Bourdieu’s *The Bachelors’ Ball* (2008) (TBB) which presents the case of the market of matrimonial exchanges in rural Béarn in light of deep social and economic changes at the level of France.

oppositions"<sup>49</sup>. This refers to the emergent relation between the different modes of expression within the unified linguistic market which can be explained as a "hierarchical universe of deviations with respect to a form of speech that is (virtually) universally recognised as legitimate, i.e., as the standard measure of the value of linguistic products" (LSP, p. 56). The resulting set of differences is not a natural one, but a consequence of the power relations and social conditions pertinent to the institutions and agents involved in the game<sup>50</sup>. Correlatively, the resulting system of linguistic oppositions represents a "re-translation of a system of social differences" (LSP, p. 54)<sup>51</sup>. Consequently, a unified linguistic market represents the arena where different linguistic practices are in constant competition. On the one hand, agents who lack the legitimate competence "are *de facto* excluded from the social domains in which this competence is required, or are condemned to silence" (LSP, p. 55). On the other hand, the legitimate competence may function as linguistic capital, which can be converted into distinction (LSP, p. 55) in relation to other competences. Such distinction can be achieved solely on the basis of two fundamental conditions: "the unification of the market and the unequal distribution of the chances of access to the means of production of the legitimate competence, and to the legitimate places of expression"<sup>52</sup> (LSP, p. 56). Furthermore, in order for the dominant agents/institutions to secure such profit of distinction and to impose this legitimate competence as such, the two conditions need to be constantly fulfilled.

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<sup>49</sup> Bourdieu (LSP, p. 54) clearly refers here to the sociolinguistic understanding of variation, which takes the official, legitimate language as the model of universal competence and explains linguistic difference as a variation from this 'norm' without taking into consideration either the genesis of the official 'language' as the legitimate mode of expression, or the linguistic relation of power between such a legitimate language and other modes of expression.

<sup>50</sup> More precisely, Bourdieu (LSP, p. 64) argues that "the different agents' linguistic strategies are strictly dependent on their positions in the structure of the distribution of linguistic capital, which can in turn be shown to depend, via the structure of chances of access to the educational system, of the structure of class relations". This comment comes as a critique of the approach taken by interactionist sociolinguists, who focus solely on the linguistic elements present in a linguistic exchange, failing thus to grasp the mechanisms of production of linguistic practices deeply rooted in socio-historical conditions.

<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, Bourdieu (LSP, p. 54) explains that "the social uses of language owe their specifically social value to the fact that they tend to be organized in systems of differences ... which reproduce, in the symbolic order of differential deviations, the system of social differences. To speak is to appropriate one or another of the expressive styles already constituted in and through usage and objectively marked by their position in a hierarchy of styles which expresses the hierarchy of corresponding social groups. These styles, systems of differences which are both classified and classifying, ranked and ranking, mark those who appropriate them".

<sup>52</sup> Bourdieu (LSP, p. 56) defines the exact relationship between gaining distinction and the chances of access to the legitimate competence: "since the profit of distinction results from the fact that the supply of products (or speakers) corresponding to a given level of linguistic (or, more generally, cultural) qualification is lower than it would be if all speakers had benefited from the conditions of acquisition of the legitimate competence to the same extent as the holders of the rarest competence, it is logically distributed as a function of the chances of access to these conditions, that is, as a function of the position occupied in the social structure".

This leads to the crucial idea that the status of legitimacy of a certain mode of expression is not a static, fixed matter; rather, it is a complex process whose conditions have to be continuously reproduced:

The legitimate language no more contains within itself the power to ensure its own perpetuation in time than it has the power to define its extension in space. Only the process of continuous creation, which occurs through unceasing struggles between the different authorities who compete within the field of specialized production for the monopolist power to impose the legitimate mode of expression, can ensure the permanence of the legitimate language and of its value, of the recognition accorded to it (LSP, p. 58).

This means that for the legitimate language to be reproduced as such, the conditions of the market need to be reproduced. It is the market understood as the entire array of political and social conditions of production of producers and consumers (LSP, p. 57) that ensures the social value of a specific linguistic competence, i.e., its capacity to function as linguistic capital (LSP, p. 57) and thus, as legitimate competence. In other words, the reproduction of the conditions of the market is not a static process, but a continuous struggle for the recognition of legitimacy. It is not enough for a unified linguistic market to be constituted at one point in time. Rather, the entire array of agents and institutions which led to the constitution of this market need to preserve, or even acquire more capital and symbolic power in order to ensure its perpetuation and the reproduction of the legitimate mode of expression.

However, it is now important to explore in detail how a certain mode of expression is recognised as legitimate. The Bourdieusian framework does not imply a simple top-bottom model through which the state imposes a certain 'language' as legitimate in a mechanistic way. Rather, he argues that

All symbolic domination presupposes, on the part of those who submit to it, a form of complicity which is neither passive submission to external constraint nor free adherence to values. The recognition of the legitimacy of the official language has nothing in common with an explicitly professed, deliberate and revocable belief, or with an intentional act of accepting the 'norm'. It is inscribed, in a practical state, in dispositions which are palpably inculcated, through a long and slow process of acquisition, by the sanctions of the linguistic market, and which are therefore adjusted, without any cynical calculation or consciously experienced constraint, to the chances of material and symbolic profit which the laws of price formation characteristic of a given market objectively offer to the holders of a given linguistic capital (LSP, pp. 50-51).

Reference is made here to the concept of habitus, which in this model of linguistic production and circulation plays as crucial a role as that of the market. The following sub-sections explore the concept of linguistic habitus in light of its mutually determining relationship with the linguistic market.

## 2.2.2. Linguistic habitus

As seen above, utterances are produced only in relation to a linguistic market and, more precisely, in relation to the rules and laws of price formation of that particular market. Linguistic practices become meaningful and valuable only inside a linguistic market. Economic and social conditions, as well as power relations between agents and institutions influence the constitution of the market. Moreover, these elements influence the rules and laws of price formation of utterances, which means that they determine both the definition as well as the acquisition of the legitimate and illegitimate competence within this market. However, what is fundamental in the Bourdieusian perspective on the production of linguistic practices is not the role of the market in itself, but the complex relationship between the linguistic market and the linguistic habitus. The extent of this relationship in this model is so crucial that without the linguistic habitus, the market would simply not exist.

### 2.2.2.1. Structured structures and structuring structures

The habitus is a set of socially constructed dispositions that appear as embodied characteristics of social agents. Always functioning in relation to a market, the linguistic habitus is the main principle of production of linguistic practices<sup>53</sup>. The relationship between the habitus and the market is one of mutual definition: the linguistic habitus, as the “the product of the whole history of its relations with markets” (LSP, p. 81), functions both as ‘structured structures’ and ‘structuring structures’. From this perspective, the habitus can be defined as a set of schemes of production as well as perception and appreciation of practices:

The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively ‘regulated’ and ‘regular’ without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor (TLP, p. 53).

‘Structured structures’ refers to the way the market shapes the habitus, whilst ‘structuring structures’ refers to the way in which the habitus shapes the market. Agents develop a set of dispositions which, according to the chances of access to the acquisition of the legitimate competence, are relatively attuned to the conditions of the linguistic market in which they function.

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<sup>53</sup> Given the habitus “is the most recurrent principle of practices” (IOW, p. 108) and that “the laws of speech production are a particular case of the laws of production of practices” (Bourdieu 1977b, p. 665), it results that the linguistic habitus represents the most fundamental principle of production of practices.

Through the recurrent contact between the linguistic market and the linguistic habitus, i.e., through linguistic exchanges, the linguistic habitus undergoes a constant process of internalization of the set of rules and laws of price formation of that linguistic market. This linguistic habitus is then a set of structured structures which consists of the linguistic competence of the agent, as well as the internalized understanding of how to employ this linguistic competence in a particular market<sup>54</sup>. By internalizing the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic market, the linguistic habitus of agents becomes the most important principle of production of linguistic practices.

As has been shown above, linguistic exchanges never have a solely communicative function. Rather, such exchanges are “established within a particular symbolic relation of power between a producer, endowed with a certain linguistic capital and a consumer (or a market), and which is capable of procuring a certain material or symbolic profit” (LSP, p. 66). According to the amount of recognised capital that agents acquire, they gain certain positions in specific fields. The sum of these positions results in a position in the social space. According to these positions, that is, according to the relation between the amounts of symbolic capital that agents possess, and to the immanent rules of a specific linguistic market, interactions are shaped on this market. Thus, the production of linguistic practices is adjusted according to the rules and laws of price formation of the market, as well as to the positions of the interlocutors in the social space. Structured according to the entire history of its relations with the market, the linguistic habitus anticipates possible outcomes, and generates practices that are meant to be meaningful and valuable, i.e., to receive the highest profit possible:

The conditions of reception envisaged are part of the conditions of production, and anticipation of the sanction of the market helps to determine the production of discourse. This anticipation, which bears no resemblance to a conscious calculation, is an aspect of the linguistic habitus, which, being the product of a prolonged and primordial relation to the laws of a certain market, tends to function as a practical sense of acceptability and the probable value of one’s own linguistic productions and those of others on different markets. It is this sense of acceptability, and not some form of rational calculation oriented towards the maximization of symbolic profits, which, by encouraging one to the account of the probable value of discourse during the process of production, determines corrections and all forms of censorship – the concessions one makes to a social world by accepting to make oneself acceptable in it (LSP, p. 77).

Consequently, the anticipation of profit is usually an unconscious act. This is because the anticipation of profit is a product of the habitus understood as an agent’s set of a set of schemes of perception and appreciation<sup>55</sup> of both their own linguistic productions<sup>55</sup> and those of other agents. In Bourdieu’s (SSSP, p. 19) words, “habitus is both a system of production of practices and a system of

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<sup>54</sup> In other words, “competence, which is acquired in a social context and through practice, is inseparable from the practical mastery of situations in which this usage of language is *socially acceptable*” (LSP, p. 82).

<sup>55</sup> In this regard, Bourdieu (LSP, p. 82) argue that “every speaker is both a producer and a consumer of his own linguistic productions”.

perception and appreciation of practices ... habitus implies a 'sense of one's place' but also a 'sense of the place of others'. This has a two-fold consequence.

On the one hand, only by understanding the positions of other agents in relation to their own position in the social space can agents adjust their practices in order to maximize their profits on the linguistic market. Through each interaction with the market, the agent's habitus evaluates other agents' practices according to the positions of those agents in the social space, internalizing thus the rules and laws of price formation of the market. However, as Bourdieu explains (LSP, pp. 81-82), "the habitus is, indeed, linked to the market no less through its conditions of acquisition than through its conditions of use. We have not learned to speak simply by hearing a certain kind of speech spoken but also by speaking, thus by offering a determinate form of speech on a determinate market"<sup>56</sup>. As the operation of the habitus guides our actions according to the match or harmony between our expectations and objective chances of fulfilling them on a certain market (IOW, p. 106), it produces practices and representations which can be classified by those who possess the necessary code. The production of linguistic utterances is evaluated by the other agents/institutions, according to the rules and laws of price formation of the market; such evaluations can take the form of appraisal for what is recognised as legitimate use or sanctions and censorships for divergences from this use. Thus, the evaluation of the market (i.e. of other agents/institutions) can come in an array of forms, out of which the formal assessments conducted by the educational system are probably some of the most overt. It is through such interactions that an agent acquires both a certain linguistic competence and the ability to use it apropos.

On the other hand, this also implies that agents do not act only as 'self-regulating' producers of their own practices in relation to other agents, but also as 'regulators' (through their own position in different fields and in the social space) of other agents' practices and their linguistic habitus<sup>57</sup>. This happens through the position of agents as evaluators and activators of the mechanisms of appreciation and sanctioning of the market: agents evaluate both their and other agents' practices according to the already internalized rules and laws of price formation. In other words, agents adjust

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<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, Bourdieu (LSP, p. 82) explains how this entire process functions: "This occurs through exchanges within a family occupying a particular position in the social space and thus presenting the child's imitative propensity with models and sanctions that diverge more or less from legitimate usage. And we have learned the value that the products offered on this primary market, together with the authority which it provides, receive on other markets (like that of the school). The system of successive reinforcements or refutations has thus constituted in each one of us a sense of the social value of linguistic usages and of the relation between the different usages and the different markets, which organizes all subsequent perceptions of linguistic products, tending to endow it with considerable stability" (LSP, pp. 81-82).

<sup>57</sup> The notions of 'self-regulated' and 'regulators' are not to be taken literally (i.e. as a type of conscious action of agents), but are supposed to convey the results the linguistic habitus of an agent has both on the production of their own practices and on the practices and habitus of their interlocutors.

their practices to the conditions of the market, and they also appraise or sanction other agents' practices. Through their position in the social space, and thus, through the possession of sufficient capital, agents' practices may thus become the practices against which practices of the lower-positioned agents are measured and thus sanctioned<sup>58</sup>. By both producing practices and evaluating others' practices, agents have an active part in modelling the actual structures and conditions of the linguistic market. In other words, through their position in the social space (which influences their linguistic habitus) and through each contact with the market, agents strongly shape the rules and laws of price formation of specific linguistic markets. Thus, being structured by all the history of contacts with the market, the linguistic habitus functions as a set of structuring structures. The following sub-section explores in detail how this relationship between the linguistic habitus and the linguistic market, while deeply rooted in the past, does not have as a result an endless, circular reproduction of the same rules and laws of price formation; indeed, the next sub-section explores the generative character of the habitus and its social transformative power.

#### 2.2.2.2. History, reproduction, transformation

Probably one of the most significant critiques received by Bourdieu is the charge of determinism of his work (see, for example, DiMaggio 1979; Jenkins 1982; Elster 1983; King 2000; Ahearn 2001; Throop and Murphy 2002). While it has been expressed in a variety of ways, the core idea of this critique is a reading of Bourdieu's theoretical model as circular reproduction (structure -> habitus -> structure). Centrally linked with this issue is the allegation that the model, and, in particular, the concept of habitus, does not leave sufficient room for individual agency (Alexander 1995; Butler 1997; Farnell 2000; Jenkins 2002; Kögler 2011). As a consequence, the central problem highlighted by these scholars is that the Bourdieusian model does not account for social transformation. On the other side of the debate, allegations of determinism (or co-determinism, over-determinism, objectivism, or structuralism) are in turn criticised for failing to take into account all the elements laid out by the Bourdieusian model. Such allegations are catalogued as misreadings by Bourdieu himself (IOW, pp. 106-119). Similarly, defenders of this particular model claim that it does indeed account for processes of change (see, for example, McNay 1999; Clarke 2001; Wacquant 1987; 2014), bridging the structure-agency divide (Taylor 1999), and that habitus does include reflexivity (for example, McNay 1999; Adkins 2003; Crossley 2003; Sweetman 2003; Adams 2006).

One of the most crucial aspects when discussing the Bourdieusian theoretical model is remembering that its elements, its conceptual tools, always function as a whole. Thus, the habitus always

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<sup>58</sup> Of course, the higher-positioned agents' practices never take place in a vacuum and must be already legitimate in that specific linguistic market either through the power of legitimacy within a relatively unified linguistic market or through alternative principles of validation of linguistic practices (see 2.2.1.1).

functions in relation to a field (which also implies capital or power) (AIRS, p. 116). Furthermore, the relationship between habitus and field is supposed to break away with the divide between structure and agency, and explore how human action, indeed, even linguistic practices, are produced neither as a mechanical response to structures nor as a fully conscious, rational act of an all-knowing agent (AIRS, pp. 120-121; PM, p. 150; TLP, p. 61). Instead, the principle of action is found exactly in the relationship between habitus and field understood as the “encounter of two histories” (PM, 150-151):

The principle of action ... lies in the complicity between two states of the social, between history in bodies and history in things, or, more precisely, between the history objectified in the form of structures and mechanisms (those of the social space or of fields) and the history incarnated in bodies in the form of habitus, a complicity which is the basis of a relation of quasi-magical participation between these two realizations of history. Habitus, the product of historical acquisition, is what enables the legacy of history to be appropriated.

It has been argued so far that a linguistic habitus is a set of dispositions that are structured structures, which tend to function as structuring structures. As structured structures, the linguistic habitus is a set of internal dispositions which are defined by the “internalization of externality” (TLP, p. 55). Therefore, the linguistic habitus is formed only in relation to objective structures, that is, through the position of the agent in the social space and through its contact with the linguistic market. In Bourdieu’s words, “the habitus, a product of history, produces individual and collective practices – more history – in accordance with the schemes generated by history” (TLP, p. 54). In other words, the habitus always consists of all its past relations with the market. This is where the aspects of perception and appreciation of practices, as well as the anticipation of profit come to the fore. In a given social space, through habitus, agents constantly evaluate their own position, practices, other agents’ practices, and they anticipate the value of their own practices only based on their past experiences, their past relations with similar contexts and similar structures. Consequently, the actual production of linguistic practices can only be understood as a relation between the past – the habitus as structured structures – and the present event – the structuring structure in relation with new objective structures, i.e., the present conditions of the market. However, it must be taken into account that these present conditions of the market are only the result of the history of the market as well (i.e. the history of all past interactions). In other words, any interaction, i.e. the present habitus in contact with the present market, in reality, is essentially an interaction between the past with the past. Bourdieu (TLP, p. 56) describes this relationship as following: “the habitus – embodied history, internalized as second nature and so forgotten as history – is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product”. In other words, only if the

habitus is understood as the sum of its past relations with the market (which in turn is understood as the product of the past as well), can its products (linguistic practices) be fully accounted for.

In a way, it is this relation between habitus and field that has been read as a circular model of reproduction in which structures determine habitus, which in turn reproduces structures. As seen above, the main critique of Bourdieu's framework is that it does not account for change. This failure is ascribed to the alleged lack of agency agents have in this model; an intentional, rational, and strategic agent who can consciously resist authority is thus posed as the main source of both production of (legitimate and illegitimate) practices and social transformation (see mainly Butler 1997; 1999). Arguably, it is exactly this understanding of agency as the sole possible trigger of change that is problematic.

As McNay (1999, p. 100) rightly argues, "these critiques fail to recognise, however, the force of Bourdieu's insistence that habitus is not to be conceived as a principle of determination but as a *generative* structure". Indeed, Bourdieu (PM, pp. 159-163) warns against taking the particular case of perfect adjustment between habitus and market as universal, which, in turn, may be wrongly understood as a circular relationship between the two<sup>59</sup>. A model of "near-circular relationship of near-perfect reproduction" (TLP, p. 63) of practices is only possible when the conditions of formation of habitus are identical or almost identical to the present conditionings of its functioning. However, as has been implicitly and explicitly made clear so far, neither habitus, fields, nor linguistic markets are fixed elements, which could be the sole condition of such a perfect, circular reproduction. A linguistic market is understood as the product of history, constituted through the contact of different agents' habitus, a contact which is always governed by the relations of power between interlocutors. This implies that the market itself is not a static element, but its conditions and laws of price formation are gradually and constantly in movement (as Chapters 3, 5, and 6 show). Consequently, the conditions of formation of the linguistic habitus do not always match the same conditions of its functioning, which would ensure a near-perfect reproduction. Similarly, the linguistic habitus is far from being a static element either, being in constant transformation with

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<sup>59</sup> In this regard, Bourdieu (PM, p. 159) states the following: "The fact that the responses habitus generates without calculation or project generally appear as adapted, coherent and immediately intelligible should not lead one to see them as a kind of infallible instinct, capable of producing responses miraculously adjusted to all situations. The adjustment, in advance, of habitus to the objective conditions is a *particular case*, no doubt particularly frequent (in the universes familiar to use), but it should not be treated as a universal rule. (It is no doubt on the basis of the particular case of adjustment between habitus and structure that critics have often seen a principle of repetition and conservation in a concept, habitus, which originally forced itself upon me as the only way to understand the mismatches which were observed, in an economy like that of Algeria in the 1960s (and still today in many 'developing' countries), between the objective structures and the incorporated structures, between the economic institutions imported and imposed by colonization (or nowadays by the constraints of the market) and economic dispositions brought to them by agents formed in the precapitalist world".

each contact an agent has with the market. More specifically, Bourdieu (IOW, p. 116) claims that the transformation of the habitus can go in two directions:

Habitus, as the product of social conditionings, and thus of a history ... is endlessly transformed, either in a direction that reinforces it, when embodied structures of expectation encounter structures of objective chances in harmony with these expectations, or in a direction that transforms it and, for instance, raises or lowers the level of expectations and aspirations (which can in turn lead to social crises proper).

The crucial element that is of interest here is the idea of the endless capacity of transformation (or generative capacity) of habitus in relation to its adaptability to different conditions. The linguistic habitus is constantly and gradually transforming its sets of dispositions when encountering different experiences, conditions of functioning that are similar, slightly different, or even highly different from the conditions of its formation<sup>60</sup>. In other words, with each different contact the agent has with the market, his habitus receives an element that reshapes it, which in turn influences its generation of future practices. In this sense, Bourdieu (TLP, p. 60) states that at every moment the habitus “structures new experiences in accordance with the structures produced by past experiences, which are modified by the new experiences within the limits of their power selection”. This aspect cannot be overemphasized enough. The transformative power of the habitus needs to be understood as generative. In Bourdieu’s vision (PM, p. 161), these sets of dispositions change constantly according to new experiences, and they can change drastically in situations of crisis, but regardless of the how extensive the transformation is, it can never be radical, “because it works on the premises established in the previous state”.

In the above quotation, Bourdieu also talks about different directions of transformation of the habitus. On the one hand, the habitus can develop in a direction which reinforces it, that is, when both the habitus and the structures of a social space develop in the same direction. A great example of this is Clarke’s (2001) article where she applies the Bourdieusian model to reconstruct the social trajectory of Rosa Parks in order to prove that her habitus had been transforming in sync with wider structural conditions, which in turn, led to the legitimacy of her actions, and to wider social transformation<sup>61</sup>. On the other hand, Bourdieu himself (PM, pp. 159-163) focuses his attention on

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<sup>60</sup> In this regard Bourdieu (PM, p. 161) argues that “habitus change constantly in response to new experiences. Dispositions are subject to a kind of permanent revision, but one which is never radical, because it works on the basis of the premises established in the previous state. They are characterized by a combination of constancy and variation which varies according to the individual and his degree of flexibility or rigidity”.

<sup>61</sup> More precisely, Clarke’s (2001) article compares Butler’s (1997) notion of ‘performativity’ and Bourdieu’s notion of ‘habitus’, starting from Butler’s (1997) critique of Bourdieu that his model is static, deterministic, and cannot account for social change. Clarke (2001) takes Butler’s (1997) analysis of the famous case of Rosa Parks (who refused to give her bus seat to a white person, becoming one of the main symbols of the American Civil Rights Movement). Butler (1997) argues that Rosa Park’s performative actions (i.e., based on the agency of the

the inevitable mismatches, discordances and misfirings, between the habitus (or linguistic habitus) and field (and/or linguistic market) that produce change. He refers mainly to severe mismatches between habitus and fields, under conditions of drastic social change, when the habitus of agents cannot keep up with such changes<sup>62</sup>. Examples of such cases would be the consequences of the process of colonization in Algeria, or the unification of the market of matrimonial exchanges in Béarn. The direction of the transformation of habitus is that of lowering the level of expectations and aspirations<sup>63</sup>. In between these two poles there is a whole range of possible transformation dynamics and degrees of integration of an agent's habitus.

This model shows that change is neither produced solely mechanically by a structure, nor by a fully rational, intentional and strategic agent. It is this idea of transformation that leads to the following sub-section of this chapter. The next sub-section discusses the way in which Bourdieu's theoretical model can be applied in highly heterogeneous situations, such as the case of migration, and how it can account for the production and reproduction of multilingual practices in such situations. Under such conditions, the social trajectories of agents may undergo (drastically) different social structures, according to which their habitus and linguistic habitus need to develop. Consequently, the direction of practical transformation of their habitus and linguistic habitus depends on a number of factors. The following section explores in detail how the Bourdieusian model of linguistic production and circulation can be employed and extended to account for the production of alternative linguistic practices in a certain social space characterised by a unified linguistic market.

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individual as a completely free and reflexive being) led to this individual producing change as an act of total transgression of rules and norms. However, Clarke (2001) argues that applying the Bourdieusian model to the same event can reveal a more complex picture. Clarke (2001) perfectly exemplifies how Rosa Park's trajectory and habitus slowly developed in concordance with the changes taking place at a socio-historical level, under which she gained legitimacy for her actions. Thus, Clarke (2001) concludes that a Bourdieusian diachronic approach to understanding how the interlinked habitus and social space develop can account for social transformation.

<sup>62</sup> The result of such major mismatches is sometimes called 'hysteresis', which is defined by Bourdieu (PM, p. 160) as a type of "inertia ... of habitus which have a spontaneous tendency ... to perpetuate structures corresponding to their conditions of production. As a result, it can happen that, in what might be called the Don Quixote effect, dispositions are out of line with the field and with the 'collective expectations' which are constitutive of its normality. This is the case, in particular, when a field undergoes a major crisis and its regularities (even its rules) are profoundly changed". For a more detailed discussion of the notion of hysteresis, see Hardy (2008).

<sup>63</sup> As mentioned earlier, *The Bachelors' Ball* (2008) (TBB) offers an excellent analysis of the unification of the market of matrimonial exchanges at a wider, national level, leaving the male peasants of Béarn disconcerted, with their entire habitus completely mismatched with the rules and laws of price formation of the newly unified market. The crisis into which their own vision of the world and rural values is thrown with the advent of urban values leads to a dramatic transformation of their habitus in a direction which lowers their level of expectations and aspirations.

### 2.2.3. Linguistic markets and linguistic submarkets

Bourdieu's model of linguistic production and circulation, based on the existence of a unified linguistic market and a legitimate language, led Woolard (1985) to question its suitability to account for the actual language variation in speech documented by sociolinguists "within even the most homogenous of societies" (p. 738). The author argues that "the structuralist representation of dominant, hegemonic ideologies as impenetrable does not capture the reality of working-class and minority community practices" (Woolard 1985, p. 738). In other words, she underlines that Bourdieu does not seem to account for the production of alternative practices other than those which become legitimate within a unified linguistic market: Bourdieu does not look "adequately at the social relations within vernacular communities that give rise to the production of 'illegitimate' forms of speech. [He] tends to consider only the human practices and human intentions encompassed by the dominant culture". In turn, it is the sociolinguists that have documented these 'illegitimate' practices. Indeed, exploring the case of France, Bourdieu focuses on how dominant linguistic practices become dominant. However, dominant practices are always dominant in relation to other practices. By focusing on this relationship, it can be argued that the author is automatically taking into account the problematic of the production, reproduction and negotiation of illegitimate linguistic practices. Linguistic practices which become legitimate and represent the tenors of an almost unified linguistic market are so in comparison to illegitimate practices. It must be acknowledged though that Bourdieu does not pay close attention to how such illegitimate linguistic practices may be actually validated. In spite of this, his conceptual tools can arguably be used to explore the validation, and thus production and reproduction of 'illegitimate' practices.

As Woolard (1985, p. 743) correctly points out, an essential aspect that Bourdieu does mention is that a unified market will never be completely unified: "the unification of the market is never so complete as to prevent dominated individuals from finding ... markets where the laws of price formation which apply to more formal markets are suspended" (LSP, p. 71). Woolard criticizes Bourdieu's explanation in *Ce que parler veut dire* (1982) regarding the production of illegitimate practices as a result of "relaxation, of reduction of tension, of lessening of value" (Woolard 1985, p. 743). From her perspective, Bourdieu "characterizes the private markets as arenas where the vernaculars may be used because they are free from the comparative logic of distinction and valuation ... Vernacular or nonauthorized performances result from the absence of constraint" (Woolard 1985, p. 743). However, she goes on to argue, this understanding does not match her own findings in Catalonia, and those of sociolinguistics. According to her "it is as important to produce the correct vernacular forms in the private, local arenas of working-class neighbourhoods or peasant communities as it is to produce the official form in formal domains ... in these dominated markets, it

is equally important to use only the right language; there is nothing ‘relaxed’ about them” (Woolard 1985, p. 744).

What Woolard disregards is that Bourdieu introduces the notions of ‘free markets’ or ‘internal markets’ in an article entitled *Vous avez dit “populaire”?* which was first published in 1983<sup>64</sup>. While these notions are not used in a particularly consistent manner, still focusing primarily on how individuals can disregard the rules and laws of price formation of the relatively unified linguistic market as well as produce other linguistic practices without being sanctioned, the author does change his position on the production of illegitimate linguistic practices. A ‘free’ or ‘internal’ market becomes thus the market where illegitimate linguistic practices are produced. Bourdieu (LSP, p. 98) argues that “internal markets differ from each other according to the tension which characterizes them, and, by the same token, according to the censorship”. More explicitly, in an acknowledged simplification, the author presents what he considers to be the two opposite poles of such markets, in terms of tension and censorship. Bourdieu characterizes the tenors of these markets as an opposition between “rejection” and “privation” (LSP, p. 101).

On the one hand, he gives the example of the ‘free’ markets of public cafés, which are marked by high degrees of tension and censorship. In what he characterizes as public exchanges within the limits of a class, among homogenous male agents, linguistic practices, or even more specifically, slang, becomes “one of the rare principle of effective resistance ... against the dominant manners of speech and action” (LSP, p. 98). Slang becomes thus an opposition to the dominant vision of the world which can become a “real transgression of the fundamental principles of cultural legitimacy” (LSP, p. 98). More importantly, this type of market is characterized by strict rules and by the existence of an internal hierarchy:

The assertion of linguistic counter-legitimacy and, by the same token, the production of discourse based on a more or less deliberate disregard of the conventions and properties of dominant markets, are only possible within the limits of *free markets, governed by their own laws of price formation*, that is, in spaces that belong to the dominated classes, haunts or refuges for excluded individuals, at least symbolically and *for the accredited holders of the social and linguistic competence which is recognised on these markets* (LSP, p. 98 italics not in original)

Furthermore, he argues that “the discourse which obtains on this market gives the appearance of total freedom and absolute naturalness only to those who are not aware of its rules and principles” (LSP, p. 98). This translates into the idea that even though from the outside linguistic practices may seem random and free from any constraints, internally this market functions like a unified market,

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<sup>64</sup>Later, this article was translated and included as an Appendix to *The Economy of Linguistic Exchanges in Language and Symbolic Power* (LSP). The English title of the article is *Did You Say ‘Popular’?*.

characterised by rules and laws of price formation. This interpretation seems to be in line with Woolard's (1985) postulations.

On the other hand, or at the other pole of tension and censorship, the author talks about the 'free' market of linguistic practices between friends and especially women, "which stands out in that the very idea of search and effect is more or less absent from it" (LSP, p. 101). In other words, this type of markets are characterised by a much lower degree of tension and censorship: "it is the logic of privation rather than rejection that this discourse is defined in relation to the legitimate discourse" (LSP, p. 101). In other words, the market of the private and especially family exchanges is marked by a low tension. This is because these linguistic practices are characterised by "independence with regard to the norms of legitimate speech [which] is marked above all by a more or less complete freedom to ignore the conventions and properties of the dominant speech form" (LSP, p. 98). Bourdieu's ideas are profoundly marked by the relationship between the relatively unified linguistic market and this type of markets. However, in line with Woolard's (1985, p. 744) argument, what he does not acknowledge is that internally, even when the logic of privation applies, such 'free' markets are still characterised by a high degree of tension and censorship imposed by the agents with most symbolic power internally, who are able to impose certain linguistic practices as legitimate. In other words, even in the case of the logic of privation, a certain internal hierarchy always prevails.

In order to combine Bourdieu's perspective with Woolard's ideas, an adaptation of the Bourdieusian model may be useful. Thus, rather than understanding the 'free' markets as pertaining to a vertical model in terms of degrees of tension and censorship in relation to the relatively unified market, it may be useful to imagine a horizontal model, which has a relatively unified linguistic market and submarkets. The idea of this reading comes from Bourdieu's statement that "the reality of linguistic legitimacy consists precisely in the fact that dominated individuals are always under a *potential jurisdiction* of formal law, even when they spend all their lives ... beyond its reach" (LSP, p. 71). It can be argued that if there is a relatively unified linguistic market, i.e., that all agents recognise particular linguistic practices as the dominant ones, according to which all other linguistic practices are measured against, then the variation, the different utterances are produced, reproduced, and negotiated at a sublevel, on submarkets. These are submarkets because of the relation of opposition between the two markets – the legitimate competence of the unified linguistic market is constructed as such only in opposition to the construction of illegitimacy of other competences. In other words, there are two levels at which the production of utterances can take place. The first level consists of the unified linguistic market with what is recognised as the legitimate competence. The second level consists of submarkets. The submarket can also be viewed from two different perspectives. At an

external level, it is the result of the opposition between what is legitimate and illegitimate; the submarket is dominated by, subordinated to the unified linguistic market. It is this contrastive relationship which renders the legitimacy and illegitimacy of the markets involved. Therefore, the linguistic practices legitimate on the submarket appear as illegitimate in relation to the legitimate competences of the legitimate market. The relationship between the two markets is a dynamic, imbalanced power relation which has to be analysed according to the economic and socio-historical conditions of each context<sup>65</sup>. Internally, just like any other unified market, a linguistic submarket functions according to its own rules and laws of price formations developed according to the same fundamental principle, i.e. symbolic power. When followed, the rules and laws of price formation provide agents with symbolic profits; otherwise, they get sanctioned. In other words, akin to Woolard's (1985) idea, a submarket has its own legitimate language. Similar to the unified linguistic market, those who hold the necessary social and linguistic competence are recognised and granted distinction. The agents with sufficient recognised capital (depending on each case) may have the ability to impose as valid and legitimate their own linguistic practices.

The notion of submarket represents a useful tool which can assist in accounting for the production and validation of illegitimate linguistic practices in particular contexts. On the one hand, the production of such practices automatically involves a multiplicity of linguistic markets; if a context is characterised by the existence of a relatively unified linguistic market, then illegitimate linguistic practices appear on alternative markets. The notion of submarket helps understanding the development of such alternative markets as neither randomly, in a vacuum, nor in parallel to the relatively unified linguistic market. Instead, it facilitates the emphasis on the socio-historically developed imbalanced power relation between such alternative markets and the relatively unified linguistic market. An argument for the idea of subordination is Bourdieu's statement that the formal law of the relatively unified linguistic market is never really transgressed. All practices that are produced in a linguistic market are marked by this power imbalance. On the other hand, the notion of submarket also responds to Woolard's (1985) fair argument that illegitimate practices do not appear randomly. Rather, this notion shows that such practices are recognised as legitimate according to the strict rules and laws of price formation socio-historically developed following the

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<sup>65</sup> Also, particularly in heterogenous linguistic contexts characterised as 'multilingual' or 'diglossic' due to different socio-historical process, such as political occupation or migration, according to the power relations present in a particular social space, what represents at one point the unified linguistic market with a legitimate language will not necessarily be reproduced as such forever – power struggles between the unified market and a specific submarket characterised by sufficient symbolic power can take place, and in time, this can lead to a shift between the two markets (the former legitimate mode of expression may become the legitimate mode of expression on a linguistic submarket, while what was before the legitimate mode on a submarket, might become the legitimate mode on an emerging unified market in the same social space).

fundamental principle of symbolic power. As such, employing the notion of 'submarket' aids in accounting for heterogeneity in cases where it can otherwise only be explained by unilateral theories of agency-laden individuals who are able to consciously resist norms.

Having discussed the idea of multiplicity of linguistic markets within a social space, as well as their potential relationship, it is now important to explore more in depth how the habitus and the linguistic habitus may react to such multiplicity and power relations. The following discussion is based on research conducted on the specific problematic of transformation of the habitus of agents as a consequence of immigration.

#### 2.2.4. Habitus and immigration

The issue of the transformation suffered by the linguistic habitus of an immigrant agent has not been explored so far in the specialized literature. Similarly, the relationship between the habitus of an agent and the process of immigration has not been extensively developed so far, neither empirically, nor theoretically. However, there are various notable attempts towards understanding this latter relationship, focused on the manner in which the habitus of immigrants is modified in different ways by such a process. It must be emphasized that such research has been conducted predominantly in relation to the experiences of first-generation immigrants, as this discussion will show. However, as Vertovec (2009, p. 76) implies, the concept of habitus has potential for understanding the experiences and social trajectories of second-generation immigrants.

Probably one of the most important calls for the investigation of the consequences suffered by the habitus of immigrant agents is made by Noble (2013) in an article where he argues that resettlement involves "the transformation of the embodied capacities of migrants" (p. 341). In the same line, Vertovec (2009, p. 83) claims that "a reorientation of habitus takes place in the course of any person's relocation and integration into a new social system"; furthermore, Vertovec argues (2009, pp. 69) that this concept might be suitable for understanding how dual orientations rise in transnational migrants as well as how transnational experiences lead to the development of a "personal repertoire comprising varied values and potential action-sets drawn from diverse cultural configurations". In contrast with Vertovec, Noble (2013, p. 345) criticizes previous attempts in migration studies, transnational migration studies, sociology and geography, of employing the concept of habitus while placing too much accent on "the dualistic dispositions the migrant embodies and the 'constraints' the migrant experiences". Indeed, in such approaches the focus is laid on the problematic of 'here' and 'there', understood either as a 'double-absence' (Sayad 2004), 'double belonging' (Nedelcu 2012), or 'between belonging' (Marshall and Foster 2002) of the agent.

Similarly, Guarzino (1997) and Oliver and O'Reilly (2010) discuss about the habitus of transnational migrants in terms of dualistic dispositions. Noble's critique of such approaches is two-fold: first, the focus on such binarisms fails to engage with the transformative nature of an agent's habitus, leaving the "migrant in a perpetual state of disjuncture born of the original moment of arrival, as though the migrant's body never learns capacities for adapting to the new" (2013, p. 346); second, underlining the dualistic experience of migrants does not take account of the manner in which the present of the migrant reshapes the culture of the host country" (Noble 2013, p. 345). In spite of this fair critique, it may be argued that some of the research criticized by Noble (2013) does foreground some of the main processes through which the habitus of an agent is reshaped.

A first aspect is introduced by Erel (2010) in an article which explores the life experiences of Turkish immigrant women in the UK and Germany. She argues that in their resettlement, these agents construct a particular migration field, which, according to her, functions as an autonomous field, where 'migration-specific cultural capital' is validated. Most importantly, Erel (2010) contextualizes her findings as contrary to the migration studies 'rucksack approach' to migrants' practices. Briefly, this approach refers to the dualistic understanding of habitus criticized by Noble (2013) in that it poses the habitus of agents as a particular set (rucksack) of fixed characteristics that may fit or not in the new context (see, for example, Kelly and Lusi 2006), failing to engage with the possibility of these characteristics being modified in any way by the process of migration. While she does not engage with the specific question of how such processes reshape the habitus of migrant agents, Erel (2010) does offer a significant account of how new forms of capital are created (or how the rucksack gets unpacked)<sup>66</sup>. In spite of being different from mainstream legitimate practices, such alternative, illegitimate practices can become valuable within a certain field of migration. In Erel's (2010, p. 649) words,

First, migrants do not only unpack cultural capital from their rucksacks, instead they create new forms of cultural capital in the countries of residence. They use resources they brought with them and others they develop in situ to create quite distinct dispositions. Second, migrants engage in creating

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<sup>66</sup> Positioning her Bourdieusian approach against the 'rucksack approach', Erel (2010, p. 649) states the following: "Where human capital theorists conceptualize cultural capital as a key that the migrant puts into her rucksack and, once in the country of immigration, unpacks to see if it fits the 'keyhole' of the cultural system on the country of immigration, Bourdieusian scholars view migrants' cultural capital as a treasure chest consisting of language skills, knowledge of customs and lifestyles, professional qualifications, etc. Again, these are put in the rucksack, but when unpacked in the country of migration, rather than looking for a 'fit', according to the Bourdieusian approaches the migrant engages in bargaining activities with institutions (such as professional bodies of universities) and people (such as employers or managers) about the value of these treasures. In the process of bargaining, the migrants' treasures are often undervalued, as she has limited power over the rules of the game ... Yet, she can also add new skills and treasures to her chest that may not be seen as particularly valuable in the country of immigration but are considered treasures in her country of origin, thus negotiating and benefiting from differential 'exchange value' ... of cultural resources, practices and forms in two national contexts."

mechanisms of validation for their cultural capital. They do not rely on the dominant institutions and people, but also engage with migrants' networks [in order to create specific institutions which legitimise this capital].

Therefore, Erel<sup>67</sup> (2010) focuses her attention on how agents co-construct institutions which validate both their cultural capital specific to the structures of the society where their habitus was originally developed for, as well as new forms of capital specific to the structures of the migration field of the new society. On the one hand, if linguistic capital is taken as a specific migration-field capital, Erel's approach is akin to the notion of linguistic submarkets - specific illegitimate practices (in contrast to the legitimate practices at the level of the relatively unified linguistic market) may be validated within special fields/submarkets. Erel's ideas contribute to the notion of submarket with the dimension of the process of immigration. As a consequence, submarkets may be thought of as specific contexts where the rules and laws of price formation brought by immigrant agents through their habitus and practices may be validated. On the other hand, the problem with Erel's findings, which is also probably why Noble (2013) classifies her research as falling into the dualistic fallacy exposed above, is that she does not pay proper attention to the relationship between the migration field and the field of power (or social space) of the entire society. It is crucial to note that a migration field can never appear in a vacuum, but always in relation to the social space of a society. Furthermore, it can be argued that such a migration field can only function under the rules of the new social space. In other words, the migration field cannot be understood as fully autonomous, but only relatively autonomous. Arguably, the notion of linguistic submarkets can account for this unbalanced power relation and the consequences this has for the internal validation of 'illegitimate' linguistic practices, and the transformation of the habitus and linguistic habitus of immigrant agents (first- or second- generation). In spite of this critique, Erel's (2010) research does introduce a particularly significant issue - the problem of validation of alternative practices, which, while rendered illegitimate within the broader structure of a society, may be validated within specific migrant fields or even linguistic submarkets.

A further step from Erel's (2010) approach is taken by both Parker (2000) and Noble (2013), who offer a more nuanced understanding of how mismatches between the fields of a new society and the habitus of migrant agents influence the partial transformation of habitus; these approaches are most faithful to the Bourdieusian definition of habitus as a unifying principle, which is cumulative, generative and profoundly dynamic in relation to new experiences (Noble 2013, p. 344). Both

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<sup>67</sup> Similar research is conducted by Oliver and O'Reilly (2010). Their focus is on the creation of a British migrant field in Spain. Although they do explicitly engage with the concept of habitus (whereas Erel focuses on the concept of field), they are much less articulate than Erel (2010) and they conclude that the possibilities of partially reinventing habitus are limited. Noble (2013) classifies their research under the same issue of binarism.

authors employ the notion of 'internalization of difference' as the linchpin of their analyses. In his article, Parker (2000, p. 75) develops the concept of 'diasporic habitus' understood as "the embodied subjectivities poised between the legacies of the past, the imperatives of the present, and the possibilities of the future". This is, indeed, the closest research has been to moving away from the dualistic understanding of the habitus under the conditions of migration. By bringing forth the diachronic dimension of habitus, Parker (2000) analyses the Imperial history between the UK and China, and how this relation shapes the habitus of Chinese migrants in England. His main focus is on the racialization and internalization of difference of these agents in contact with their English customers in a Chinese food takeaway restaurant. Parker (2000) includes in his analysis the manner in which the social structure of the UK has been influenced by the historical relation of domination between the UK and China. However, although he understands this issue as affecting the habitus of Chinese migrants through the internalization of these historical structures, his focus is on how this relationship functions as a mechanism of racism, bringing his analysis closer to the manner in which the host society is transformed by the contact between 'the migrant' and 'the host'. In spite of this, as Noble (2013) argues, Parker's (2000) research is important in that it moves beyond a state of disjuncture, acknowledging the concept of habitus as "the transformed and transformative means by which we negotiate intercultural relations" (p. 346).

Noble (2013), on the other hand, focuses precisely on the impact the internalization of difference has on the habitus of migrant agents. Interested in examining the experience of migrant resettlement, he draws on the habitus of a Lebanese immigrant in Australia in order to show that "resettlement entails the transformation of the embodied capacities of migrants" (Noble, p. 342). The core of the author's argument is that, in spite of the transformation suffered by the habitus to adapt to the structures of the new society, this transformation never leads to a perfect adaptation (in other words, the habitus is never going to be in sync with the structures of the society) because of the simultaneous internalization of difference. In Noble's words (2013, p. 349), "in making oneself at home, the migrant finds a way to live in a new place, but also becomes accustomed to a sense of disorientation. Learning to make yourself at home in Australia, then, is not just learning the differences of a new place, it is learning that you are 'different'". In his analysis, Noble (2013) implies the diachronic characteristic of habitus. In a way, Noble (2013) complements Parker's (2000) and Erel's (2010) analyses. By identifying the element of the internalization of difference, the author underscores the idea that an agent's habitus is the totality of the history with all the fields (and linguistic markets and submarkets) it has been active in. Consequently, the linguistic habitus of a multilingual immigrant agent may be conceptualized in line with this notion of internalization of difference between the relatively unified linguistic market and the linguistic submarket under which

an agent operates. The dynamic between such linguistic markets is always that of an unbalanced power relation, which affects the development of the habitus and linguistic habitus through the internalization of difference.

Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that Noble's (2013) insistence on difference and disorientation may jeopardize his analysis, at the risk of taking it back to the dualistic idea of fit and unfit fixed characteristics. However, both the notion of internalization of difference as conceptualized by Noble (2013) and Parker (2000) as well as Erel's (2010) concepts of migrant fields and migrant-field specific capital pave the way towards a better understanding of the processes of adjustment of habitus and linguistic habitus developed under multiple and heterogeneous structural constraints which are strongly linked among themselves in terms of power relations. While the discussion has focused on research on what can be called first-generation migrants, the logic of the notions discussed here is useful when adapted to the social and linguistic trajectories of second-generation agents as well (as discussed in Chapter 5 and 6). Furthermore, the discussion has focused mainly on how heterogeneity influences the transformation of habitus in general. The following sub-section explores whether the concept of linguistic habitus can offer a useful tool when discussing individual multilingualism.

#### 2.2.5. Linguistic habitus and multilingualism

This sub-section discusses the specific question of a dynamic and generative linguistic habitus which follows the social trajectory of an immigrant agent (first- or second-generation) across different socio-historical structural conditions which are characterised by linguistic heterogeneity. The present sub-section emphasizes the integrity of the linguistic habitus, even when it pertains to a multilingual agent.

The field of Translation Studies, most specifically that of the sociology of translation poses the question of how the concept of habitus responds to the reality of multilingualism. Recently, the concept of habitus has become a popular analytical tool in this discipline (see, for example, Simeoni 1998; Sela-Sheffy 2005; Inghilleri 2003; 2005; Woolf 2007; Woolf and Fukari 2007; Vorderobermeier 2014). However, it is particularly Meylaerts (2008; 2010a; 2010b) who has explored the relationship of the habitus of the translator and multilingualism. Relying on Lahire's (2001; 2003; 2004) critique of Bourdieu's concept of habitus as deterministic, static and one-directional, which therefore fails to account for multiplicity and variation, Meylaerts (2008) employs Lahire's notion of "plural and dynamic (intercultural) habituses". With this tool, the author aims to show that "intercultural actors ... and translatorship can be redefined in terms of habitus, as an individuation of collective normative schemes related to the translator's personal history, to the collective histories of the target and

source fields, and to the intersections of the cultures concerned” (Meylaerts 2008, p. 91). Although her approach is very close to Bourdieu’s own conceptualization of habitus in terms of his focus on the social trajectory of the individual agent, the history of fields within which such habitus is developed as well as the power relations present within and among those fields, Meylaerts’ (2008) own terminology and understanding of the Bourdieusian concept of habitus renders her ideas significantly different from what she seems to intend. Apart from the critique of habitus as deterministic, Meylaerts (2008, p. 94) argues that attempts to use this concept in Translation Studies “have laid bare its mono-cultural character, too much linked with structures and actors that refer to national societies only”. In her own attempt, Meylaerts (2008, p. 94) offers what she calls “a much needed correction to Bourdieu’s theory which is still more national than intercultural in nature”. Thus, she argues that the notion of “intercultural, dynamic and plural habituses” “can turn the concept into an intercultural construct for less homogenous situations”. Although the attempt to question the suitability of this concept for heterogenous practices is valid, her interpretation seems to be limited from the very beginning. If applied to the concept of linguistic habitus, the idea of ‘multiple habituses’ shows not only a misunderstanding of the concept in relation to the linguistic market and capital (as discussed in section 2.2.1.1), but it also reproduces exactly what it wants to avoid – by understanding the linguistic habitus as multiple habituses, she reproduces the idea of a bounded, homogenous national unity defined by monoculture and monolingualism. Moreover, in a way, Meylaerts’ reading is akin to the dualistic fallacy criticized by Noble (2013). If Meylaert’s interpretation of the habitus is put against the entire Bourdieusian model, the only result that can be obtained is an agent endowed with an array of habituses that get multiplied with each contact with a field/market. Thus, this interpretation ignores the continuously developing, dynamic nature of the Bourdieusian concept of habitus which gets activated only in relation with a field.

A completely different approach to multilingualism that can throw some light on the integrity of the linguistic habitus is the sociolinguistic notion of verbal or linguistic repertoires<sup>68</sup> (Gumperz 1964). Briefly, Gumperz’s study (1964) is a comparative exploration of interactions in two villages, one located in India and one in Norway. Both speech communities are defined by a situation where a local dialect and the Standard language (in Gumperz’s words) are present. From Gumperz’s (1964, pp. 137-138) perspective, an individual’s verbal repertoire “contains all the accepted ways of formulating messages”, forming a whole with set rules for each potential interaction. In Gumperz’s (1964, p. 140) words, “whenever several languages or dialects appear regularly as weapons of language choice, they form a behavioural whole, regardless of grammatical distinctness, and must be considered constitutive varieties of the same verbal repertoire”. In a sense, this definition of the

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<sup>68</sup> This notion also inspired the fundamental precepts of the translanguaging paradigm (see 2.1.3.2.1).

verbal repertoire is akin to the reading of the linguistic habitus postulated so far, in regard to its wholeness (see 2.2.2.2). Gumperz (1964, p. 149) suggests that variation in the production of utterances is linked to two types of interaction: transactional and personal, auguring Fishman's notion of diglossia. It must be stressed that in spite of the crucial aspect of wholeness of the linguistic repertoire suggested by Gumperz (1964), the disregard for power relations, the focus on language as an object, and the issue of synchronicity which haunt the discipline of linguistics represent major drawbacks. Because of this, the notion of linguistic repertoire lacks depth.

In spite of the critiques of the two approaches presented in this section, both of them are useful in understanding the linguistic habitus of a multilingual agent. On the one hand, it can only be understood as a whole (similar to Gumperz's approach) and in relation to the history of the agent's contact with multiple linguistic markets. More specifically, Meylaerts' (2008) concern with how the notion of habitus (albeit, plural) can reveal how the power relations within and among different fields influence translation practices is highly important. At a later stage Meylaerts (2010a) nuances her question and explores how the translatorial habitus functions within 'diglossic societies' "characterised by socio-linguistic conflicts between the translator's working languages" (p. 3). While she draws on sometimes incompatible sociolinguistic notions and Bourdieusian ones, Meylaerts' (2010a) inquiry is definitely relevant in underlining that the habitus of multilingual translators is characterised by an internalization of the "broader linguistic and cultural hierarchies" as well as the "conflict" between the two languages, implying here the power relations that are at stake within and between the different linguistic markets constituted within a single social space (in this case, Belgium).

I argue that the notion of submarket introduced as an extension to the Bourdieusian model in section 2.2.3 allows for a more nuanced interpretation of the issues raised by Meylaerts (2010a) when exploring the phenomenon of multilingualism. In conjunction with an understanding of the linguistic habitus as generative (see 2.2.2.2) and as a whole, the notion of submarket allows for a nuanced exploration of the linguistic trajectory of an agent within highly heterogeneous social structures, underscoring the power relations within and, most importantly, among the multiple linguistic markets that the agent is part of. Consequently, the phenomenon of multilingualism can be redefined; the Bourdieusian-derived model enables a shift from the focus on multiple languages understood as fixed codes to an individual's linguistic habitus - an integral and generative set of dispositions which develops and functions according to the socio-historically constructed conditions and power relations within and, crucially, among multiple linguistic markets/submarkets. In light of

this definition, the notion of ‘multilingual linguistic practices’ refers to the array of possible products of such a linguistic habitus.

#### 2.2.6. Bourdieu and second-generation multilingual immigrants in Cardiff

This final section discusses how the Bourdieusian conceptual tools are applied in this study. As explained in Chapter 1, the context of Cardiff as the capital of Wales is characterized by two official languages, English and Welsh. While substantial research has been carried out with reference to the two languages and the relationship between them, there is little research with respect to the linguistic practices of second-generation multilingual immigrant agents in this context. The present study aims to explore the conditions under which the second generation can produce multilingual linguistic practices, with a primary focus on linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages. In light of the literature review (see 2.1), Bourdieu’s conceptual tools have been deemed appropriate for this enterprise due to a number of reasons.

First, given its conceptual tools and its methodological relationalism, the Bourdieusian theoretical model can account for the production of linguistic practices by shifting away from a synchronic micro-analysis of linguistic practices and focusing instead on the socio-historically embedded processes which lead to the construction of relatively unified linguistic markets, the legitimacy of certain modes of expression, and the development of a linguistic habitus which responds to such conditions. Second, by not taking ‘language’ as natural, bounded, homogenous, and intrinsically linked with the nation-state, but rather focusing on a diachronic and relational approach to the conditions under which such ‘language’ has been constructed as legitimate against all other means of expression, Bourdieu’s conceptual tools may account for the power relations which lead to the differentiated attribution of value to certain ‘languages’ and their reproduction in certain contexts. Third, this is a model that does not offer a simple vision of either total mechanistic domination of speakers, or their total, conscious freedom to produce certain linguistic practices. Instead, it offers a relational perspective which throws light on a complex process where structure and agency are embedded and cannot be separated.

It must be highlighted that much too often the simple model of linguistic production and circulation has been conflated with Bourdieu’s application of the model and analysis of the immanent conditions of the linguistic market of France (e.g. Woolard 1985; Haeri 1997; Swigart 2000; Stroud 2002). This universalized interpretation (Blommaert 1997) of Bourdieu’s account of historically-ingrained processes has led numerous researchers to conclude that the model itself is fundamentally flawed. Instead, I argue that Bourdieu’s model offers a compelling vision of the relationship between

language and society and, most importantly, powerful instruments of analysis of the immanent conditions under which certain linguistic practices gain value and legitimacy. As each context we analyse is different, these conditions and the research findings are also going to be different. Also, sometimes the model and its conceptual instruments may have to be extended or partially adapted in order to account for specific socio-historical conditions. So far I have tried to show that in order to account for the production of multilingual practices in a context where a relatively unified linguistic market prevails, it may be useful to introduce the notion of 'linguistic submarket' in order to understand how illegitimate practices are produced and validated (see 2.2.3).

In light of the proposed extension of the Bourdieusian model, when trying to explore the possibilities of production and reproduction of linguistic practices of second-generation multilingual immigrant agents with non-autochthonous minority languages in the context of Cardiff, the focus is laid on the relationship between the linguistic habitus of the interviewees and the linguistic markets and submarkets according to which their habitus has developed and functions. In Bourdieu's words (TLP, p. 56), practices can "only be accounted for by relating the social conditions in which the habitus that generated them was constituted to the social conditions in which it was implemented" (TLP, p. 56).

In the present thesis, the linguistic habitus of agents becomes one of the central matters of inquiry, due to it representing the main principle of production of linguistic practices. According to Wacquant (2014, p. 6),

habitus is a standing invitation to investigate the social constitution of the agent. It is not an answer to the conundrum of action – lately rephrased by invoking the equally enigmatic category of "agency" – but a question or, better yet, an empirical prompt: an arrow pointing to the need to methodically historicize the concrete agent embedded in a concrete situation by reconstituting the set of durable and transposable dispositions that sculpt and steer her thoughts, feelings and conducts.

Thus, Wacquant (2014, p. 6) suggests that in order to be able to account for the production of certain practices, it is necessary to trace back, to reconstruct the social trajectory of that agent which leads to the development of their (linguistic) habitus. Similarly, Grenfell (2011c, p. 222) argues that

it is clearly necessary to look more into the biographical elements, habitus, of language users, the way they interact with local site features, fields, how the local site is configured and the way it links with broader social structures, including the social, political and economic ... it is not enough to search for social meaning in the words themselves. At the same time, linguistic data from ethnographic and biographical studies are too often taken as ends in themselves in their richness as a source of generating local grounded theories. What is needed is a clear focus on the logics of practice of individual language use and its surrounding networks, especially the way fields interconnect and re-express particular dominant forms.

Following this suggestion, the present research project employs empirical data from 13 linguistic biographies collected in the form of semi-structured life history interviews between 2012 and 2015. While Grenfell decries above the use of biographical studies due to their content having been used as an end in itself, I argue that when this methodological tool is employed within the Bourdieusian theoretical model, it can throw light on most of the issues raised by Grenfell himself (2011c, p. 222). As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, Bourdieu's own article entitled *The Biographical Illusion*(2000)<sup>69</sup> (henceforth TBI) offers constructive indications on how to approach such data. The main argument of the article is that a biographical approach where the researcher tries to offer a linear, regular and coherent life-history is "nearly as absurd as trying to make sense of a subway route without taking into account the network structure, that is the matrix of objective relations between the different stations" (TBI, p. 302). In other words, the author argues for an approach where the trajectory of an agent is understood in relation to the social space, and to the structure of distribution of capital pertinent to specific fields of the social space.

This means that in order to account for the development of the linguistic habitus of an agent, the social conditions under which it was generated and where it functions also need to be taken into consideration. The full picture of the process of production of linguistic practices can be unravelled only when the linguistic practices of the agent are correlated with these aspects. This implies that before starting to explore the development of the linguistic habitus of the interviewees, it is necessary to identify whether the context of Cardiff has a relatively unified linguistic market and, if so, which language is recognised as legitimate. Given the specific status of Wales as an officially bilingual country pertaining to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, this question becomes particularly relevant. In order to provide a relevant answer, a diachronic approach is needed, taking into consideration the question of the economic and social conditions of the constitution of such a market in which the "definition of the legitimate and the illegitimate language is established and imposed" (LSP, p. 44). It is only after the question of what is legitimate and illegitimate within this market that the question of the production and reproduction of illegitimate practices of second-generation multilingual immigrant agents can be asked and answered. It is in relation to such a relatively unified linguistic market that the possibility of linguistic submarkets can be posed. Thus, the following chapter explores this question of the constitution of a relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff.

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<sup>69</sup>The article was originally published in 1986 and it was entitled *L'illusion biographique*.

### 3. The linguistic hierarchy of Cardiff

The aim of the present chapter is to examine the linguistic hierarchy currently prevailing in Cardiff, the capital city of Wales. This involves exploring the rules and laws of price formation of this particular market, which implies identifying what linguistic practices are recognised as legitimate or illegitimate. Chapter 1 has already underlined that Wales is an officially bilingual country. Consequently, one of the questions this chapter intends to answer is whether English and Welsh, the official languages of Wales, are also the legitimate languages in Cardiff. The second question refers to whether non-autochthonous minority languages are rendered illegitimate in the same context. The hypothesis is that the context of Cardiff, understood as part of Wales and the United Kingdom, functions as a relatively unified linguistic market where socio-historical power relations have resulted in English being recognised as the legitimate language while the autochthonous minority language, Welsh, is gradually gaining more legitimacy; linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages are at the bottom of this hierarchy, usually being rendered illegitimate.<sup>70</sup>

Taking into consideration that linguistic practices are rendered meaningful and valuable only within a specific linguistic market, identifying the values currently held by different languages in Cardiff is essential for the subsequent analysis of the linguistic biographies carried out in Chapters 5 and 6. Within a relatively unified linguistic market the linguistic practices reproduced as legitimate function as the norm against which all other practices are measured. Consequently, it is only in light of what linguistic practices are recognised as legitimate that the issue of production and reproduction of illegitimate practices can be posed. In other words, Chapters 5 and 6 employ the analysis of the rules and laws of price formation prevailing in Cardiff as the groundwork for understanding the conditions under which potentially illegitimate linguistic practices can nevertheless be legitimised in the same context.

From a Bourdieusian (LSP) perspective, a diachronic or historicized approach is mandatory in order to underpin how specific linguistic practices gain value within a specific context (see 2.2); Bourdieu's (LSP, pp. 45-46) main argument is that the constructed hierarchy of practices within a specific context is always the result of interwoven historical processes of power and inequality. In other words, the rules and laws of price formation currently prevailing in the context of Cardiff cannot be understood as if they were taking place in a vacuum, but rather as intrinsically connected to specific

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<sup>70</sup> It must be noted that the notion of 'minority' language employed here does not refer to an essentialised category, but, as the present chapter aims to show, to a mode of expression that has been socio-historically constructed as such in a particular context. Similarly, the notions of 'autochthonous' and 'non-autochthonous' minority languages do not refer to modes of expression 'naturally' pertaining to indigenous or immigrant populations inhabiting a particular context, but rather to modes of expression socio-historically associated with such groups.

social, political, and economic developments across time. The present chapter, therefore, seeks to locate the linguistic hierarchy of Cardiff in its socio-historical context.

Although this is a particularly broad and complex enterprise, it is crucial to understand the devaluation process of linguistic practices with Welsh and the simultaneous increase in value and legitimacy of linguistic practices with English in Wales in relation to the political, economic and power relations between England and Wales. The analysis focuses on the period between the Acts of Union (1536 and 1543) understood as a four-stage process of unification of what I call the 'linguistic market of England and Wales'. It is only in light of these wider socio-historically constructed rules and laws of price formation that the current conditions of linguistic production in Cardiff can be understood. Also, it is in comparison to this wider linguistic market that particularly after the twentieth century the capital city of Wales starts to be contoured as a linguistically diverse context, where the valences of the Welsh and English languages are negotiated, and non-autochthonous minority languages are increasingly produced as a result of immigration.

### 3.1. The first stage: Wales and the Acts of Union (1536 – 1800)

This section analyses the process of relative unification of the linguistic market of Wales as incorporated into England from the Acts of Union (1536 and 1543) to the end of the eighteenth century. The main argument is that this period represents the first stage in the long process of devaluation of the Welsh language which takes place simultaneously with the increase in value of the English language. The present section follows the transformation suffered by the linguistic market of Wales from three main interlinked perspectives. First, it focuses on the implications of the new division of territory and the reconfiguration of authority on the linguistic market of Wales. Second, it explores the effects that such socio-political changes had on the linguistic practices of the Welsh gentry and how these modifications involved a decrease in value of linguistic practices with Welsh, while linguistic practices with English increased in value. Third, the section explores the role played by the fields of religion and education in the validation of linguistic practices with Welsh amid a wider trend of societal devaluation of such practices.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Wales was an "ill-assorted jigsaw of private lordships and royal shires, lacking all unity in law and government. It was treated, in effect, as a collection of colonial annexes dependent on the Crown and the higher aristocracy of England" (Davies 1991, p. 461-462). In 1536 an Act of Union was passed, which stated the official incorporation, unification

and annexation of Wales into the realm of England<sup>71</sup>. This suggests that before the passing of the Acts of Union (1536 and 1543), Wales and England already found themselves in an unbalanced power relationship<sup>72</sup>. However, before these Acts, Wales' highly heterogeneous political, legal and administrative systems made it difficult for the Crown to impose its rules. Consequently, the Acts had the objective of massively reorganizing the legal system of Wales through the expansion of royal authority over the territory. This was to ensure a certain degree of homogeneity in administration and government<sup>73</sup>.

From a Bourdieusian perspective (see 2.2), the Acts of Union can be interpreted as a way of imposing a new vision of the world through a new division of territory; the annexation had the role of both exercising the symbolic power of the Crown, as well as gaining further recognition for the authority of the Crown across the entire territory of the Kingdom of England<sup>74</sup>. However, in order for

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<sup>71</sup> There were two Acts of Union: 1536 and 1543. However, out of the two, the first one is the most salient, as it had the function of officially incorporating Wales into the English realm. The second Act, passed in 1543, adds details to the first one. For a more detailed discussion of the role played by each of the Acts, see Thomas (1972, pp. 45-55).

<sup>72</sup> Similar to any other major historical events, the Acts of Union (1536 and 1542) took place in a specific historical context. Historians such as Southall (1893), Thomas (1972) and Roberts (1972) suggest that the period when these Acts were passed represented only the last stage, the official reiteration, of the actual incorporation of Wales into the realm of England. Wales had already been conquered by Edward I in 1248 (see Roberts 1972). Thus, the machinery of the English local administration had been partially and increasingly introduced ever since. 1485 is the year when Edward III was replaced by Henry VII, the father of Henry VIII, who was to pass the Acts of Union in 1536 and 1542. Thus, 1485 represents the commencement of the Tudor dynasty. Thomas (1972, p. 1) argues that "much of what was new in the Wales that emerged was initiated during these years [before 1485] and that many of the chances that attended the emergence were the logical outcome of the past events. For years before 1485, large tracts of Wales had been controlled by Englishmen, and Welshmen had in increasing numbers been anxious to acquire the rights and privileges of their English neighbours". It is under these historical circumstances that all further developments have to be understood.

<sup>73</sup> There are different opinions regarding the beneficiaries of this Union. First, there is the assumption that the Welsh gentry wanted the English legal system to apply in Wales for their economic benefit (see Thomas 1972; Southall 1893). Second, there is the suggestion that this was Henry VIII's "determination to consolidate the territory over which the king governed under exclusive sovereignty of the king in parliament" (Thomas 1972, p. 48). Third, closely connected to the former idea, there is the assumption that Henry VIII wanted as much homogeneity as possible because he was afraid of a possible attack of Catholic Europe against England through the militarily unprepared open coast of Wales as a result of the Break with Rome (Thomas 1972, p. 49; Davies 2007, p. 219).

<sup>74</sup> With regard to the implications of divisions of territory, Bourdieu (LSP, p. 222) argues that "the *region* and its frontiers (*fines*) are merely the dead trace of the act of authority which consists in circumscribing the country, the territory ... in imposing the legitimate division of social world. The rightful act, consisting in asserting with authority a truth which has the force of law, is an act of cognition which, being based, like all symbolic power, on recognition, brings into existence what it asserts". Despite that Bourdieu discusses here the specific issue of 'regions', the important aspect is that tracing frontiers, be they divisions or unifications of a territory, is never a 'natural' act. Rather, the act of demarcating borders represents a tool through which an entire history of power relations and (symbolic) struggles is enacted. Those who succeed to impose a new division of territory are usually those with most symbolic power at that particular moment. Adapting this idea to the specific case of the Acts of Union, it can be argued that Henry VIII had already acquired sufficient symbolic power in order for his vision of the kingdom to be recognised as legitimate. In other words, through the symbolic power that England had already gained over Wales, it managed to start imposing a new vision and division of the social world.

the Crown's authority to be recognised as such, its subjects had to recognise the Crown's vision of the world as 'natural' and to measure their capital against the values imposed by it. This required a struggle for symbolic power in which the main goal was the formation and re-formation of mental structures. As language is an instrument of power (LSP) (see 2.2), one way of achieving this was gaining recognition for English as the new language of authority. In turn, the condition for the establishment of these new relations of linguistic dominance was the relative unification of the linguistic market of England and Wales<sup>75</sup>, where linguistic practices with English could become the legitimate ones<sup>76</sup>.

During the Middle Ages, the majority of the population residing in Wales was monoglot Welsh<sup>77</sup> (Williams 1964, p. 70), indicating that the legitimate language of this market was Welsh. Nevertheless, both England and Wales's higher classes were experiencing a multilingual reality. French had been the language of the English court until the end of the fourteenth century, while Latin was the formal language of church and state in both medieval England and Wales up until the Reformation (Williams 1964, p. 70). However, especially during the sixteenth century English started acquiring increasing value, slowly displacing other languages to lower positions in the linguistic hierarchy<sup>78</sup>. This reconfiguration of rules and laws of price formation in the linguistic market of England, together with the political and territorial reconfiguration of the Kingdom were to take their toll on the value held by linguistic practices with Welsh.

In addition, the 1536 Act of Union enacted a 'language clause' (Southall 1893; Thomas 1972; Smith 1997; Jenkins 1997; Davies 2007) which stated that the Welsh speech created division among the Kingdom's subjects and therefore no institutional position would be given to a Welsh-speaking

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<sup>75</sup> The annexation of Wales to England resulted into a larger Kingdom of England. The Acts of Union of 1707 stated the incorporation of the Kingdom of Scotland into the newly formed United Kingdom of Great Britain. The Acts of Union of 1800 stated the incorporation of the Kingdom of Ireland into the newly formed Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

<sup>76</sup> From Bourdieu's (LSP, p. 53) perspective, when a linguistic market is relatively unified, "all linguistic practices are measured against the legitimate practices, i.e. the practices of those who are dominant". For further details regarding the characteristics of a 'relatively unified linguistic market' from the Bourdieusian perspective, see 2.2.1.2.

<sup>77</sup> Williams (1964, p. 70) notes that "the vast majority of the people in Tudor and early Stuart Wales, the small freeholders, the tenant farmers, the craftsmen, and the labourers, were monoglot Welsh not for political or religious reasons but because of the economic and social conditions in which they lived".

<sup>78</sup> Williams (1964, p. 70) briefly describes the transformation in the linguistic hierarchy of England: "by the sixteenth century, however, the linguistic position was entirely different in England itself. Latin retained much of its prestige, but English after the Reformation became the official language of the church and, save for the use of Latin in certain classes of legal records, had also become the language of the state, whilst English had long been established as the language of the aristocracy, both in everyday life and culturally". Furthermore, the invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century and London becoming a centre for printing favoured the circulation of printed books in English. In turn, this led to the increase in value of linguistic practices with English during the sixteenth century, in particular within the linguistic market of England.

person, unless they used English<sup>79</sup>. Apart from this, English also became the language of documentation throughout the union<sup>80</sup>. As discussed in section 2.2.1.2, according to Bourdieu (LSP, p. 50), the generalized use of a dominant language is never the result of overt linguistic policies but “a dimension of the unification of the market in symbolic goods which accompanies the unification of the economy and also of the cultural production and circulation”. Furthermore, this type of unification is “the product of the political domination that is endlessly reproduced by institutions capable of imposing universal recognition of the dominant language” (LSP, p. 46). Consequently, the ‘language clause’ of the Act of Union is significant due to it being part of a broader set of symbolically powerful institutions which involved the partial unification of the legal, administrative and economic fields across England and Wales. This marked the beginning of a gradual process of devaluation of linguistic practices with Welsh and a simultaneous increase in value of linguistic practices with English.

According to Bourdieu (LSP, p. 64), the linguistic practices of agents are dependent on the position they occupy in the social space (see 2.2.2.1). Correlatively, the process of devaluation of linguistic practices with a certain language comes as a gradual result of the continuous power negotiations between agents who occupy different positions in the social space<sup>81</sup> (see 2.2.1.1). Agents with more symbolic power than others have an increased capacity of imposing criteria of appreciation most favourable to their own products while others’ capacity decreases. When this happens, the latter start producing practices according to the criteria of appreciation of those most symbolically powerful, in order to gain distinction. In the case of Wales, this imbalance of symbolic power combined with the gradual unification of several fields across the Kingdom meant that Welsh-born agents started measuring and valuing their capital according to the conditions prevailing under English rule.

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<sup>79</sup> The original clause is the following: “Henceforth no Person or Persons that use the Welsh Speech or Language shall have or enjoy any manner Office or Fees within this Realm of England, Wales, or other the King’s Dominion, upon Pain of forfeiting the same Offices or Fees, unless he or they use and exercise the English Speech or Language” (The Act of Union 1536, cited in Elwyn Jones 1995, p. 328).

<sup>80</sup> As Aitchison and Carter (2000, pp. 25-26) note, after the Acts of Union English “asserted itself as the language of formal documentation. This had the serious consequence of displacing Welsh from possible use in such transactions and effectively eliminating it from one of its most significant domains. That, rather than any retreat in distribution, was the major setback for the language and a crucial step on what might have been its degradation to patois”.

<sup>81</sup> In order to fully grasp the concept of devaluation of certain linguistic practices, it is necessary to reiterate what value means in the Bourdieusian framework: “The value of the utterance depends on the relation of power that is concretely established between the speaker’s linguistic competence, understood both as their capacity for production and as their capacity for appropriation and appreciation; it depends, in other words, on the capacity of the various agents involved in the exchange to impose the criteria of appreciation most favourable to their own products” (LSP, p. 67).

In this regard, the Welsh gentry played a significant role in the process of construction of a relatively unified linguistic market of England and Wales. Davies (2007, pp. 218-221) asserts that the years between 1530 and 1770, when Wales was predominantly an agrarian society, represented the era of the gentry; society was organized in such a way as to promote the interests of the privileged who, in turn, exercised a significant amount of power over the rest of the population. The Welsh gentry was formed by Welsh-born Anglicised individuals who were educated in English public schools and found marriage partners on the other side of the border (Williams 2000b, pp. 15-16). As the part of the population most interested in occupying a higher space in the reconfigured public realm of Wales, they were the first who started measuring their capital (be it economic, cultural or symbolic) against the values brought forth by the annexation of Wales to the realm of England<sup>82</sup>. Furthermore, having had the means to access the English education system, they already had their linguistic habitus adjusted not only recognise the English language as legitimate in institutional settings, but also to produce linguistic practices with English, which functioned as linguistic capital. In turn, at least within the administrative, political and economic fields, this linguistic capital was beginning to be recognised as such, resulting in the gentry's ability to acquire symbolic capital, and to consolidate their symbolically powerful position.

Consequently, the decreased reproduction of the Welsh language within formal spheres led to an increase in the power imbalance between the gentry and the rest of the population, who, without having had the means to gain competence in English, was rendered silent and excluded from such fields. At the same time, given the symbolic power of the gentry, the ability to produce linguistic practices with English was starting to be associated with symbolic capital across the masses in Wales. Very significantly, without the economic support of the gentry, the cultural field of Wales was beginning to be dismantled and devalued (Davies 1993, p. 23).

Yet, the simultaneous process of devaluation of linguistic practices with Welsh and increase in value of linguistic practices with English extended over a prolonged period; according to Davies (1993, p. 23), it took more than 250 years for what he calls the process of 'assimilation' to be complete<sup>83</sup>.

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<sup>82</sup> In this regard, Williams (1964, p. 68) argues that "'the cult of gentryhood' was as powerful in Wales as it was in England; and it was very much an English cult. English manners were naturally copied and the ability to speak English was held to be much a social qualification as an economic necessity for the gentry".

<sup>83</sup> Davies (1993, p. 23) notes in the following passage the effects the unification of Wales and England: "the process took at least 250 years and was virtually complete by the late eighteenth century. It had profound consequences. Linguistic differences reinforced class differences. Welsh culture, which had been essentially aristocratic, came into the guardianship of the peasantry and the 'middling sort of people' – craftsmen, artisans and the lower clergy. As the inhabitants of the gentry houses ceased to speak Welsh, the system of patronage which had maintained the Welsh poets over the centuries collapsed, and the standardised Welsh they had jealously defended came into peril of deteriorating into an assortment of mutually unintelligible dialects".

Thus, in spite of the decreasing symbolic value of Welsh in many official situations, and particularly due to most agents' lack of ability to produce linguistic practices with English, practices with Welsh were still recognised as linguistic capital in numerous fields. According to Aitchison and Carter (2000, p. 33), such contexts were primarily those of the hearth, chapel, literature, Eisteddfodau<sup>84</sup> and agriculture. As some of these fields enjoyed the support of institutions that still preserved a significant amount of power, linguistic practices with Welsh were still largely recognised as legitimate in Wales at least until the eighteenth century.

A field that was particularly important in the reproduction of linguistic practices with Welsh was the religious one. One of the main reasons that seems to have led to the incorporation of Wales into the realm of England was a politico-religious one, intrinsically connected to the Break with Rome; the Crown had to extend its power over Wales in order to protect itself from Catholic Europe's potential attack through its militarily unprotected coast (Thomas 1972, p. 49; Davies 2007, p. 219). Henry VIII's Break with Rome was reinforced by Elizabeth I in 1559 when the Church of England became independent. As religion became a crucial tenor of legitimacy of the union of England and Wales, a translation of the Bible into Welsh was commissioned in 1563 (Williams 1964, p. 77). According to Williams (1964, p. 76), the translation was needed because "the Protestant reformers recognised that there could be little or no hope of the mass of the Welsh people acquiring knowledge of the English language" (Williams 1964, p. 76), or at least not as immediately<sup>85</sup> as it was required for the reconfiguration of allegiance with the new church.

The translation of the Bible into Welsh was to have significant consequences for the fate of the Welsh language, especially because religion was to play a highly important role in the lives of Welsh people in the centuries to come<sup>86</sup> (see 3.2). Most importantly, the translated Bible became the basis unto which mainly Nonconformist religious movements offered the sole education activities for the masses during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Especially the Methodist religious revival took upon its shoulders to "save the souls" of the Welsh monoglots (Williams and Morris 2000, pp. 109-110) by teaching them how to read the Bible and other religious texts in Welsh<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> The Eisteddfod is a yearly festival which celebrates the Welsh culture and language.

<sup>85</sup> The Welsh translation of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer was commissioned in 1563 through an Act of Parliament. It is important to note, however, that this same Act had a clause which mentioned that a copy of the English version of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer should also be found throughout all churches of Wales so that "such as do not understand the said language may, by conferring both tongues together, the sooner attain the knowledge of the English language" (Bowen cited in Williams 1964, p. 77).

<sup>86</sup> For a detailed account of the religious field's development in England and Wales from the sixteenth century to the Industrial Revolution, see Williams (1997) and White (1997).

<sup>87</sup> More specifically, Aitchison and Carter (2000, p. 29) underline that these were circulating schools; itinerant teachers would spend three months in a particular place teaching reading to the local population in order for

(Williams and Morris 2000, p. 109); toward the end of the eighteenth century, there were already over 3000 schools teaching these religious texts in Welsh (Williams and Morris 2000, p. 109), helping “to make the Welsh a literate nation” (Williams 1950, p. 147). Thus, the religious field played an important role in the reproduction of the Welsh language as legitimate during a period when the English language and culture were slowly becoming symbols of cultural distinction. Nevertheless, following the underlying socio-political and economic transformations experienced by Wales particularly since 1536, the nineteenth century brings major changes and a new hierarchy of linguistic practices takes shape.

### 3.2. The second stage: 1801 - 1900

As has become evident, the integration of Wales into the realm of England did not imply that the entire Welsh population became English monoglot swiftly. In other words, this process did not have a rapid effect of the unification of the linguistic market. However, the nineteenth century represents a transition towards the establishment of a new hierarchy of linguistic practices and it is understood here as the second stage in the construction of a relatively unified linguistic market of England and Wales. This section explores the changes in the values of linguistic practices with Welsh and English in nineteenth-century Wales as a consequence of the process of industrialization, an increase in symbolic power of the religious field, as well as the introduction of compulsory education.

During the nineteenth century, the British Empire was reaching its peak in terms of power, a development enabled by the Industrial Revolution. Wales played a significant role in this phenomenon through the increasing exploitation of coal and iron, as well as the production of steel. In turn, this exploitation of natural resources brought drastic changes to the economy of Wales, as well as to its labour and demographic patterns<sup>88</sup> (Aitchison and Carter 2000, p. 33). Inevitably, the process of industrialization also involved changes to the value held by the Welsh language. It is important to note that as a result of this process taking place mainly in South Wales, from this point onwards a geographical divide starts to be contoured in terms of the values accrued by English and Welsh across Wales<sup>89</sup>.

A first consequence of industrialization was a population boom: “between 1841 and 1901 the population of Wales doubled to just over two million, of whom 50 per cent were Welsh-speaking” (Thomas 1987, p. 422). In turn, the growing population of Wales was redistributed to specific areas

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them to gain access to the Bible. The scheme was started by Griffith Jones, Vicar of Llanddowror (Aitchison and Carter 2000, p. 29).

<sup>88</sup> For a comprehensive account of similar changes across Britain, see Hoppit and Wrigley (1994).

<sup>89</sup> This divide is usually known as the split between a Welsh-speaking heartland (or *Fro Gymraeg*) and the urbanized, Anglicized zones (Aitchison and Carter 2000, p. 42).

which were then urbanized (particularly South Wales). According to Aitchison and Carter (2000, p. 37), this urban growth was the result of internal migration and natural increase<sup>90</sup>. On the one hand, this internal migration caused by the economic growth of Wales meant that the Welsh did not have to migrate to find employment, which could have represented a further rapid loss of Welsh language speakers<sup>91</sup>. On the other hand, the process of internal migration implied the production of clusters of Welsh-speaking population in the urbanized, industrialized areas of Wales<sup>92</sup> (Thomas 1987, p. 421). These clusters were extremely important for the reproduction of linguistic practices with Welsh in the increasingly unifying linguistic market of England and Wales. However, particularly towards the end of the nineteenth century, the south and east of Wales became attractive for the English population<sup>93</sup> (Aitchison and Carter 2000, p. 33). According to Thomas (1987, p. 428), “the ironmasters who now controlled Welsh lives were mainly foreigners from England”. This reveals that the relative autonomy of the social and linguistic clusters of Welsh-speaking workers was nevertheless influenced by a labour field where English was the legitimate language of those in power.

At the same time, Wales also experienced an increase in the symbolic power of its religious field, the nineteenth century representing the peak of Nonconformism<sup>94</sup>. Acting as an institution, the Welsh Nonconformist chapel modelled the education and cultural fields of Wales. As seen in section 3.1, during the eighteenth century, Nonconformist religious bodies were teaching the Welsh population how to read in Welsh by setting up circulating schools. This process extended during the beginning of the nineteenth century and some of the results were a higher number of literate people in Welsh

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<sup>90</sup> Natural increase represents the excess of births over deaths.

<sup>91</sup> This appears to be in contrast to the situation of the Irish and the Scots, who did have to travel abroad and adapt to new environments, which also involved a change in linguistic markets. This thesis is supported by Colin Williams (2000b, p. 16) who agrees with Thomas (1987) when he states that the Welsh language was saved by this redistribution of population due to the industrial development. Furthermore, as seen above, Thomas (1987, p. 422) notes that during this period the population of Wales doubled to over two million, of whom more than half were Welsh-speaking. In comparison, he notes that “between 1841 and 1901 the population of Ireland was almost halved from 8,175,000 to 4,459,000 of whom only 19% were Gaelic-speaking”.

<sup>92</sup> In this respect, Brinley Thomas (1987, p. 421) states that “this clustering resulted in a ‘massing of reserves’, so that Welshness in the valleys had intensity and depth instead of being spread thinly over a wide area”. He continues by stating the distribution of the Welsh speakers according to the 1891 Census: “In 1891 in Wales (excluding Monmouthshire), 891,000 out of a population of 1,503,000, or 59 per cent, were Welsh-speaking. They were distributed as follows: 320,000, or 36 per cent in Glamorgan; 307,000, or 34 per cent, in partly industrialized counties and 264,000 or 30 per cent, in rural counties”.

<sup>93</sup> Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the process of industrialization also attracted overseas immigrants, particularly men who came to work in South Wales. A more detailed discussion follows in section 3.4.2.1.

<sup>94</sup> According to Thomas (1987, p. 426), “the Census of Religious Worship in 1851 registered the enormous triumph of nonconformity. In 1851 there were in Wales 2,770 Welsh nonconformist chapels accommodating 611,000 people, or 70 per cent of all church accommodation”.

than ever before, as well as an impressive range of publications in Welsh<sup>95</sup>. Therefore, the Nonconformist religious movements constructed a context where popular culture was thriving – mostly represented through literacy, publications and activities such as “chapel-based social activities, choral festivities, Eisteddfodau competitions in music, drama, poetry, a brass band tradition, miners’ libraries and early national sporting federations” (Williams 2000b, p. 16). Furthermore, “the nonconformist chapels shunned the state and relied entirely on their own resources” (Thomas 1987, p. 431). Thus, although the legal, administrative, economic and, increasingly, the labour field were imposing English as a legitimate language, there emerged forces, such as the Nonconformist religious field, which had sufficient symbolic power to reproduce and construct markets where the Welsh language was recognised as legitimate. In other words, Welsh linguistic practices still had meaning and value in an array of markets and agents were still able to gain capital through their linguistic practices. In spite of these significant developments, linguistic practices with Welsh were never to be recognised as symbolically valuable across the entire Wales again. Rather, this century represented a transition period towards the relative unification of the linguistic market of England and Wales, where the recognition of English as symbolically valuable was prevalent. As Williams (2000b, pp. 16-17) notes, the changes brought by the religious field “were operative within a set of formal, English-medium public sector and commercial domains”.

The transition to a relatively unified linguistic market where linguistic practices with English were recognised as both meaningful and valuable was also influenced by the developments in the education field. During the first half of the nineteenth century Welsh Sunday schools run by Nonconformist religious movements were still attracting both adults and children (Jones 2000, p. 440), which helped the reproduction of linguistic practices with Welsh<sup>96</sup>. Day schools had also emerged, supported by a variety of bodies; Jones (2000, p. 440) talks about ‘British schools’ pertaining to the Nonconformist British Society and the National Society, ‘national schools’ affiliated to the Church of England, as well as private venture schools. These were primarily English-medium schools, although some were Welsh-medium, while others used both languages (Smith 2000b).

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<sup>95</sup> According to Thomas (1987, p. 430), “by the late-1890s, there were 28 monthlies, 25 newspapers, two quarterly journals, two bi-monthlies, making a total of 32 magazines and 25 newspapers. The total circulation of Welsh weekly periodicals exceeded 120,000 and that of Welsh magazines 150,000”. In spite of the fact that it was the religious field which reproduced the legitimacy of Welsh, not all publications and activities were religion-oriented. Thomas (1987, p. 431) states that: “The ‘media’ in Victorian Wales did not confine themselves to religious topics ... a wide range of cultural issues [were] discussed in the newspapers and journals, and in the numerous local *eisteddfodau*”.

<sup>96</sup> A parallel may be drawn here in light of the discussion in Chapter 6. Similarly to Sunday schools in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Wales which initially offered the main educational activities in Welsh based on the Bible, reproducing thus the Welsh language as symbolically valuable, mosque-based supplementary schools in Cardiff help the reproduction of Arabic as symbolically valuable in the case of second-generation immigrants.

Nevertheless, this represented a highly fragmented and heterogeneous educational reality that was harshly criticized in the 1847 *Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales*, popularly called “the Blue Books”. Apart from highlighting the lack of adequate teaching materials and the lack of suitable teacher training<sup>97</sup> (Jones 2000, p. 440), this report also “gave a damning picture of Welsh society, forcefully condemning the Welsh language as a vast drawback which kept the Welsh people in a state of poverty, immorality and degradation” (Williams and Morris 2000, p. 110). On the background of the drastic social, economic, and demographic changes experienced by the Welsh society in the nineteenth century, this report played a significant role in the reproduction of a system of sociologically pertinent linguistic oppositions<sup>98</sup> in Wales where English was becoming associated with progress, modernity and class mobility, while Welsh with religion, lack of economic value and poverty (Aitchison and Carter 2000, p. 35).

Highlighting the deficiencies of the highly fragmented education provision in Wales during the first half of the century, the ‘Blue Books’ provided evidence about “the necessity for a state system of education” (Jones 2000, p. 456). Consequently, by the end of the nineteenth century a state-sponsored system of elementary schools had emerged<sup>99</sup>, where “each child had access to a place in a school for the first time” (Smith 2000b, p. 496). While it must be acknowledged that this was not a centralized education system, what these elementary schools had in common was that their language of instruction was English<sup>100</sup>, not least in light of parental and educators’ perceptions of English as the language of social mobility (Smith 2000b, pp. 499-500). This is highly significant because while until that point English had been recognised as legitimate through the increasing

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<sup>97</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the commissioners’ findings across Wales, see Jones (2000).

<sup>98</sup> For a theoretical discussion regarding the Bourdieusian concept of a ‘system of sociologically pertinent linguistic oppositions’ see section 2.2.1.2.

<sup>99</sup> This was primarily a result of the Elementary Education Act 1870, or the ‘Forster Act’, which introduced compulsory universal education for children between the ages of 5 and 13. For further details, see Smith (2000b).

<sup>100</sup> According to Williams and Morris (2000, p. 110), “Despite [the public’s] protestations and refutations of the contents, for almost a century thereafter the report served to destroy the confidence of Welsh educators and the public alike in the use of Welsh in the education system. By the end of the nineteenth century, the voluntary Welsh-medium system of popular education had been undermined by a state-sponsored English-medium system”. Furthermore, Thomas (1987, p. 428) attributes the production of this Report as a consequence of a revolt of the Welsh workers against their English superiors in 1839. He argues that all preparations were kept secret because the rebels were Welsh-speaking while their superiors were English speakers. Whilst this armed assault was crushed by the English, it was extremely significant as it represented “the first serious challenge to the English dominion in Wales, since, perhaps, the fifteenth century” (Ivor Wilks 1984, cited in Thomas 1987, p. 428). Thomas (1987, p. 428) argues that this Report was produced in order for the English to regain control over the Welsh workers, the education system representing a cost-effective alternative to brutal force. Thomas (1987) reaches this argument by analysing a part of the speech held by the mover of the motion, William Williams (House of Commons 1846, cited in Thomas 1987, p. 428): “It should be borne in mind that an ill-educated and undisciplined population, like that existing among the mines in South Wales, is the one that may be found most dangerous to the neighbourhood in which it dwells, and that a band of efficient schoolmasters is kept up at a much less expense than a body of police and soldiery”.

unification in symbolic goods of several fields, now the masses had access to the means of acquiring the necessary competence to also produce linguistic practices with English<sup>101</sup>. The result is that at the end of the century a high percentage of the population was bilingual<sup>102</sup> given the compartmentalization of linguistic markets and the different symbolic profits individuals could gain in each of these markets: “In the week-day schools all profess to learn English, in the Sunday-schools ... all learn Welsh; the object which the poor desire from the former is secular knowledge; the end to which they devote their whole attention in the Sunday-school is religion” (Johnson 1847, cited in Jones 2000, p. 442).

Thus, at the turn of the century, the relatively unified linguistic market of Wales reaches the peak point in the process of dissolution, becoming fragmented into linguistic submarkets<sup>103</sup> subordinated to the unifying linguistic market of England and Wales. In spite of the increase to almost a million Welsh speakers in 1911 (977,366), this number also shows that the Welsh speakers had become a minority by that time (43.5 per cent of the total population) (Jenkins and Williams 2000b, p. 3). This signals that the phenomenon of mass bilingualism must be understood as a second stage in the construction of a relatively unified linguistic market of England and Wales, which implies the continuous, gradual devaluation of the Welsh language at the expense of the increase in value of the English language<sup>104</sup>.

### 3.3. The third stage: 1901 - 1945

The first half of the twentieth century can be understood as the third stage of the establishment of a reconfiguration of the linguistic hierarchy in Wales, leading to a rapid relative unification of the linguistic market of England and Wales. Taking into account the socio-historical and economic changes which took place in early twentieth century, this section focuses on the development of

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<sup>101</sup> However, it must be noted that this process was not necessarily smooth. As the linguistic habitus of the pupils was not adapted at all to produce linguistic practices with English, some schools employed their symbolic power and authority in order to mould the linguistic habitus of their pupils by harshly sanctioning them, at times employing physical violence. A widely known example is the ‘Welsh Not’, a method of punishment for those heard speaking Welsh at school. The pupil would receive a piece of wood they would pass on to any other pupils using Welsh. At the end of the day, the pupil who had the ‘Welsh Not’ would be punished, usually by flogging.

<sup>102</sup> Williams (1980, p. 215) notes that between 1891 and 1901 there was an increase of the bilingual population through an increase in the percentage of those able to speak English from 68.9 to 84.6 per cent. What is more, in 1891, out of the 54.0 per cent of the population able to speak Welsh, 30.1 per cent were Welsh monoglots. By the end of the decade, there was a 50.0 decrease in this number. Therefore, there were 928,222 monoglot English; 280,905 monoglot Welsh and 648,919 bilinguals. This means that 929,824 could speak Welsh and 1,577,141 could speak English.

<sup>103</sup> For a theoretical discussion regarding the concept of ‘submarket’, see section 2.2.3.

<sup>104</sup> For a more detailed analysis of the so-called ‘Golden Age’ of the Welsh language hypothesis sparked by the number of almost a million Welsh speakers in 1911, see Aitchison and Carter (2000, p. 37).

three fields which shaped the rules and laws of price formation prevalent in the context of Wales during this period: the religious field, the media field, and the education field.

A particularly significant development was the continuous industrialization of Wales “which required proficiency in spoken English” (Williams 1980, p. 215). This implies that English was now the legitimate language on the linguistic market of the highly industrialized labour field<sup>105</sup>. The generalization of the dominant criteria of evaluation of linguistic practices was also influenced by the increasing amount of people migrating from England to Wales<sup>106</sup> in search of employment<sup>107</sup>. The migration wave from England to Wales had affected mainly the southern and eastern parts of Wales. This meant that the Welsh-speaking heartland (broadly, northern and western Wales), or *Y Fro Gymraeg*, became a type of “continuous block” (Aitchison and Carter 2000, p. 42) which was perceived as a symbol of resistance<sup>108</sup>. Because of the processes of industrialization and urbanization, *Y Fro Gymraeg* started losing an increasing amount of people in favour to the English-speaking industrial field. Thus, across the entire country, linguistic practices with Welsh were rapidly devalued through the generalization of the new dominant criteria of evaluation brought forth by the new socio-economic conditions. The Welsh language remained strong in the “domains of the home, neighbourhood, religion, popular culture, literature and even politics” (Jenkins and Williams 2000b, p. 2), becoming strongly compartmentalized into clear submarkets.

The First World War also played an important role in the unification of the linguistic market of England and Wales due to several reasons. First, tens of thousands Welsh-speaking men were killed in the war (Jenkins and Williams 2000b, p. 3). Second, according to Jenkins and Williams (2000b, p. 3-4), during this war, the Welsh speakers were prohibited from using Welsh in their official position, personal encounters or correspondence. Third, the experience of the war had complex ramifications on the relationship the returning soldiers had with the religious field. Thus, while some found solace in their faith in God, others were no longer devotees of the Christian institutions (Jenkins and Williams 2000b, p. 4; Morgan 2000, p. 376). The loss of faith of some of the soldiers signified both

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<sup>105</sup> This comes in stark contrast to the situation of the nineteenth century, when the industrial field, although controlled by the English, was manned by Welsh speakers (see section 3.2).

<sup>106</sup> According to Aitchison and Carter (2000, p. 40), the process of Anglicization was “greatest lower down the valleys, and to the east. It was spreading up-valley and westward, a process to be accelerated during the century”.

<sup>107</sup> Williams (1980, pp. 215-216) states that the percentage of the population born in England who moved to Wales gradually increased from 11.3 per cent in 1871 to 16.1 per cent in 1901. Thomas (1987, p. 33) notes that “in the first ten years of the century, there was a flood of 100,000 immigrants from outside Wales”, an amount so considerable that Jenkins and Williams (2000b, p. 2) consider that “their assimilation into the Welsh-speaking society was impossible”.

<sup>108</sup> This view was also influenced by the fact that most of the Welsh monoglots were to be found in these clusters of the Welsh-speaking heartland. Inside these clusters, over 90 per cent of the population was able to speak Welsh in 1901 (Jenkins and Williams 2000b, p. 2).

the loss of contact with one of the most symbolically powerful fields for the validation of the Welsh language, as well as the erosion of its linguistic submarket.

Furthermore, the inter-war period is significant for the accelerated devaluation of Welsh due to poverty and out-migration<sup>109</sup>. The end of the Great War marked a wider British economic crisis, which in the case of Wales concretized in an acute agrarian depression. At the same time, due to developments in naval and transport technology, the demand for coal from Wales diminished radically, leading to the closing of hundreds of mines across the entire country (Morgan 2000, p. 376). This means that the process of industrialization was declining faster than it had started, leaving behind mass unemployment. Both these factors led in turn to the out-migration of almost half a million people between 1920 and 1939 (Jenkins and Williams, 2000b, p. 5). What is more, 87 per cent of them were under forty-five years old (Jenkins and Williams 2000b, p. 5), which was to further influence the decline of the social value of Welsh, through the loss of speakers.

During the first half of the twentieth century, a new element which was to reproduce the English language as dominant took shape: media communications, present mainly in the form of radio and cinema. Along with the telegraph, the telephone and the wireless, BBC Radio played a particularly important role in the unification of the linguistic market of England and Wales. By broadcasting only through English, this medium proved to be one of the most salient tools of its time in reproducing the new hierarchy of linguistic practices in Wales. The radio became “a vehicle for a ‘British’ view of things expressed in royal broadcasts, anniversary programmes and all manner of celebrations, festivities and rituals” (Jenkins and Williams 2000b, p. 7)<sup>110</sup>. This meant that a new, powerful British institution which reproduced English as the uncontested legitimate language had been created. Without the necessary economic power, Wales had no alternative to this medium, having lost the opportunity to construct the Welsh language as legitimate on a similar emerging market<sup>111</sup>. This led to a further strengthening of the system of linguistic oppositions in Wales; the association of English

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<sup>109</sup> With respect to the relationship between economic hardship and the further devaluation of the Welsh language, Thomas (1987, p. 437) notes that “a major cause of the decline of the Welsh language was the collapse of the Welsh economy after World War I ... Because of the dazzling heights reached just before World War I, the subsequent fall was all the more disastrous ... What the potato famine did to the Irish economy, the great depression did to the Welsh economy.”

<sup>110</sup> Furthermore, during the Second World War “nearly half a million licence-holders in Wales became familiar with propaganda on behalf of the ‘British nation’ and a daily diet of English-language programmes” (Jenkins and Williams 2000b, p. 12)

<sup>111</sup> There is, of course, strong evidence that the Welsh speakers were aware of the importance this new medium could have had for Wales and the social value of the Welsh language. The effect of an agitation with regard to this was the establishment of Wales as a separate BBC broadcasting region in 1934. This did ensure the production of some Welsh-medium programmes. Nevertheless, even this development represented only a small victory in the sense that BBC Wales was only a subdivision of the BBC. What is more, from 1939 onwards, the paucity of resources implied a scarce budget for the Welsh-language broadcasting, with the result that almost everything was broadcast in English. For further details see Smith (2000a).

with progress and modernity was heavily reinforced. An important factor was that the radio “enabled the English language to cross national boundaries and to penetrate the homes of people who spoke English” (Jenkins and Williams 2000b, p. 6). This represents one of the first instances when the English language, legitimate by then in the public spheres of Wales, is inserted and recognised as legitimate inside the private spheres of Wales. Consequently, the question of the linguistic submarket of the home as a bastion of legitimacy for Welsh becomes much more complex once English penetrates it. On the one hand, having access to this medium affected both the linguistic and social capacity to speak English of the Welsh agents<sup>112</sup>. On the other hand, the recognition of English as a legitimate language associated with progress even within the sphere of the home reflects the extent to which linguistic practices with English were producing a profit of distinction.

Apart from the radio, cinema was introduced. Jenkins and Williams (2000b, p. 8) note that cinema replaced the role that chapel activities used to play during the previous centuries. The chapel’s loss of adherents was directly proportional to the new media’s gain. As a consequence, an increasing number of young people lacked a strong connection with one of the most important official, public submarkets that fostered the Welsh language as legitimate<sup>113</sup>. In turn, this weakened the symbolic power held by this field. This unfolding also reproduced the system of contrastive linguistic choices: the natural association of the Welsh language with the religious field (and thus tradition) as opposed to the association of English with the media (and therefore, modernity). Under these circumstances, it was not only becoming difficult to find submarkets where linguistic practices with Welsh could have functioned as linguistic capital, but such practices were actually negatively defined in opposition to the new legitimate practices.

Furthermore, the system of contrastive linguistic choices reached its peak mostly under the effects of the elementary education system introduced during the second half of the nineteenth century. Already at the beginning of the twentieth century most of the Welsh speakers were middle-aged or

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<sup>112</sup> The influence of mass media on the generalized production of a certain mode of expression is common in a number of other European contexts as well. For example, Brian Richardson (2001) highlights that radio and television broadcasting in twentieth-century Italy represented a significant factor that led to dialect being replaced by Standard Italian.

<sup>113</sup> However, although the point of this section is to stress the directly proportional losses and gains of these two institutions (the chapel and cinema) and the consequences of this process, it must be stressed that this shift did not take place swiftly. The Welsh chapel still had a strong influence on people’s lives and linguistic habitus by acting as an institution able to reproduce and sustain submarkets where the Welsh language was still considered legitimate. Until the 1960s, the submarkets of the religious field were “the Sunday schools, prayer meetings, Eisteddfodau, Bands of Hope, drama groups and temperance societies [and they all] helped to counter Anglicizing influences” (Jenkins and Williams 2000b, p. 8).

elderly<sup>114</sup>. Yet, the most significant consequences of these educational developments were to be felt during the rest of the century, and particularly during its first half – the numbers of Welsh speakers decreased from 54.0 per cent in 1891 to 28.9 per cent in 1951 (National Language Forum 1991, p. 10). By attending English-medium schools, the linguistic products of all younger generations were evaluated, sanctioned, and rewarded according to the same rules and laws of price formation across the entire school system<sup>115</sup>; similar requirements for pupils in England applied to pupils across Wales. Thus, the majority of agents attending school were converted into both legitimate producers and consumers of linguistic practices with English. It can be argued that the production of producers/consumers *en masse* (of linguistic practices with English) helped the relative unification of the linguistic market of England and Wales.

Correlatively, this led to a further increase in the social value of linguistic practices with English and the devaluation of the linguistic practices with Welsh. An education system across England and Wales, albeit not centralized, meant that all pupils were not only acquiring the legitimate linguistic competence, but that they were also receiving educational qualifications that were valid across England and Wales. The importance of this under the social and economic conditions of the twentieth century cannot be overstated, as these were the only qualifications recognised as valid in the relatively unified labour field of England and Wales. Thus, during the twentieth century the universal education system was recognised as the only means of labour and social mobility. Consequently, the Welsh language was by now highly associated with religion, tradition, retrogression and social immobility. In contrast, the English language was automatically associated with the education system and it stood for secularism, progress, prosperity and social mobility, not least due to the prominence of the idea of the British Empire as a symbolic unity, which made the 1930s a high point in the belief in a British identity<sup>116</sup>.

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<sup>114</sup> In 1901 most of the Welsh speakers were middle-aged or elderly (Williams 1980, pp. 215-216). This can be regarded as a direct consequence of the changes brought by the compulsory universal education system introduced in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, an accelerated loss of Welsh speakers across all age groups (Jones 2012) could be noticed. In percentage points, the decline was as follows: 54.0 in 1891 (Williams 1980); 49.9 in 1901; 43.5 in 1911 (Aitchison and Carter 2000, p. 42); 37.1 in 1921; 36.8 in 1931 (National Language Forum 1991, p. 10). No Census was conducted in 1941.

<sup>115</sup> It is notable that the Education Act 1921 raised the school leaving age at 14 and the Education Act 1936 raised it to 15 (Gillard 2016), which meant that those children attending school spent an increasing amount of time within a field and a linguistic market where English was imposed as the legitimate language.

<sup>116</sup> Williams (2000b, p. 17) notes that “English was perceived ... as the language of progress, of equality, of prosperity, of commerce, of mass entertainment and pleasure. Wider experience of empire building ... made acquisition of English a most compelling instrumental motivation, and the key to participation in the British-influenced world economy. Added to this was the failure to use Welsh in the wide range of newer speech domains ... Whether by policy or the habit of neglect, Welsh became increasingly marginalized. It lost ground among groups most exposed to the opportunities of an improved standard of living in the urban culture”. Moreover, according to Pryce (1987a, p. 28 cited in Aitchison and Carter 2000, p. 40) “there seems little doubt

The inter-war period was characterised by a high-demand for English-medium education (Evans 2000, p. 351). For the Welsh authorities, it was clear that “the traditional defences of the Welsh language had been greatly weakened over the previous half century, and that the salvation of the Welsh language in the future would depend on the schools”<sup>117</sup> (Evans 2000, p. 351). However, parents thought that “no time at all need be given in school to the home language as it [could], in their view, take care of itself” (Evans 2000, p. 346). The head teachers thought that Welsh was an “inferior language and certainly an unnecessary one” (Williams and Morris 2000, p. 110) while “English was the language of ‘getting on’” (Jenkins and Williams 2000b, p. 9)<sup>118</sup>. In this regard, the opposition to the Welsh Department’s<sup>119</sup> efforts to introduce the Welsh language in the curriculum of the inter-war education system indicates that the habitus of children, parents and teachers was already strongly adapted to the conditions of the linguistic market where English was the dominant language in the new hierarchy of linguistic practices<sup>120</sup>. Thus, when the first measures in support of the Welsh language in the industrial South Wales were taken in the 1920s, they were rejected “as a ‘reactionary irrelevancy’, which locked working class children into the ‘environment’ of an idealised ‘Gwerin’”<sup>121</sup> (Evans 2000, p. 346). The fact that it was the working class<sup>122</sup> that was opposed to these

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that in the promotion of English for supposedly secular needs, state education soon began to reflect what was then considered to be a popular aspiration”.

<sup>117</sup> Evans (2000, p. 351) explains this attitude towards the Welsh language as it resulted in a report of the Departmental Committee which had the task to explore the situation of the Welsh language in the Welsh schools. The report, *Welsh in Education and Life*, was published in 1927. For further details, see Evans (2000, p. 351).

<sup>118</sup> Furthermore, according to Jenkins and Williams (2000b, p. 9), it was not uncommon for the “old language” to be perceived as a “source of shame” and for questions and statements like ‘What do they want to speak [Welsh] for?’, ‘Welsh doesn’t pay’ and ‘No good fiddling about with Welsh’ to be heard.

<sup>119</sup> The Welsh Department was part of the Board of Education, a body that was created in 1907. The establishment of this body is now viewed as a first sign of administrative devolution in Wales.

<sup>120</sup> A parallel can be drawn to the case of nineteenth century France in terms of the unification of a linguistic market. Bourdieu (LSP, p. 49) shows that the “it was doubtless the dialectical relation between the unification of the education (and linguistic) market, linked to the introduction of education qualifications valid nationwide, independent (at least officially) of the social or regional characteristics of their bearers and the unification of the labour market (including the development of the state administration and the civil service) – which played the most decisive role in devaluing dialects and establishing the new hierarchy of linguistic practices”.

<sup>121</sup> According to *The University of Wales Dictionary of the Welsh Language*, ‘Gwerin’ refers to “the common people of Wales, often connoting the ideal of Welsh democracy flourishing politically, culturally, morally, spiritually, etc. which ideal prevailed during the second half of [the twentieth century] and until the First World War” (2006, p. 3111).

<sup>122</sup> Those who were advocating the promotion of the Welsh language were usually part of the middle class. They had sufficient symbolic capital (provided by their higher social position) and thus, sometimes, the symbolic power to engage in reactionary political actions. Examples of such actions are the creation of *Urdd Gobaith Cymru* (The Welsh League of Youth) in 1922 and *Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru* (the Welsh Nationalist Party) in 1922. According to Jenkins and Williams (2000b, p. 11), this political party had been supported mainly by the middle class. Saunders Lewis, the founder of the party is also described as an “urbane, elitist, right-wing scholar and literary critic” (Jenkins and Williams 2000b, p. 11). Another example is the creation of the first Welsh-medium primary school in Wales, at Aberystwyth in the 1939. This school was an independent one

changes is extremely relevant. From a weaker social position, with less economic and cultural capital, schooling represented an opportunity for the Welsh working class agents to gain more capital. Recognizing both the English language as dominant in the labour field and schooling as the means to access this field, the Welsh working class parents seized the opportunity for their children to improve their social condition. Thus, the English-medium school was perceived as the chief means to labour and social mobility, playing a pivotal role in the devaluation of the Welsh language by reproducing the higher social value held by English in this linguistic market<sup>123</sup>. While schools in Wales were allowed to teach Welsh (Evans 2000, p. 344), in practice, the Welsh language had already lost its ability to function as linguistic capital in the labour field. Moreover, the lack of resources for teacher training and teaching materials reveals that neither the Welsh Department<sup>124</sup> nor any other institution had the necessary economic power to provide suitable tools for teaching Welsh. Thus, in spite of the publication of the 1918 *Education Act* and the 1927 *Welsh in Education and Life* report<sup>125</sup>, the Welsh language did not become a compulsory subject in any Welsh school during the inter-war period.

A similar linguistic hierarchy was reproduced during the Second World War. According to Evans (2000, p. 358), different reports<sup>126</sup> underlined the salience of teaching Welsh, without advocating compulsory Welsh-medium schooling. This was mainly because “as well as being a citizen of Wales, the Welsh child was also a member of the British Empire”, which stresses how significant it was “for

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which was established at the headquarters of *Urdd Gobaith Cymru* (Evans 2000, p. 357; Aitchison and Carter 2000, p. 45).

<sup>123</sup> It is significant to note that a similar process takes place in the case of the second-generation multilingual immigrants interviewed. As Chapter 5 contends, English-medium schooling is perceived as the sole means of labour and social mobility in the current context of Cardiff.

<sup>124</sup> What is more, despite the fact that the Welsh Department had been set up back in 1907, this institution did not have the necessary symbolic power to impose its views. It was an institution embedded in the state-sponsored system. Although it raised awareness on the issue of the Welsh language, the *Education in Wales: Suggestions for the Consideration of Education Authorities and Teachers* 1929 report assured parents that “the Welsh child’s ‘mastery over English’ would not be adversely affected, nor his ‘prospects as a future citizen of the British Empire’” (Board of Education 1929, cited in Evans 2000, p. 354). This reveals that the education authority itself recognised the English language as dominant and reproduced it as such. What is more, “the native language was to be tolerated since the consultative committee was confident that ‘the eventual standard in English to be expected of the boy or girl in a Welsh Grammar School need not be lower than that in the Grammar Schools of England’” (Board of Education 1938, cited in Evans 2000, p. 356). This quote taken from the Board of Education’s 1938 report shows the extent of the levelling of education standards across England and Wales. In turn, this levelling reveals the lack of symbolic power of these local authorities inside the relatively unified education system.

<sup>125</sup> One of the most important initiatives of the Welsh Department was the report on *Welsh in Education and Life* published in 1927. This report recommended the allocation of resources for teacher training as well as teaching materials. However, apart from the agents’ reaction, it also has to be mentioned that by that time, the Welsh language, where it was taught, had the status of a foreign language that was competing with French and Latin (Evans 2000, p. 346). The teaching itself was characterised as inadequate: “it would be charitable to describe the Welsh teaching of many schools as half-hearted; in very truth it is grotesquely inadequate and mischievously amateur” (Smith 1917 cited in Evans 2000, p. 347).

<sup>126</sup> For further details regarding these reports see Evans (2000, pp. 357-359).

education standards to be recognised as comparable to those prevailing elsewhere” (Evans 2000, p. 358). Moreover, the 1944 *Education Act*, although recognizing that half of the Welsh population spoke Welsh, underlined the “duality of being Welsh and British” (Evans 2000, p. 358). It was stated that both teachers and pupils should be conscious members of the British community, fully qualified and free to serve on equal terms with it<sup>127</sup> (Evans 2000, p. 358). This reveals the extent of unification of the linguistic market of England and Wales, which was constantly reproduced by the system of contrastive linguistic choices, reproduced, in turn, by the unification of the administrative, labour and education fields.

The first half of the twentieth century seemed dramatic in the decrease in the number of Welsh speakers from 54.0 per cent in 1891 (Williams 1980) to 28.9 per cent in 1951 (National Language Forum 1991, p. 10). However, when it is understood as part of a prolonged process, this first half of the century appears as an accelerated, but expected result of the gradual, relative unification of the linguistic market of England and Wales throughout time. This process implied the simultaneous loss of symbolic value of the Welsh language (through the loss of symbolically powerful institutions and markets) and the gain of symbolic value of the English language (through the gain of symbolically powerful institutions and markets). Towards the end of the first half of the twentieth century the linguistic habitus of most Welsh people was adapted to anticipate that linguistic practices with English would bring them social, labour, economic and thus symbolic profits on this relatively unified linguistic market.

#### 3.4. The fourth stage: 1945 – 2014

The process of unification of the linguistic market of England and Wales continued at an accelerated pace during the second-half of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty first century. The present section explores this period understanding it as the fourth stage in the unification of this market, particularly in light of the further decline in the number of Welsh speakers<sup>128</sup>. This section also attends to the radical post-war transformations in Britain’s political, economic and social conditions, which partly reconfigure the rules and laws of price formation of linguistic products in Wales and Cardiff.

The end of the Second World War represented the disintegration of the British Empire; while this implied an acute loss of power of Britain across the world, its legacy within the former colonies cannot be disregarded. The imposition of the English language by British colonial institutions had its

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<sup>127</sup> For further details regarding the 1944 *Education Act* see Evans (2000, pp. 358-359).

<sup>128</sup> The results of the Censuses from 1951 to 1991 show this continuous decline. The following figures show the percentage of Welsh speakers each year: 28.9 in 1951, 26.0 in 1961, 20.8 in 1971, 18.9 in 1981 (National Language Forum 1991, p. 10), 18.7 in 1991 (Jones 2012).

repercussions on the linguistic habitus of its colonial subjects. In most instances, a linguistic habitus adapted to recognise and produce linguistic practices with English as legitimate conferred upward social mobility to its bearer. Given such rules and laws of price formation of the colonial linguistic markets, most of the new nations created after the fall of the Empire retained English not only as an official language, but one that functioned as linguistic capital in most official instances<sup>129</sup>. In spite of Britain's loss of sovereignty over its former colonies, the legacy of its symbolic power was partly mirrored in English becoming a 'world language' during the second half of the twentieth century<sup>130</sup> (Crystal 2003). The implications of this symbolic value of linguistic practices with English at a global level are indicative of the symbolic value held by English in the context of Wales as well.

During the same post-war period, the economic situation of Wales had worsened. Welsh industry was "out-moded and ill-suited to the demands of a post-depression, post-war recovery which necessitated massive capital investment in the infra-structure" (Williams 1980, p. 220). The period between 1960s and 1980s experienced a process of de-industrialization which was to bring significant demographic changes (Aitchison and Carter 2000, p. 47). The division between the Welsh-speaking heartlands and Anglo-Wales was still highly prominent; however, considerable losses of Welsh-speakers due to out-migration in *Y Fro Gymraeg* were registered, as well as a general rural depopulation across the entire Wales. Urban zones were preferred to villages as the decaying mining and agriculture fields were rejected for the emerging ones, such as services, bureaucracy and the media (Aitchison and Carter 2004, p. 15). Under the prevalent economic conditions, the development of such fields represented an attractive opportunity of upward social mobility, especially for those coming from the rural heartlands.

At the same time, the education field continued to reproduce English as the dominant language. According to Elwyn Jones (1995, p. 291), "after 1944 Welsh practice was closely in line with that of England. The Butler Education Act of 1944 implemented three stages of education, primary, secondary and further", which meant that education at all levels became free for all pupils. The result was that by 1961 less than 20 per cent of the Welsh pupils between the ages of five and fifteen could speak or understand Welsh (Elwyn Jones 1995, p. 291), reproducing thus the system of

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<sup>129</sup> For an overview of the post-colonial contexts in which this has taken place, see Crystal (2003, pp. 29-71). He refers to the following contexts as the most significant for the spread of English as a 'world language': America, Canada, The Caribbean, Australia and New Zealand, South Africa, South Asia, Former Colonial Africa, South-east Asia and the South Pacific.

<sup>130</sup> It must be acknowledged that the process of English becoming a 'world language' was also crucially influenced by the post-war economic dominance of the USA. For further discussions regarding this complex phenomenon, see, for example, Phillipson (1992; 1996; 1997; 2006), Pennycook (1994); Canagarajah (1999).

contrastive linguistic choices as discussed in the previous sections<sup>131</sup> (see 3.2 and 3.3). Thus, amid economic decline, influenced by the structural transformations suffered by the former Welsh linguistic market and the legacy of the British imperial power, the Welsh agents continued to perceive schooling as the only way to acquire state-wide recognised qualifications and particularly English as linguistic and labour capital.<sup>132</sup>

### 3.4.1. The turning point: re-legitimizing Welsh

In spite of the already strong relative unification of the linguistic market of England and Wales, the second half of the twentieth century represents a turning point in the struggle for symbolic value between English and Welsh. Bourdieu (LSP, p. 57) notes that “one cannot save the *value* of a competence unless one saves the market, in other words, the whole set of political and social conditions of production of the producers/consumers”. Therefore, the partial re-validation of linguistic practices with Welsh is not explored only as a result of reactionary movements characteristic to this period, but as an aggregate of the political and social conditions which potentiated the emergence of various symbolically powerful institutions and linguistic submarkets which have favoured the reproduction of linguistic practices with Welsh as valuable.

In a similar vein as other Western European contexts, Wales had had its share of nationalist political movements<sup>133</sup> that played a role in raising awareness of the devaluation of its minority language. Although without much political success, in its early years<sup>134</sup> Plaid Cymru<sup>135</sup> had advocated the promotion of the Welsh language as the sole official language of Wales, as well as the language of the education system (Williams 1994, p. 120). In spite of it being partly ignored by the rest of the established political parties, and not achieving these goals, Plaid Cymru did manage to attract some attention to the issue of Welsh<sup>136</sup> particularly among the middle-class, some of whose members

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<sup>131</sup> However, it must also be acknowledged that the Education Act of 1944 was the first to enable Local Education Authorities to constitute publicly funded Welsh-medium schools. By 1950, there were twelve Welsh-medium primary schools supported by public funding (Mercator 2001, p. 9).

<sup>132</sup> A similar tendency is found among the second-generation participants to this study, albeit influenced by potentially different factors. For a detailed discussion, see Chapter 5.

<sup>133</sup> For a comprehensive discussion regarding nationalist movements in Wales in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Morgan (1971).

<sup>134</sup> According to Williams (1994, p. 120), Plaid Cymru was formed in August 1925 through the unification of two political regional groups, *Y Tair G* and *Y Mudiad Cymreig*. This unification was driven by the common goal of the two groups to save the Welsh language from dying out.

<sup>135</sup> For a brief overview of this nationalist movement in Wales, see Williams (1994). For a more detailed analysis of the history of the same nationalist movement see Davies (1983).

<sup>136</sup> In its early years, the most important achievement was the establishment in 1939 of the first Welsh-medium primary school in Aberystwyth. This was a private school, fully funded by middle-class parents. This school remained independent until 1951, when it was incorporated into the state education system. This

were adherents of this political party's nationalist agenda. The latter half of the twentieth century (mostly between the 1960s and 1980s) is characterized by several activist movements derived from Plaid Cymru's ideals which intended to redress the decline in the number of Welsh speakers and the decrease in the social value of the Welsh language. The main fields which were seeing changes driven by such movements were the law, media, planning, and education.

From a wider perspective, the post-war European context was marked by the fall of the British Empire, the beginning of the Cold War and long-lasting economic and political cooperation between Western European countries. This coalition would eventually result in the constitution of the European Union. As the United Kingdom joined it in 1973, the four nations of the British state started experiencing the effects of a supranational structure which, in turn, acknowledged the legitimacy of Europe's regions. Thus, another level that can be added when exploring the internal efforts of re-legitimation of the Welsh language is the relationship between the process of devolution of Wales and the protection of indigenous minority languages at a European level. There is no doubt that the consequent efforts to 'revitalize' (i.e. increase the symbolic value of) the Welsh language through language policy and planning at the level of Wales have been connected to the long-term struggle of constructing Wales as a distinctive entity<sup>137</sup>. Efforts of saving the language have been partly legitimised by similar movements across Europe, and particularly by the minority language rights measures adopted at the level of the EU<sup>138</sup>. At the same time, 'saving the language' became an increasingly attainable goal due to the fact that the activist movements were taking place during a period when the institutionalized unification of Britain was going through profound transformations. This mirrored the slow process of relative attribution of symbolic power to Wales, whose emerging institutions<sup>139</sup> focused on re-legitimizing the Welsh language, with the aim of gaining legitimacy for Wales as a distinctive entity.

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school was followed by several others across Wales. For further details see Aitchison and Carter (2000, p. 45) and Evans (2000, p. 361).

<sup>137</sup> This view is confirmed by one of the leading linguistic policy and planning agents and researchers in Wales, Colin Williams. In *Called Unto Liberty!* (1994, pp. 115-192) Williams explains how the efforts to 'maintain' the Welsh language have been a central part of the struggle for 'a separate identity' of Wales, similar to the nationalist movements of the nineteenth century (although the goal in the case of Wales is not independence but self-government). Similarly, Jones and Williams (2000, p. 138) argue that the case of Welsh-medium education "forms part of a much larger struggle, namely the construction of a Welsh society within a British and international context".

<sup>138</sup> The main institutions that were created at the EU level was the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages (1982-2010), the Mercator Network, and, more recently, the Network to promote Linguistic Diversity (2007). Various legislation with regards to minority language rights has been passed by the Council of Europe. For further details about the role of Wales in these institutions, see Williams (2012).

<sup>139</sup> The first steps towards an administrative devolution of Wales were: the creation of a Council for Wales and Monmouthshire (1948); the designation of a junior government post of Minister of State for Welsh Affairs

One of the main results of the activist movements was the establishment of *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* (the Welsh Language Society) in 1962<sup>140</sup>. The role of this organisation was to promote the use of the Welsh language in the public sphere. According to various scholars (such as Aitchison and Carter 1994, pp. 42-67; Deuchar 2005, p. 623; May 2000, p. 105), it was partly due to the actions of this movement that specific legislative measures were taken the following years. May (2000, p. 105) talks about the 1967 Welsh Language Act, the 1988 Education Reform Act and the 1993 Welsh Language Act as the most significant legislative developments that “began to lay the basis for a bilingual state”. It is important to note that such measures regarded Welsh as a minority language which had to be ‘saved’.

The 1967 Welsh Language Act requested “equal validity” for the two languages (National Language Forum 1991, p. 14), without representing a coercive measure<sup>141</sup>. However, it created a momentum for the re-legitimation of Welsh through the construction of certain public institutions. Particular achievements were the introduction of bilingual road signs<sup>142</sup> (Aitchison and Carter 2000, p. 45) and the official reintroduction of Welsh in courts after almost half a millennium<sup>143</sup>. These developments marked an increased level of Welsh institutional symbolic power, which was the basis unto which the struggle for the partial re-validation of Welsh linguistic practices was taking place. Due to the measures associated with the efforts of an emerging Welsh middle-class, the ability to produce linguistic practices with Welsh was slowly starting to be contoured as potential linguistic capital.

In terms of media, sound and television broadcasting had represented from the very beginning an institution which constructed English as the legitimate language with almost no alternative for the Welsh language (see section 3.3). During the 1960s-1980s momentum of debate, the Anglicising impact of this institution became a reason of concern. Due to the pressures made by the Welsh Language Society, in 1979 Radio Cymru started broadcasting 126 hours weekly in Welsh. Furthermore, at the beginning of the 1980s the major struggle for the construction of a symbolically

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(1951); the designation of a formal Secretary of State for Wales (1964); the establishment of the Welsh Office (1964).

<sup>140</sup> The establishment of this society is thought to have taken place mainly as a result of a historical BBC radio lecture of Saunders Lewis, the founder of Plaid Cymru. In his discourse entitled *Tynged yr Iaith* (The Fate of the Language), Lewis warned the Welsh population of the risk of extinction of the Welsh language by the end of the twentieth century, unless radical measures were taken. This was a response to the 1961 Census, which showed a decrease from 28.9% (1951) to 26% (1961) in the numbers of Welsh speakers of the population of approximately 2.5 million (Aitchison and Carter 1994, pp. 42-43).

<sup>141</sup> In other words, it failed to impose on the public bodies, at least technically, the obligation to use the Welsh language.

<sup>142</sup> For a detailed analysis of the bilingual linguistic landscape of Wales, including road signs, see Coupland (2010).

<sup>143</sup> However, in practice agents did not recognise the legitimacy of Welsh in courts straight away (Aitchison and Carter 1994, p. 45).

powerful institution which was supposed to impose the Welsh language as legitimate in the field of mass-media was won. In 1982 the TV channel Sianel Pedwar Cymru<sup>144</sup> began broadcasting<sup>145</sup>. While during the first half of the twentieth century the British mass-media led to an accentuation of the system of contrastive linguistic choices through the association of English with advancement and of Welsh with tradition and poverty, the establishment of such Welsh-medium outlets represented the beginning of a struggle for the attenuation of this system.

Apart from this, a crucial element towards the recognition of Welsh as a legitimate language was the position given to it by the education system. In terms of numbers, during the 1980s a meagre 18.9 per cent of the population could speak Welsh and 74 per cent of primary school children could not speak Welsh at all<sup>146</sup> (National Language Forum 1991, pp. 10-20). Under these circumstances, various parental movements asking for Welsh-medium education took place, particularly outside of *Y Fro Gymraeg*<sup>147</sup>. Partly as a result of these movements, 1988 represented a pivotal moment in the history of the Welsh language due to the passing of the Education Reform Act. This Act gave Welsh the status of a core subject in Welsh-medium schools and that of a compulsory foundation subject in all other schools across Wales<sup>148</sup> (National Language Forum 1991, p. 19). This had far-reaching consequences for the social value of Welsh. As the majority of the linguistic submarkets of the home and chapel had already been dissolved<sup>149</sup>, the education field started becoming “a prime basis of contemporary reproduction” (Aitchison and Carter 2004, p. 27). The most direct effect was the gradual production of relatively competent<sup>150</sup> producers/consumers of linguistic practices with Welsh, the majority of whom came from non-Welsh speaking homes (Baker and Prys Jones 2000, p. 117). Correlatively, this implied the gradual construction of legitimate linguistic submarkets that functioned under the aegis of the school, understood as a nation-wide symbolically powerful

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<sup>144</sup> Sianel Pedwar Cymru is also commonly known as S4C or the Welsh Fourth Channel.

<sup>145</sup> The establishment of this separate channel was the peak point of a prolonged process of activism, mainly from the part of the Welsh Language Society. For an extensive analysis of this process, see Smith (2000a).

<sup>146</sup> More precisely, the statistics show that in 1988 13.4 per cent of all five-year-old pupils (210,651) were fluent in Welsh, 12.6 per cent spoke Welsh but not fluently, while 74 per cent had no competence in Welsh (National Language Forum 1991, p. 20).

<sup>147</sup> For a review of the growth of bilingual education in Wales, see Baker and Prys Jones (2000). For a review of the growth of Welsh-medium education in Cardiff understood as a consequence of parental pressure, see Jones and Williams (2000).

<sup>148</sup> In 1990 Welsh became a compulsory subject for all pupils in Wales (either as a first or second language) up to age fourteen and in 1999 it became compulsory for all pupils up to age sixteen, i.e. the entire period of statutory school education (Mercator 2001, p. 9).

<sup>149</sup> Geographically the situation was quite complex; in the urbanized parts of south-east Wales the percentage of people able to speak Welsh was still much lower than those living in the heartland. For a visual representation of how the percentages of those able to speak Welsh decreased across the country from 1961 to 1981, see Aitchison and Carter (1994, pp. 48-53).

<sup>150</sup> The relativity of competence must be understood in light of the difference between the Welsh-medium or bilingual schools and the English-medium schools. Pupils attending schools with Welsh as the medium of instruction will achieve a higher competence in comparison to those who study Welsh as a subject.

institution. In turn, this had the gradual effect of legitimating both the remaining and emerging linguistic submarkets (the home, Eisteddfodau, Welsh-medium media), further attenuating the relative opposition between English and Welsh in the system of contrastive linguistic choices. It was now possible to start imagining linguistic practices with Welsh as linguistic capital, partly due to the educational qualifications introduced after 1988.

However, the limitations of such a partial institutionalisation of the Welsh language must be clearly outlined. While formally a distinct Welsh education system was beginning to be shaped, most of the curriculum belonged to a unified education system of England and Wales. Furthermore, the state-wide educational qualifications were still recognised as valuable in the relatively unified labour field. Therefore neither formal educational qualifications in Welsh, nor linguistic practices with Welsh were necessarily recognised as meaningful and valuable, apart from few linguistic submarkets and fields; at the beginning of the 1990s most of the population of Wales (81.4 per cent)<sup>151</sup> had a linguistic habitus adapted to recognise English as the only legitimate language, not being able to either produce linguistic practices with Welsh, nor evaluate such practices as meaningful and valuable. This means that in most fields, Welsh linguistic practices were not recognised as linguistic capital at the beginning of the 1990s<sup>152</sup>. However, due to the social, economic and political transformations suffered by Wales during the 1980s, linguistic practices with Welsh were to experience new valences in some urban areas, particularly in the capital city of Cardiff.

#### 3.4.2. Cardiff: a multi-layered linguistic context

The present sub-section explores the subsequent developments of the linguistic hierarchy of Wales, with a particular focus on the context of Cardiff. As one of the United Kingdom's capitals, this city emerges as a special case of multi-layered intersections between a dominant language, an increasingly symbolically valuable minority autochthonous language, and various other non-autochthonous minority languages. Therefore, this sub-section argues that the context of Cardiff appears as a peculiar linguistic market whose rules and laws of price formation broadly correspond to those of the relatively unified linguistic market of England and Wales, playing a key role not only in the reproduction but also in the negotiation of its conditions.

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<sup>151</sup> More specifically, in 1991 only 18.6 per cent (508,098) of the entire population (2,723,623) could speak Welsh (Aitchison and Carter 1994, p. 89). This shows a further decrease from 18.9 per cent in 1981 to 18.6 per cent in 1991. For a comprehensive analysis of the 1991 Census results, including regional differences, see Aitchison and Carter (1994, pp. 88-109).

<sup>152</sup> For a detailed descriptive analysis of the situation of Welsh language in the labour, media and religious fields at the beginning of the 1990s, including specific initiatives to change this wider trend, see National Language Forum's *Language Strategy 1991-2001* (1991, pp. 37-54).

The rise of Cardiff to its status of a city goes back to the industrial developments that took place during the nineteenth century (see 3.2). The South Wales coalfield provided the “Welsh black diamonds” (Jenkins 2007, p. 178) which fuelled the steam boom, and partly, the rise of the British Empire. Consequently, parts of rural Wales were rapidly industrialized and urbanized, the Cardiff docks becoming the focal point of coal exports in the world. Due to its economic and demographic expansion<sup>153</sup>, Cardiff was granted the status of a city in 1905 and it became the capital of Wales in 1955. Being considered a highly Anglicised city<sup>154</sup>, at least until the 1960s linguistic practices with Welsh were not recognised as valuable apart from a very limited number of linguistic submarkets<sup>155</sup>. However, this was about to partially change in the following decades.

In light of wider Welsh-medium education debates (see 3.4.1), Cardiff’s first Welsh-medium school opened in 1949. By 1983, there were five Welsh-medium schools in Cardiff. Jones and Williams (2000) explain in detail the struggles which led to the emergence of these schools whose main trigger was a parental demand. Aitchison and Carter (2000, p. 82) pinpoint that these schools “claimed virtually all the young Welsh-speaking population in the region”. However, they also highlight the limited use of Welsh at home, with the language “failing to achieve a dominant position even in the households where the children attended a Welsh-medium school” (Aitchison and Carter 2000, p. 85)<sup>156</sup>. Furthermore, underlining that “the use of Welsh [was] not widely diffused through the region”, Aitchison and Carter (2000, p. 86) argued that the concentration of Welsh-speaking pupils in Welsh-medium schools created an ‘oasis’ effect which was having detrimental consequences for the more generalized use of Welsh. Nevertheless, quite strikingly, the two researchers also exposed their respondents’ view “that an ability to speak Welsh [was] a positive attribute when it [came] to seeking employment” (Aitchison and Carter 2000, p. 87). This is highly important, as it marks an attenuation of the system of contrastive linguistic choices in light of an association of bilingualism and Welsh-medium education with potential upward social mobility.

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<sup>153</sup> The population of Cardiff “multiplied a hundred-fold between 1801 and 1911” (Evans 1985, p. 351), reaching over 180,000 inhabitants in 1911.

<sup>154</sup> Evans (1985) notes the degree of Anglicization of Cardiff at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century when several disputes between different administrative urban centres of Wales ensued with regards to each one’s legitimacy to host Wales’ emergent institutions, such as the University College of South Wales, the National Library and Museum. In all debates, Cardiff is rendered as a non-Welsh city, with English dress, habits, feelings and speech (Evans 1985, p. 371).

<sup>155</sup> A detailed account of the situation in Cardiff during the twentieth century, with particular reference to Welsh-medium education initiatives, can be found in Jones and Williams (2000).

<sup>156</sup> Aitchison and Carter conducted three surveys among the pupils and the parents of the pupils attending the five Welsh-medium schools in Cardiff. For further details, see Aitchison and Carter (2000, pp. 80-88).

Aitchison and Carter (1987) note that by the end of the 1980s, the Welsh language was undergoing a “quiet revolution” in Cardiff<sup>157</sup>. Speaking Welsh was further linked with upward social mobility (Aitchison and Carter 2000, p. 126) due to the association of Welsh-medium schooling with the new bourgeoisie, a higher performance compared to the corresponding English-medium comprehensive schools (Gorard 1998)<sup>158</sup>, the idea of the Welsh language as a symbol of Welsh distinctive identity, and, most importantly, an increasing number of job opportunities in public administration, education and mass-media. The rapid institutional developments which have taken place since 1993 played a significant role in contouring an emergent labour field where bilingualism was recognised as capital.

As the capital city of Wales, Cardiff has represented the platform for most emergent institutions and actions. Particularly important was the passing of the Welsh Language Act in 1993. Revoking all previous legislation regarding the Welsh language, including the Acts of Union, the United Kingdom’s Act established that English and Welsh should be treated equally in the Welsh public sector<sup>159</sup>. Probably the most significant feature of this Act was the statutory status conferred to the Welsh Language Board (*Mesur yr Iaith Gymraeg*)<sup>160</sup>. Although the Board’s remit was extremely wide-ranging, particularly important was its legislative power to demand certain public sector organizations to prepare language schemes<sup>161</sup>, which included the delivery of bilingual services (May 2010, p. 107). While over time the provision of bilingual services has led to an increase in the symbolic value of the Welsh language through its association with institutional settings, probably even more significant is the link between bilingualism and high status job opportunities (Aitchison

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<sup>157</sup> This also implied that the language was gaining more ground in the urban and sub-urban areas of Wales, as opposed to the traditionally Welsh-speaking heartland, which was now losing both Welsh speakers and the institutions that were validating linguistic practices with Welsh (Aitchison and Carter 2000, p. 126).

<sup>158</sup> Gorard’s (1998) article shows that in reality, the myth of the superiority of the Welsh-medium schools was not necessarily due to the medium of instruction, but linked to the intake of pupils coming from different socio-economic backgrounds. In a survey conducted in the industrial South Wales in 1997 Gorard (1998, p. 462) found that “the Welsh speakers ... described themselves as white – i.e. none of the ethnic minority speakers spoke Welsh – and they are also predominantly male, from a Chapel family background. They are generally better educated than average, having remained longer in full-time education than their contemporaries, spent longer in lifetime learning, and gained higher qualifications. The Welsh speakers are, in general, of much higher occupational and social status, and these benefits are also shared by their children. Thus, it might be true that those in South Wales using Welsh-medium schools today are more socially advantaged than those local comprehensives, and this might explain the apparently better performance of the students. It is certainly true that previous analysts have found an over-representation of Welsh-speakers in the highest social classes in South Wales”.

<sup>159</sup> For a more detailed overview of the Welsh Language Act of 1993, see May (2010, pp. 107-109).

<sup>160</sup> Due to the symbolic power gained by the emergent Welsh institutions, in this case, the Secretary of State, this new institution originally set up in 1988 had the role of promoting the use of Welsh in both public and private spheres (Aitchison and Carter 2000, pp. 70-71). Although not particularly influential in its early days (May 2010, p. 107), it acquired significant symbolic power in 1993, when the Welsh Language Act was passed. For a comprehensive review of the Board’s remit between 1993 and 2000, see Welsh Language Board (2000).

<sup>161</sup> Since 1995 onwards.

and Carter 2000, p. 91). Bilingualism with English and Welsh was slowly becoming recognised as linguistic capital in such urban, institutionalized and gentrified settings.

The process of devolution in Wales continued at the turn of the millennium, with Cardiff playing a key role. In 1997 Wales voted for the creation of a National Assembly for Wales which gained primary law-making powers in the early 2000s<sup>162</sup> (National Assembly for Wales 2015). Potentiated by this increased political power, the governing body of Wales took a series of formal measures to promote the equal validity of the two languages in the public sector and the use of the Welsh language in general<sup>163</sup>. The culmination of all such institutional resolutions was the promulgation of Welsh as the official language of Wales, together with English<sup>164</sup> in 2011, the country becoming officially bilingual. Ever since then, the Welsh Assembly Government has taken further action to increase the symbolic value of Welsh<sup>165</sup>.

The measures outlined above together with the wider social and economic conditions of the time led to the emergence of further symbolically powerful institutions which focused on re-legitimizing the Welsh language. While this has meant a significant increase in the submarkets where Welsh linguistic practices are recognised as valid (mainly as part of the education field), the limitations of the legal measures aimed at providing 'equal value' to the two languages must be carefully underlined. Due to the creation of symbolically powerful institutions, legal measures, local initiatives and activist actions, the Welsh language in Wales has experienced a certain increase in symbolic value mainly in urban areas<sup>166</sup> and particularly in Cardiff. However, these developments have not led to the generalized use and reproduction of the Welsh language. Apart from the division in the

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<sup>162</sup> More specifically, in 2007 the National Assembly gained primary law-making powers in defined areas, while in 2011 this body is given increased law-making powers.

<sup>163</sup> Out of these measures, the most significant ones are: 1) *Iath Pawb* – A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales in 2003 (Welsh Government 2003); 2) Government of Wales Act in 2006, which restated the equal footing of the two languages (Welsh Language Commissioner 2015); 3) in 1998 Welsh and English became the two official languages of the National Assembly for Wales.

<sup>164</sup> The official status of the Welsh language “has a legal effect, and means that the Welsh language should not be treated less favourably than the English language in Wales” (Welsh Language Commissioner 2015).

<sup>165</sup> Out of these, the most notable are: 1) the establishment of an independent Welsh Language Commissioner (replacing the Welsh Language Board) whose main responsibilities are to promote and facilitate the use of Welsh and to ensure the equal treatment of the Welsh language in relation to English in the public administration by imposing duties and standards on some organizations (Welsh Language Commissioner 2015); 2) the Welsh-medium Education Strategy in 2012 (Welsh Government 2012a), with the aim of increasing the support for Welsh-medium education, in order to increase the number of Welsh speakers; 3) ‘A Living Language: A Language for Living’ Welsh Language Strategy 2012-2017 (Welsh Government 2012b), which has the goal of increasing the number of Welsh speakers and users of the language; 4) the implementation of a £750,000 fund for Welsh Language Technology and Digital Media in 2013, with the aim of encouraging Welsh speakers to employ Welsh online (Welsh Government 2013).

<sup>166</sup> According to Hodges (2012), Aitchison and Carter (2000; 2004), Jones and Williams (2000), Gruffudd (2000) a proof for this is the rise in demand of Welsh-medium education. This is a particularly urban phenomenon that is encountered mainly in the Anglicised areas of south and south-east Wales, especially in Cardiff.

regional distribution of Welsh speakers<sup>167</sup>, a proof of this are the results of the 2011 Census. They show not only a limited amount of Welsh speakers (19 per cent)<sup>168</sup>, but also a decrease from the 2001 Census (21 per cent)<sup>169</sup> (Office for National Statistics 2012a). Out of these, only 11 per cent declared they were fluent in Welsh (Statistics for Wales 2015). In the case of Cardiff, 11.1 per cent of the respondents were able to speak Welsh (Office for National Statistics 2012a). Furthermore, while there has been a clear increase in the number of Welsh speakers in the younger age groups<sup>170</sup> associated mainly with the above mentioned developments in the education system<sup>171</sup>, there is great concern with regards to the reproduction of linguistic practices with Welsh outside of school. Various studies note the sharp discrepancy between the acquisition of competence in school and the generalized use of the Welsh language (Baker and Prys Jones 2000, p. 116; Gruffud 2000; Baker 2003; Edwards and Pritchard Newcombe 2005; Hodges 2009; Morris 2010b; Law 2013)<sup>172</sup>. What is more, parental and pupil attitudes research shows that even though the attitudes towards Welsh as a national language and a marker of identity are highly favourable, usually this does not translate into generalized reproduction of linguistic practices<sup>173</sup> in many other submarkets than those of the education field (Gruffud 2000; Hodges 2012). Nevertheless, it could be argued that particularly a declared bilingual competence with English and Welsh functions now as capital which can be converted into distinction in certain fields. In spite of a lack of solid empirical evidence due to a significant lack of research on issues of class and bilingualism with English and Welsh in Cardiff or

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<sup>167</sup> The most prominent division remains that between the traditional Welsh-speaking heartland, or 'inner Wales' and 'outer Wales' (Aitchison and Carter 2004, p. 109). For a detailed analysis of the language regions of Wales according to the 2001 Census, see Aitchison and Carter (2004, pp. 108-122).

<sup>168</sup> 19 per cent represents 562,000 of all residents aged three and above. At the time of the 2011 Census, the total number of residents was 3.1 million (Office for National Statistics 2012a).

<sup>169</sup> 21 per cent represents 576,000 out of a total population of 3.0 million in 2001 (Office for National Statistics 2013b).

<sup>170</sup> This statement refers to both an increase in the number of speakers aged 5-15 from 1991 to 2001 based on the Census results (Hodges 2012) and to an increase in the number of speakers from 2004-06 to 2013-14 Welsh Language Use Surveys (Statistics for Wales 2015). The latter shows an 8 per cent increase in the number of Welsh speakers aged 3-15.

<sup>171</sup> In spite of such developments, Cardiff still has a majority of English-medium schools. In 2014, at primary level 79 were English-medium schools, 14 Welsh-medium and 2 bilingual. At secondary level there were 16 English-medium schools and 3 Welsh-medium ones. All special schools were English-medium (Cardiff Council 2014a).

<sup>172</sup> These studies offer a nuanced perspective of the reproduction of the Welsh language in different contexts, taking into account the internal heterogeneity of the distribution of fluent Welsh speakers in Wales. The majority of these studies show that in many cases, the reproduction of the Welsh language during schooling years decreases outside of the classroom (in the case of Welsh-medium or bilingual education). A decrease is also noted once pupils finish compulsory schooling. Two large scale studies which investigate the use of the Welsh language which show similar results are the Welsh Language Use Surveys of 2004-06 (Welsh Language Board 2008) and the Welsh Language Use Surveys of 2013-14 (Statistics for Wales 2015).

<sup>173</sup> This situation is inverted mainly in the case of North West Wales. According to the Welsh Language Board (2008, p. 16), a vast majority of Welsh speakers used Welsh daily: 80 per cent in the Western counties of Anglesey, Gwynedd and Conwy and between 55 and 35 per cent in the Eastern counties.

Wales, it may be suggested that this type of distinction is currently sought mainly by lower and higher middle-class agents<sup>174</sup>, who come mainly from a white background<sup>175</sup>.

Thus, the generalised reproduction of English as a dominant language across Wales (with regional exceptions) still mirrors a relatively unified linguistic market of England and Wales which corresponds to a relatively unified economy, as well as cultural production and circulation. At the same time, in spite of being a key site of notable institutional and grassroots developments leading to Wales-wide negotiations of the value held by linguistic practices with Welsh, the context of Cardiff also functions as a relatively unified linguistic market, its rules and laws of price formation broadly corresponding to those of the linguistic market of England and Wales. Therefore, English is the main legitimate language on this market; while it may be true that nowadays the ability to produce linguistic practices with Welsh may be recognised as linguistic capital within many fields pertaining to the social space of Cardiff, linguistic practices *per se* are still recognised as legitimate in a limited, albeit increasing number of linguistic submarkets.

#### 3.4.2.1. Diverse Cardiff

Apart from the dynamics between English as a dominant language and Welsh as an increasingly symbolically valuable minority autochthonous language, Cardiff is also the site of production of linguistic practices with a variety of non-autochthonous minority languages. As one of the most important industrial centres in the United Kingdom at the beginning of the twentieth century, as well as part of the British Empire, Cardiff has a long-standing history of immigration. Apart from the migration of the English to industrial South Wales highlighted above, the Irish were the first substantial group of immigrants that arrived in modern industrial Wales and settled particularly in Cardiff<sup>176</sup>. Due to its seafaring industry Cardiff attracted people from all over the world. Initially they came mainly from colonial territories with merchant traditions (such as what is now known as

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<sup>174</sup> Apart from anecdotal evidence and personal observations of the researcher, in their study investigating segregation between schools in England and Wales Gorard and Fitz (2000, p. 117) note that, from the perspective of socio-economic status, “just because the Welsh-medium schools exist in the same postcode locations as their more common English-medium counterparts does *not* mean that their intakes are similar”.

<sup>175</sup> Based on the 2001 Census, Jones (2012, pp. 24-25) shows that very few adults from ethnic groups other than ‘White’ were able to speak Welsh (1,144). The issue of class may potentially explain these results, given that Wales does not have a significant ethnic minority middle class. This may also influence parental decision regarding their children’s medium of instruction. All second-generation immigrant agents interviewed for the present project had attended English-medium schools particularly in light of their parents’ recognition of English as the legitimate language, and therefore as a language of integration into the new society. For further details, see Chapter 5.

<sup>176</sup> For more detailed analyses of the settlement of the Irish population in South Wales and Cardiff see Evans (2003b), Hickey (2004), O’Leary (2000; 2004). Scarce references to the production of linguistic practices with Gaelic in the Welsh context can be found in O’Leary (2000, pp. 272-274).

Yemen<sup>177</sup>, Somalia, and India) (Gilliat-Ray and Mellor 2010, p. 452), mirroring the ethnic, religious<sup>178</sup> and linguistic diversity of the British Empire. Other groups originated from Spain, Italy, Malta or Greece. Particularly during the 'Golden Age' of coal exports, such communities lived segregated in a part of the town called Butetown, later known as 'Tiger Bay'<sup>179</sup> (Evans 2003a; Holmes 1988; Jordan and Weedon 2015). Furthermore, the First World War was to involve the migration of various Caribbean and Indian populations, due to Britain's need for manpower (Holmes 1988, p. 88-89)<sup>180</sup>. In Cardiff, the end of the war and the subsequent economic insecurity were combined with a sense of superiority of the White Welsh residents due to their Imperial allegiance (Holmes 1988, p. 110), resulting in several clashes between the diverse segments of Cardiff's population, out of which the 1919 'race riots' were the most violent events (Holmes 1988, pp. 107-110). By the 1940s, the area of Butetown alone is thought to have comprised 5,000 people from over fifty ethnic groups (Jordan and Weedon 2015, p. 183)<sup>181</sup>.

Since the end of the Second World War, the patterns of migration to Cardiff are similar to the ones across the United Kingdom. The waves of immigration could be divided into two separate categories, according to the ethnic backgrounds of the arrivals. Vertovec (2007, p. 1027) calls the wave of immigration which took place between the 1950s and the 1980s the 'multicultural wave'. The Second World War, together with the fall of the British Empire, meant a greater influx of colonial and ex-colonial agents to the United Kingdom, and also to Cardiff. Post-war recovery led to unrestricted travel from the Empire and the Commonwealth, attracting millions of people<sup>182</sup>. Further political unrest and economic instability particularly between the 1970s and early 1990s in many of these regions resulted in increased migration to the UK<sup>183</sup>. Cardiff represented an attractive destination mainly due to the previous waves of migration and the social networks of the

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<sup>177</sup> The port city of Aden was a British colony between 1839 and 1967. The Yemenis are the longest established Arab community in the United Kingdom (Runnymede 2012).

<sup>178</sup> For an analysis of the Christian denominations diversity in Wales, see Chambers (2015). For a historical analysis of the early history and settlement of Muslims in Cardiff, and particularly Somalis, see Gilliat-Ray and Mellor (2010).

<sup>179</sup> While proximity to the docks was the main reason towards such seclusion, the low socio-economic conditions also played a role, these agents being a particular part of the working class of Cardiff.

<sup>180</sup> In the specific case of Cardiff, Holmes (1988, p. 90) notes that "the influx of newcomers in the war ... established Loudon Square ... with its adjoining streets, quite definitely as the coloured quarters of the city". He then continues suggesting that "there can be no doubt that the concentration in ... Cardiff was significantly related to the discriminatory power wielded by the White community which was soon brought into action whenever Blacks attempted to move beyond their allotted residential base" (Holmes 1988, p. 135).

<sup>181</sup> For a detailed account of the Butetown area in terms of immigration, popular imagination and representation see Jordan and Weedon (2015).

<sup>182</sup> Mainly from the Caribbean, Africa, the Middle East (particularly Yemen), the Indian subcontinent (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh), China and the Philippines. This wave of immigration was potentiated by the British Nationality Act 1948 which enabled all citizens born in any of the colonies and former colonies of the British Empire to move to the United Kingdom.

<sup>183</sup> Particularly from countries such as Somalia, Nigeria, Congo, Zimbabwe, Sudan (Runnymede 2012), Iraq.

newcomers. This is particularly relevant for the Somali<sup>184</sup> (Runnymede 2012, p. 4) and Yemeni<sup>185</sup> (Runnymede 2012, p. 12) communities. While these mass migrations involved a high degree of complexity, Vertovec (2007, p. 1027) argues that they also implied a certain homogeneity, leading to the formation of large communities which in turn triggered multicultural policies promoting tolerance and respect towards the new communities. Britain experienced further waves of immigration, particularly as a result of the end of the Cold War and the gradual enlargement of the European Union in the 1990s and 2000s. In contrast to the first type, the ‘super-diverse’ or ‘transnational’ wave is characterised by dramatic changes in the diversity of the “immigrants’ places of origin” (Vertovec 2007, p. 1029), which has led to complex phenomena of linguistic, ethnic, religious diversity and contact.

Consequently, as pinpointed in Chapter 1, nowadays Cardiff is the most diverse local authority in Wales; in 2011 19 per cent of the population<sup>186</sup> declared that they were neither British nor Irish (Cardiff Research Centre 2012). More specifically, in percentage terms, 0.2 declared they were Gypsy or Irish Travellers; 3.5 Other White; 2.9 Mixed Ethnicity; 8.0 Asian (2.3 Indian; 1.8 Pakistani; 1.4 Bangladeshi; 1.2 Chinese; 1.3 Other Asian); 2.4 Black; 2.0 Other Ethnic Group (1.4 Arab; 0.6 Other Ethnic Group) (Cardiff Research Centre 2012). This ethnic diversity also implies a heterogeneous linguistic reality, with more than 94 languages being spoken in Cardiff apart from English and Welsh (CILT 2006). Furthermore, the latest Census shows that 9.5 per cent of all households in Cardiff<sup>187</sup> included at least one person whose main language was not English or Welsh (Office for National Statistics 2012b). Moreover, 8.3. per cent of Cardiff’s population stated not having English or Welsh as their main language (Office for National Statistics 2013a). Instead, Arabic, Polish, Bengali, Chinese, Somali, and Urdu are the languages with the highest percentage of respondents declaring them as their main language<sup>188</sup>. Apart from the 2011 Census, no other substantial data is available with respect to the non-autochthonous minority languages spoken in Cardiff. Furthermore, it can be argued that the question used in the Census, referring to the ‘main language’ of the respondent defined as “the language that is a person’s first or preferred language” (Office for National Statistics 2012b) is ambiguous; therefore, the results of the Census may hide crucial details regarding the heterogeneous linguistic reality of Cardiff. Particularly multilingual individuals may have had

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<sup>184</sup> Following the war in 1991, when the Somali president was overthrown (Runnymede 2012, p. 4).

<sup>185</sup> Following the war between the former Northern and Southern states of Yemen in 1994 (Runnymede 2012, p. 12).

<sup>186</sup> In 2011 the total number of the population was 346,090 (Cardiff Research Centre 2012).

<sup>187</sup> In 2011 the total number of the households was 142,557 (Office for National Statistics 2012b).

<sup>188</sup> More precisely, the percentages are the following: Arabic: 1.1%; Polish: 0.8%; Bengali (with Sylheti and Chatgaya): 0.7%; Chinese (Mandarin, Cantonese, and other types of Chinese) 0.7%; Somali: 0.4%; Urdu 0.4% (Office for National Statistics 2013a).

difficulties in choosing their 'main language' given that their linguistic habitus is adapted to produce linguistic practices with more than one language. As part of an official national Census the question may have led some respondents to declare English, the legitimate language of Cardiff, as their 'main language'. Potentially, the numbers of speakers of non-autochthonous minority languages, particularly among second-generation immigrants, may be much higher than the one the Census results imply.

Particularly in the past two decades, issues of race, ethnicity, diversity and integration in South Wales have been tackled by a number of scholars<sup>189</sup>, usually contextualized in the wider debates about multiculturalism (Parekh 2002), community cohesion (Cantle 2001), super-diversity (Vertovec 2006) or transnationalism (Vertovec 2009) at the level of Britain. Significant contributions to the knowledge about the immigrant communities resettled in South Wales have been made mainly by the books edited by Williams et al. (2003; 2015) and the reports edited by Threadgold et al. (2007; 2008). However, as Threadgold et al. (2008) notes, there is a general lack of empirical research which explores the experience of minority ethnic people in Wales<sup>190</sup>.

Furthermore, as mentioned in Chapter 1, there is a significant lack of research with respect to the linguistic practices of this city's immigrant agents. A salient piece of research is the report entitled "Research into the language needs of families in Cardiff and Newport" (Arad Research 2012). Commissioned in order to help inform the implementation of Families First services in the two local authorities<sup>191</sup>, the report links the potential lack of ability to speak English among Black and Minority Ethnic communities with lower economic capital and social status. Furthermore, the report suggests that a lack of English language skills is clearly a "barrier" to accessing services for families<sup>192</sup> (Arad

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<sup>189</sup> Such as Williams et al. (2003; 2015); Threadgold et al. (2007, 2008).

<sup>190</sup> Some exceptions are Scourfield et al. (2002), Scourfield and Davies (2005), who explored the experiences of minority ethnic children in terms of race and inclusivity.

<sup>191</sup> Families First is a Welsh governmental initiative through which each local authority in Wales receives funding to help 1) working age people in low income families gain, and progress within employment; 2) children, young people and families, in or at risk of poverty, achieve their potential; 3) ensure children, young people and families are healthy and enjoy well-being; 4) families are confident, nurturing, resilient and safe (Welsh Government 2015).

<sup>192</sup> More specifically, the report states the following: "Evidence from members of different BME communities indicates that language is undoubtedly a barrier for many families. In the first instance, a lack of English language skills means that people are unaware of services and the support available to them. Even where individuals are aware that support is available, a lack of confidence in using the language can mean that services are not accessed, resulting in continued sense of detachment and disengagement. The extent to which language is a barrier varies considerably: it varies by community, by age group and by gender in some instances" (Arad Research 2012, p. 24). However, the report does acknowledge that this issue "needs to be seen in the context of wider societal attitudinal and societal issues that can also serve as barriers to engagement in services ... this includes relatively low awareness of services, entitlements and systems" (Arad Research 2012, p. 25).

Research 2012, p. 25), thus recognizing English as the legitimate language and any other non-autochthonous minority languages as potentially illegitimate both in Cardiff and Newport.

Similarly, Threadgold et al.'s (2008) report entitled "Immigration and inclusion in South Wales" understands fluency in English as a key indicator of economic and social integration (p. 43); the report suggests that the levels of proficiency in English indicated an agent's class background and, consequently, people's living standards. On the one hand, a lack in fluency in English was associated with isolation, poverty, under-employment, low social class, lack of social mobility, low levels of education, and it was portrayed as a barrier to inclusion and community cohesion for both new migrants and settled communities. On the other hand, the report outlines that particular ethnic minority communities (such as the Sudanese) and second- and third-generation immigrants "spoke excellent English, easily understandable for a native English speaker, and this has clearly had a great impact on their ability to interact with the British and their consequent feeling of comfort in Wales" (Threadgold et al. 2008, p. 37). In the case of both new migrants (including refugees and asylum seekers) and settled communities, there were discrepancies with respect to the linguistic habitus of parents (particularly mothers) and children, the latter usually having "less difficulty learning English than their parents" due to schooling<sup>193</sup> (Threadgold et al. 2008, p. 55). Language brokerage of children for their non-English speaking parents (Threadgold et al. 2008, pp. 54-55) is the main aspect noted by this report in terms of the production of multilingual linguistic practices of second-generation migrant agents in Cardiff.

It can be argued that both these reports imply the high level of dominance of the English language in the linguistic market of Cardiff, entailing that non-autochthonous minority languages associated with immigrant communities are measured primarily against English and are therefore practically rendered illegitimate. Further proof of the relative lack of symbolic value of linguistic practices with such languages in this linguistic market is the CILT Cymru and CILT (2010) report looking into the provision of support for community languages in secondary schools in Wales. This report reveals a lack of consistent institutionalised support for non-autochthonous minority languages in the field of education: the provision "tends to occur outside the mainstream curriculum. Providing community language support is typically seen as subordinate to a school's role in supporting English as an Additional Language (EAL) and the responsibility of the supplementary/complementary sector" (p. 4). Furthermore, in an interview conducted in 2012, the CILT Cymru directors<sup>194</sup> stressed the

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<sup>193</sup> The report also notes that "children report that learning to speak English is the quickest way to deal with the bullying that may occur" (Threadgold et al. 2008, p. 55). This is telling of the level of legitimacy of the English language within the linguistic market of Cardiff.

<sup>194</sup> CILT is the National Centre for Languages, while CILT Cymru is the National Centre for Languages in Wales.

significant lack of institutional support and interest for non-autochthonous minority languages, suggesting that in terms of funding and research, such languages are usually at the bottom of the hierarchy, priority being given to ESOL<sup>195</sup>, Welsh, and Modern Foreign Languages. Indeed, they confirmed that the report published in 2010 was the only one that had been commissioned until that point<sup>196</sup>. This denotes not only the lack of symbolic value of minority non-autochthonous languages, and therefore their illegitimacy in this market, but also the lack of a symbolically powerful mainstream medium of reproduction of such languages.

### 3.5. Conclusion

The chapter has traced back the main socio-historical conditions and power relations which have led to the multi-layered linguistic hierarchy of Cardiff, understood as a specific part of Wales and the United Kingdom; Cardiff functions as a relatively unified linguistic market whose rules and laws of price formation have developed and function broadly in alignment with those of the wider linguistic market of England and Wales. I have shown that within the linguistic market of Cardiff linguistic practices with English are unequivocally recognised as legitimate, practices with Welsh are becoming symbolically valuable within an increasing number of linguistic submarkets, while linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages are practically rendered illegitimate. Nevertheless, it is clear that particularly second-generation immigrant agents are multilingual, their linguistic habitus being adapted to recognise and produce linguistic practices with English and one or several other languages as meaningful and valuable. In light of this, the central question of the thesis is the following: what are the conditions enabling second-generation immigrants to produce, reproduce, and negotiate linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages in the linguistic market of Cardiff in spite of their illegitimacy? These agents find themselves at the core of a web of power relations influencing their production of multilingual practices. They are constantly engaged in an interplay between legitimacy and illegitimacy, having a particular experience of the value and the assignation of value to utterances. In the second part of the thesis I explore in depth the question of the possibility of validation of linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages in Cardiff by focusing on the conditions of development of the linguistic habitus of second-generation agents. I employ linguistic biographies, which, when analysed through the lenses of the Bourdieusian conceptual tools enable paying attention to the personal experiences of the participants while taking into account the rules and laws of price formation prevalent on the linguistic market of Cardiff outlined in this chapter.

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<sup>195</sup> ESOL = English for Speakers of Other Languages

<sup>196</sup> Significantly, the funding of CILT Cymru was cut down by 70% in 2014, leading to a reduction in personnel and the body's research power.

## PART II

### 4. Methodology

The first part of the thesis introduced the literature review and theoretical framework (Chapter 2), as well as an application of this theoretical model to the particular case of Cardiff, Wales (Chapter 3). Chapter 2 (particularly section 2.2.6) argued that when trying to understand how multilingual individuals produce certain linguistic practices it is important to examine their linguistic habitus, as it represents the main principle of production of linguistic practices. However, it was also underlined that exploring the linguistic habitus of an agent automatically involves examining the relationship between such a linguistic habitus and the market(s) under which that habitus has developed and functions. In light of this relationship, Chapter 3 explored the linguistic hierarchy prevalent in Cardiff as part of the broader context of Wales and the United Kingdom. That analysis functions as a foundation layer of critical importance for a nuanced exploration of the conditions which enable second-generation multilingual migrant agents to produce, reproduce and negotiate linguistic practices with languages other than the dominant ones in this context. Thus, while the first part of the thesis outlined the theoretical precepts and offered a mapping of the linguistic market of Cardiff and its social space, the second part of the thesis moves to an exploration of the linguistic habitus of second-generation multilingual migrant agents. Closely linked to Part I, Part II offers a close analysis of linguistic biographies collected from second-generation multilingual immigrant agents living in Cardiff.

To serve as a link between the two parts of the thesis, I will discuss the methodological aspects of the research project, which are categorized into three themes. The first section explains what linguistic biographies are and how this methodological tool has been employed so far in the study of bilingualism and multilingualism. The second section discusses data collection. The third section represents a theoretical and reflective discussion with respect to data analysis, which focuses on the original pairing of linguistic biographies with the Bourdieusian framework.

#### 4.1. Linguistic biographies

Linguistic autobiographies are one of the main types of narratives<sup>197</sup> employed in the study of bilingualism. As a subtype of personal experience narratives<sup>198</sup>, linguistic autobiographies focus “on the languages of the speaker and discuss how and why these languages were acquired, used, or abandoned” over the participant’s life (Pavlenko 2008, p. 319). Given that this project’s aim is to uncover the conditions which enable second-generation multilingual migrants to produce, reproduce, and negotiate linguistic practices with a variety of languages in Cardiff, linguistic autobiographies are a particularly appropriate tool through which the research question can be answered. As Busch (2006, p. 9) argues, “the biographic account can offer insights into how an individual experiences the broader social context and the language regimes in which she develops her language practices”. With the right conceptual tools, such biographic approaches can mediate between the macro-sociological approach and the micro-level of a specific case study (Busch 2006, p. 9). Although the analysis departs from individual case studies, its purpose is to reveal the social dimensions of linguistic practices. The linguistic biography becomes an excellent methodological tool given that “the value ascribed to a particular language practice cannot be understood apart from the person who employs it and from the larger networks and social relationships in which this person is engaged” (Busch 2006, p. 9)<sup>199</sup>. The richness and depth of data that this methodological tool offers may lead to a nuanced interpretation of the problem investigated when the accounts are analysed through the lenses of the Bourdieusian model (see 4.3).

Oral linguistic autobiographies are usually elicited through interviews<sup>200</sup> (e.g. Nekvapil 2000; 2003; Verschik 2002; Čmejrková 2003; Meng 2004; Franceschini 2003). Similarly, all data collected for the purpose of this research was elicited through qualitative, semi-structured interviews<sup>201</sup>. A semi-

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<sup>197</sup> There are two types of narratives which are usually employed in the field of bilingualism: fictional and personal. While fictional narratives focus on stories about fictional events, personal narratives are stories which focus on the participant’s personal life and experiences (Pavlenko 2008, p. 317). Due to their autobiographical orientation, personal narratives may represent “excellent instruments for the study of language socialization, for inquiries into emotional expression and narrative construction of bilinguals’ selves, for investigations of sociolinguistic determinants of language learning, attrition, and shift, and for historical and diachronic research in contexts where other sources are scarce” (Pavlenko 2008, p. 318). For a broader perspective on narrative and life history analysis in general, see Denzin (1987; 2001), Linde (1993), Atkinson (1997).

<sup>198</sup> Researchers elicit personal experience narratives when they are looking for stories which are focused on particular episodes of the participant’s life experience (e.g. stories about holidays, school experiences, etc.) (Pavlenko 2008, p. 318). For a detailed explanation of what personal experience narratives are, how they can be collected and analysed, see Pavlenko (2008, pp. 318-321).

<sup>199</sup> Busch explicitly references Bourdieu’s influence, in particular his views on language expressed in *Ce que parler veut dire* (1982).

<sup>200</sup> Other researchers focus on spontaneous, written linguistic autobiographies, such as diaries, or published autobiographies, also known as language memoirs (Pavlenko 1998; Tse 2000; Hinton 2001).

<sup>201</sup> For a copy of the guide of the interview, see Appendix A.

structured interview consists primarily of a set of open-ended questions, which can be used to “obtain highly personalized data” (Gray 2004, p. 214). In contrast to a structured interview, a semi-structured interview is a much more flexible tool. The interviewer can decide the order of the topics to be dealt with, the wording of the questions, and the degree of specification and detail of questions (Corbetta 2003, p. 270). This implies a high degree of freedom for both the interviewer and the interviewee (Corbetta 2003, p. 270). Furthermore, this tool allows for probing with either formal (written beforehand) or informal (spontaneous) prompts (Leech 2002, pp. 667-668), which can be used for clarification, expanding the respondents’ answers, and even for “the diversion of the interview into new pathways, which, while not originally considered as part of the interview, help towards meeting the research objective” (Gray 2004, p. 217).

Reflecting upon the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee, Franceschini (2003, pp. 4-5) argues that it would be more appropriate to talk about “biographies” instead of “autobiographies” as the product of the interview. According to her, “both interview partners are active designers and take part in constituting the biography (e.g. by way of their expectations, their mutual assumptions of prior knowledge)” (Franceschini 2003, p. 5). In light of this relationship, the primary data collected for this project is interpreted as “linguistic biographies”. This has consequences for data analysis; it must include a reflective account of the power relations between the interview partners, and how this relation influences the narrative produced, as well as the interpretation of this narrative (Pavlenko 2008, p. 322) (see 4.3). The following section provides a discussion on the process of data collection.

## 4.2. Data collection

The section which discusses data collection is divided into four parts. The first part presents the pilot interviews and key informants. The second part describes the selection criteria for the primary participants and the recruitment process. The third part presents the primary participants. The fourth part looks into the process of conducting and transcribing the interviews.

### 4.2.1. Pilot interviews and key informants

Data collection took place between October 2012 and February 2015. A number of exploratory interviews were conducted at the initial stage of the project. The aim was to obtain a clearer delimitation of the research object as well as an improvement of the initial interview guide for the collection of linguistic biographies. Two pilot interviews with multilingual speakers (one Welsh and English speaker; one Arabic and English speaker) were conducted, but were not included in the final corpus due to their lack of compliance with the selection criteria for the primary participants (see

4.2.2). Furthermore, nine semi-structured interviews were conducted with ‘key informants’<sup>202</sup> (see Tables 1 and 2 below). Three of the interviews were conducted with community leaders and four with linguistic policy makers with institutional roles (see Table 1 below)<sup>203</sup>. The vast majority of the interviews with key informants had an exploratory<sup>204</sup> and heterogeneous<sup>205</sup> nature, the topics discussed ranging from the interviewees’ own experience of the linguistic market of Wales to their institutions’ ethos around multilingualism and migration. Information collected from some of these interviews is employed as complementary data in Chapters 5 and 6<sup>206</sup>. The other two interviews with key informants were conducted with the parents of some of the primary research participants (see Table 2 below). These two interviews are also used as complementary data throughout Chapters 5 and 6.

| No | Pseudonym | Institution           | Profile                    | Interview used as data? |
|----|-----------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1  | KI1       | CILT Cymru            | FL in the UK               | Yes                     |
| 2  | KI2       | Public institution    | Cultural profile           | No                      |
| 3  | KI3       | Public institution    | Cultural profile           | No                      |
| 4  | KI4       | Public institution    | ESOL in the UK             | Yes                     |
| 5  | KI5       | Community institution | Islamic centre             | Yes                     |
| 6  | KI6       | Community institution | Cultural – ethnic minority | No                      |
| 7  | KI7       | Community institution | Cultural – ethnic minority | No                      |

Table 1 - Key Informants (Institutions)

| No | Pseudonym | Age | Gender | Ethnic background | Parent of      | Languages   |
|----|-----------|-----|--------|-------------------|----------------|---|
| 1  | Sanaa     | 45  | F      | Yemeni            | Yusra & Nadeen | Arabic, English   |
| 2a | Saif      | 49  | M      | Pakistani         | Bilal & Aisha  | Punjabi, English, Arabic                                |
| 2b | Sonia     | 50  | F      | Pakistan          | Bilal & Aisha  | Urdu, Punjabi, Potwari, Hinko, Persian, English, Arabic |

Table 2 - Key Informants (Parents)

<sup>202</sup> According to Corbetta (2003, p. 275), key informants are usually individuals who are “not a part of the phenomenon under investigation, but who have special expertise or knowledge of that phenomenon”. A key informant can also be “a member of the population under investigation, but occupies a particular position within that population”, such as a community leader, “who is interviewed because she reflects the opinions of the group to which she belongs” (Corbetta 2003, p. 275).

<sup>203</sup> Due to ethical considerations, neither the names of the interviewees, the institutions for which they work, nor their roles in such institutions can be disclosed, as they could be easily traced back (see 4.3). The only exception is the interview with CILT Cymru, where the researcher obtained written permission to disclose the institution’s name.

<sup>204</sup> In this sense, Corbetta (2003, p. 275) states that “key informants are often sought out during the preliminary phase of research, when the boundaries of the object of study are yet to be established”.

<sup>205</sup> From this perspective, Corbetta (2003, p. 275) says that: “interviews with key informants are absolutely heterogeneous; each one is unique and has its own development and its own focus. This stems from the fact that the subjects interviewed are very diverse, and each has a different story to tell”.

<sup>206</sup> Due to their exploratory nature, some interviews were not deemed to contain essential information for the present research project. Table 1 shows if the interviews were used as complementary data or not.

Apart from an exploratory purpose, the interviews with the key participants had an additional function. At the initial stages of the project, one data collection strategy was to interview community leaders and institutional representatives who were then asked to suggest other potential interviewees who complied with the selection criteria for the main participants. In the specialised literature, this strategy is called 'snowball sampling' (Atkinson and Flint 2001). The method is particularly useful when the study requires "previous 'knowledge of insiders' in order to identify initial respondents" (Atkinson and Flint 2001). As such prior knowledge may be difficult to attain, Atkinson and Flint (2001) argue that "it is possible that people in positions of relative authority or proximity may provide a route into the required population". While this strategy was initially regarded as key to this study, it was not as productive as anticipated. Most of the key informants (KI1-KI7) functioned as gatekeepers<sup>207</sup>, most likely out of protectiveness towards their community and reticence towards institutional research<sup>208</sup>. However, the strategy of snowball sampling was extremely successful with the pilot interviewees, the parents of the primary participants (see Table 2), and especially with the primary participants themselves. The shortcoming of snowball sampling resides in the fact that "elements are not randomly drawn, but are subjective choices of the respondents first accessed" (Atkinson and Flint 2001). However, the researcher sought different initial respondents in order to avoid this issue as much as was practically possible. The following subsection provides the selection criteria for the primary interviewees and the recruitment details.

#### 4.2.2. Selection criteria for primary participants and the recruitment process

Given that the present research project is concerned with second-generation multilingual immigrants in the context of Cardiff, specific selection criteria for primary participants were employed in the recruitment process. While the notion is complex and even problematic, a two-fold definition of 'second-generation immigrants' was employed: the researcher sought 1) participants whose parents were the first generation to immigrate to Cardiff from another country; 2) participants who were either born in Cardiff, or who arrived in Cardiff before they were five years old.

Another criterion referred to the age of the potential participants; the aim was to interview young adults, particularly people in their twenties. The reasons behind this decision were manifold. A first

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<sup>207</sup> Before data collection, I was concerned that the strategy of 'snowball sampling' starting from community leaders and institutional representatives may lead to potentially non-representative samples as a result of gatekeeping. However, the extent of community leaders' gatekeeping to the point of not enabling any contact with their community members was unexpected. Nevertheless, the failure of this strategy also meant that the issue of non-representative samples did not arise.

<sup>208</sup> According to Groger et al. (1999), such behaviour is called a 'gatekeeper bias'.

reason for choosing this age range and imposing the requirement for the participants to have arrived in Cardiff when they were younger than five years old was to ensure that they had spent most of their lifetime in Cardiff, and thus their linguistic habitus was firmly adjusted to the rules and laws of price formation of this linguistic market (see Chapter 3). The age limit imposed for their arrival ensured that they started attending school at approximately the same age with all children registered in the Welsh educational system. The age range set for potential interviewees aimed at finding individuals who had already finished compulsory schooling in Wales. Due to the expected effects of a specific educational system on the linguistic habitus, the likelihood of finding second-generation immigrants whose habitus was already firmly adjusted to the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic market of Cardiff increased substantially<sup>209</sup>. This habitus adjustment can also be understood as a criterion for their categorization as ‘second generation’.

The second reason for choosing this age range is linked to the further criterion that the participants had to be multilingual. From a linguistic or sociolinguistic perspective, this implies their competence in at least two languages (see 2.1). From a Bourdieusian-derived perspective, their linguistic habitus had to be adapted to produce different linguistic practices according to the rules and laws of price formation of multiple linguistic markets where such linguistic practices have been socio-historically constructed as ‘languages’ (for a theoretical discussion see 2.2; for a concrete case analysis see Chapter 3). It was important to decide on the languages the interviewees were supposed to have competence in (apart from English) in order for them to qualify as participants. From the very beginning, the focus of the project was on languages holding little symbolic value in the social space of Cardiff, while still significant in terms of numbers of speakers. This criterion was closely connected to the ethnic background of the potential interviewees’ parents, and therefore, to the immigration wave they pertained to. Minority non-autochthonous languages associated with the ‘multicultural’ immigration wave (such as Urdu, Punjabi, Bengali) (see 3.4.2.1) but also with the oldest immigrant communities of Cardiff (such as Arabic and Somali) were expected to hold little symbolic value. Indeed, Chapter 3 argued that these languages are practically rendered illegitimate in Cardiff (see 3.4.2.1). Choosing to interview young adults ensured that their parents were part of the ‘multicultural wave’, and not the ‘transnational’ one. At the same time, as discussed in section 3.4.2.1, the communities speaking these languages are sufficiently large and homogenous and, therefore, the number of second-generation immigrants was sufficiently large in order to offer a certain coherence to this study.

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<sup>209</sup> Had they arrived at a much older age, the research question and the results of the study would have differed significantly (mainly due to their likely insertion in the educational system at a later stage and the impact this would have had on their linguistic habitus).

A final aspect which needs highlighting is that the present study does not focus on either a single ethnic minority in Cardiff or a non-autochthonous minority language. While such an enterprise would certainly be timely, this research project has a broader, albeit more challenging, approach. Taking multiplicity as its lynchpin, it aims to uncover a relational perspective on the languages of Cardiff, with a focus on non-autochthonous minority languages. While it may be an overstatement to assert that the final sample of participants is representative of the ethnic and linguistic diversity of Cardiff, it is safe to affirm that the selection criteria were designed to include participants from a broad range of ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. As mentioned above, the recruitment process took into consideration the immigration patterns specific to Cardiff (see 3.4.2.1) and focused on prospective participants whose parents were part of the ‘multicultural wave’ of immigration.

The composition of the primary interviews was primarily determined by the internal logic imposed by the outlined selection criteria. However, it must be acknowledged that the final composition was heavily influenced by external considerations, mainly by the access constraints of the researcher to potential interviewees. As the key participants were not particularly responsive with respect to the snowball sampling technique, the recruitment process employed several other strategies. The most successful strategy proved to be face-to-face recruitment of various initial respondents at different community-based events, followed by snowball sampling. Another particularly fruitful strategy was the identification of an initial respondent through social media, followed by snowball sampling. The following subsection provides information with regards to the primary participants.

#### 4.2.3. Primary participants

The present research project is based on the linguistic biographies of 13 primary participants. Table 3 below gives a concise overview of the main characteristics of the participants. The aim is for the reader to refer back to this table when reading Chapters 5 and 6<sup>210</sup>.

In light of similar approaches (e.g. Doran 2004; Giampapa 2004; James and Woll 2004; Mills 2004; Scourfield et al. 2013), culturally appropriate pseudonyms were allocated by the researcher to the study participants. Seven women and six men were interviewed, a balanced number which allows exploring whether there are any significant gender-related differences. The age of the participants at the moment of the interview ranged from 16 to 34, with the great majority being in their twenties.

According to their parents’ ethnic background, the interviewees can be classified into three main groups: 1) From a Middle-Eastern background (Iraqi and Yemeni); 2) From a South-Asian background

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<sup>210</sup> The principle underscoring the design of this tool was inspired by the methodological discussion in Scourfield et al.’s (2013, pp. 45-72) study entitled *Muslim Childhood: Religious Nurture in a European Context*.

(Pakistani and Bangladeshi); 3) From a Somali background. Apart from English, the linguistic habitus of the participants is adapted to varying degrees to the languages presented in Table 3.

While most parents can be easily categorized as first-generation immigrants in light of their age at the time of resettlement (older than 20) and educational background (they completed their education in the country of origin), it is somewhat difficult to classify two of the fathers and one of the mothers. Bilal and Aisha's father, Yusra and Nadeen's father, and Faiza's mother resettled to Cardiff when they were older than 12, which leaves them somewhere in-between first-generation and second-generation immigrants. However, as their respective spouses resettled to Cardiff as adults, their children were still considered second generation and therefore suitable to take part in this project.

Furthermore, although it was not one of the selection criteria, all participants were brought up as Muslims. As Chapter 5 will show, this element is particularly important for the reproduction of linguistic practices with languages other than English. All participants are educated to degree level and were either in full-time education or full-time employment at the time of the interview. In most cases, the occupation of the parents shows a generational socio-economic discrepancy, with very few of them having been educated at degree level. In most cases there were significant gender-based occupational discrepancies among the parents, with most women having never worked, while most men having had routine occupations. As Chapter 5 claims, such patterns did play a significant role in the reproduction of linguistic practices with languages other than English in the case of this study's participants.

| No. | Name    | Gender | Age | Parents' ethnic background | Arrival in Cardiff | Languages (apart from English)                       | Literacy (apart from English)                | Education level | Occupation                 | Parents' occupation |                   |
|-----|---------|--------|-----|----------------------------|--------------------|--|--|-----------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
|     |         |        |     |                            |                    |  |  |                 |                            | Mother              | Father            |
| 1.  | Amira   | F      | 24  | Iraqi                      | 5 years old        | Arabic   | Arabic                                       | BA student      | Student                    | NW <sup>211</sup>   | RO <sup>212</sup> |
| 2.  | Amman   | M      | 18  | Iraqi                      | Born in Cardiff    | Arabic   | Arabic                                       | A levels        | Student                    | NW                  | RO                |
| 3.  | Yasser  | M      | 20  | Yemeni                     | 3 years old        | Arabic   | Arabic                                       | BA student      | Student                    | NW                  | RO                |
| 4.  | Yusra   | F      | 25  | Yemeni                     | Born in Cardiff    | Arabic   | Arabic                                       | BA Degree       | Freelancer                 | NW->RO              | RO                |
| 5.  | Nadeen  | F      | 16  | Yemeni                     | Born in Cardiff    | Arabic   | Arabic                                       | A levels        | Student                    | NW                  | RO                |
| 6.  | Yasmeen | F      | 24  | Yemeni                     | Born in Cardiff    | Arabic   | Arabic                                       | BA Degree       | 3 <sup>rd</sup> sector job | NW                  | n/a               |
| 7.  | Nazir   | M      | 25  | Bangladeshi                | Born in Cardiff    | Bengali, Arabic                                      | Arabic                                       | PhD student     | Student                    | NW                  | RO                |
| 8.  | Ahmed   | M      | 27  | Pakistani                  | Born in Cardiff    | Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi                                 | n/a  | MA Degree       | Paralegal                  | NW                  | RO                |
| 9.  | Bilal   | M      | 22  | Pakistani                  | Born in Cardiff    | Urdu/Punjabi, Arabic, German, French, Spanish, Latin | Urdu/Punjabi, Arabic, German, Spanish, Latin | MA student      | Student                    | PO <sup>213</sup>   | PO                |
| 10. | Aisha   | F      | 19  | Pakistani                  | Born in Cardiff    | Urdu, Punjabi, Arabic                                | Arabic                                       | BA student      | Student                    | PO                  | PO                |
| 11. | Faiza   | F      | 34  | Pakistani                  | Born in Cardiff    | Urdu, Punjabi, Arabic                                | Arabic                                       | BA Degree       | 3 <sup>rd</sup> sector job | RO                  | RO                |
| 12. | Amal    | F      | 31  | Somali                     | 2 years old        | Somali, Arabic                                       | Arabic                                       | BA Degree       | Council job                | NW                  | RO                |
| 13. | Anwar   | M      | 29  | Somali                     | Born in Cardiff    | Somali, Arabic                                       | Somali, Arabic                               | BA Degree       | Council job                | NW                  | RO                |

Table 3 – Primary Participants

<sup>211</sup> NW = Never Worked. The classification used is that of the three-class version of the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (Office for National Statistics 2005, p. 15). According to this classification, there are three occupation-based classes 1, 2, 3. Number 1 corresponds to managerial and professional occupations; number 2 to intermediate occupations; number 3 to routine and manual occupations, never worked and long-term unemployed. Instead of the numerical classification, this table employs three abbreviations: NW = Never Worked; RO = Routine Occupations; PO = Professional Occupations. These abbreviations are used mainly in order to emphasize the gender-based occupational differences.

<sup>212</sup> RO = Routine Occupations

<sup>213</sup> PO = Professional Occupations

#### 4.2.4. Conducting and transcribing the interviews

The researcher obtained the Cardiff University Ethical Approval for this project. Upon recruitment, all interviewees were provided with an official letter with information regarding the project. Some key informants also requested the interview guide in advance. The researcher obtained written and informed consent in line with the University Policy from all participants at the beginning of each interview, which ensured their anonymity and confidentiality. All interviews were audio-recorded; the data has been stored according to the University's Data Protection Act.

The interviewees were given the opportunity to choose the location, date and time of the interview. All interviews with the key informants took place at their workplace. In contrast, the locations where the primary interviews were conducted varied significantly, most participants preferring what they considered to be more neutral places, such as libraries or Cardiff University Students' Union. One participant preferred to be interviewed in the lobby of her residence building. Some participants were interviewed in their homes, or in the home of the initial respondent. The process of data collection required high degrees of flexibility in terms of dates and times. The key informants were contacted primarily through e-mail and telephone. In contrast, social media played a fundamental role in keeping in touch and arranging interviews with the primary participants, although official information was sent via e-mail.

The interviews were transcribed manually by the researcher. Given that the aim of the transcription was content-oriented rather than form-oriented, no special transcription conventions were employed, apart from signalling when either speaker commences an utterance. According to Pavlenko (2007, p. 173), when transcribing oral narratives it is important not to omit or add any type of information, as this can lead to misinterpretation of data<sup>214</sup>. Following this advice, the interviews were transcribed in their entirety, without any omissions or additions. It was this transcription that was employed in the original analysis. However, for the sake of clarity and due to space limitations, the quotations employed in Chapters 5 and 6 omit parts of the interview which are not relevant for a particular argument. Such omissions are clearly marked using ellipses.

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<sup>214</sup> According to Pavlenko (2007, p. 173) "two types of errors need to be avoided – additions and omissions. Inexperienced transcribers tend, for instance, to organize spoken discourse into written prose, that is, a series of sentences. Nevertheless, even though punctuation makes transcripts easier to read, this addition may negatively affect subsequent analysis – it is not a faithful representation of the data. Transcribers may also decide to omit repetitions, false starts, or paralinguistic features. This decision can also create problems for analysis – pauses, self-corrections, repetitions, slips of the tongue, false starts and restarts, code-switches, requests for help, paralinguistic features, and temporal variation are crucial cues in analysis of lexical choice problems, in the understanding of speakers' intentions and positioning toward the subject matter, in analysis of affect, argument and narrative structure, and in the determination of whether a particular episode is a repeated and well-rehearsed production, a translation, or an on-line construction".

### 4.3. Data analysis: a theoretical and reflective discussion

This subsection presents the process of data analysis, focusing on the relationship between linguistic biographies and the Bourdieusian theoretical framework (Chapter 2). The subsection tackles three inter-connected issues. First, it underlines the potential weaknesses of employing linguistic biographies, in light of previous research. Second, it argues that such a methodological tool can be useful if paired with the Bourdieusian theoretical framework. Third, it offers a reflective discussion of the negotiation of power relationships between the researcher and the researched during the interview.

#### 4.3.1. The analysis of linguistic biographies: strengths and weaknesses

Linguistic (auto)biographies can offer three types of information: life reality, subject reality, and text reality (Denzin 1987; Nekvapil 2003; Pavlenko 2007; 2008). Life reality refers mainly to facts; subject reality refers to the experiences of the interviewees, or how they lived and perceived certain events; text reality refers to the way in which respondents narrate those events. Following this classification, the second part of the thesis focuses mainly on subject reality, complemented by life reality.

Studies which examine subject reality appeal to either content or thematic analysis, which involves coding the narratives according to emerging themes, patterns, or conceptual categories (Pavlenko 2007, p. 166). The main advantage of content or thematic analysis is “the sensitivity to recurrent motifs salient in participant’s stories and thus to themes that are important to [second language learners] but may not have been reflected in previous scholarship” (Pavlenko 2007, p. 166). However, the author emphasizes that one major weakness of previous studies which employ content and thematic analyses (e.g. Schumann 1980) is their lack of a clear theoretical framework. Without a theoretical framework, the validity of the conceptual categories employed in the analysis is questionable, as well as the links (or lack of) between such categories<sup>215</sup>. For this reason, the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 2 is particularly important for this second part of the thesis. Furthermore, some studies which focus on both subject reality and life reality treat narratives as facts (e.g. Tse 2000; Hinton 2001). This simplistic approach disregards that people’s descriptions

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<sup>215</sup> From this perspective, Pavlenko (2007, p. 167) underlines that “thematization is a preliminary analytical step and cannot be confused with analysis. To provide analysis that goes beyond a list-making activity, researchers need to adopt a specific theoretical framework that would allow them to clarify the nature of their conceptual categories and to pinpoint the links between the recurrent themes and conceptual constructs”.

of things, events, behaviours, and competencies may not always reflect reality. Pavlenko (2007, 167) proposes instead an analysis of linguistic autobiographies as discursive constructions<sup>216</sup>.

There are also some interesting examples of strong analyses of linguistic biographies. Focusing on subject and life reality, a strand of researchers uses this methodological tool in order to reconstruct the linguistic trajectories of multilingual individuals (e.g. Deprez 2004; Franceschini 2003; Busch et al. 2012), which is probably the closest approach to that of the present study. Pavlenko (2007, p. 169) underlines that the analysis of linguistic biographies in such studies is much more nuanced, due to the triangulation of data: the accounts are analysed in conjunction with the context (socio-historic and socio-political information) and the form of the narrative.

Taking this discussion into account, the following subsection explains how some of the issues outlined here are tackled in the second part of the thesis, by exploring the implication of analysing linguistic biographies through the conceptual lenses of the Bourdieusian framework.

#### 4.3.2. Bourdieu and linguistic biographies

As outlined so far, the present study relies on an adapted Bourdieusian framework to interpret the data collected. It is argued that such a combination has the potential of solving the issues raised above (see subsection 4.3.1) with reference to data analysis. However, in order for this conceptual and methodological pairing to be fruitful, some issues need consideration.

It may be argued that Bourdieu himself was adamant about not using biographic narratives as a methodological tool. In his article entitled *The Biographical Illusion* (2000, henceforth 'TBI'), he seems to decry the usage of 'life histories' as a methodological tool. From Bourdieu's perspective, a 'life history' automatically implies the understanding of life as a history (TBI, p. 297). This is problematic for Bourdieu mainly because such an interpretation reduces life to "a coherent and finalized whole, which can and must be seen as the unitary expression of a subjective and objective 'intention' of a project" (TBI, p. 297). On the one hand, this means that the account of the interviewee constructs the illusion of a linear, chronological whole. The account is motivated by the intention of providing meaning, of showing "the inherent logic" of events, broken into intelligible 'steps' linked by the logic of cause and effect (TBI, p. 298). What Bourdieu argues is that life is

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<sup>216</sup> Pavlenko (2007, p. 168) argues that treating accounts as facts rather than discursive constructions "disregards the interpretive nature of storytelling, that is the fact that the act of narration unalterably transforms its subject and any further interpretation interprets the telling and not the event in question. Importantly, narrators do not necessarily consciously 'distort the truth', rather they use the act of narration to impose meaning on experience, so that for instance in a diary entry the 'written text constructs, narrows down, clarifies, and focuses the truth of the event in quite a different manner than it was lived as the time' (Kramsch and Lam 1999: 59-50)".

neither linear nor coherent, but rather discontinuous and in constant change (TBI, pp. 298-299). On the other hand, the researcher takes such a narrative at face value, accepting what Bourdieu calls an “artificial creation of meaning” (TBI, p. 298) and interprets it as an end in itself, as if both the events narrated and the interview had taken place in a vacuum. Analysing a narrative as an objective account automatically implies that individuals have total ‘agency’ and that they are the sole commanders steering their own ‘destiny’ according to conscious calculations. In other words, such analyses usually fail to take into account that life trajectories are influenced by social and historical factors (i.e. individuals are socio-historically situated) and that the interview itself is not a neutral stance.

It can be suggested that Bourdieu (TBI) is not necessarily opposed to ‘life histories’ as a methodological tool, but he is highly critical of how such data is interpreted. Therefore, it can be argued that linguistic biographies can represent a highly useful tool for understanding the processes which enable second-generation multilingual immigrant agents to produce linguistic practices with non-autochthonous languages in Cardiff. In other words, linguistic biographies can throw light on the development of the linguistic habitus of the agents interviewed. However, in light of the above discussion, a number of issues must be clarified with respect to the analysis of such data.

First, the analysis departs from the collected linguistic biographies understood as an agent’s own description of their experience (or discursive constructions). This allows the analysis to steer away from taking the accounts provided at face value, and focus instead on the doxic experiences<sup>217</sup> of the interviewees. From a Bourdieusian perspective (Eagleton and Bourdieu 1992), doxa refers to an individual’s experience, “it implies a knowledge, a practical knowledge” (p. 118) of their life, and, it can be suggested, of their linguistic trajectory. In another words, starting the analysis by focusing on the doxic experiences<sup>218</sup> of the participants implies an acknowledgement that the linguistic

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<sup>217</sup> Bourdieu employs the concept of doxa as a substitute for ideology (Eagleton and Bourdieu 1992). The author considers that the notion of doxa is more useful primarily in light of the definition of ideology as representation, false consciousness: “I think that Marxism, in fact, remains a sort of Cartesian philosophy, in which you have a conscious agent who is the scholar, the learned person, and the others who don’t have access to consciousness. We have spoken too much about consciousness, too much in terms of representation. The social world doesn’t work in terms of consciousness; it works in terms of practices, mechanisms and so forth. By using doxa, we accept many things without knowing them, and that is what it’s called ideology. In my view we must work with a philosophy of change. We must move away from the Cartesian philosophy of the Marxist tradition towards a different philosophy in which agents are not aiming consciously towards things, or mistakenly guided by false representation. I think all that is wrong, and I don’t believe in it” (Eagleton and Bourdieu 1992, p. 113).

<sup>218</sup> According to Bourdieu (Eagleton and Bourdieu 1992, p. 118) there is the myth of the intellectual who is able to interpret his own doxic experiences and transform them into a neat presentation. Contrary to this, the author refers to agents, such as workers who “know a lot: more than any intellectual, more than any sociologist. But in a sense, they don’t know it, they lack the instrument to grasp it, to speak about it.” (p. 118). The consequence is that intellectuals do not pay close attention to the doxic experiences of the worker: “if the

biographies are outlined from the perspective of their own vision of the world, of their own understanding of their experiences.

Second, this approach to linguistic biographies enables an analysis which does not focus on the narrative as an end in itself. From this perspective, Bourdieu (TBI, p. 302) argues that

Trying to understand a life as a unique and self-sufficient series of successive events (sufficient unto itself), and without ties other than the association to a 'subject' ... is nearly as absurd as trying to make sense of a subway route without taking into account the network structure, that is the matrix of objective relations between the different stations. The biographical events are defined as just so many *investments* and *moves* in social space, or more precisely, in the different successive states of the distribution structure of the different types of capital which are in play in the field considered.

Thus, understanding the linguistic biographies as outlined from the perspective of the interviewees' vision of the world allows for an acknowledgement that in spite of the internal coherence imposed on the narratives by the participants, their linguistic habitus developed under certain socio-historical conditions which may not be understood as such by the participants themselves. Therefore, it is necessary to take a "detour through the construction of space" (TBI, p. 302):

one can understand a trajectory ... only on condition of having previously constructed the successive states of the field through which the trajectory has progressed. Thus the collection of objective relations link the agent considered – at least in a certain number of pertinent states – to the collection of other agents engaged in the same field and facing the same realm of possibilities.

This detour involves a zooming out of the narrative, which can offer a much more nuanced exploration of the development of the linguistic habitus of the agents interviewed. This analysis enables concentration on the socio-historical conditions which inform linguistic trajectories in certain social spaces. Chapter 3 plays the role of such a fundamental detour, by exploring the development of the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic market of Cardiff, which represents the relatively unified linguistic market under which the linguistic habitus of the participants has developed. For this reason, the content and thematic analysis throughout Chapters 5 and 6 can only be possible in light of Chapter 3.

Third, it is important to acknowledge that the linguistic biographies are not provided in a vacuum. Rather, these are interviews which are informed by the power relations between the researcher and the interviewee. The power relations between the two have repercussions for both the data

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intellectual tries to reproduce the experience of a worker, as in France after 1968, he encounters the experience of a worker who lacks the habits of an intellectual. Many of the things he is appalled at are in fact quite run-of-the-mill. He must be able to include in his vision a description of the worker's experience – the fact that it is an experience from *his* point of view" (p.118).

collected (i.e. the narrative itself), and, consequently, for the findings of the study. Therefore, it is acknowledged that, as Bourdieu (TBI, p. 301) rightly argues,

The laws which govern the production of discourses in the relation between a habitus and a market apply to this particular form of expression which is the discourse on oneself; and the life history will vary, as much in its form and its content, according to the social quality of the market on which it will be offered – the situation of the inquiry inevitably helping to determine the discourse recorded.

Thus, the interview cannot possibly be understood outside of the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic market and the social space under which it takes place. Rather, it is an instance of co-construction of meaning, informed, as outlined above, by the power relations between the two interlocutors. The following subsection explores in more detail a number of factors which may have influenced the power relationship between the researcher and the interviewees in the case of the present project.

#### 4.3.3. Researcher-researched power relations: reflective notes

The specialized literature discusses issues of access and trust as a matter of insider/outsider positioning of the researcher in relation to the researched group (e.g. Bolognani 2007; Dwyer and Buckle 2009; Ryan et al. 2011; Scourfield et al. 2013). According to this categorization, the researcher of the present study was an ‘outsider’ linguistically, ethnically, and religiously. ‘Insiders’ are usually preferred due to their “relationships of trust, empathy, connectedness and integrity with study participants” (Ryan et al. 2011, p. 51), which allegedly result automatically from their shared identity with the study participants<sup>219</sup>. However, collecting data for this project revealed that the researcher-researched power dynamics was multi-layered and that the negotiation of the insider/outsider status was very complex<sup>220</sup>.

The researcher is a 26-year-old White woman, a Romanian citizen who moved to Cardiff in 2011 in order to do a postgraduate degree. She is a Romanian ‘native’ speaker, and a proficient English speaker. Thus, from the perspective of the relation with the interviewees, she is a ‘non-native’ speaker of English, non-British, non-Welsh, non-speaker of the same non-autochthonous minority languages spoken by the participants, and non-Muslim. The combination of these characteristics

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<sup>219</sup> For an interesting and detailed comparison between researchers who hold the status of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ from the perspective of advantages and disadvantages, see Ryan et al. (2011).

<sup>220</sup> For a similar experience of an ‘outsider’ as researcher, see Bolognani (2007).

played a highly significant role in the development of the researcher-researched power relations before and during the interviews<sup>221</sup>.

The fact that the researcher was not perceived as a 'native' English speaker was probably the most significant element, given the sensitive information sought in the interviews. Combined with the fact that the researcher was a non-British, non-Welsh person, the 'non-native' English speaker status of the interviewee proved to be an element which inclined the power balance towards the interviewees. They had much more linguistic capital, as they perceived themselves to be English 'native' speakers, primarily based on the logic of their birth place, and of course, due to the actual match between their linguistic habitus and the linguistic market of Cardiff. Furthermore, all interviews were conducted in English; due to a mismatch between the linguistic habitus of the researcher and the linguistic market of Cardiff, her practices differ slightly (primarily phonetically, at times lexically and syntactically) from those recognised as symbolically valuable on this market. It can be argued that during the interview, this relaxed the interviewees, given that their status as legitimate English speakers was not being challenged in relation to the researcher. In a way, the researcher was perceived as an 'outsider' to the linguistic market of Cardiff, while the 'inside' sphere was composed of legitimate English speakers, with whom the participants identified. However, it may be speculated that if the researcher had been a White British, English 'native' speaker, the participants would have felt their legitimacy as English speakers challenged and even threatened, primarily on the basis of their ethnic background.

It may represent a disadvantage that the researcher does not speak any of the languages spoken by the participants apart from English, and that the interviews were conducted only in English. If the researcher had had a linguistic habitus adapted to similar rules and laws of price formation, the accounts may have been richer. However, the fact that the researcher herself is multilingual helped building rapport with the participants. Many of them identified with this characteristic, and some interviewees draw explicitly on this shared element in order to narrate their linguistic biography.

The fact that the researcher was a Romanian citizen who had moved to Cardiff also played a significant role. The interviews were conducted between 2012 and 2015, a period when the British media focused its attention on the alleged wave of Romanian and Bulgarian immigration. Some participants identified with this 'immigrant' position, societally perceived as less symbolically powerful. From this perspective, the researcher was an 'insider', she shared a similar position in the social space, which had positive outcomes for building rapport with the interviewees. However, such

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<sup>221</sup> For a similar experience, see Bolognani (2007, p. 286); she is an Italian conducting research among a British Pakistani community.

a shared social position was just one side of the coin. The interviewer was at the same time perceived as an outsider, mainly because of her recent immigration trajectory, and also because of her pertaining to an immigrant group that was particularly negatively portrayed in the media at that time. It can be argued that this diminished the researcher-researched power imbalance, as the interviewees 'belonged' in Cardiff much more than the researcher did. The legitimacy of their belonging was not threatened; the social capital grounded in having been born and raised in Cardiff shadowed the researcher's. This is particularly so given the lower levels of symbolic power held by Romania, and consequently, by Romanian citizens, in comparison to the UK.

Being an ethnic minority outsider (e.g. non-Yemeni, non-Iraqi) had both advantages and disadvantages. Probably one the most obvious disadvantages was a lack of easy access to participants (see subsection 4.2.2). However, it also meant that the researcher did not hold any particular status within a specific community, there were no previous connections between the researcher and the participants, and there were no connections between the researcher and other members of that particular community. Thus, the participants were not concerned about gossip<sup>222</sup>. Furthermore, given the researcher's apparent lack of knowledge about a particular community and its practices, the researcher-researched power imbalance diminished in that the researcher was not aware of the dominant values of that particular community, so the participants were not liable to be judged against those values.

Being interviewed by a religious outsider (non-Muslim), most participants assumed that the researcher had no prior knowledge of Islam, which was partially true at the beginning of the research process. However, this did not necessarily represent a disadvantage; rather, the participants took the time to explain things in detail. What is more, as common reference could not be taken for granted, simple questions elicited rich reflections. Furthermore, sensing that the religious affiliation of the participants played a significant role in the production of linguistic practices (as Chapter 6 will show), after the first pilot interviews the researcher invested time in learning about Islam<sup>223</sup>. This type of knowledge (e.g. the length of Ramadan, some of the most important celebrations, the role of Arabic in Islam) was recognised as (unanticipated) capital by the interviewees, which facilitated the elicitation of the narrative by proving that the researcher was genuinely interested in their account.

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<sup>222</sup> See, for example, Ryan et al. (2011).

<sup>223</sup> By attending different events at mosques in Cardiff, events organised by the 'Islam in the UK' research centre at Cardiff University, through interviews with some of the key informants, through informal discussions with friends and acquaintances, and by carrying out research on the relationship between Islam and language.

Gender-wise, being a female may have facilitated access to some of the female participants, in light of Islamic values<sup>224</sup>. Also, it may have helped building rapport and eliciting richer accounts in the interviews with female participants. A concrete example would be an interview with a fashion-forward participant. The researcher dressed in such a way to obtain social capital through dress and appearance, leading to a rich interview and to very successful snowball sampling from this participant<sup>225</sup>. All interviews with the male participants were very successful as well. However, it may be speculated that the men perceived the researcher as holding an institutional role more than the women did. Many female participants approached the interview as a way to help the researcher perceived as a student, while many male interviewees regarded it as a means to share their opinions with an institutionally-affiliated researcher<sup>226</sup>.

It can be argued that the outsider/insider dichotomy can be reinterpreted from a multitude of vantage points, if not discarded. This subsection aimed at showing that, as Dwyer and Buckle (2009) argue, there is a space between these two poles. It may be more fruitful to explore this space, rather than to categorize researchers according to essentialised characteristics. This holds validity precisely because any interview, and any linguistic biography, is a co-construction of the interlocutors. Therefore, expecting an 'objectively true' account of the participant as a result of them being interviewed by an 'insider' (whatever characteristics that may refer to) is a fallacy. In light of this perspective, this subsection aimed to sketch some of the main power relations which shaped the linguistic biographies collected for the purpose of this study.

#### 4.4. Conclusion

This introduction to the second part of the thesis had the aim to show that the combination of linguistic biographies with the Bourdieusian theoretical framework may not only overcome some of the shortcomings identified in the previous studies with respect to the analysis of linguistic biographies, but, most importantly, it may provide an original perspective on the production of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in the case of second-generation agents in Cardiff. This combination provides the opportunity to analyse rich, in-depth personal accounts in light of the broader socio-historical conditions under which the linguistic habitus of an agent has developed.

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<sup>224</sup> In some cases, it may not be indicated for women to find themselves alone in a room together with men who are not their closest in kin.

<sup>225</sup> Of course, it is not argued that gaining social capital through dress is the main reason which led to a successful interview. Rather, this was just one specific element that may have contributed to the overall result.

<sup>226</sup> It must be acknowledged that this may be an over-simplification. At least two of the female participants were exceptionally eager to share their experiences of racism and xenophobia in Cardiff and their opinions on language and the politics of immigration in the UK. Both of them engaged with the interviewer in her position of an institutionally-affiliated researcher, and not necessarily as a student.

Bearing in mind the relationship between a linguistic market and a linguistic habitus, Part II focuses on the linguistic habitus of the participants, as the main principle of production of linguistic practices. While Part II represents a content and thematic analysis of the individual linguistic biographies, the aim is to uncover the processes through which linguistic practices with languages other than English and Welsh can become valuable and legitimate within a relatively unified linguistic market. Starting from the linguistic biographies of the participants which are analysed through the Bourdieusian conceptual lenses, Part II offers an original perspective on the production of such illegitimate practices in the relatively unified market of Cardiff by focusing on the multi-layered relationship between the linguistic habitus, the linguistic market of Cardiff, and the linguistic submarkets which have developed within this social space.

Part II consists of two main chapters which follow the development of the linguistic habitus of the participants. Thus, the two chapters need to be read as complementary. Chapter 5 looks into the role of family and school in the development of the linguistic habitus of the participants, while Chapter 6 explores how religion and digital practices affect this linguistic habitus. As will be shown, it is the complex network of power relations within and across these four fields that plays the most significant role in the development of the linguistic habitus of the participants and which results in the legitimation or devaluation of specific linguistic practices in this social space.

## 5. The linguistic habitus: Home and school

The aim of the present chapter is to explore the conditions which enable second-generation immigrant agents to produce and validate linguistic practices with languages other than English and Welsh in the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff. The chapter analyses the linguistic biographies collected in light of the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2. More specifically, based on the premise that the linguistic habitus represents the principle of production of linguistic practices, the chapter focuses on the linguistic trajectories of the participants, and thus, on the development of their linguistic habitus over time. Such an analysis can offer a complex interpretation of the conditions which enable second-generation agents to validate linguistic practices which are rendered illegitimate on the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff (see Chapter 3).

As Chapter 2 has already highlighted, the linguistic habitus can only be understood in relation to the market according to which it functions and develops. While the Bourdieusian framework has been developed primarily to understand how dominant practices become dominant, focusing on cases where the linguistic habitus of agents develops mainly in line with the relatively unified linguistic market, this chapter taps into the rich data provided by second-generation immigrant agents whose linguistic habitus involves contact with multiple linguistic markets. Nevertheless, as discussed in Chapter 2, the Bourdieusian theoretical model is not a unilateral vision of how practices become dominant; rather, it offers highly malleable conceptual tools (linguistic habitus, linguistic market, capital) which can be applied in heterogeneous contexts.

Thus, the present chapter employs the Bourdieusian logic in order to understand the relationship between the linguistic habitus of second-generation agents and the linguistic markets according to which it has developed. It focuses on the socio-historical conditions and the power relations which have influenced the development of such a linguistic habitus and the respective constitution of distinct markets where illegitimate practices are rendered legitimate. The chapter concentrates on the development of the linguistic habitus within the home and the school for two main reasons. First and foremost, when the participants were asked how they learned each of the languages they used regularly, all of them highlighted a marked home/school dichotomy:

*I speak Bengali fluently, Bengali is the language my mum and my dad speak as the language I was raised in ... Bengali is the first language naturally and it's the first language that you naturally pick up as a child that's because my family spoke it at home, I was never taught formally, it was always informal it was always simply speaking to your family, relatives, you pick it up first and foremost ... as I grew older I was more and more exposed to [English] on TV and and as I started having experiences*

*outside the house, I went to school then you go through a process when you learn it very very quickly cuz you have to (Nazir, 25)*

*I come here when I was about two years old ... obviously because I was brought here at a young age I was socialized in my language ... I was taught Arabic language here ... obviously practicing [Arabic] at home that also helped us encouraged our language and at the same time with English that was in school so both languages are being transmitted to us either at home or at school so that's why we are able to speak those languages (Yasser, 20)*

The interviewees associate learning non-autochthonous minority languages at home and English at school. This dichotomy also implies that linguistic practices with languages other than English gain legitimacy and are reproduced only within a linguistic market of the home, while linguistic practices with English are legitimate outside the home. The second reason for which the present chapter focuses on the home and the school stems from the Bourdieusian idea that they represent the two main factors of production of the legitimate competence (LSP, p. 62).

While in the case of France both the family and the school led to the acquisition of a similar competence, the interviewees underline that the home and the school represent two different linguistic markets where different linguistic practices are rendered legitimate. Starting from this home/school dichotomy, the chapter explores first the socio-historical processes and power dynamics which enabled the constitution of a linguistic market of the home, which seems to have had a salient impact on the development of the linguistic habitus of second-generation agents. The chapter then explores the impact of the educational system on the linguistic habitus of these agents. The Bourdieusian conceptual tools enable challenging the dichotomy introduced by the participants. First, the chapter questions the constitution of the linguistic market of the home as autonomous. Chapter 3 is crucial in this endeavour, because any linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages in the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff are measured against the socio-historically constructed dominant practices with English and partially with Welsh. Thus, the present chapter explores the power dynamics between the multiple linguistic markets according to the rules of which the linguistic habitus of the second generation develops. Second, based on the theoretical assumption that the linguistic habitus is an integral and generative principle, the chapter explores the transformation of the participants' linguistic habitus in the passage from home to school. In light of the power relations between markets, it interprets this transformation as key to a nuanced understanding of the production of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in the context of Cardiff.

## 5.1. A linguistic market of the home

According to Bourdieu (LSP, p. 61-62), the family is one of the two main factors which influence the development of the linguistic habitus of agents. The linguistic habitus of children starts developing primarily within the linguistic market of the home. Such a market has strict rules which are influenced by the power relations between adults and children. Both parents and children act as producers and consumers; however, parents may have more symbolic power to either validate or sanction their children's linguistic practices, imposing thus the rules of price formation on the market of the home.

The rules and laws of price formation of most linguistic markets of the home often correspond to those of the relatively unified linguistic market of a particular social space (see 2.2)<sup>227</sup>. Chapter 3 argued that the linguistic market of Cardiff is relatively unified; English functions as legitimate in most fields, while Welsh is under a process of revitalization, gaining increasing value through its institutionalization (see 3.4.2). Thus, it may be argued that most linguistic markets of the home function in alignment with this unified linguistic market, reproducing its rules and laws of price formation. Consequently, most agents inhabiting this social space recognise English as the legitimate language both inside and outside their linguistic markets of the home<sup>228</sup>. For most of them, the linguistic market of the home represents one of the main ways through which they acquired the legitimate competence of the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff<sup>229</sup>.

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<sup>227</sup> Chapter 2 (mainly 2.2.1.2) has shown that in order for a particular market to become relatively unified, and thus for a specific use of language to become legitimate, most fields of a social space must converge. As family represents one of the main factors which lead to the acquisition of the legitimate competence, it results that within relatively homogenous contexts the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic market of the home correspond to those of the relatively unified linguistic market.

<sup>228</sup> It must be acknowledged that this may be an oversimplification. In light of the Welsh language holding a partially legitimate status (see Chapter 3), not all linguistic markets of the home reflect the rules and laws of price formation of the relatively unified linguistic market where English is recognised as legitimate. There may be cases where the linguistic market of the home reproduces Welsh as a legitimate language. However, it can be argued that this fact does not necessarily affect the logic of the argument, given that 83.8 per cent of this county's population (a total of 332,000) does not speak Welsh (16.2 per cent have one or more skills in Welsh, while 11% of the county's population are fluent in Welsh) (Cardiff Council 2014b, p. 6). Furthermore, there may be cases where agents recognise Welsh as legitimate outside of the linguistic market of the home, but not inside. This may be the case of the statutory school age children (5-15 years old), who make up 26.7 per cent of the fluent Welsh-speaking population in Cardiff (Cardiff Council 2014b, p. 6). Welsh-medium schools may legitimise the production of Welsh within their realm, while linguistic practices with Welsh may not be recognised as legitimate outside the school and inside the linguistic market of the home. The incidence of Welsh speakers in this age group has increased the most over the past 30 years (Cardiff Council 2014b, p. 6). However, not all parents of fluent Welsh-speaking children are also necessarily fluent, which implies that linguistic practices with Welsh may not always be recognised as legitimate within the realm of the home. For a discussion regarding the sharp discrepancy between the acquisition of competence in school and the generalized use of the Welsh language, see section 3.4.2.

<sup>229</sup> It must be taken into account that the levels of such competence may differ according to a variety of factors. Thus, no matter how linguistically homogenous a market may be, linguistic variation (i.e. different uses

A completely different phenomenon seems to have taken place in the case of the second-generation agents interviewed. As seen above, most of them refer to a home/school dichotomy when asked about the source of their multilingualism. More precisely, they all pinpoint the home as the main factor which has led to their ability to produce linguistic practices with languages other than English and Welsh. This seems to suggest that a distinct linguistic market of the home was constituted, through which their linguistic habitus developed according to rules and laws of price formation different from those pertinent in the linguistic market of Cardiff. Thus, the aim of the present section is to explore the processes which led to the constitution of a distinct linguistic market of the home and to ascertain its role in the development of the linguistic habitus of the second-generation agents interviewed. In light of this, the questions this section explores are the following: 1) How can a distinct linguistic market of the home (where one or more languages other than English or Welsh are rendered legitimate) be constituted within the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff? 2) Which are the internal power relations of such a market? 3) How do such power relations influence the development of the linguistic habitus of agents before attending school? 4) What is the relation between such a linguistic market of the home and the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff?

#### 5.1.1. The constitution of a linguistic market of the home

All interviewees underline the relationship between their own linguistic habitus and the linguistic habitus of their parents. Thus, the parents' linguistic habitus may be understood as the main factor in determining the constitution of a separate linguistic market of the home where linguistic practices other than those with English or Welsh are legitimised:

*I know Arabic cuz my family are from Yemen and ... we speak Arabic back in Yemen ... considering living here for a long time, I mean being born here, everybody's usually shocked that I speak Arabic ... but our family speaks to us in Arabic at home, [my mother] speaks English now but when she first came here she didn't know any English (Yusra, 25)*

*I came from Somalia in the late 80s due to the Civil War and the country was war-torn ... so we came here as refugees ... I remember coming here and not speaking a word of English when young ... [at home] I would speak Somali because my mum's English is not very good so the only major communication we really have with my mum is through Somali (Amal, 31)*

*my parents wouldn't speak [English], my parents would speak to me in Urdu (Ahmed, 27)*

*[I learnt] Arabic just from parents and home I just grew up and you know just learnt it from home mother tongue I guess it was (Amman, 18)*

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of the same language) will occur. However, exploring such variation is not the aim of this project. For a nuanced explanation of how linguistic variation occurs in light of power relations see 2.2.1.2.

The above excerpts underline two main ideas. First, as Yusra and Amal explicitly state, the linguistic habitus of most parents was not adapted to the rules and laws of price formation of the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff at the time of migration<sup>230</sup>. Second, their linguistic habitus had been developed for and adjusted to the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic markets of their societies of origin. These two elements may represent the main factors which led to the constitution of a distinct linguistic market of the home in the social space of Cardiff after the point of migration. In what follows, it is argued that it is within this linguistic market of the home that non-dominant linguistic practices are rendered legitimate.

However, before analysing the internal power relations of such a linguistic market, it is important to first explore the social and labour conditions associated with the adaptation of the parents' linguistic habitus to the linguistic market of Cardiff. This plays a significant role in the overall process of the constitution of a distinct linguistic market of the home.

#### 5.1.1.1. The first generation: labour, gender, language

Most interviewees highlight the severe mismatch between the linguistic habitus of their parents and the conditions of the linguistic market of Cardiff. Furthermore, as will become clear, many of the narratives underline that the linguistic habitus of some of the parents remains unadjusted to the conditions of this linguistic market after their arrival. However, taking into consideration that the linguistic habitus is not fixed, but changes "constantly according to new experiences" (PM, p. 161) (see 2.2.2.2) it is likely that the linguistic habitus of the parents suffered certain transformations after resettlement.

Such a transformation of their parents' set of linguistic dispositions emerges primarily as a consequence of their relationship with the labour field of Cardiff:

*my mum is a mum, my dad, he works in a lot of places he worked abroad and [he] has got a law degree and also a business degree so he's now taking his LPC<sup>231</sup> ... to become a layer but my mum doesn't [mind], she looks after the children ... my dad's fluent in Arabic, fluent in English, my mum's got broken English and she's good at Arabic but obviously my mum sacrificed her life looking after us, teaching us rights and the wrongs and that's why she didn't have time to study but that's for us to compensate to her in the future cuz I want to become a barrister so when I do become a barrister I can look after the whole family hopefully (Yasser, 20)*

*my mum doesn't really speak English so well so her English is very basic and she's been here for 40 years but she hasn't really managed to pick it up and I think it's kind of the same story for many people from Bangladesh of her generation haven't had a reason to really have to learn it fluently and so always with my mum it's easier to speak in Bengali, my dad speaks decent English, so he's working you*

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<sup>230</sup> There are some exceptions which are clearly marked as such in section 4.2.3.

<sup>231</sup> LPC = Legal Practice Course

*know and he was kind of experiencing English so he kind of picked it up from the surroundings and now as well he's working in a job ... where most his colleagues are English-speaking so he speaks English more but that's only recently that he kind of improved his English (Nazir, 25)*

*my mum [didn't learn English] because when we came here ... we were young so if she wanted to go and properly learn it I mean she can't be out and about all the time cuz you know we were young at the time and if she wanted to take classes it obviously meant she had to be in education that was kind of hard, there [weren't] a lot of creches back then ... so it just meant that she had to stay at home she thought it was more important to be at home with us and my dad [didn't learn English] just because he didn't have time to learn so he just started working ... my dad can speak more but he doesn't understand as much ... my mum understands more but she can't answer just as well cuz my dad obviously works so he gets to interact more with people but my mum didn't, my mum just sort of just came along with us in a way (Amira, 24)*

What Yasser, Nazir, and Amira highlight is the relation between the development of their parents' linguistic habitus and employment/unemployment upon resettlement. This is a pattern identified in most interviews. This correlation corroborates Dustmann and Fabbri's findings (2003), which suggest that there is a strong link between the linguistic habitus of first-generation immigrants and labour. Usually, "immigrants enter the host country with skills which are only of limited use in the host country, which results in an initial earnings disadvantage" (Dustmann and Fabbri 2003, p. 697). In Bourdieusian terms, this implies a significant mismatch between habitus and the structures of the new social space (see 2.2.2.2), which may result in unemployment and/or less economic capital gains. Furthermore, "after immigration, migrants transfer home country specific human capital into general or host country human capital, and acquire additional skills which are specific to the host country ... Language capital is an important component of host country human capital" (Dustmann and Fabbri 2003, p. 697). Thus, upon resettlement the habitus of these agents may transform, adapting to the new structures of the social space. However, "the intensity of this process determines the speed of economic assimilation" (Dustmann and Fabbri 2003, p. 697). This means that the faster the (linguistic) habitus of agents adapts to the conditions of the labour field, the faster they can be inserted into this field, thus gaining more linguistic, social, and economic capital. As Dustamann and Fabbri (2003, p. 696) contend, in the case of the UK, proficiency in the English language "increases employment probabilities by about 22 percent points". In light of Chapter 3, this finding may be pertinent for the case of Cardiff as well<sup>232</sup>.

As the above excerpts show, across the vast majority of cases, interviewees' parents experienced a gender-differentiated integration into the labour field. In turn, this affected the levels and intensity

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<sup>232</sup> Dustmann and Fabbri's study (2003) is relevant also because they construct their analysis according to two UK surveys of ethnic minorities. Data for these surveys was collected between 1993 and 1994 (the Fourth National Survey on Ethnic Minorities) and 1994 and 1995 (the Family and Working Lives Surveys), periods which are highly relevant for the employment history of the parents of the second-generation multilingual migrants interviewed for the present study.

of their linguistic habitus adjustment to the rules and laws of price formation of the new linguistic market. On the one hand, all fathers gained employment in Cardiff<sup>233</sup>. Through the insertion into the labour field's linguistic market, their linguistic habitus also suffered major transformations; it became increasingly adapted to the conditions of the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff, starting not only to recognise the English language as legitimate, but also to produce linguistic practices which were recognised as such. This becomes possible mainly through the evaluation performed by those agents who constitute the linguistic market of Cardiff, and more specifically, the linguistic market of the labour field. By gaining paid employment, the fathers become part of an unbalanced power relation, where the employers have more symbolic power and can impose their linguistic practices as legitimate. Of course, the legitimacy of the employers' linguistic practices is leveraged by it being the norm across the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff. Thus, to enter this field, the fathers had to recognise the legitimacy of the employers' capital and that of their linguistic practices. Both as a requirement and as a consequence of their insertion into this field, the linguistic habitus of the fathers had to adjust in order for their own linguistic practices to become meaningful and valuable. In light of these relationships, the labour field incorporation of most fathers facilitated the adjustment of their linguistic habitus to the rules and laws of price formation of the new market upon resettlement. In contrast, the linguistic habitus of the few fathers who resettled in Cardiff earlier than their spouses (i.e., Yusra and Nadeen's father and Aisha and Bilal's father - see 4.2.3) was already partially adjusted to the conditions of this market. This earlier adjustment facilitated their insertion into the labour field.

On the other hand, the story of the mothers' incorporation into the labour field is radically different. As section 4.2.3 shows, none of the participants' mothers had resettled to Cardiff earlier than their spouses, with the exception of Faiza's mother. This suggests that upon resettlement (which in most cases was a consequence of their marriage), their linguistic habitus was not adjusted to the conditions of the linguistic market of Cardiff. From a broader perspective, Raghuram (2004) argues that the early stages of labour migration to Europe (i.e. 1960s onwards) were dominated by males. As a consequence, female migrants in the UK were mainly constructed as "family formers rather than labourers" (Raghuram 2004, p. 305). Amid the power relation hierarchy that was in place between the host society and the mainly unskilled male labourers who would often be disadvantaged because of their race, social class<sup>234</sup>, and linguistic skills, their unemployed

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<sup>233</sup> The majority have had routine occupations, apart from Aisha and Bilal's father (see Table 3, Chapter 4).

<sup>234</sup> In their study entitled *The Economic Situation of First and Second-Generation Immigrants in France, Germany and the United Kingdom*, Algan et al. (2010, p. 20) found that among first-generation immigrants in the UK, "with the exception of ethnically white immigrants, all groups earn substantially less than their native counterparts" (p. 20)

counterparts resulted in being disadvantaged in terms of gender as well<sup>235</sup>. This led to discussions regarding the social integration of such first-generation migrant women, rather than professional integration (Raghuram 2004, p. 305). As Table 3 (Chapter 4) shows, up until the time of the interviews most participants' mothers had not been in paid employment (with two exceptions - the mothers of Faiza, Bilal and Aisha).

The Islamic tradition may have also played a significant impact on the reproduction of the mothers' role as family-formers. In their study on Muslim childhood in Britain<sup>236</sup>, Scourfield et al. (2013) found that married British Muslim women usually dedicate their time primarily to motherhood. This decision is likely influenced by Islam, which emphasizes the central role played by mothers in nurturing future generations (Gilliat-Ray 2010, p. 208; Scourfield et al. 2013, p. 6). According to Scourfield et al. (2013), this may explain the high levels of unemployment recorded within the British Islamic community<sup>237</sup>. These insights corroborate with the data collected for the present study, with reference to the mothers of the participants (first-generation Muslim immigrant women)<sup>238</sup>.

As seen above, most interviewees believe that this role as family formers led to a lack of transformation of their mothers' linguistic habitus upon resettlement. With the exception of two mothers, none of the others spoke English, at least not before their children went to school. Interlinked social factors such as the role of women in the Islamic tradition as central to the nurture of their children, the Islamic emphasis on a "distinction between the domestic, private, female realm of the home, and the public, masculine space beyond it" (Gilliat-Ray 2010, p. 209), and the lack of paid employment may have limited the social interactions of most participants' mothers in general. In turn, this may have indeed led to a drastically reduced adaptation of their linguistic habitus to the

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<sup>235</sup> From this perspective, Algan et al. (2010, p. 25) argue that "all groups of first generation men have a lower employment probability than their native counterparts ... For women, the employment gaps relative to native women tend to be larger than for their male counterparts".

<sup>236</sup> The most significant outcome of this research project is the book entitled *Muslim Childhood: Religious Nurture in a European Context*. This study is relevant for the present research project because it employed qualitative data obtained from ethnographic research with sixty Muslim families based in Cardiff.

<sup>237</sup> More precisely, Scourfield et al. (2013, p. 6) argue that: "higher levels of economic inactivity are due to the fact that compared to other faith groups, Muslim women make that their primary role and responsibility is motherhood. Islam accords a high degree of respect to the status of mothers and numerous Quranic verses and hadith (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad) allude to the important role that mothers have as those who nurture and educate future generations. This does not mean that Muslim women who are mothers are confined to this role alone, however. Muslim communities in Britain still need female doctors and teachers, for example, and those who fulfil such roles are often doing so alongside other domestic responsibilities. But still, the significance of motherhood is strongly affirmed within Islamic traditions". For further nuanced insights into the relationship between British Muslim women and the labour market, see Gilliat-Ray (2010, pp. 206-233).

<sup>238</sup> It is interesting to note that these high levels of unemployment among Muslim women in the UK are not reflected in the data collected from the second-generation female participants in the present study. In contrast, all second-generation women were either in full-time education or full-time paid employment at the time of the interview. For more insights into this difference in labour patterns of first- and second-generation Muslim women in the UK see Phillipson et al. (2003).

conditions of the linguistic market of Cardiff. This comes in contrast with the role of the father as the 'bread-winner' of the family, which arguably led to an increased adaptation of his linguistic habitus to the conditions of linguistic market of Cardiff.

#### 5.1.1.2. The functioning of the linguistic market of the home

What most interviewees seem to suggest is that the gender-differentiated adaptation of the linguistic habitus of the parents rooted in the socio-economic conditions outlined above may have led the mother to play a particularly significant role in the constitution of a distinct linguistic market of the home. Similarly to Erel's approach (2010) (see 2.2.4)<sup>239</sup>, this section explores the power dynamics through which mothers manage to validate and reproduce linguistic practices that are deemed illegitimate within the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff. Simultaneously, this section reflects on the consequences such a distinct market may have had on the linguistic habitus of the participants, particularly before they started attending school.

What becomes relevant now is that the linguistic habitus of the mothers before resettlement were firmly adjusted to the linguistic markets of their societies of origin (see Table 3, Chapter 4). The mothers of Yusra, Nadeen, Yasser, and Yasmeen had their linguistic habitus adapted to the conditions of the linguistic market of Yemen, where a certain Yemeni Arabic dialect was recognised as legitimate<sup>240</sup>. Amira and Amman's mother had a linguistic habitus which matched the conditions of the linguistic market of Iraq, where Iraqi Arabic is dominant in spoken interactions. Naima's and Mohammad's mothers had their linguistic habitus adjusted to the rules and laws of price formation of Somalia, where Somali was recognised as legitimate.

Nazir's mother, coming from Bangladesh, had her linguistic habitus adapted to the conditions of a complex linguistic market:

*my parents are very basically educated in Bangladesh before they came to the UK but they still speak three or four languages so they speak Bengali, they speak Urdu, they speak Dhaka (Nazir, 25)*

Similarly, the mothers of Ahmed, Faiza, Bilal and Aisha had their linguistic habitus adapted to the complex linguistic market of Pakistan:

*my mother spoke Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi and she learned Persian [and] Farsi (Ahmed, 28)*

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<sup>239</sup> Briefly, Erel (2010) focuses her attention on how first-generation women immigrants in Germany and the UK create mechanisms of validation for their cultural capital specific to their original society through the construction of migration fields within the host society. For a full discussion of Erel's study (2010), together with its faults and merits, see Chapter 2, section 2.2.4.

<sup>240</sup> In Yemen and Iraq, the Yemeni and Iraqi dialects are recognised as legitimate primarily in spoken linguistic practices. Chapter 6 brings forth the complexity of the Arabic language and its relevance for the present study.

*[my mother knows] Urdu and Punjabi because my parents are originally from Pakistan, they both moved here before I was born (Faiza, 34)*

*I am from Pakistan and ... I spoke three different languages at home because we spoke Punjabi and because the area where I was living speaks Potwari and Hindko so I learnt Hindko as well and Urdu was the language which was taught in school so it is the medium of education in Pakistan ... so we had to learn Urdu. I spoke Punjabi at home most of the time when I was young and when we started school we started speaking Urdu with my aunts and uncles and cousins, I don't [know why] maybe we felt that it was because it's the education language and official language maybe a posh language actually that's what it was considered so we started speaking Urdu with [them] but Punjabi with parents and brothers and sisters (Sonia - Bilal and Aisha' mother)*

These excerpts underline what type of linguistic capital each of the participants' mothers held when they resettled to Cardiff. As shown in Section 5.1.1.1, when 'unpacked' in the linguistic market of Cardiff, this capital was no longer recognised as such; their utterances were no longer either valuable or even meaningful. In spite of this mismatch, these women find ways to create mechanisms of validation for their linguistic capital, primarily by constructing a distinct linguistic market of the home.

Parents constitute the agents with most symbolic power in the field of the family. In the case of the narratives analysed, it has been shown that most mothers stayed at home, being constructed by the interviewees primarily as family-formers. Furthermore, as a consequence of gender-differentiated employment patterns which result in the mother spending most time with her children, she becomes the most symbolically powerful agent in relation to these children. That is not to say that the fathers do not share this role. Nevertheless, the interviewees refer very little to the relationship between their fathers and language, which may reflect the difference in the amount of time spent by the agents together with their respective parents. As a result, within the sphere of the home (which in many cases represents the main sphere where second-generation agents used to spend most time before attending school) the mother also becomes the main agent through which socialization takes place. It is mainly through contact with her that the linguistic habitus of children is constituted: she is both a producer and a consumer of linguistic practices; her children listen to her utterances (as consumers) and they try to emulate them (as producers). Holding the highest level of symbolic power in such encounters, the mother becomes the main agent who imposes the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic market of the home by both offering utterances which are recognised as legitimate and by evaluating her children's linguistic products (e.g. through sanctions, censorship, appraisals – see 2.2.2.1). In turn, particularly because their own linguistic habitus is also

adjusted to the same conditions of price formation as that of their spouses, it may be argued that the fathers usually reproduce the conditions imposed as legitimate by the mothers<sup>241</sup>.

While in most linguistic markets of the home in Cardiff similar power dynamics help to reproduce the linguistic hierarchy of the relatively unified linguistic market (see 5.1), the power relations present in the homes of the second-generation participants seem to disregard this hierarchy and instate a completely different one. The fact that the linguistic habitus of the mothers matched the conditions of the linguistic markets of their societies of origin is central here. The mothers' linguistic habitus together with her symbolically powerful role in the family hierarchy become the lynchpin of the distinct linguistic market of the home. The rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic market of the home can now be understood as highly linked to those pertaining to those markets according to which the linguistic habitus of the mothers are developed before resettlement. What the mother does is to reproduce inside the Cardiff-based home (which can be understood as a field of a particular family, with its specific hierarchy, roles, and amounts of capital and symbolic power) similar conditions of price formation to the ones valid in the original linguistic market according to which her linguistic habitus used to be adapted. In other words, through her symbolically powerful role in the family, she creates mechanisms of validation for her own linguistic capital. In order to impose meaning and value on their utterances, the children's linguistic habitus develops according to these rules and laws of price formation, at least up until attending school.

However, this reproduction is only partial. On the one hand, this validation process is restricted to the linguistic market of the home (and the field of family which governs it). This is a highly reduced space compared to the entire linguistic market of the society of origin. In other words, similarly to Erel's findings (2010), in many cases these agents did not rely on symbolically powerful institutions which could have rendered their linguistic practices legitimate at the level of an entire unified linguistic market<sup>242</sup>. On the other hand, when the linguistic market of the society of origin is more complex, it becomes apparent that the mothers reproduce similar linguistic hierarchies that are

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<sup>241</sup> Furthermore, when the children were young, most of the fathers had recently resettled in Cardiff. While they had gained employment, as seen in some of the comments in section 5.1.1.1 their linguistic habitus had not yet adjusted perfectly to the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic market of Cardiff – while they recognised linguistic practices with English as legitimate, they may not have yet been able to also fluently produce linguistic practices with English.

<sup>242</sup> This is not to say, however, that there were absolutely no symbolically powerful institutions which may have enabled the reproduction of such linguistic practices. Chapter 6 explores exactly such further processes which may have had a significant impact on the development of the linguistic habitus of second-generation agents and, thus, on their production of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in Cardiff. Religious, travel, and digital practices can be understood in conjunction with the conditions of the linguistic market of the home. Nevertheless, as the above paragraph argues, none of such practices, in spite of being backed-up by emerging institutions in Cardiff, function in line with a relatively unified linguistic market. Rather, they reproduce only partially the rules and laws of price formation of a remote linguistic market.

present on that market. More specifically, Ahmed's mother reproduced in her interactions with him mainly linguistic practices with Urdu. However, in her interactions with other agents, his mother also reproduced different linguistic practices:

*my parents would speak to me in Urdu but they would always speak in another language that I didn't know what they would talk about and when I [was] about 10 or 11 my mum would take me to somebody's house to learn the Qur'an to read it in Arabic and I would do that but instead of me actually reading it I would just sit there and listen to what my mum is talking to this other woman about ... I remember that I was just thinking what are they saying, I need to, I just focused ... every Monday or whatever day it was I went I would sit there and instead of reading I was trying to listen to what they were saying and I picked it up ... that language was Punjabi (Shiraz, 28)*

As Sonia points out above as well, Urdu used to be associated with agents that held a higher status in the social space of Pakistan. These were agents whose educational, social and economic capital was recognised as valid. In light of their symbolic power their linguistic practices, that is, linguistic practices with Urdu, also held the most symbolic value in Pakistan. In her anticipation of profits for her son, Ahmed's mother constitutes a complex linguistic market of the home, where linguistic practices with Urdu are rendered legitimate. At the same time, in her interactions with other agents, including with her husband, she employs Punjabi. As will become clear throughout this chapter, the reproduction of such a hierarchical usage of linguistic practices within the realm of home was experienced by Ahmed as having significant consequences for the development of this linguistic habitus.

Among the data analysed here, two other cases stand out: Bilal and Aisha's mother and Faiza's mother. These are the only two women who have been in paid employment and whose linguistic habitus was already adapted to the conditions of the linguistic market of Cardiff before their children started attending school. Sonia<sup>243</sup> points out that her linguistic habitus was already adapted to recognise the legitimacy of the English language even before her resettlement:

*in our country when I was young we learnt Urdu from Reception to Year 6 and from Year 6 onward we [learnt] English ... so we learnt English from Year 6 so all through the university we have to have English as a language (Sonia – Bilal and Aisha's mother)*

Sonia is also the only first-generation woman in this sample who is educated at degree level. Furthermore, she was trained as a teacher in Pakistan and she has been working as a translator and teacher in the UK:

*my mum was ... trained originally in Pakistan as a teacher, she took the teacher qualification test over here again, [she] taught at a nursery in London and then came [to Cardiff] to do translator work and*

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<sup>243</sup> Sonia is Bilal and Aisha's mother.

*now she is part of the Ethnic Minority school division so she helps the ethnic minorities learn English (Bilal, 22)*

Coming with a partially adapted linguistic habitus to the conditions of the linguistic market of England and Wales, Sonia obtains paid employment in contexts where she imposes the norm of this market as a teacher and translator. Therefore, her linguistic habitus has to be almost perfectly adjusted to these conditions, as she is in charge of reproducing them. Consequently, in combination with the already adjusted linguistic habitus of her husband to this linguistic market (see 4.2.3), their linguistic market of the home is different from all other cases. Bilal reflects upon this situation:

*my mum made a conscious effort to speak [Urdu] to us when we were children so that we would pick it up but she didn't sit down and teach us words and letters and stuff but dad didn't help out he spoke English to us ... so a funny story of mine [is that my] first word apparently was 'newspaper' and I said that in English and then I said it in Urdu almost afterwards so I just picked up words in Urdu [at home]*

*there's a video of when I was a couple of weeks old and my grandparents would speak Urdu, my mum would speak Urdu but then my aunts would be talking to my dad and they'd be speaking English and then talking about me in English pretty much the same stuff that my mum was saying in Urdu ... from then the two languages were side by side because there was always this plan that I was going to stay in the West I wasn't going to move home [to Pakistan] and so English needed to be learned (Bilal, 22)*

Bilal's anecdotes reflect the complexity of his linguistic market of the home. Both his parents recognizing English as legitimate and being able to produce linguistic practices with English, they construct a special linguistic market of the home where a combination of linguistic practices with English and Urdu becomes legitimate. As the interviewee underlines in the second excerpt, such a specific linguistic market was constructed in light of the idea that this couple's children were to be brought up in Cardiff. As his parents recognised English as the 'natural', legitimate language of Cardiff, such a special linguistic market ensured that they passed on to their children linguistic capital that was to be recognised as such within the linguistic market of Cardiff.

It is also important to note that, similarly to Ahmed's mother, Sonia used to produce linguistic practices with Urdu in interactions with her children. Sonia reveals above that Punjabi used to be the legitimate language of her linguistic market of the home in Pakistan; however, in the linguistic market of the home in Cardiff, she reproduces linguistic practices with Urdu, the language associated with the elite in Pakistan. Furthermore, this linguistic market of the home is also quite complex given that, similarly to Ahmed's mother, in her interactions with her husband, his parents and extended family, Sonia used to produce linguistic practices with Punjabi, Urdu, and English:

*[when my father's family] visited us I was playing in the room while they were speaking when I was six seven I'd be listening in, being a cheeky monkey listening to what they were saying and then somebody had to turn around and say something back and then 'are you listening?' I'm like 'yeah of course' [so] that's how I learned Urdu and Punjabi and that's how I mix the two because my*

*grandparents and my mum they're speaking the two different languages and translating for each other and I'm like well they are the same to me (Bilal, 22)*

This complex linguistic market of the home had particularly interesting effects on the linguistic habitus of both Bilal and his sister, Aisha. Even before attending school, linguistic practices with several languages were deemed legitimate in this family's interactions, as well as combinations of such linguistic practices. It may be tempting to argue, similarly to the arguments of the translanguaging paradigm that the constitution of such a bounded linguistic market of the home enables the removal of any linguistic hierarchies, such contexts becoming neutral, somehow stripped of any internal or external power relations (see 2.1.3.2.1). However, the above analysis has proved that it is primarily the internal power relations within the field of the family that lead to the constitution of a linguistic market of the home, where a certain linguistic hierarchy is imposed. Also, the following sections (5.1.1.3 and 5.2) argue that such a linguistic market of the home, with its distinct linguistic hierarchy, always functions in close relation to the norms of the relatively unified linguistic market.

A last and different case is that of Faiza's mother. As section 4.2.3 shows, she is the only one who resettled to Cardiff before her husband:

*[when my mum came here] she was in her early teens 12, 13 ... she started school here, she was in language school first and she progressed (Faiza, 34)*

Thus, entering the educational system of Cardiff in her early teens, the linguistic habitus of Faiza's mother had started adjusting to the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic market of Cardiff. Upon forming a family, her linguistic habitus matched the conditions of this linguistic market. Furthermore, Faiza's parents owned a grocery shop where her mother also worked:

*we had a grocery an off-licence shop so English was our main language especially with the customers but in the house my dad would speak in Urdu or Punjabi because it's their natural language they would naturally flow into it and then for them that was their main language and there would be a couple of English words whereas it was the opposite with us kids, English was our natural language so we would flow into that ... when we really wanted to explain ourselves we would flow into English but we would answer our parents in Urdu and Punjabi because it's how we were taught when we were kids but when it came to talking more than just one or two syllables it would be English (Faiza, 34)*

This a more complex case of the constitution of the linguistic market of the home, which comes almost in contrast with the rest of the linguistic trajectories. Having been partially raised in Cardiff and working on a daily basis with English-speaking customers, there was little mismatch between the linguistic habitus of Faiza's mother and the linguistic market of Cardiff. According to Faiza, this had a significant influence on the production and legitimation of linguistic practices within the linguistic market of the home. While her parents did produce linguistic practices with both Urdu and

Punjabi at home, similarly to Bilal and Aisha, Faiza started recognizing the English language as legitimate even before attending school, which meant that she started producing linguistic practices with English within the linguistic market of the home knowing that such utterances were recognised as legitimate by both her siblings and parents.

The final two cases show that more complex linguistic markets of the home were constructed before the second-generation interviewees started school. Given the level of adaptation of their parents' linguistic habitus to the conditions of the linguistic market of Cardiff, complex linguistic practices were validated within such special linguistic markets of the home. Nevertheless, even in such cases, the linguistic market of the home remains the main process through which the validation of linguistic practices with languages other than English takes place in Cardiff.

#### 5.1.1.3. The relationship between the linguistic market of the home and the linguistic market of Cardiff

While the previous section focused on the relationship between the linguistic market of the parents' society of origin and the linguistic market of the Cardiff-based home, this section examines the relationship between the linguistic market of the home and the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff.

The previous section posed the linguistic market of the home of second-generation agents as a primarily bounded one, functioning under similar rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic markets under which the linguistic habitus of the mothers had developed before resettlement. This approach partially mirrors that of Erel (2010) who analyses how migrants construct mechanisms of validation of the sets of dispositions acquired before the point of migration through the constitution of a migrant field (see 2.2.4). While Erel's perspective enables underlining the possibility of validation of illegitimate practices in the wider social space of the host country, she fails to take into account the relationship between the migration field and the field of power (or social space) of the entire host society (see 2.2.4). It is crucial to note that the migration field could not appear in a vacuum, but in close relation to the social space of the host society. In other words, a migration field cannot be understood as fully autonomous, but only relatively autonomous. Similarly, the linguistic market of the home of the interviewees cannot be understood as emerging in a vacuum either. On the contrary, both the constitution and the functioning of such a linguistic market are highly linked to the social space of Cardiff and its corresponding linguistic market (see Chapter 3).

Most interviewees underlined that upon resettlement, the linguistic habitus of their mothers did not adapt to the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic market of Cardiff. This apparent lack

of transformation, due mainly to the lack of social opportunities, led to the reproduction of a mismatch between the linguistic habitus of their mothers and the linguistic market of Cardiff. As a consequence, they constituted bounded linguistic markets of the home where linguistic practices with languages other than English and Welsh were validated. However, in order to add depth to this understanding of the linguistic market of the home, it may be useful to remember that that habitus is not fixed, but generative and dynamic (see 2.2.2.2). More specifically, reading the concept of habitus as a set of dispositions that internalizes all its interactions with the markets may prove highly useful in understanding the development of the linguistic habitus of the mothers and the implications this has for the constitution of the linguistic market of the home, and thus, the development of the linguistic habitus of second-generation migrant agents.

Understanding the habitus as constantly developing according to the interactions agents have with the structures of the society after resettlement (see 2.2.4) enables underlining that the linguistic habitus of the mothers of the participants did, in fact, adjust to the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic market of Cardiff. The following comments show this underlying transformation very clearly:

*[my mother's] life was quite difficult because she didn't pick up English quite quickly so she had to live quite reserved ... she was very isolated at home and just kind of waited for my dad to come home from work in order to have a conversation with someone because back then there was no such thing as technology like phones [it was] really hard to phone back home cuz it was an international call so she only really had the TV and even the TV she'd tell me she used to watch EastEnders at neighbours and not understanding what they were saying because she didn't have English language, it was a major barrier for her because she wasn't able to do much with her life (Yasmeen, 24)*

Similarly, Yusra and Nadeen's mother talks about her experience of not being able to speak English after resettlement:

*the most hard [was] when I was in hospital and I couldn't speak English I had an operation and I stayed for three days it's so difficult to understand what the doctor and the nurse they ask me things so I have to wait until my husband come and he asked me what they said and I answered back (Sanaa, 45)*

Section 2.2.2 argued that the linguistic habitus is double-folded. A linguistic habitus that matches the conditions of a certain market allows the agent, on the one hand, to be a consumer of other agents' linguistic practices (i.e. to evaluate, appreciate or sanction such practices as legitimate or illegitimate in light of the norms of that market, as well as according to the power relations between the interlocutors); on the other hand, such linguistic habitus enables the agent to function as a producer of linguistic practices that are, in turn, evaluated by the other members of the linguistic market. In spite of the lack of paid employment and less social interaction, by relocating to Cardiff the first-

generation immigrant women became part of this social space, and a certain interaction with the structures of this space was unavoidable. As Yasmeen and Sanaa underline above, within this linguistic market the linguistic capital of the most participants' mothers is suddenly devalued; when measured against the legitimate language, i.e., English, their utterances no longer have any meaning and value. Thus, their role as producers of linguistic practices is not valid anymore; however, as they are rendered silent, their role as consumers is enhanced. As a consequence, they start recognizing English as legitimate and their own linguistic practices as illegitimate. Nevertheless, due to the socio-economic conditions explored above (see 5.1.1.1), they do not have the means to gain mastery of this language. In other words, their habitus is transformed in that they started acting as consumers, but not as producers of linguistic practices with the dominant language of the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff. Their linguistic habitus adapts from the very beginning to the rules and laws of price formation of this market, but there is a disparity between the recognition of the language as legitimate and the knowledge of this language<sup>244</sup>. Arguably, this transformation of the mothers' linguistic habitus represents a new layer which informs a partial reconceptualization of the linguistic market of the home as explored in section 5.1.1.2.

As discussed in Section 2.2.4, Noble (2013, p. 342) argues that "resettlement entails the transformation of the embodied capacities of migrants". This means that the habitus of migrants, as a generative and cumulative principle, involves a transformation that does not only refer to the possible acquisition of new dispositions, but also of what Noble (2013) calls an "internalization of difference". This notion enables an understanding of the habitus not only as the internalization of the history with each of the fields (and their corresponding linguistic markets) the agent was active in, but also an internalization of the power relations between such fields (and linguistic markets). From this perspective, it may be argued that the mothers of most interviewees do not only recognise English as the legitimate language within the linguistic market of Cardiff, but they also internalize the power imbalance between this linguistic market and that of their home. In other words, they internalize the fact that their linguistic practices with Arabic, Urdu, Punjabi, Bengali, or Somali are measured against English and/or Welsh, and are thus rendered less symbolically valuable.

Therefore, the linguistic market of the home cannot be conceptualized as a bounded linguistic market, constituted solely as the small-scale reproduction of the linguistic market of the parents'

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<sup>244</sup> Bourdieu (LSP, pp. 61-62) argues that mismatches between the linguistic habitus and the linguistic market as a result of socio-economic conditions can represent the root of changes in the language: "the social mechanisms of cultural transmission tend to reproduce the structural disparity between the very unequal knowledge of the legitimate language and the much more uniform recognition of this language. This disparity is one of the determinant factors in the linguistic field and therefore in changes in the language. For the linguistic struggles which are the ultimate source of these changes presuppose that speakers have virtually the same recognition of the authorized usage, but very unequal knowledge of this usage".

society of origin. Rather, it may be more useful to think of it as a linguistic submarket (see 2.2.3) which functions relatively autonomous from, but clearly subordinated to the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff. As discussed in Section 2.2.3, the legitimate competence of a unified linguistic market is constructed and reproduced as such only in opposition to other, different competences. This means that, as Chapter 3 has shown, English is constantly reproduced within the linguistic market of Cardiff as legitimate in opposition to what become illegitimate practices – such as linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages. Following the argument in section 2.2.3, the linguistic submarket of the home can be understood from two perspectives. At an external level, due to the power imbalance, the linguistic practices within the linguistic submarket of the home appear as illegitimate when measured against the norms of the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff. This can be clearly seen in the above comments of Yusra and Nadeen, who exemplify how the linguistic practices of the mothers of most interviewees failed to be meaningful or valuable outside the linguistic market of the home. It is only within the linguistic submarket of the home that such practices gain legitimacy. Internally, these submarkets function like any other linguistic market, based on the principle of symbolic power. Seen from this perspective, section 5.1.1.2 explored the internal power relations which led to the imposition of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh as legitimate within the linguistic submarket of the home. It may now be argued that as the mothers' habitus internalize the imbalanced power relation between the two markets, these symbolically powerful agents (in the field of family) validate within the linguistic submarket of the home linguistic practices with Arabic, Somali, Bengali, Urdu and Punjabi in opposition to the external legitimation of the English language.

It is this double-fold external/internal relation that renders the linguistic market of the home a submarket. According to Bourdieu (LSP, p. 72), "the reality of linguistic legitimacy consists precisely in the fact that dominated individuals are always under a potential jurisdiction of formal law, even when they spend all their lives ... beyond its reach". In other words, linguistic practices which are legitimate internally within the linguistic market of the home will never be legitimate externally, unless the power imbalance changes. The linguistic habitus of the mother adapts to this power imbalance, which in turn, will be internalized by the second-generation agents as they interact with the structures of the linguistic market of Cardiff. The impact of the relationship of subordination between the two markets has on the development of the linguistic habitus of the second-generation multilingual migrant agents can be examined at length in the following section, where their linguistic habitus adapts to this relationship in a much more direct manner, by attending school.

#### 5.1.1.4. Conclusion

The aim of this section has been to analyse the narratives of the participants in light of the possible socio-historical conditions which may have enabled the reproduction of linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages in the linguistic markets of the home. The focus was primarily on the constitution and functioning of such markets, in relation to the linguistic market of their parents' societies of origin and the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff. The exploration of this triangle enabled a multi-layered perspective on the power relations within and among these three linguistic markets and their consequences on the external and internal functioning of the linguistic submarket of the home.

The rules and laws of price formation imposed as legitimate within the linguistic submarket of the home are the main ones according to which the linguistic habitus of the second-generation interviewees developed before attending school. As the educational system represents one of the fundamental mechanisms through which the legitimate language of a relatively unified linguistic market is reproduced (see, for example, Chapter 3), it is now fundamental to explore the effects schooling had on the linguistic habitus of second-generation participants. The intriguing question to be examined in the following section refers to the nature of the transformation suffered by the linguistic habitus of the second-generation immigrants, and the consequences this has on their production of linguistic practices with languages other than English and Welsh in Cardiff.

## 5.2. From home to school – the transformation of the linguistic habitus of second-generation agents

According to the narratives analysed, the linguistic submarket of the home has played a crucial role in the development of the linguistic habitus of second-generation migrant agents, representing one of the main mechanisms of validation and reproduction of linguistic practices with languages other than English and Welsh in the social space of Cardiff. Before starting school, through contact with their parents (especially with their mothers), the linguistic habitus of the agents adapted mainly to the internal rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic submarket of the home. The present section examines the narratives collected focusing on the passage of the participants from home to school. The argument is that such a passage entails a crucial transformation of the linguistic habitus of second-generation participants, and thus, of their production of linguistic practices with languages other than English and Welsh in the context of Cardiff.

Starting school entails a direct contact with the structures of the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff. This also implies that the interviewees started experiencing directly the multiplicity of linguistic markets underlined by Chapter 3 and section 5.1. Following the theoretical discussion in section 2.2.5 with regards to the linguistic habitus and multilingualism, the present section refrains from conceptualizing the consequences of an agent's contact with multiple linguistic markets as the emergence of multiple linguistic habituses, disjointed one from another. Similarly, it goes beyond an understanding of multiple linguistic markets as autonomous. Rather, based on the discussion in section 2.2.2.2, the present section understands the linguistic habitus as an integral, dynamic and generative principle of production of linguistic practices. This reading of the linguistic habitus (see 2.2) enables an original analysis of the phenomenon of multilingualism focused on the transformation of the linguistic habitus of second-generation immigrant agents understood as a continuous development dependant on all its interactions with markets, as well as the power relations among such markets. Thus, the present section postulates that, through the incorporation of the second-generation agents into the Welsh educational system the linguistic habitus of the interviewees adapts not only to the conditions of the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff, but also to the unbalanced power relation between this market and the linguistic submarket of the home (as outlined in 5.1.1.3). This complex transformation of the linguistic habitus has crucial consequences for the production of linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages (and, therefore, multilingual practices) in Cardiff.

### 5.2.1. Schools as institutions reproducing unified linguistic markets - attending school, learning English

Chapter 3 has discussed at length the significant role played by the education system in the linguistic market of Wales and Cardiff in relation to all other salient social, historical, political, and economic conditions characteristic of this social space. It has concluded that in spite of an increasingly successful institutionalized process of revitalization of the Welsh language, English-medium schools still reproduce primarily linguistic practices with English as legitimate (see 3.4.2). It is within the reforming English-medium education system outlined in Chapter 3 that the second-generation interviewees were incorporated. Furthermore, section 5.1 concluded that before attending school, most interviewees had a linguistic habitus adapted to the internal rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic submarket of the home. Attending English-medium education involved their habitus also adapting to the conditions of the linguistic market of the school, which can be understood as one of the main institutions reproducing the rules and laws of price formation of the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff<sup>245</sup> (see Chapter 3). This implies that the linguistic practices of the second-generation agents start changing outside their homes:

*I was born here and it was really easy for me to pick up the English language ... because I went to primary school (Nadeen, 16)*

*I learned [English] from school, watching TV ... yeah just at school maybe I guess we picked it up as we went along (Yusra, 25)*

*I started Nursery here ... so I started learning English obviously so that kind of became my second language ... I sort of joined everyone else so I didn't feel any different like I've been speaking it well I guess (Amira, 24)*

*I remember coming here and not speaking a word of English when young and learning in school primary school ... because we were so young you absorb a lot more when you're younger and it was easy for us to learn ... the language [we] had a separate class [for] immigrants, it was a mixture of Somalis and other children ... they taught us ... like writing your name, the letters, basically the same as teaching English to any other child ... we'd have a special class just for us I think because of the age and the advance how the children who were born here were all native here, so I think that's the only*

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<sup>245</sup> From a more theoretical perspective, it is important to reiterate that, as discussed in Section 2.2.1, from a Bourdieusian perspective utterances receive meaning and value only within a linguistic market. Within a unified linguistic market all practices are measured against the legitimate practices. In order for a market to become unified, it needs mechanisms of validation of certain practices. In most cases, symbolically powerful institutions represent such mechanisms. The educational system of a particular context is one such institution which has the role of imposing and reproducing the rules and laws of price formation of a certain relatively unified linguistic market. According to Bourdieu, "the position which the educational system gives to the different languages (or the different cultural contents) is such an important issue only because this institution has the monopoly in the large-scale production of producers/consumers, and therefore in the reproduction of the market without which the social value of the linguistic competence, its capacity to function as linguistic capital, would cease to exist" (LSP, p. 51).

*difference was a separation but the actual teaching technique was as teaching any other child (Amal, 31)*

*[I learned English at] school obviously I think school and TV ... school helped me a lot more because obviously it made me aware of how to speak properly, how to write, read so yeah I would say school was the major influence of me learning English (Yasmeen, 24)*

In the above comments, Nadeen, Yusra, Amira, Amal and Yasmeen share their experience of joining English-medium education. Similarly to the majority of the interviewees, they construct the experience of adjusting their linguistic habitus to the linguistic market of the school as a natural and uncomplicated process. According to Bourdieu (LSP, p. 53) “the linguistic ‘norm’ is imposed on all members of the same ‘linguistic community’, most especially in the educational market and in all formal situations in which verbosity is often *de rigueur*”. What the interviewees recognise as a natural process may be described in fact as a highly unbalanced power dynamic between pupils and the English-medium schools they attended.

The school has at least two obvious ways of imposing certain practices as legitimate. First, teachers are invested with sufficient symbolic power in the education field as to overtly evaluate pupils’ linguistic practices. They have a whole array of legitimate tools through which they can appraise or censor such linguistic practices (e.g. grades, diplomas, or certificates such as GCSE<sup>246</sup>s, A levels<sup>247</sup> or UCAS points). However, very significantly, the education system also offers the means through which pupils can become both consumers and producers of legitimate linguistic practices (see 5.2.1.1). Second, the school represents a crucial social field that marks the development of any pupil’s linguistic habitus not only through their relation with teachers, but also with all other pupils who produce linguistic practices in relation to the norms imposed by the school (either following them or flouting them, but always recognizing them as valid). From this perspective, school peers can get hold of as much (or more) symbolic power as their teachers to impose certain linguistic practices as legitimate within their social circle (see 5.2.2.1)

However, the education system never functions in a vacuum, but in relation to all other conditions of the social space it belongs to. Thus, evaluations are usually made in relation to the linguistic norms of the relatively unified linguistic market, the education system being one of the main symbolically powerful institutions which may reproduce the conditions of such a market. In light of this idea, the following section explores the transformation of the linguistic habitus of the second-generation agents focusing on their recognition of the education system of Cardiff as their means to social mobility.

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<sup>246</sup> GCSE = General Certificate of Secondary Education

<sup>247</sup> A levels = General Certificate of Education Advanced Level (based on which university admission offers are given)

### 5.2.1.1. Schools, English, and social mobility

Section 5.1 argued that in spite of the gender-based differences in the adjustment of their linguistic habitus to the conditions of the linguistic market of Cardiff, all the parents of the interviewees recognised English as the legitimate language of this market. This recognition bears significant implications for the further development of the linguistic habitus of second-generation agents. Both the interviewees and their parents view the English-medium education system as the way to social mobility. Both Yasser and Faiza provide explicit comments with regards to this relationship:

*with English obviously our parents have told us the importance of education they've told us that we need to educate ourselves and that it's very important, the whole reason why we come here in the first place is to get a better living for ourselves, English is vital to make a better living of yourself, you don't come here to an English[-speaking] country and not [be] expected to know their own language, you need it for employability, you need it for GCSEs, you need it to get into the A levels, you need it to get into university so English is important ... it's been portrayed to us how important education is so we need to educate ourselves and we need to learn English as part of that (Yasser, 20)*

*the influence of Punjabi and Urdu was around I would have been speaking it but I suppose I just dropped it or we didn't really take that much importance and emphasis on it when we started school and we started speaking in English, [our parents] would try and you know get us to respond in Punjabi and Urdu but I think after a while they just kind of let it go ... I think they were just very big on education and being in the UK so as long as we could speak English and we [could] have a good education we [could] learn our language later on properly (Faiza, 34)*

Both the interviewees and their parents recognise that it is mainly through the education system that agents adjust their linguistic habitus to the rules and laws of price formation of the relatively unified linguistic market. This is because the norms imposed within the linguistic markets of English-medium schools in Cardiff usually reflect those norms recognised as valid within the wider relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff. Thus, the symbolic power of the education system resides in that it is recognised as the means for pupils to gain the necessary linguistic capital required in the rest of the social space of Cardiff, and particularly in its labour field.

The education system is based on a complex combination of qualifications valid at the level of Wales and England, as opposed to Yemen, Iraq, Somalia, Bangladesh, or Pakistan. As Yasser implies above, qualifications such as GCSEs, A Levels, or UCAS points pertain to a relatively unified education system of Wales and England, which is primarily based on the legitimacy of the English language (see Chapter 3). From this perspective, Amman's comment is relevant:

*yeah [I'm going to study in English at university] I don't think they teach Pharmacy in Arabic here (Amman, 18)*

Doing his A Levels and applying to different universities across Wales and England at the time of the interview, Amman finds the question regarding the medium of learning almost absurd and starts

laughing, thus flagging this issue nonsensical. In turn, receiving these qualifications awarded by the education system represents the agents' possibility to enter paid employment and ensure the social mobility of the family, or, in Ali's words, to make "a better living for themselves".

This situation is similar to the historical process of devaluation of the Welsh language, especially during the first half of the twentieth century. Section 3.3 has shown that during that period, most of the Welsh agents' linguistic habitus had become adapted to the new conditions of the linguistic market, recognizing that it was through English-medium education that they could obtain economic and symbolic capital. By the time the participants of this project started school, the English language had already become the legitimate language (see 3.4.2). Similar to twentieth-century Wales where measures to promote Welsh-medium education were firmly rejected by parents as they recognised that the English language was quickly becoming the language of social mobility (see 3.3), the first-generation immigrants encouraged their children to learn English at school and accepted as normal the limited use of non-autochthonous minority languages, restricted mainly to the linguistic submarket of the home. In both cases, the parents' recognition of the English language as dominant draws not on linguistic terms, but on the socio-historical conditions that rendered English as the main legitimate language in this context. Parents and children recognised that in order to gain any type of capital (economic, social, or symbolic), an agent needs a linguistic habitus that is adapted to the linguistic market of Cardiff. This leads to the recognition of the education system as the best means through which the linguistic habitus of children could adapt to the conditions of the market.

#### 5.2.1.2. Attending school, learning Welsh?

It is important to note that the participants' recognition of the English language in the education field and the relatively unified linguistic market comes almost in opposition to the status of the Welsh language. As section 3.4.1 discussed, Welsh as a second language became a compulsory subject in 1990, with the purpose of increasing the symbolic value of linguistic practices with this language. In spite of the increasing revitalization of Welsh in the past decades, the interviewees referred to the system of sociologically pertinent linguistic oppositions between English and Welsh constructed mainly through the medium of education from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards:

*to be honest with you I think that [Welsh is] an obstacle to learn although we live in Wales no disrespect to any Welsh person like I love Wales, Wales is a good place but you get 90% of the Welsh people here who claim to be Welsh don't know how to speak their own language so if their own Welsh people are not regarding their language of importance then what makes you think an Arab who just about learned English ... [I don't think it's useful to learn Welsh] not at all not in my life anyway ... I'd love to learn Welsh as a hobby I love learning languages but I don't think it's useful in terms of I mean if you want to become a doctor a lawyer an accountant and aircraft engineer no one's gonna ask you*

*to speak Welsh they're gonna ask you for your grades they're gonna ask you for your A levels, they're they're not gonna ask you do you speak Welsh ... English [is] very important especially what I wanna do, I wanna do law I'm gonna be in courtrooms I need to use professional English it needs to be understandable to the members of the jury the people of the public everything the judge everything so it needs to be professional English and I'm gonna be doing essays in university so English is very important and thank god I've always been good at English I've had As in my English language English literature so my English is perfect, near perfect (Yasser, 20)*

*I hated learning [Welsh] in school because I felt like it was pointless because we didn't use it anywhere so it just felt they were wasting our time and even now like I've learnt it from primary school up until high school GCSEs I got GCSEs in Welsh ... now it's pointless I can read road signs but once I'm out of Wales there's no point it's useless so I feel like in a way either use it properly or just scrap the language but I don't think they wanna scrap it because it's a special thing to Welsh people like even though less and less people are speaking it and also I think it's something else - I find Welsh is dying down in terms of like it's almost gonna become extinct because not a lot of people are speaking it everyone's scrapping it for English and no one uses it I mean even people that can speak Welsh when they come here they start speaking English so it's almost useless to them as well so I think it's almost becoming extinct (Amira, 24)*

As can be noticed in the above comments, the linguistic habitus of the interviewees is adapted to the conditions of the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff, with its hierarchy constructed through power relations over time (see Chapter 3). Similarly to the above interviewees, all other participants refer to this contrastive relationship between the English language and the Welsh language within the linguistic market of Cardiff. With special reference to the education system and the labour market, Yasser recognises the legitimacy of English, as opposed to the illegitimacy of Welsh. He underlines the importance of having a habitus adapted to the conditions of the English-medium school linguistic market, as they mirror the conditions of the linguistic market of the labour field of Cardiff as discussed above (see 5.2.1.2). According to him, Amira and Yusra, practices with the Welsh language cannot bring major linguistic, social, economic, or symbolic capital to them, mainly because most other members of the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff do not recognise such practices as legitimate either. Nazir offers an even more nuanced account, underlining the specificity of this phenomenon in Cardiff in comparison to other parts of Wales:

*I think in Cardiff Welsh is seen as being although it's bilingual and all the signs are bilingual I don't think it's taken seriously as a second language of Cardiff if it's the second language of Wales it's definitely not seen as the second language of Cardiff and it's very rare to hear it spoken so in a way I think Welsh is only [formally] part of the Cardiff scene I don't think it's the same everywhere ... the only time I'll hear Welsh in Cardiff being spoken is as a performance almost so it might be a politician giving a lecture in the Senate speaking in Welsh with the translation to make a point that this is part of Welsh identity or for example I was at the opening of a public institution of a public mosque and they had an individual speaking Welsh at the beginning and then going in English for the rest of the speech but just speaking that Welsh to show that you know recognizing the language's importance but very rarely I see it organically naturally spoken you know between two three people (Nazir, 25)*

Therefore, from Nazir's perspective, most of the Welsh population based in Cardiff does not have their linguistic habitus adapted to recognise as legitimate and produce linguistic practices with Welsh. What is more, those who do, reduce it to a performance that has the effect of reproducing the confinement of the Welsh language as an object of symbolic value understood as heritage, as opposed to English, which is recognised by the majority of agents as the legitimate language bringing them linguistic, economic, and social capital.

The perspective the interviewees have regarding linguistic practices with Welsh in Cardiff may have been influenced by their process of learning Welsh within education settings. Most of the participants are in their twenties, which means that they started attending school relatively shortly after Welsh became a compulsory subject (at the beginning of the 1990s). As section 3.4.2 showed, the implementation of this measure was not immediately followed by the creation of symbolically powerful submarkets where the competence acquired by pupils could be employed and valued. Bourdieu's (LSP, p. 57) idea that the value of the competence cannot be saved, even through educational efforts, unless the market is saved (i.e. the entire set of political and social conditions of production of the producers/consumers) is particularly relevant in this case. Given the conditions of the relatively unified linguistic market throughout their compulsory education trajectory, it is not surprising that the interviewees talk about the reluctance to learn Welsh as pupils:

*we also used to try and learn Welsh in primary school cuz Welsh was compulsory but no one ever really cared about learning Welsh (Aisha, 19)*

Nevertheless, since the 1990s the symbolic value of Welsh has increased at a very fast pace in Cardiff. While the linguistic market remains relatively unified with English as a dominant language, there are many more labour opportunities for Welsh speakers. In other words, the linguistic submarkets where Welsh is legitimised are increasing in number and in symbolic power, becoming gradually aligned with the production of producers/consumers from the education field. A younger interviewee has a slightly different understanding of the production of linguistic practices with Welsh, underlining the recent developments in terms of the value acquired by Welsh within the labour field of Cardiff:

*[Welsh is] obviously useful as another language and in terms of jobs in Wales a lot of jobs are looking to have Welsh they really want Welsh speakers but in terms of the language itself it's very rarely you find someone who speaks Welsh who can't speak English so that just defeats the point of having a second language cuz if everyone can speak English that can't speak Welsh so it's no point of really having Welsh cuz they can all speak English but then obviously it's the heritage of their country so you can't take that away ... but [Welsh] doesn't really work on a broader context ... why not learn French, Spanish, Italian or something you could use abroad instead of confining yourself to Wales, so it can be useful in Wales but outside of Wales I'm not sure how useful it can be ... I think there are a lot of jobs now [which require Welsh speakers] I think to work in the BBC you need to be a Welsh speaker BBC*

*Wales, they gave us this whole talk about Wales and what kind of jobs need it and presenters and all this kind of stuff they all want Welsh and how then being a Welsh speaker has helped them in their careers so it could be useful in Wales but then again outside I don't know how useful it could be (Amman, 18)*

Amman refers to Welsh as another language through which an agent can gain linguistic, social, economic and symbolic capital. This may be partially due to the recent changes in the linguistic markets of the labour field in Cardiff, where many job opportunities include Welsh as either essential or desirable skills, in light of the changing legislation (see 3.4.2). Amman may be more attuned to these changes given the increased information dissemination in schools nowadays, such as talks given by potential employers. Nevertheless, similar to all other interviewees, he also recognises English as the legitimate language of the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff and does not think he needs to be able to produce linguistic practices with Welsh in order to obtain linguistic, economic, and social capital in this market. Also, what Amman introduces here is the contrast between English and Welsh from a broader perspective. While he associates Welsh with an increasing number of job opportunities, he also talks about the lack of geographical mobility speaking Welsh implies in contrast with English or Modern Foreign Languages such as French, Spanish, or Italian. From this perspective, Welsh is perceived as enabling limited mobility in comparison to the global recognition of English as legitimate.

Furthermore, many interviewees refer not only to unbalanced relationship between English and Welsh, but also to that between the non-autochthonous minority languages spoken in the realm of their home and Welsh:

*I've never learnt [Welsh] I mean we only did it in primary school and high school we haven't really studied Welsh that much ... my family just thought you already have Arabic it's just too much for us to learn Welsh because we used to also go to Saturday school so it'd be too much I think and plus nobody ever needs Welsh here in Wales everybody speaks in English so I mean not even Welsh people know Welsh so yeah only certain people only a small number of people ... [I don't have any friends who speak Welsh] I think that even though people like to teach it in schools they mostly speak English to everybody so it's not gonna be easy to pick up but there are Welsh schools that people take their children to but only a small number of people take their kids to Welsh school so not everybody knows it (Yusra, 25)*

Similarly to most other interviewees, Yusra contrasts her linguistic habitus already adapted to recognise and produce linguistic practices with Arabic and English with linguistic practices with Welsh. It becomes evident that the symbolic power exercised within the linguistic market of the home (legitimizing linguistic practices with Arabic in her case) is experienced as having a higher strength than any other mechanisms validating linguistic practices with Welsh. Furthermore, any mechanisms of validation of linguistic practices with Welsh lose their effectiveness from the

perspective of the interviewees given that “not even Welsh people know Welsh” (Yusra). This implies that the participants draw on a concept of the native speaker of a specific language as constructed by the nineteenth century idea of “one nation – one people – one language” (see 2.1.3.1.1). In the eyes of the interviewees, the “Welsh people” should automatically have a linguistic habitus perfectly adjusted to consume and produce linguistic practices with Welsh. The fact that the “Welsh people” do not have such a habitus has a performative effect on the interviewees, who, by not feeling that they “naturally” belong to this nation, do not recognise linguistic practices with Welsh either.

All in all, the incorporation of the second-generation immigrant agents into English-medium schools in Cardiff resulted in the transformation of their linguistic habitus, compared to its state before starting school. Given the power relations between pupils and the institution of the school, the linguistic habitus of these agents adapted to the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic market of the school, which, as has been argued, usually mirror the condition of the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff. From this perspective, they became both competent consumers and producers of English linguistic practices. At the same time, their linguistic habitus internalised the unequal values held by English and Welsh, and thus, the system of sociologically pertinent linguistic oppositions valid within the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff.

#### 5.2.2. The linguistic habitus as the internalization of the power relations between markets

So far the analysis has explored the power relations within two different linguistic markets (home and school) which led to the development of the linguistic habitus of the second generation participants. The analysis could also potentially correspond to two different stages of this development - the linguistic habitus of most interviewees was adapted mainly to the linguistic submarket of the home before attending school (see 5.1), while it adjusted to recognise and produce linguistic practices with English mainly at school (see 5.2.1). In light of the interviews, the two different linguistic markets seem disjointed, unconnected, dichotomic. Somewhat following this interpretation of the interviewees, the analysis of the transformation of the linguistic habitus in the passage from home to school has focused on the ambit of the school, as a linguistic market and a social field completely different from the linguistic submarket of the home. If the analysis stopped here, this reading would imply that the transformation of the linguistic habitus of the second-generation agents was also disjointed, the two stages of the linguistic habitus transformation being somewhat unconnected. However, the analysis put forward so far represents a first layer of the development process of the linguistic habitus of the second-generation participants.

The first part of the chapter (see 5.1.1.3) has already concluded that the linguistic market of the home does not emerge in a vacuum, but in relation to the rest of the social space of Cardiff. As a result, it could be thought of as a 'linguistic submarket', the term highlighting the unbalanced power relationship between this market and the relatively unified linguistic market. It is now important to reflect upon the transformation of the linguistic habitus of second-generation agents as a result of their incorporation in English-medium schools in Cardiff in the light of the relationship between the linguistic submarket of their home and the linguistic market of school/Cardiff.

As argued in section 2.2.5, the transformation of the linguistic habitus under multiple and heterogeneous structural constraints does not lead to either a synchronically-understood linguistic repertoire (Gumperz 1964) with set rules for each possible interaction, or to the constitution of plural habituses (Meylaerts 2008). In the passage from home to school, the linguistic habitus of the second-generation agents adapts to the rules and laws of price formation of the new linguistic market; however, these new rules are internalized only by building on the previous states of the linguistic habitus. The transformation of the linguistic habitus thus involves an internalization of difference (Noble 2013) (see 2.2.4) as a result of the socio-historically influenced unbalanced power relations between the two linguistic markets. In turn, this internalization of difference represents an internalization of the linguistic hierarchy of the linguistic market of Cardiff (as defined by an entire set of political and socio-historical factors, as analysed in Chapter 3) through a complex mechanism of evaluation imposed by this market. Sanctions and censorships can range from not being understood in class when speaking Arabic to not being able to obtain employment unless having a perfect command of English obtained through schooling and proved through the system of nationwide qualifications. Thus, going beyond Noble's (2013) understanding of 'internalization of difference' as strictly an internalization of disorientation (see 2.2.4), this concept can be developed to account for the 'internalization of the power relations between the two markets'. When understood as a dynamic and integral principle, it becomes clear that the linguistic habitus of an agent develops across time internalizing not only the rules and laws of price formation of different linguistic markets, but also the power relations between such markets. This characteristic of the linguistic habitus as constantly developing according to new experiences through the lenses of the past has profound consequences on the agents' production of linguistic practices within each of the linguistic markets analysed so far.

#### 5.2.2.1. School

It has been argued so far that when the interviewees started attending school, their linguistic habitus transformed, quickly adapting to the rules and laws of price formation imposed within the

new linguistic market. What has not been discussed is that the linguistic capital with which these children started school was devalued when measured against English. Linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority language lacked validity within the linguistic market of the school and all agents had to have their linguistic habitus adapted to both recognise the new norm and to produce linguistic practices according to this norm. Thus, within the linguistic market of the school, linguistic practices with English are imposed as legitimate in contrast with the illegitimacy of linguistic practices with either Arabic, Somali, Bengali, Urdu, or Punjabi. This opposition is clearly expressed by Nazir in his interview:

*English was a bit more difficult cuz you learn it passively, you learn it cuz people are speaking around you and as I grew older I was more and more exposed to it on TV and ... I went to school then you go through a process when you learn it very very quickly cuz you have to, but I did have difficulties because the school I went to, I think some schools are more aware that a child might come in with very bad English skills but the one I went to I was the only child [with Asian background] there so they weren't aware of how to handle that so I was put in remedial classes and learning disabilities [classes] because they thought I was very slow in that regard so it took me a while to actually catch up and at the primary level of education I didn't learn to read and write English until I was eight although I could speak it by then I wasn't able to do reading and writing ... we start school at 4 so for 4 years I was struggling with the reading and writing aspects and it was only when I was eight I was catching up but I could speak the language by six or seven quite fluently and comfortably and now obviously I'm probably more comfortable in English than in Bengali cuz I've just had so much exposure to it (Nazir, 25)*

Although being classified as having a learning disability is not a recurrent theme throughout the dataset, Nazir's experience enables a better understanding of the amount of symbolic power held by the institution of the school and its repercussion on the development of the linguistic habitus of second-generation agents. When he started attending an English-medium school, the mismatch between Nazir's linguistic habitus and the conditions of the linguistic market of the school led to a brutal devaluation of his linguistic practices – what used to be considered linguistic capital within the linguistic submarket of the home was suddenly devalued at the level of the school and the entire linguistic market of Cardiff. Within this market, utterances with Bengali no longer received either meaning or value<sup>248</sup>. Furthermore, the idea that the mismatch between Nazir's linguistic habitus and

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<sup>248</sup> For a comparison, the mismatch between the linguistic habitus of the second-generation agents and the linguistic market of the school is somewhat similar to the situation of the bachelors in Béarn, as portrayed by Bourdieu in *The Bachelors' Ball* (TBB). Primarily due to urbanisation and major changes in the labour field of France, the capital held by young men in rural Béarn is suddenly devalued, starting to be measured against other types of capital at national level. The mismatch between their habitus and the fields in which they operate is so significant that they can no longer 'play' the game on the market of matrimonial exchanges. This type of mismatch is similar to that of the second-generation agents speaking a non-autochthonous minority language when they started school. Nevertheless, the substantial difference is that although within the linguistic market of the school the linguistic capital of second-generation agents is devalued, the schools itself represents the means to gain the legitimate competence required to 'play' the game on the linguistic market of the school and the rest of the social space. In turn, this transformation of the habitus may also lead to them

the linguistic market of the school was classified as a learning disability is also revealing of the clear power relations between the linguistic market of Cardiff and the submarket of the home. Consequently, Nazir's linguistic habitus also adjusts to this unbalanced power relation between the two markets and thus, to the external illegitimacy of linguistic practices with Bengali. In what follows, it becomes clear that the internalization of the relationship between the two markets has a significant impact on the linguistic practices produced by most second-generation agents in the realm of the school.

Yasmeen talks about her experience of learning English at school and how English was recognised as the legitimate language even on the school playground, in contrast with Arabic's legitimacy becoming restricted to the realm of the home:

*school helped me ... because obviously it made me aware of how to speak properly how to write, read so yeah I would say school was the major influence of me learning English ... during English school we'd speak English with our friends and then we'd go home we'd speak Arabic to our parents but then that's it, Arabic kind of stayed inside, it didn't ever spread outside ... during primary school I didn't have any Arab friends, I had a lot of Asian friends who spoke Urdu or Hindi which obviously I don't speak but we left English as the playground language and then when we went home we all spoke our different languages ... I grew up not knowing Arabs so the Arabic language to me was quite I wasn't interested in it in the playground I didn't have anyone speak to it except for my brother but then I wouldn't speak to my brother in Arabic in the playground so no I didn't really use any of the languages so no I used English mostly (Yasmeen, 24)*

On the one hand, similarly to Nazir, Yasmeen recognises the school as the most symbolically powerful institution through which her linguistic habitus adapted to the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic market of Cardiff. On the other hand, she also mentions that mainly due to not having any other Arabic-speaking friends, English became the legitimate language of the school playground as well. It could be argued that this was the case simply due to lack of contact with agents with a similar set of dispositions as hers. However, Noor's later addition that she would not speak Arabic on the playground even to her brother adds another dimension. Regardless of whether she actually spoke any Arabic with her brother on the playground or not<sup>249</sup>, the significant element is her experience and the narrative contrasting Arabic and English. What this reveals is that Yasmeen's linguistic habitus has been adapted to the system of sociologically pertinent linguistic

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finding ways to validate linguistic practices with other languages than English and Welsh within these same markets. In contrast, the habitus of the Béarnaise peasants is constantly transformed in a direction that lowers their expectations and aspirations, with no means to compete on the market of matrimonial exchanges (e.g. by either keeping up with the changes on this market, acquiring new capital recognised as such under the new circumstances, or by finding ways to re-validate their capital).

<sup>249</sup> It has already been acknowledged in section 4.3.2 that the narrative constructed by the interviewees may not always mirror their actual linguistic practices. In this case, it is very likely that Yasmeen did produce some linguistic practices with Arabic in contact with her brother on the school playground at some point.

oppositions constructed through the institution of the school and recognised as valid by Yasmeen. This interpretation is reinforced by her experience of the school. In her interview, she mentions that

*going to school was more of a social event [or] a playing playground ... I enjoyed going to school to play with my friends rather than actually learn (Yasmeen, 24)*

Becoming adapted to the linguistic market of the school, Yasmeen's linguistic habitus also enabled her to recognise that linguistic practices with English brought her linguistic profits not only in contact with the more formal structures of the school (e.g. teachers, tests, etc.), but also with peers, both inside and outside the classroom. Therefore, Yasmeen would recognise practices with Arabic as less valuable in light of the power relations within the social field of the playground. For Yasmeen to make friends (i.e. obtain social capital), she needed not only to be a competent consumer and producer of linguistic practices with English, but also to reproduce the unbalanced power relation between the linguistic submarket of her home and the linguistic market of the school. Thus, she constructed a full opposition between her linguistic practices at home with those at school and the rest of the social space of Cardiff. Adapted to the relations between these structures, Yasmeen's linguistic habitus was to function as a guiding compass with regards to the shift of values of her different linguistic practices in light of her movement within different social spaces. In turn, she could negotiate this shift of values in her favour, producing utterances which could be recognised as linguistic capital in order to obtain social capital and thus negotiate her position in the social field of the school.

Similarly, Amira also talks about the adaptation of her linguistic habitus to the unbalanced power relation between the two markets. However, Amira's account is nuanced differently from that of Yasmeen:

*in later years at school I really loved speaking two languages cuz I have this friend, she's Iraqi as well, but they were more Westernized Iraqis, weren't like us, like scarf and things like that, but I could communicate with her like say if you want to say something in secret or like keep it secret we can say it in Arabic and I really loved that cuz I felt like it was something special and nobody would understand us and I picked that up and that stayed with me for all my school years because everywhere I'd go I think it really affects if you can speak another language cuz it depends who you pick as friends, I felt I didn't want to be friends with everyone else, I'd rather pick someone I can speak my own language so I have this special thing with them because we can share secrets and it was just sort of like a commonality thing like I found it more comforting to me, it felt like being with my own family in a way (Amira, 24)*

The obvious question that emerges here, especially in light of Yasmeen's account, refers to the conditions which enabled Amira to construct a linguistic submarket where linguistic practices with Arabic were validated in the context of the rigid linguistic market of the school, without being completely sanctioned. The answer may be found in that her linguistic habitus was perfectly adapted

to the rules and laws of price formation of both the submarket of the home and the market of school, as well as to the relationship between the two. Having internalized the rules of the game within and, most importantly, between the two markets, she finds ways to negotiate the power relation between the two markets, and thus the values of her linguistic practices. Crucially, Amira's linguistic habitus enables her to be both a competent consumer and producer of linguistic practices with the dominant language, English. Thus, she is not rendered mute, but is recognised as a legitimate agent with similar amounts of linguistic and social capital to most other pupils. It is under these circumstances that this particular linguistic submarket of friendship can emerge and partially challenge the power dynamics prevalent within the social field of school and its relatively unified linguistic market:

*MM: and how do you think that you were perceived like the two of you speaking Arabic while everybody was speaking English?*

*Amira: I think it got on their nerves at times, I mean sometimes like our close circle of friends I mean don't get me wrong we were a mixed group as well and we had white girls, Asian girls, and Chinese everyone was sort of mixed but with the other girl it was always this special bond because she could speak the same language and sometimes it would kinda get odd to classmates and other school friends not the close ones, they would think we were always talking about them or [that] were talking about something bad but to the closer circle of friends they knew it wasn't something special - oh do you want a drink - it was just something normal but you know because we were used to it we would say it in Arabic instead of English yeah I think sometimes it annoyed them but sometimes we'd do it purposely just to annoy them if they were annoying us cuz it was like it was sort of our weapon and secret I think, so we decide how to use it (Amira, 24)*

Within the field of school, the transformation of Amira's linguistic habitus enables her to recognise English as the most symbolically valuable language. However, it also enables her to evaluate, appreciate and reward linguistic practices with Arabic if another agent had a similar habitus to hers. What becomes relevant here is the linguistic habitus understood as a 'structuring structure' (see 2.2.2.1). Through her linguistic habitus, Amira can evaluate other agents' linguistic practices and consequently identify their position in the social space in correlation to her own position. From her perspective, a similar linguistic habitus represents a similar experience of the conditions of formation of that habitus, which amounts to a shared experience of having a different linguistic habitus than most other peers. The distinction from all the agents who did not share such a linguistic habitus was clear. Consequently, in the field of the school those agents who were competent consumers and producers of both Arabic and English were evaluated by Amira as holding much more linguistic capital than those who were not. Very significantly, a similar linguistic habitus to hers involved that her friend was not only able to speak Arabic apart from English, but also to identify the right circumstances to do it. In turn, this was converted into social capital, because a similar linguistic habitus granted the possibility of constructing a linguistic submarket within which linguistic practices

with Arabic could be rendered legitimate, in spite of the subordination of this submarket to that of the school. For Fatima, the possibility of validation of her linguistic capital acquired at home within the realm of the school involves social capital, bonding and friendship with the other Arabic-speaking girl in her class, in contrast to all other agents.

Amira's linguistic practices function as tools of negotiating power relations with other school peers. On the one hand, in relation to the relatively unified linguistic market of the school, the linguistic submarket constructed by the two friends is illegitimate. No one apart from them understands their utterances. In light of this, the two friends may be sanctioned because of the incomprehensibility of their linguistic practices. On the other hand, it is incomprehensibility that somewhat reverses power relations; completely immersed in the dominating linguistic market, the two friends discover that speaking Arabic offers them a special type of distinction, which does not come from a wider recognition of their linguistic practices as meaningful and valid, but rather the opposite. Producing linguistic practices with Arabic while aware of their wider incomprehensibility allows the two friends to highlight their close friendship, as well as to use these practices as a type of "weapon" in relation to their peers. Nevertheless, it cannot be emphasized enough that for this to happen (i.e. for the girls' classmates to recognise their linguistic practices with Arabic as a "weapon") Amira and her friend had to have previously-recognised linguistic and social capital, and thus symbolic power in relation to their school peers. At the same time, it is the internalization of the conditions within and between the different linguistic markets on which Amira operates that enables her to navigate and negotiate all these games of social interaction through her heterogeneous linguistic practices<sup>250</sup>.

Furthermore, Amman's understanding of such processes is highly significant, complementing Amira's story:

*MM: what about the school period, the time you were in school, did you get to use Arabic much?*

*Amman: very rarely if there are people that do speak Arabic we mostly speak English but sometimes when you don't want others to understand you just speak a bit of Arabic so the rest don't actually understand but apart from that not much cuz nothing is really taught in Arabic over there so we can't really use it much (Amman, 18)*

This is a reminder that while alternative linguistic practices do occur, functioning as tools of negotiation of power relations within the school (including its playground), linguistic markets such as

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<sup>250</sup> This analysis is an example of what the translanguaging paradigm (see section 2.1.3.2.1) overlooks: heterogeneous linguistic practices do not appear randomly or naturally, but are always influenced by the power relations among the interlocutors as well as by the entire set of socio-historically constructed contextual conditions.

those constituted by Amira and her Arabic-speaking friend are always going to be subordinated to the linguistic market of the school, and thus, to the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff.

#### 5.2.2.2. Outside the school, outside of home

It has been argued so far that schooling represents the process through which a relatively unified linguistic market is reproduced. In light of this, the experiences of the interviewees of employing languages other than English or Welsh outside the school and outside of home are very similar to the experiences of producing linguistic practices within the school.

Nazir talks about the sanctions which impose the English language as legitimate at the level of the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff:

*[In some parts of Cardiff] I'll be very conscious of not speaking Arabic or Bengali or any of those languages because it would be received badly and you are conscious and I think you have to be conscious of the way in which people can sometimes feel alienated so people like if you are a Welsh born white person from Wales and you hear speaking Bengali or Arabic they can sometimes I hear comments when I speak Bengali like 'speak English you're in England, speak English' although you're not in England ... and I think as well in public institutions there's a pressure to avoid it because you are conscious of being stereotyped so there are experiences where you know I'm British born I can speak English fluently I'm not exactly someone who consider myself foreign or unable to operate in society, if you speak a community language like Bengali or Arabic in a public institution you can see like you go to the doctor or hospital or something like that you can see the process of stereotyping going on with some of the officials where they kind of think this person must be foreign or this person must be a migrant or something like that and you kind of feel a pressure ... so you are conscious to make sure you speak English to show that I'm fluent in English I can speak English perfectly fine and you don't have to get a translator you know speak slowly to me or anything like that and so I think that in certain institutions as well you are conscious of avoiding it (Nazir, 25)*

Nazir outlines how the agents constituting the social space of Cardiff are the agents who evaluate, appreciate, and, if necessary, sanction his linguistic practices which do not correspond to the norm. Nazir's linguistic practices with either Bengali or Arabic would be sanctioned, being meaningless. What is more, producing linguistic practices with any of these language would imply Nazir being regarded as an agent with negative linguistic capital, and thus symbolically powerless. As a consequence, he underlines the importance of producing linguistic practices which are recognised as legitimate, particularly in interaction with public institutions. From Nazir's comments can be deduced that he clearly recognises English as the legitimate language of such institutions. He experiences his recognition in light of his entire history of contacts with the relatively linguistic market of Cardiff and all the sanctions that were applied or could potentially be applied on his linguistic products with a language other than English. Nazir recognises the symbolic power of public employees (e.g. doctors, nurses, receptionists) granted by their position in such a social field and that linguistic practices with Bengali or Arabic could render him less symbolically powerful when

interacting with them. In other words, he points out that employing English in such an already unbalanced power relation can help him gain recognition of his linguistic and social capital, which is then converted into symbolic power. Thus, the internalization of the relationship between the linguistic submarket of the home and the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff enables Nazir to negotiate a more favourable position in the social space of Cardiff in relation to the positions occupied by his interlocutors.

However, in a similar fashion to Amira and Amman (see 5.2.2.1), numerous interviewees portray the experience of negotiating the power relation between the linguistic submarket of the home and the market of Cardiff by producing linguistic practices with either Arabic, Somali, Bengali, Urdu or Punjabi outside the linguistic submarket of their homes:

*I like speaking Arabic because when you're out and you wanna speak to your mum about something so people around can't understand you (Nadeen, 16)*

*if you're going out with a friend who speaks Arabic and there's one that doesn't speak Arabic and if you wanna chat about him you don't want him to understand it's quite useful there (Amman, 18)*

*we do that I have friends and we're in a bus or something we wanna say something no one would be able to understand yeah we would speak to each other in Somali (Amal, 31)*

*[my friends and I] only speak Arabic if we're like somewhere we don't want the other person to understand but the majority of time we speak English I don't think we ever speak Arabic we don't make good use of it which is a shame really (Yasmeen, 24)*

Nadeen, Amman, Amal and Yasmeen discuss the processes which enable them to produce linguistic practices with languages other than English outside their homes. It has to be remembered that the submarket of the home refers to a bounded space, but also, importantly, to the internal power relations which govern the production of linguistic practices. Thus, when agents find themselves outside the home, similar power relations can prevail among them, but the unbalanced relation between the two markets is much more marked, which reinforces the contrast between their practices and the norm. This direct confrontation affects their actual practices; according to the comments above, the production of linguistic practices follows primarily this opposition between norms and incomprehensibility. As Yasmeen highlights above, all her friends recognise English as the legitimate language within the linguistic market of Cardiff. Nevertheless, they sometimes produce linguistic practices with Arabic in order to obtain internal social capital within linguistic markets of friendship. In other words, the conversion of linguistic capital into social capital takes place internally, but only in light of the external relation with the linguistic market of Cardiff. Similar to the case of Amira (see 5.2.2.1), what becomes paramount is not only agents' ability to produce linguistic practices with Arabic, but their linguistic habitus adapted to the rules of the game, the

internalization of the relations between these multiple markets. In turn, this linguistic habitus functions as a compass of the circumstances under which the negotiation of the value held by different linguistic practices can take place. Needless to say, the production of such practices does not take place randomly, but plays a fundamental role in the management of power relations among different agents.

Nevertheless, it is essential to underline that speaking Arabic in public can be interpreted from an additional perspective. Similar to Amman's (see 5.2.2.1) and Nazir's insights above, Nadeen talks about other people's perceptions of her speaking Arabic with her mother outside their home:

*MM: how do other people react when you speak in Arabic in public?*

*Nadeen: they used to be kind of weird they'd always give you weird looks because they'd think you're talking about them but they wouldn't understand the way you're coming from so it was kind of hard but now I'm used to it like when I speak in Arabic with my mum I'm kind of used to the people and how they look at you (Nadeen, 16)*

Thus, when taking the linguistic submarket of the home outside the realm of the home i.e., when the agents leave the house, the same power relations among them prevail, but their linguistic practices are no longer under the apparent shelter of the bounded space of the home. Also, the relation of the agents of such a submarket with the rest of the agents of the social space of Cardiff is double-fold. On the one hand, similar to the participants above, Yasmeen gains linguistic capital in relation to her mother, capital constructed in light of its incomprehensibility. On the other hand, Nadeen outlines that speaking Arabic with her mother outside the home can expose them to sanctions applied by the rest of the agents constituting the linguistic market of Cardiff. Having internalized the unbalanced relationship between the two markets, Nadeen recognises as legitimate this type of sanctions.

Such sanctions may be more prevalent in the case of women. In this sense, Faiza talks about her experience of being a Muslim British-Pakistani in Cardiff:

*now being in this city, being a Muslim, being brown it's very alienating ... I suppose if I wasn't wearing this hijab<sup>251</sup> life for me would be a little easier in the sense that I could walk into a room and people would see a brown person but with a hijab on they see a Muslim person yeah I'm either a terrorist or I'm oppressed (Faiza, 34)*

Visibly Muslim particularly due their Islamic clothing, these women may be more easily categorized as immigrants, perceived as potentially challenging traditional ideas of homogeneity<sup>252</sup>. Thus, apart

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<sup>251</sup> A hijab is the veil worn by some Muslim women to cover their head and chest particularly in public and in front of men who are not their next of kin.

<sup>252</sup> For a nuanced discussion regarding gender, Islam and dress in the case of female British Muslims, see Gilliat-Ray (2010, pp. 229-232).

from being illegitimate when measured against the norm, their linguistic practices in public may be associated with their physical appearance, potentially rendering them as agents with little social capital and easy targets for sanctions applied by other agents in the social space of Cardiff.

#### 5.2.2.3. Home

Starting school, the linguistic habitus of the second-generation agents interviewed transforms, adapting to the conditions of the linguistic market of the school, apart from those of the linguistic submarket of the home. Fundamentally, as the habitus is a generative and dynamic principle, such a transformation involves the internalisation of the power dynamic between the two markets, and thus the lower value of non-autochthonous minority languages in relation to English and Welsh. Nevertheless, as neither linguistic practices nor power relations are fixed, this development of the linguistic habitus of second-generation agents also leads to subtle negotiations of power relations which influence the shift in values held by certain linguistic practices, which in turn may inform those power relations. The linguistic habitus of the second-generations interviewees thus becomes a compass which enables them to employ linguistic practices in order to competently negotiate the power relations between them and other agents on these linguistic markets. This particular development of the linguistic habitus does not affect their production of linguistic practices only outside their home, but also inside. Thus, the linguistic submarket of the home suffers major changes due to the agents' passage from home to school. In light of this, the power dynamic between parents and children changes, which also implies that the struggle for the legitimacy of the linguistic submarket of the home becomes much more arduous.

Section 5.1 has shown that the lack of perfect adjustment of their parents' linguistic habitus to the conditions of the linguistic market of Cardiff and the symbolic power held mainly by their mothers within the field of family led to the constitution of linguistic submarkets of the home, where linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh were rendered legitimate. Following the development of their linguistic habitus as a result of attending school, the agents start perceiving the linguistic market of the home from a different perspective:

*I speak Arabic at home with my parents only because their English is a bit bad, they are not fluent English speakers ... but to my brothers and sisters my friends my cousins all the rest of the family mainly apart from the older generation is English (Amira, 24)*

*[my friend and I] we mostly communicate in English although we are both Arabs we both speak Arabic but we just communicate in English simply because we communicate with everyone else in English so why go for the bother speaking in Arabic but when I go home and my mother's not that fluent in English I'm then forced to speak in Arabic (Yasser, 20)*

*I would speak Somali [at home] because my mum's English is not very good so the only major communication we really have with my mum is through Somali but like I said my brothers and sisters we all speak English so we mainly interact with each other in English (Amal, 31)*

In the majority of cases the interviewees recognise English as the legitimate language of the linguistic market of Cardiff. They do so by contrasting their linguistic habitus adapted to the conditions of this market to that of their parents, which is less perfectly adapted. This implies a further contrast: the recognition of the linguistic market of the home as subordinated to the linguistic market of Cardiff. From the point of view of the above interviewees, speaking Arabic or Somali inside the home becomes a difference, an exception to the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic market of Cardiff.

As the three participants state above, this also implies that the second-generation agents start producing linguistic practices with English inside the home. More specifically, many of the participants report producing linguistic practices with both Arabic and English particularly with their siblings and friends:

*sometimes as friends we would speak half Arabic half English in a sentence ... I can't give you an example from the top of my head but we like to use a bit of Arabic but mainly it would be English (Yasser, 20)*

*Amal: we have a little joke [my siblings and friends] call me Remix sometimes because I'm mixing all the time English and Somali so I might start the sentence off with English and end it with Somali you know and that's sort of a typical thing that I might do I think it's because sometimes you just find it easier to express yourself for one thing in Somali and then the other thing in English*

*MM: and of course you do it with people who speak both languages*

*Amal: yes, yes, of course, I wouldn't do it with an English person or a Somali person I wouldn't speak to him in English (Amal, 31)*

Thus, the transformation of their habitus following schooling can lead to practices called “code-switching” by linguists or “translanguaging” by critical sociolinguists (see 2.1.3.2.1). While these types of practices do not represent the focus of this thesis given the complexity of such a topic (which would require further research), it is crucial to acknowledge that they do occur. It is necessary to underline that they can take place within the linguistic submarket of the home, partially modifying its rules and laws of price formation. Most importantly, it is essential to highlight that these practices are not natural, they do not take place at random and the home is not a utopic place disconnected from all the power relations of the linguistic market of Cardiff<sup>253</sup>. Rather, as Amal

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<sup>253</sup> For the comparison to be clear, Otheguy et al. (2015, p. 281) state that translanguaging is “the deployment of a speaker’s full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages”. Furthermore, García and Wei (2014, p. 23) state that in the case of multilingual families translanguaging practices are “released, in the family intimacy, from the social external conventions that tie them to one or another language”.

mentions above, such practices can occur only when interacting with agents whose linguistic habitus have a similar trajectory, enabling them to recognise such practices as meaningful and valuable. Thus, the production of heterogeneous practices with both English and Arabic can take place exactly because the producers have a linguistic habitus adapted to the power relation between the two markets, and thus to the dynamics of linguistic values prevalent on these markets.

In the cases of the participants whose parents were fairly competent consumers and/or producers of linguistic practices with English before their children went to school, the transformation of their children's linguistic habitus resulted in a substantial transformation of the conditions of the linguistic submarket of the home:

*my mum would often talk to me [in Urdu] and I would just respond back in English, in the end I really just didn't see any point [in speaking Urdu] ... I just felt there was a point where she understood English so I was just I might as well ... respond back in English ... from when I was pretty much a teenager I just responded back in English (Ahmed, 27)*

The linguistic habitus of Ahmed's mother started gradually adjusting to the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic market of Cardiff, enabling her to become a partially competent consumer of linguistic practices with English, recognizing them not only as valuable but also as meaningful. In combination with the development of Ahmed's linguistic habitus through schooling, the result is that he remains a competent consumer of linguistic practices with Urdu, but starts producing linguistic practices with English even in his interactions with his mother, interactions which are then recognised as legitimate both inside and outside the realm of the home.

A similar dynamic takes place with those agents whose parents had their linguistic habitus firmly adjusted to the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic market of Cardiff before their children were even born. In the cases of Faiza, Bilal and Aisha, once they start school, they also start producing mainly linguistic practices with English at home (see 5.1.1.2). Given that both their parents worked and spoke English meant that they all had their linguistic habitus highly attuned to the conditions of the labour market of Cardiff. Arguably, there is a correlation between this and the increasing value of English within the realm of the home in the case of these three agents. All agents having their linguistic habitus perfectly adjusted to the linguistic market of Cardiff, and not having any other symbolically powerful institution as a mechanism of validation their linguistic practices with Urdu and Punjabi, the English language starts gaining increasing legitimacy within the sphere of the home, prevailing over practices with Urdu and Punjabi.

Nevertheless, in most cases, the transformation of the linguistic habitus of the participants' mothers after their children start school does not lead to a perfect adjustment to the rules and laws of price

formation of the linguistic market of Cardiff. In light of section 5.1.1.3, this usually means that they are not competent producers of linguistic practices with English. Furthermore, they continue to act as the most symbolically powerful agents within the field of the family. Therefore, in spite of the development of their children's linguistic habitus, they manage to impose their practices as valuable and their authority as legitimate:

*my mother understands English but she prefers us to speak to her in Arabic because it's just quicker understanding for her so she doesn't have to concentrate so much when she's listening to us (Yusra, 25)*

*my parents kind of speak not too much English so I still speak Bengali with them and yeah it's mainly with my mum cuz that's where it's really important I want to communicate properly and in Bengali it's a much easier a thing (Nazir, 25)*

*my mother always has trouble with this speaking Arabic and English at home because she says you're gonna forget Arabic (Amira, 24)*

*MM: What about your mother would you speak in English with your siblings when your mother's around?*

*Amal: probably not, no, my mother doesn't like it, she always says you know you need to speak in Somali (Amal, 31)*

*[both our] parents would encourage use to speak Arabic at home because they were like well you spend 5 days a week in school speak English so you should pick up you should use the time at home to speak Arabic in order for you to learn more and you know not to lose it if that makes sense ... so at home it was very focused on the Arabic language rather than just English so even if my mum or my dad heard us speak English they'd tell us off like no, speak Arabic ask him again in Arabic language (Yasmeen, 24)*

As section 5.1.1.3 argued, all mothers recognise the subordination of the linguistic markets they construct to the linguistic market of Cardiff. As a result, being the most symbolically powerful agent in the field of family, they feel the need to protect the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic submarket of the home, recognizing the crucial role that the reproduction of this submarket has on the development of their children's linguistic habitus. Furthermore, their children's production of linguistic practices with English within the realm of the home poses the risk of devaluation of mothers' linguistic and social capital. This would also imply the loss of mothers' symbolical power in relation to their children. To prevent this from happening, they struggle to impose their authority in order reproduce a different hierarchy than that starting to be recognised as legitimate by their children. As section 5.1.1.2 argues and as Yasmeen highlights above, the fathers usually reproduced the conditions imposed by the mothers. Both parents struggle to reproduce the internal power relations within the linguistic submarket of the home by sanctioning linguistic practices with English and legitimizing practices with Arabic, Bengali, or Somali.

However, in light of the development of the linguistic habitus of the second-generation agents, the power relations in the field of family are constantly negotiated:

*I think people see them as freshies ... like they've just come to the UK, as they call them in America boaters, like they've just come off the boat ... we've been here since like '94 so we've been here for almost 20 years so then I tell them it's kind of your fault if people get annoyed with you like when they're shopping and stuff because you've been here for so long, you should know how to speak the language by now ... so I tell them it's sort of your fault for coming here, just being in your own bubble ... sometimes she gets really annoyed that she can't understand even though they sort of they get it like they understand English but it's just the way they put sentences together properly and that's the difficult bit of it for them just because it's not like properly they weren't properly taught even though you don't really need to be (Amira, 24)*

Amira recognises that for agents to make themselves heard and obeyed, they need to follow the conditions of the linguistic market of Cardiff. From her perspective, this is an important rule of the game through which agents become legitimate members of the social space of Cardiff. Also, she recognises that unless agents have a linguistic habitus sufficiently adapted to these conditions of the linguistic market of Cardiff, they are rendered mute, becoming powerless. Given the specific development of her linguistic habitus and her parents' recognition of the subordination of the linguistic submarket of the home, Amira gains a significant amount of capital that is recognised by her parents as valid. Amira gains symbolic power in relation to her parents and she becomes the agent against whom her parents' competences are measured. From this perspective, Amira can impose her views on linguistic practices and sanction her parents for the lack of competence in English. Thus, she becomes the agent that reproduces the sanctions of the linguistic market of Cardiff in an even more powerful way than the market itself. On the one hand, the construction of the linguistic submarket of the home is understood as a 'bubble' that had as a consequence the isolation and disregard of her parents from the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic market of Cardiff, having as a result the partial adaptation of their linguistic habitus to the conditions of this market. In other words, her parents do recognise the linguistic market of Cardiff as legitimate, as well as its rules and laws of price formation, but they have not yet acquired neither the competence, the practical mastery of the English language, nor the practical mastery of circumstances in which such practices are socially acceptable. On the other hand, Fatima also underlines that especially her mother might not have had the necessary resources to perfectly adjust her linguistic habitus to the conditions of the linguistic market of Cardiff.

Given these circumstances, second-generation agents sometimes have to mediate the interactions between their parents and more symbolically powerful agents pertaining to the social space of Cardiff:

*there's something doctors call Begum syndrome, now Begum is a very common Bengali surname and amongst GPs ... there's this kind of notion that South Asian women ... tend to be hypochondriacs so they come to the doctors and they'll complain about x, y and z and then the doctors think they make up problems and they give them a Paracetamol and send them home but often and especially now that people become more and more attuned to cultural differences realize that actually it's just a difference in terms of explaining - in South Asian languages you won't say for example I have a headache ... you talk more about the emotional response to that, so for example I'm feeling very disoriented so you won't say my head hurts, you'll say I'm feeling disoriented, if you're having chest pains, you won't say my chest is hurting, you'll say my heart is beating back and forth, it's kind of throbbing or something like that and there are all these kind of different ways of explaining something which is a medical problem ... my mum, I noticed sometimes, you go in and she has a serious problem and you know she has a few and this is ... something which requires medication and a few times she was just sent home with a Paracetamol and I'm ok and I'll go back in with her and I would make sure I listen to what she is saying and saying it in a language that doctors could understand and I put it in English but not just English it's English but also in an English which is very straightforward ... for a while she had an ear infection and so she was feeling dizzy and she had fever and all these other things so I had to go in when they gave her a Paracetamol explain them that her ear is hurting this is happening this is happening cuz I'm able to maybe understand what she's saying and also understand how the doctor wants to be told the information (Nazir, 25)*

By understanding the linguistic habitus as intrinsically connected to the structures of the linguistic markets for which it has developed, Nazir's function as a translator, or, in this specific case, as a community interpreter can be examined. By possessing a linguistic habitus that is adapted to both the submarket constituted mainly by his mother and to the linguistic market of the GP, he can act as an intermediary between the two. Although his mother might have the necessary linguistic competence (the grammatical competence) to explain her doctor that she is feeling disoriented when she has an ear infection, her linguistic habitus is clearly not as extended as her son's in order to automatically and unconsciously perceive why the doctor does not fully understand her symptoms. This is where the double-folded nature of the linguistic habitus becomes significant. It functions both as a "system of perception and appreciation of practices" as well as a "system of production of practices". Nazir has the almost automatic understanding of both what the mother experiences and what the doctor expects to hear. In other words, this is where the functioning of Nazir's linguistic habitus can be examined at its best, especially in terms of the internalization of the power relations between the markets. When going by herself to the GP, his mother is in a more vulnerable position having little linguistic capital and thus symbolic power. This comes in contrast to the GP who occupies a high position in the social space, due to his role in a public institution. Therefore, when compared, the two agents encounter each other from two different positions in relation to their symbolic power. What Nazir seems to grasp is not only that his mother does not have her linguistic habitus adapted to the necessary market, but also that this affects the balance of power between the doctor and the patient. Thus, when he decides to accompany her at the GP, his role as a translator goes beyond the issue of the languages involved. He has the ability to perceive

the power imbalance created by the issue of which language is legitimate and in what context. What is more, he is aware that his utterances will be considered legitimate in front of the doctor. This can be understood in opposition to the symbolically powerless situation in which Nazir was when he started school (see 5.2.2.1). The extended set of dispositions acquired since then allows him to balance the power asymmetry between the doctor and the mother: by asserting his legitimacy, he asserts her legitimacy as well, empowering her.

The mediating role played by the second-generation agents between their parents and the rest of the social space affects the internal power relations within the linguistic submarket of the home, accentuating this market's subordination to the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff. What is highlighted is that linguistic practices with Arabic, Bengali, Somali, Urdu, or Punjabi are measured against English, even when apparently sheltered by the bounded space of the home. This weakens the symbolic power held by the first-generation, and thus leads to the constant negotiation of the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic submarket of the home.

### 5.3. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to analyse the fundamental processes through which second-generation migrant agents can produce linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff. In light of the Bourdieusian framework, the chapter analysed the narratives of the participants by focusing on the socio-historical conditions and power relations which may have influenced their linguistic trajectory. The chapter took as a starting point the home/school dichotomy signalled by all interviewees when asked how they had learned each of their languages. This combination also reflected the Bourdieusian idea that the family and the school represent the fundamental principles according to which the linguistic habitus of an agent develops over time.

It has been shown that the linguistic submarket of the home represents a crucial influence on the second-generation agents' production of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in the context of Cardiff. The amount of symbolic power exercised by parents, and especially by mothers within the field of the family has a long-lasting impact on the development of their linguistic habitus. Nevertheless, while before attending school the linguistic habitus of most agents had developed mainly according to the conditions of the submarket of the home, attending English-medium schools led to a severe transformation of their linguistic habitus. The Bourdieusian model enables a relational perspective on the development of these agents' linguistic habitus, as they interact with these multiple markets. From this perspective, the chapter has gradually dissolved the home/school dichotomy. The Bourdieusian concept of linguistic habitus understood as an

integral, dynamic, and generative principle allows breaking away with the linguistic perspective of multilingualism as a double/triple monolingualism. At the same time, it enables conceptualizing an individual's set of linguistic dispositions as integral without falling in the trap of understanding both its development and the production of multilingual practices as non-constricted by any linguistic hierarchies. Crucially, the linguistic habitus develops in light of the power relations within and between the multiple markets with which it comes in contact.

Being adapted to the rules and laws of price formation of the submarket of the home and the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff, as well as to the power relations between them, the linguistic habitus of the second-generation migrant agents functions as a compass which enables them to produce linguistic practices in such a way as to obtain recognition for their different types of linguistic capital in a multiplicity of contexts. The internalisation of the power relations and the resulting linguistic hierarchies prevalent on these multiple markets enables them to identify circumstances under which they can validate linguistic practices with languages other than English or even linguistic practices which draw on their entire set of linguistic dispositions. Thus, by tapping into the rich data provided by the narratives of the participants, this chapter has underlined the two facets of the relationship between language and power. On the one hand, through linguistic exchanges agents can reproduce and even negotiate the power relations with their interlocutors. On the other hand, the power relations between interlocutors can influence the reproduction or negotiation of the values of linguistic practices. It is through a complex power dynamic that second-generation agents produce linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in the context of Cardiff.

While the present chapter has argued that the submarket of the home represents the main factor which leads to the second-generations' production of linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages, the participants refer to complementary factors which may have reproduced such practices as symbolically valuable. The following chapter explores the role played by religious, travel, and digital practices in the development of the agents' linguistic habitus, and their production of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in the context of Cardiff.

## 6. The linguistic habitus: Religious and digital practices

The previous chapter analysed the fundamental conditions and power relations through which the linguistic habitus of second-generation agents develops in such a way that it enables them to produce linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages within the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff. More specifically, it showed that the linguistic habitus of these agents develops according to the power relations within and among two main linguistic markets: the linguistic submarket of the home and the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff. It has been argued that the linguistic submarket of the home, in spite of its subordination to the linguistic market of Cardiff, represents the main factor which enables agents to produce linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh. Nevertheless, in their linguistic autobiographies the participants also referred to various other sources of symbolic power which can potentially increase the level of symbolic value of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh within specific linguistic submarkets in Cardiff. In light of this, the aim of this chapter is to analyse further processes which have potentially influenced the development of the linguistic habitus of the participants in a direction that reinforces the reproduction of those linguistic practices primarily legitimised within the submarket of the home. The linguistic biographies of the thirteen main participants (see Table 3, section 4.2.3) bring to light two processes which may have influenced the development of the linguistic habitus of some of the participants: religious practices and digital practices. While the two may seem disjointed at first, being quite different in nature, they are, in fact, rather closely linked.

Although apparently not significant, the fact that all the participants have been raised as Muslims may have had significant consequences on the development of their linguistic habitus. The first section of the chapter aims to explore in detail how religious practices may have led to the reproduction of certain linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh. Most significantly, the first section highlights the constitution of an Islamic field, through the symbolic power of which certain linguistic practices are validated. Nevertheless, the consequences of this process are highly differentiated according to the specific linguistic practices primarily legitimised within the linguistic submarket of the home. More specifically, while the symbolic power of the Islamic field reinforces the symbolic value assigned to linguistic practices with Arabic, this symbolic power does not have any influence on the reproduction of linguistic practices with other non-autochthonous minority languages in Cardiff, which leaves them in a highly unbalanced power relation with this relatively unified linguistic market.

Consequently, the acquisition of literacy in languages other than English varies considerably among the participants; this becomes extremely important for the analysis carried out in the second section of the chapter. As literacy practices are fundamental for most digital practices, the level of literacy in particular languages has significant effects on the production and reproduction of digital practices. As digital practices are crucial for the construction and reproduction of relationships with the social networks which are part of the linguistic market according to the rules of which the first-generation had its linguistic habitus adapted before resettlement, literacy in non-autochthonous minority languages becomes salient in the reproduction of linguistic practices with such languages. In turn, it is argued that the production of digital practices with the purpose of reproducing social relations across borders may lead to an increased symbolic value of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh particularly within the submarket of the home, as analysed in Chapter 5.

Thus, the present chapter is meant to complement the findings of Chapter 5; both religious and digital practices are understood as complementary to the fundamental power relations through which linguistic practices with Arabic, Bengali, Somali, Urdu, or Punjabi were reproduced in the linguistic submarket of the home. Therefore, this chapter aims to uncover how these additional sources of external symbolic power may have added further layers to the linguistic habitus of the second generation, enabling the participants to reproduce linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages in Cardiff.

### 6.1. Religious practices and second-generation Muslim agents in Cardiff

As discussed in 4.2.3., all the interviewees have an Islamic background. Although at first this may not seem significant, most participants highlighted the relation between Islam and language. This section explores to what extent the participants' religious background has influenced the development of their linguistic habitus and thus, their reproduction of linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages in Cardiff.

The section argues that the alleged 'untranslability' of the Qur'an is key to understanding the effects that the Islamic upbringing of the participants has had on the development of their linguistic habitus. Nevertheless, it is argued that through a complex set of elements, Islamic religious practices based on this belief ultimately lead to a differentiated reproduction of linguistic practices according to the languages employed in the linguistic submarket of the home (see 5.1). In light of the symbolic power held by the Islamic field in Cardiff, there appears a stark contrast between the legitimization of linguistic practices with Arabic and linguistic practices with either Bengali, Somali, Urdu or Punjabi.

Thus, this section draws on a division between participants with Arab and non-Arab parents<sup>254</sup> due to the significant differences found in terms of the relationship between Islamic practices, supplementary education and the reproduction of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff.

### 6.1.1. 'Arabic is the mother tongue of Islam'<sup>255</sup>

Most participants highlighted their experience of Islam as an embodied compass that guided all aspects of their lives:

*religion is very important, it makes up our culture, it's sort of our mannerism, how we should dress, how we should eat so it's something that's embedded in us from day to day living really so it is very important ... it's about your morals and your core principles, how you interact with people, how you communicate with people, being a good neighbour, a good Samaritan (Amal, 31)*

*religion is very important, it's the number one priority ... a lot of my life decisions are based on religious values ... we were brought up knowing that we were Muslims and we would die Muslims (Yasmeen, 24)*

*my background is religious and because of that I am who I am, [religion influences] my thought process and [it is] my moral compass, the code I live by I guess you can call it (Bilal, 22)*

Most other interviewees expressed the same recognition of religion as an all-encompassing part of their lives, which has an extensive influence over their everyday practices. This transpires probably best in Bilal's comment. Preceded by a section in his interview where he talked about the importance that Islamic values hold for his family, Bilal recognises that even in spite of his present critical stance towards Islam, such embodied values represent the lenses through which he views and acts in the world. In other words, his Islamic upbringing led to an internalization of Islamic core values, which has crucially influenced the development of this habitus.

Considering this embeddedness of Islam into Muslims' everyday practices, it is significant to note that the interviewees also highlighted the central role the Arabic language plays in Islam:

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<sup>254</sup> It must be acknowledged that this terminology may be potentially problematic – the notion of 'Arab' does not necessarily designate a highly heterogeneous ethnic group. Furthermore, in English it may bear colonial overtones. Nevertheless, I chose this terminology in light of three reasons. First, the 2011 Census used this term to designate an ethnic category, which puts it on par with other terms, such as Asian, White, Mixed, or Black. Second, the same term has been used elsewhere in academic literature on religious and cultural identities. Some of the most relevant such studies are those of Threadgold et al. (2007) and Scourfield et al. (2013). Third, the participants refer to themselves as 'Arabs'. Furthermore, while the Arabic language is central to this discussion, employing the notion of 'Arabic speaker' would have been significantly more problematic than a notion that broadly designates an ethnic category (albeit a complex one) whose one of the main characteristics is its partial linguistic homogeneity (i.e. most of the Arab population is Arabic-speaking). For a more nuanced discussion regarding the homogeneity of the 'Arabic language', see section 5.1.3.1.

<sup>255</sup> (Yasser, 20)

*Arabic is the mother tongue of Islam, you can speak whatever language you want, Islam doesn't say speak Arabic alone but the Qur'an was done in Arabic ... so Arabic is the mother tongue (Yasser, 20)*

*the Qur'an is written in Arabic so it's important to learn Arabic for that purpose alone, to get a better understanding of the Qur'an and what you're reciting during prayer (Anwar, 29)*

*it's important to learn Arabic because of the Qur'an, it's 'arabī ['ṣarabī:] it's Arabic so you have to learn about Arabic so you can understand the Qur'an because it's compulsory to learn to read the Qur'an in Islam so yeah it was good for me to learn Arabic as an Arab child (Nadeen, 16)*

*I really do enjoy being able to read the source read the Qur'an and understand it, spoken Arabic is really important part of the religious life for Muslims but also reading the Qur'an (Nazir, 25)*

*religion is very important to me which is the reason why I wanted to learn Arabic and still would like to learn Arabic uhm so I can you know recite and pronounce the words correctly in the Qur'an (Faiza, 34)*

Regardless of their ethnic or linguistic background, all participants experienced the significance of Arabic in their lives through it being the language of the Qur'an, the scripture of Islam. Therefore, in order to understand what lies behind the authority of the Arabic language in Islam and how it may affect the linguistic practices of second-generation Muslim agents, it is important to examine more closely the relationship between Arabic and the Qur'an.

As Madigan (2001, p. 3) explains, Islam is usually understood as “a religion of the book”, the words of the scripture occupying an extremely important role in the faith and practices of Muslims all over the world. According to the Muslim belief, the Qur'an was revealed to Prophet Mohammad in the seventh century AD (Rosowsky 2006, p. 312). KI5<sup>256</sup>, an Arabic teacher at an Islamic centre in Cardiff at the time of the interview, underscores the significance of this revelation of the divine speech for Muslim believers:

*Muslims believe that the Qur'an is the miracle in text form given to Prophet Mohammad ... the Qur'an as a text form claims to be a miracle, it claims to be the literal word of God*

The understanding of the Qur'an as the word of God has profound implications for the relationship between Arabic and the Qur'an. The bedrock of this relationship is the belief that “the message of God was revealed in *both sound and word* to the Prophet Mohammad” (Gent 2006, p. 35). Therefore the Qur'an is believed to be a sacred intertwinement of both sound and meaning (Sells 1999, p. 3; Nelson 2001, p. 13; Gent 2006, p. 36). Furthermore, the Qur'an declares itself “to be an absolutely unique and inimitable Arabic Qur'an, the like of which cannot be reproduced in Arabic, nor, of course, in any other language” (Rahman 1988, p. 23). Nevertheless, the Qur'an is believed to have been revealed thousands of years ago; while the Qur'an has remained fixed due to the sacredness of its form, the Arabic language has changed throughout time. Consequently, there is a

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<sup>256</sup>See table 1, section 4.2.1.

very significant formal discrepancy between Qur'anic Arabic and the Arabic spoken nowadays (see 6.1.3.1). In turn, this leads to a potential lack of understanding of the sacred text without the proper means of acquisition of a particular linguistic competence in Qur'anic Arabic. A similar situation led to the translation of the Christian Bible from Latin to different "vernacular" languages (Venuti 2012, pp. 15-16), focusing primarily on the sense of the text, and thus on its "divine meaning" (Venuti 2012, p. 15). Nevertheless, the sacredness of the Qur'anic text itself (Peña Martin 2006) means that the "form and meaning of the holy book cannot be separated" (Haeri 2000, p. 75). In turn, this poses significant issues for how translations of the holy book are perceived across the Muslim world. Any translation of the Qur'an stands out due to the intervention of the translator. Crucially, the translator is a human being trying to render a transcendental message into a different language (Rezvani and Nouraey 2014, p. 70). As the form of the message is as important as its meaning, the intervention of the human translator is so significant that a translation is not accepted as such; rather, it is considered to be a mere interpretation of the translator which can never be accepted as a legitimate rendering of the sacred text<sup>257</sup> (Al-Shabbab 2003; Rahman 1988; Stewart 2000; Peña Martin 2006; Rezvani and Nouraey 2014). This assumed untranslability of the Qur'an built upon the sacredness of the sound bears significant consequences for the performance of Islamic religious practices the world over, including Cardiff, and, as a consequence, for the symbolic value assigned to the Arabic language in general.

### 6.1.2. Islamic religious practices in Cardiff: performing the Qur'an

Boyle (2004, p. 27) argues that Islam is a widespread and diverse religion "with a core of common beliefs and practices that are interpreted and manifested differently at different levels": locally, nationally and internationally. While the author makes reference to communities of believers practicing Islam within rather homogenous contexts (such as countries whose population is mainly Muslim), the interplay of different levels referred to by Boyle (2004, pp. 25-37) is important for understanding the constitution of an Islamic field in the context of Cardiff.

The author suggests that "all Muslims worldwide are considered members of the *umma*, or community of believers" (Boyle 2004, p. 28). Thus, while different communities may differ in aspects of their practices, "the central tenets of Islam are global"<sup>258</sup> (Boyle 2004, p. 28). From this

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<sup>257</sup> Because of this, according to Al-Shabbab (2003, p. 21), "in the study of the translation of religious texts, the interpretive function of the translator occupies a central position".

<sup>258</sup> More specifically, Boyle (2004, p. 28) argues that "the common beliefs that unite Muslims include a belief in one God (the God of Abraham) and the belief that Mohammad was God's final prophet. Further, they share a belief in the prophets of Judaism and Christianity, the belief that the Qur'an as revealed to Muhammad is the literal and exact word of God, and the belief that there are five pillars or obligations involved in being Muslim ... 1. Witnessing that there is no God but God and that Mohammad is his prophet. 2. Praying five times a day.

perspective, one of the main identity markers of Muslims is that they share a belief that “the Qur’an as revealed to Mohammad is the literal and exact word of God” (Boyle 2004, p. 28), as highlighted in section 5.1.1. In light of this core Islamic belief at the level of the *umma*, it is significant to note that Scourfield et al. (2013), who conducted a study which investigates the religious upbringing of Muslim children in the UK<sup>259</sup>, reached the conclusion that the process of religious nurturing in Cardiff is similar to that in contexts characterised by a homogenous Muslim population:

the mosque-based classes [in Cardiff] were often typical of those that might be found in countries with Muslim majority populations. In many ways, the processes of teaching a child how to read the Qur’an, how to pray, or simply how to behave as a Muslim, are similar the world over and have a rather timeless quality ... through memorizing of Qur’an or learning specific religious rituals, children are being socialized into a community of religious practice, and they are learning how to embody the knowledge they are acquiring (Scourfield et al. 2013, pp. 106 - 107).

Thus it can be argued that the Islamic “community of religious practice” (Scourfield et al. 2013, p. 107) in Cardiff has constructed an Islamic field based on the core principles and values of the *umma*; the same practices are attributed the same value all over the world, regardless of the geographical context. Nevertheless, what Scourfield et al. (2013) have not fully underscored is that the agents forming the Islamic religious field of Cardiff pertain to the migration field of several generations of Muslim immigrants. Therefore, while its corresponding religious field may draw its symbolic power and authority from outside the religious field of Cardiff (i.e. from the *umma*), the migrant field is embedded in the social structure of this society to the point of potential subordination. Consequently, Islamic religious practices are legitimised within the Islamic field of Cardiff which is constructed in relation to the symbolic power held by Islam in the societies of origin of the “community of practice”. However, within the host society (i.e., the UK) this Islamic field may not be necessarily legitimate.

Focusing now on some of the most fundamental values of Islam, it is crucial to reiterate that Islamic religious practices are based on the ability to perform passages from the Qur’an:

*[in the case of] Arabic my literacy would be much more important [than literacy in Bengali] because for Muslims a lot of texts are written in Arabic so the religious texts, I think almost every Muslim child learns to read [them] they’ll learn to read Arabic so they can read the Qur’an (Nazir, 25)*

*we’re taught to memorize especially the first verse in the first chapter in the Qur’an, the Al-Fatiha, which is called The Opening, you’ll find that Muslims all over the world regardless of the fact that they are Arabic[-speakers] or if they’re not Arabic[-speakers] they’ll know Sura Al-Fatiha, The Opening, everyone will know it and you’ll find that Muslims all over the world they have memorized part of the*

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3. Giving alms to the poor. 4. Fasting during the month of Ramadan. 5. Making one pilgrimage to Mecca during one’s lifetime if one is physically and financially able.”

<sup>259</sup> This research provides a highly significant starting point for the analysis of the results of the present study, given that this team of researchers interviewed 60 Muslim families based in Cardiff.

*Qur'an whether it's a little bit or a lot ... there's verses in the Qur'an that they'll know by memory ... because it's what we recite when we do our five prayers ... we recite [Sura Al-Fatiha] in every [prayer, several times] ... and then we recite another verse but we always recite the Al-Fatiha because if you don't recite the Al-Fatiha then your Salat, your prayer, is kind of invalid (Faiza, 34)*

As the above comments suggest, all participants recognised the ability to read the Qur'an as a fundamental competence from the perspective of religion. According to Bourdieu,

rituals are the limiting case of situations of imposition in which, through the exercise of a technical competence which may be very imperfect, a social competence is exercised – namely, that of the legitimate speaker, authorized to speak with authority (LSP, p. 41).

In light of the alleged 'untranslability' of the Qur'an (see 6.1.1), acquiring the technical competence of performing<sup>260</sup> the sacred scripture becomes an indispensable skill needed by any Muslim to carry out their religious duties. The compulsory prayers that need to be performed five times a day require a technical competence which involves an agent's ability to read, memorize and correctly recite the Qur'an. Faiza offers the concrete example of the need to recite the opening part of the Qur'an before any prayer; unless that particular sequence is recited, anything else that follows would be invalid. This role of the ability to perform parts of the Qur'an as crucial is also underscored by Scourfield et al. (2013, p. 101):

the stress that is placed upon learning correct recitation of the Qur'an ... derives from the use of Quranic verses as part of ritual prayer, five times a day, sections of the Qur'an or even entire chapters will be recited as part of salat<sup>261</sup> and other ritual prayers, and the ability to do this correctly, using the right vocal sounds and the pronunciation (tajweed), establishes the validity of the prayer.

Thus, it can be suggested that the technical ability to correctly perform parts of this scripture can be understood as linguistic capital specific to the Islamic field of Cardiff. Being fundamental for the evaluation and recognition of agents as legitimate Muslims, within the Islamic field this linguistic capital is converted into religious capital. The question that becomes relevant now refers to the conditions of acquisition of such specific linguistic capital in the context of Cardiff.

Scourfield et al.'s study (2013, p. 101) explains that the families responsible for the upbringing of Muslim children in Cardiff usually send them to supplementary schools<sup>262</sup>. Thus, understood from a

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<sup>260</sup> According to Rosowsky (2012, p. 617), "performativity plays an important role in any analysis of the religious classical and its associated sociocultural practices. The religious classical, one could say is a language variety that is intimately bound up with performance, much more so than more regular communicative practices for its learning and acquisition are predicated on its performance as its *raison d'être*."

<sup>261</sup> Salat: "an Arabic term for compulsory daily prayer, performed five times a day" (Scourfield et al. 2013, p. xiv).

<sup>262</sup> More specifically, Scourfield et al. (2013, p. 101) state that "almost all the families in our study recognised the importance of their children learning how to read the Qur'an in Arabic, and acquiring some level of understanding about Islamic beliefs and practices. There is no sense that learning Islamic etiquettes, or

Bourdieuian perspective, this research suggests that formal religious education is one of the main mechanisms through which Muslim children in Cardiff acquire the necessary linguistic capital that is needed for their recognition as Muslims. Scourfield et al. (2013, p. 78) show that in Cardiff there are three main types of religious education classes<sup>263</sup>. The first type focuses on Arabic tuition, “with some Islamic input” (Scourfield et al. 2013, p. 78). The children usually study once a week in a session that lasts for several hours and are mainly attended by children whose parents are Arabs. In the second type of classes children learn to read the Qur’an, “preceded by a basic introduction to the Arabic language” (Scourfield et al. 2013, p. 78). Given the crucial importance of Qur’an literacy, it is not surprising that this is the most common type of class<sup>264</sup>. The researchers also note a variety of settings where these classes can take place, ranging from mosques to home-based classes taught by either private teachers or the parents themselves (Scourfield et al. 2013, p. 78). However, acquiring technical competence in Qur’anic literacy and performance does not necessarily imply understanding the meaning of the text<sup>265</sup>, as these classes are based on the recitation and memorization of the Islamic Scripture and on the correct pronunciation of this text. This is why the third type of classes has appeared: Islamic studies classes where children can learn the main teachings of the Qur’an and hadith<sup>266</sup>.

The categorization of the main types of religious education available in Cardiff as observed by Scourfield et al. (2013) can function as a springboard for a fine-grained analysis of the data collected for the present project<sup>267</sup>. The following subsections employ these findings in order to map the trajectory of the present study’s participants in terms of religious nurturing and how the symbolic power of the Islamic field has influenced the development of their linguistic habitus, as well as their

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learning how to read the Qur’an can be put off to another time, or left to the preferences of children ... fulfilling this responsibility usually involves some kind of supplementary schooling”.

<sup>263</sup> According to Scourfield et al. (2013, p. 17), “there are particular traditions of education in Islam and some of these are alive and well in the UK”. Furthermore, according to Mogra (2004, p. 22), such institutions have different names which are usually employed interchangeably in Britain (for example, mosque school, madrasah, or maktab).

<sup>264</sup> Scourfield et al. (2013, p. 105) underline that “most Muslim children attending a mosque-school, regardless of gender, will spend a substantial proportion of their childhood between the ages of 5 and 11 learning Classical Quranic Arabic”.

<sup>265</sup> As Scourfield et al. (2013, p. 77) put it, “there is a certain acceptance that the classes will not result in an in-depth understanding for many children”.

<sup>266</sup> Hadith: “sayings of the Prophet Muhammad” (Scourfield et al. 2013, p. xiv).

<sup>267</sup> It must be noted that there is a chronological gap between the period when Scourfield et al.’s (2013) project was conducted (2008-2013) and when the present project’s interviewees attended any type of religious supplementary schooling (late 1990s – early 2000s). This gap may involve certain differences in the level of provision of supplementary education in Cardiff. Nevertheless, making use of the broad categories introduced by Scourfield et al. (2013) is useful in organizing the analysis of the data collected for the present chapter.

production of linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages in Cardiff<sup>268</sup>. Given the centrality of the commonly accepted idea of ‘untranslability’ of the Qur’an in the reproduction of Islamic religious practices (see 6.1.1 and 6.1.2) the ethnic and linguistic diversity of this project’s participants (see 4.2.3) reveals a highly complex picture of how religious practices influence the reproduction of linguistic practices in Cardiff. Thus, as Arabic seems to be perceived as intrinsically linked to Islamic religious practices, the data collected evidences a stark contrast between the process of reproduction of linguistic practices with Arabic and languages such as Somali, Bengali, Punjabi or Urdu. Consequently, the participants to this study have been split in two categories due to the significant differences that religious practices lead to in terms of the development of their linguistic habitus and linguistic productions. These categories are primarily based on the linguistic practices produced within the submarket of the home, as shown in Chapter 5. Because the central issue is the symbolic values of Arabic in relation to religion, the two categories are based on the ethnicity of the participants’ parents: Arabs and non-Arabs.

### 6.1.3. Arabs

The aim of the present section is to analyse how Islamic religious practices have influenced the development of the linguistic habitus of those second-generation interviewees whose parents have an Arab background (see 4.2.3). As these interviewees have their linguistic habitus adapted to a linguistic submarket of the home where linguistic practices with Arabic are reproduced (see 5.1), the relationship between Islam and Arabic outlined above has had a particularly significant impact on the development of their linguistic habitus. Nevertheless, speaking of the ‘Arabic’ language hides a very complex linguistic phenomenon, which becomes key in understanding the power relations which lead to the process of reproduction of linguistic practices with Arabic in Cardiff.

#### 6.1.3.1. Types of Arabic

According to Holt (1996, p. 11), Arabic is the only official language of seventeen independent and sovereign states. He suggests that this is usually seen as the result of Arabic being the language of the Qur’an and these states having a Muslim and Arab majority. Holt (1996, p. 11) also mentions that out of four major literate civilizations, “it is only Islam whose sacred language has retained its original form and still become a national and official language”. However, underneath the apparent unity of the Arabic language lays a highly complex linguistic market. In spite of the problematic

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<sup>268</sup> As already mentioned, this chapter complements the results of Chapter 5, adding a further layer to the discussion regarding the symbolic power through which linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh are produced within the linguistic submarket of the home.

involved in categorizing linguistic practices in the Arab world due to their complexity<sup>269</sup>, this section employs a understanding of the Arabic language as the interplay between at least three highly interconnected types of linguistic practices (Haeri 2000; Palfreyman and Alkhalil 2007). These types of Arabic are commonly known as: 1) Classical Arabic (CA) which is almost equivalent to Qur'anic Arabic; 2) Modern Standard Arabic (MSA); and 3) Dialects (ammiyyas)<sup>270</sup>, which can be broadly differentiated according to the Arab nations.<sup>271</sup> The first two types are standardized, written

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<sup>269</sup> One of the first and most famous attempts at underpinning the linguistic complexity of the Arab world was carried out in the field of sociolinguistics, by Ferguson, through the publication of his notable article entitled *Diglossia* (1959). According to him, "in many speech communities two or more varieties of the same language are used by some speakers under different conditions" (Ferguson 1959, p. 325). As discussed in section 2.1.2, this phenomenon is characterised by the existence of a High (H) and a Low (L) variety, which are differentiated in terms of function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, and lexicon, phonology. In the case of Arabic, the High variety is supposed to be what Ferguson calls Classical Arabic, while the Low variety is represented by local, spoken dialects. The High variety functions in formal circumstances, for religious and institutional purposes, being the most prestigious, standard form, with an extensive literary heritage, whose acquisition is accomplished through formal education. Meanwhile, according to Ferguson (1959), the Low varieties are mainly spoken, usually employed in informal situations, such as personal communication; they are not prestigious and not standardized; there is little literary heritage (with the exception of folk literature). Ferguson's (1959) article proved to be highly controversial, especially from the perspective of Arab and non-Arab linguists (Haeri 2000, p. 66). Although the range of criticism is very broad, probably the most questionable issue is that of the existence of such a strict dichotomy between High and Low varieties, many characterising "the existence of levels of Classical Arabic as constituting a continuum with colloquial and Classical Arabic on each end" (Haeri 2000, p. 66). In spite of this criticism, the concept of diglossia has become extremely popular in the field of sociolinguistics, being redefined by Fishman (1972b) as the usage of "functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind" in a particular sociolinguistic setting. However, as shown in section 2.1.2., this understanding also brings forth issues of underlying power relations, social and economic conditions of production of utterances, impossibility of permeability of domains, as well as the lack of research conducted with regards to the experiences of actual agents in terms of their recognition and misrecognition of the legitimacy of their linguistic practices.

<sup>270</sup> Given the problematic involved in employing the term 'dialect' due to it being a sociolinguistic category, henceforth the Arabic term 'ammiyya' will be employed as a tentative attempt of categorising primarily oral linguistic practices with Arabic.

<sup>271</sup> These three categories have also been confirmed and explained by K15, who used to work as an Arabic teacher at an Islamic centre in Cardiff at the time of the interview: "the rules of the Arabic language are actually taken from those times people were speaking it, the Qur'an came down in it and then in those times the scholars started to extract the rules of grammar from the Qur'an and from the language of the poetry of these old people that would sing that language is called classical fusha that's the classical Arabic which is not spoken anymore it is only there in the classical old books, it is there in the Qur'an, it is there in the language of the Prophet ... Classical Fusha is the mother tongue of the Qur'an ... Arabic for every region [is] different, the Iraqi Arabic is different, the Egyptian is different, the Syriac is different, other people who speak it different and that's called ammiyya ... that comes from the word mother tongue ... ammiyya or common language ... every country, every region, every town has got its own ammiyya, but as a general rule Egyptian ammiyya is different than Iraqi ammiyya, Iraqi ammiyya is different than the Syriac ammiyya, some might be a bit closer to fusha some are a bit far away from fusha but they are still Arabics so that's the second type then the Arab World League who tries to get everybody connected together decided on a different language which is called the Modern Standard Arabic MSA and they decided to use that official use for newspapers, for our passport, offices, for government documents, for constitutions, the language spoken in schools or universities, that's Modern Standard Arabic ... [MSA] is spoken as well but only in institutional settings because people will generally use ammiyya".

varieties, MSA being the modernized version of Classical Arabic<sup>272</sup>. Arabic ammiyyas are spoken, non-standardized varieties of Arabic.

It is noteworthy that while there are clear formal differences between Classical Arabic and MSA, the latter being a simplified and modernized version of the first one<sup>273</sup>, the terms are “used sometimes interchangeably and sometimes as representing two distinct varieties”<sup>274</sup> (Haeri 2000, p. 64). This is an important aspect because there is no equivalent for the term ‘Modern Standard Arabic’ in Arabic<sup>275</sup> (Haeri 2000, p. 64) and, consequently, as Bassiouney (2009, p. 199) postulates, “native speakers do not make this distinction”.

With regards to the symbolic value attributed to these different types of linguistic practices, Classical or Qur’anic Arabic is usually recognised by the majority of Muslim Arabs as symbolically valuable. This argument becomes pertinent in light of the above discussion with respect to the role played in Islam by Qur’anic Arabic<sup>276</sup> (see 6.1.1). According to Holt (1996, p. 14), practices with Classical Arabic have mainly been preserved through literacy, through different schools which have been developed in mosques. While it is mandatory for all Muslims to be able to read and recite Classical Arabic for the purpose of performing Islamic religious practices, with the exception of a few people, most Muslims have a very limited grasp of the meaning of Classical Arabic (Haeri 2000, p. 74). MSA follows quickly in terms of symbolic value, being the language of literacy in all Arab states: it is used in mass education, publishing, government proceedings, news broadcasts, formal speeches, etc. (Haeri 2000, pp. 70-74; Ryding 2005, p. 5). However, it is mainly the elites that actually produce spoken linguistic practices with MSA (Bassiouney 2009, p. 15). Ammiyyas are predominantly spoken<sup>277</sup>, having no standardized written counterpart. This also results in them being less symbolically valuable in contrast to both MSA and Classical Arabic. However, it can be argued that despite this difference in symbolic value, all variants are legitimate according to the linguistic markets where they are

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<sup>272</sup> For a comprehensive review of the power relations that led to the standardization of MSA, see Haeri (2000, pp. 70-74).

<sup>273</sup> For a concise account of the formal differences between the two varieties, see Ryding (2005, p. 4).

<sup>274</sup> For a detailed account of the reasons for the variability in terminology, see Haeri (2000).

<sup>275</sup> Haeri (2000, p. 73) explains that “In English the use of the term Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is a way of establishing the factual existence of the language that is based on Classical Arabic but also removed from it. In the Arab world, there is no such term that can be translated into MSA but there are hyphenated terms, such as the Arabic of the press, contemporary-classical, and so on, used by some intellectuals”. The Arabic term is ‘fuṣḥá’.

<sup>276</sup> As Haeri (2000, p. 68) reiterates, “a large part of the authority of Classical Arabic as a standard language is based on the centrality” of “the most significant texts of Islamic civilization”, such as the Qur’an.

<sup>277</sup> There are, of course, exceptions. For a brief discussion regarding the increasing spread of ammiyyas in writing in the context of Egypt, see Madiha Doss’s comment to Haeri (1997).

employed<sup>278</sup>. Therefore, Classical Arabic and MSA are legitimate primarily in terms of religion, literacy and official settings, respectively, while Arabic ammiyyas are legitimate mainly in spoken interactions.

The relevant question that the complexity of the 'Arabic language' brings forth refers to how the relations between the different types of Arabic inform the reproduction of linguistic practices with Arabic in the context of Cardiff. However, it is first fundamental to highlight the conflict between the participants' claims that Islam is linguistically unified, the Qur'an being written 'in Arabic', and their explicit or implicit claims that there are real differences in the level of understanding of different kinds of Arabic. The interviewees rarely draw on the distinction between the different types of Arabic outlined above<sup>279</sup>. Consequently, the analysis of the interviews henceforth employs the terminology introduced in this sub-section, distinguishing between the types of Arabic the participants refer to by tracing the characteristics of each type according to the above discussion.

#### 6.1.3.2. Qur'anic Arabic and Arabic ammiyyas

In the case of the participants with an Arab background, a clear pattern emerges in their understanding of the relationship between the production of linguistic practices with Arabic ammiyyas and their ability to perform and understand the Qur'an:

*I think it's a privilege that I can speak Arabic like it's a privilege that I'm a Muslim that can speak Arabic because even though it might not seem anything significant to everyone else it is a big deal when you're trying to read the Qur'an and like read supplements and pray and things like that and [if] Arabic is not your mother tongue it becomes really hard so ... I really appreciate that I can speak Arabic as my first language because it makes religion a lot easier for it goes hand in hand ... Arabic ... is the language of the Qur'an so to me it's something really special (Amira, 24)*

*Arabic is the mother tongue of Islam ... so it is an advantage that we are Arabic speakers because we get to understand the religion more (Yasser, 20)*

*now as I'm getting older I'm maturing, I speak a lot more Arabic so it's good [because] the Arabic language is the Qur'an obviously, so in order for me to understand the Qur'an I have to understand Arabic so it's worked in my favour (Yasmeen, 24)*

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<sup>278</sup> For a sociolinguistic interpretation of this same phenomenon, from the conceptual perspective of 'prestige', see Bassiouney (2009, pp. 18-19).

<sup>279</sup> The reasons for this could vary from a) the interaction with an 'outsider' researcher who is not expected to either speak Arabic or to have knowledge of the distinction between the different types of Arabic (the participants potentially deciding therefore to simplify the information provided), to b) a more deeply rooted belief that 'Arabic' is the 'mother tongue of Islam' (see 6.1.1) and therefore that the lived linguistic heterogeneity does not challenge this symbolic unity, which in turn potentially leads to c) the participants themselves having a limited grasp of this scholarly terminological delineation, both/either in Arabic and/or English.

Chapter 5 has shown that these participants are able to produce linguistic practices with Arabic due to the constitution of the linguistic submarket of the home. In light of the above discussion (6.1.3.1), this postulation can be nuanced: the linguistic submarket of the home allows for the production, reproduction and negotiation of linguistic practices mainly with Arabic ammiyyas, due to their oral character. Taking this into consideration, it can now be argued that all the interviewees with an Arab background experience their ability to produce linguistic productions with Arabic ammiyyas as highly significant in light of the importance accorded to the Qur'anic text in Islam (see 6.1.1 and 6.1.2). This becomes very clear especially in Amira's comments above. She talks about the salience of having Arabic as her 'mother tongue' in contrast with not having it, linking this to the general difficulty of performing and, fundamentally, understanding the Qur'an, regardless of a person's ethnic or linguistic background. In spite of clear formal differences between Qur'anic Arabic and Arabic ammiyyas (see 6.1.3.1), the above participants highlight the belief that the ability to produce linguistic practices with Arabic ammiyyas helps them to gain easier access to the Qur'anic script, both in terms of performance of compulsory Islamic rituals and, crucially, in terms of a better understanding of the meaning of the Qur'an<sup>280</sup>. In other words, being able to speak Arabic ammiyyas facilitates the agents' recognition as Muslims. Thus, this competence is recognised as linguistic capital thanks to its potential of being converted into religious and social capital.

This adds a further layer to the understanding of the power relations which lead to the constitution and functioning of the linguistic submarkets of the home as discussed in Chapter 5. In the case of the submarkets where linguistic practices with Arabic ammiyyas are rendered legitimate, both the constitution of the linguistic submarket and the production of such linguistic practices are legitimised by the potential of obtaining religious capital within the symbolically powerful Islamic field of Cardiff. Thus, the linguistic habitus of the second-generation agents develops within a linguistic submarket whose rules and laws of price formation are influenced not only by the power relations analysed in Chapter 5, but also by the symbolic value imposed on Arabic ammiyyas through the relationship between Islam and language. Thus, parents can impose the production of linguistic practices with Arabic ammiyyas in light of their symbolic power in relation to their young children, but also, being endorsed by the symbolic power of the Islamic field of Cardiff.

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<sup>280</sup> Similarly, Scourfield et al. (2013, p. 84) note in passing that "to memorize the Qur'an was not a strong tradition amongst the small number of Arab families in our sample. These families seemed at ease with their faith which did seem to be integrated with everyday routines, perhaps because knowledge of Arabic makes the understanding of religious texts so much easier". Because of this, in the case of the families with at least one Arab parent, "they were concerned for their children to maintain some fluency in spoken Arabic" (Scourfield et al. 2013, p. 84).

### 6.1.3.3. Qur'anic Arabic and MSA – formal supplementary schooling

Apart from the significant role that parents play in the reproduction of linguistic practices with Arabic ammiyyas, which can now be also understood as a form of Islamic nurture, all the participants from an Arab background attended Arabic language classes:

*my mum's a teacher so when we came here and she was talking to a friend she was like our kids are gonna start forgetting Arabic, we should do something, let's start a school so they start using the mosque first of all to teach us Arabic ... I think the first ever class was like 6 of us, it was my mum in a room and we were all on the floor and she was teaching us... we were different ages but none of us knew how to read or write Arabic ... then they taught us grammar and things like that (Amira, 24)*

*we went to ... an Iraqi school, they're Iraqi teachers but they teach general because in Arabic we have I think it's called the formal Arabic so everyone in the Arab world can communicate in a certain standard of Arabic which everyone understands, I don't know what's it called in English but in Arabic is called Arabic fusha (Yasser, 20)*

*[at the Arabic school] it was mostly the read and write aspect cuz ... everyone could speak it from home so it was mostly the read and write, the religious side of Islam was there as well (Amman, 18)*

All the participants attended supplementary schools which focused on teaching Arabic, which is the first type of supplementary schools identified in Cardiff by Scourfield et al. (2013, p. 78). Some of these schools also included Islamic education classes. As Amman clearly states above, the participants attended supplementary schools mainly in order to become literate in Arabic, given that they already knew how to speak it. In other words, as the children were already able to produce oral linguistic practices with Arabic ammiyyas through the development of their linguistic habitus in contact with the linguistic submarket of the home (see 5.1), the focus of such supplementary schooling was on teaching them literacy in MSA<sup>281</sup>.

As such, formal religious schooling can be understood as a symbolically powerful institution that, first and foremost, legitimises the production of literacy practices with MSA. However, as has been seen so far, all types of Arabic are highly interconnected. The following participants explicitly refer to such complex relationships between the different types of Arabic:

*now I love the fact that I can read and write especially when it comes to reading the Qur'an because the Qur'an is so complex (Amira, 24)*

*I'm lucky that I can write and read Arabic ... for our religion it's really important (Yusra, 25)*

*I went to Saturday school as well my brother goes as well I think all of us went to Saturday school because ... here it's important for you to learn Arabic as well because of the Qur'an it's 'arabī ['ʿarabi:] it's Arabic so you have to learn about Arabic so you can understand the Qur'an*

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<sup>281</sup>As discussed in 6.1.3.1, Arabic ammiyyas do not have a written counterpart, MSA being the language of literacy across the Arabic-speaking world.

*because it's compulsory to learn like to read the Qur'an in Islam so it was good for me to learn Arabic as an Arab child (Shayma, 16)*

*we were also encouraged to go to Arabic school on Saturdays but that's to have more of a knowledge like our religion and our language (Yasmeen, 24)*

*we also had to go to Arabic school every Saturday so we were like why do we have to go to two schools ... my friends don't go to two schools but you know it was our Islamic school as well ... luckily cuz I went to school I can speak so I can write Arabic and read Arabic I can read the Qur'an as well but with the Qur'an the Arabic is more Classical Arabic so not everybody will understand so you kind of have to study it so, I can understand it a little bit but not too much, I mean it's a good thing that I can read it cuz not many people can read it if they don't read Arabic, it's much nicer when you read it in Arabic than when you read it in English it's different it's like so crazy ... I was maybe ten eleven I attended [the Saturday school] I think from the age of six up until eleven twelve maybe (Yusra, 25)*

Based on the above comments, it can be argued that formal religious schools have the authority of reproducing linguistic practices with MSA, which inside the Islamic field of Cardiff are recognised as symbolically valuable due to their connection to Islam. More precisely, similar to having their linguistic habitus adapted to recognise and reproduce the legitimacy of Arabic ammiyyas within the linguistic submarket of the home, being literate in MSA is recognised as symbolically valuable through the possibility of its conversion into religious capital: being literate in Arabic, which equals to being literate in MSA (see 6.1.3.1), is associated with a better understanding of the Qur'an. Therefore, on the one hand, it is fundamentally through the prism of religion that the existence of Arabic supplementary schools is legitimised. These schools function as formal religious education institutions given that some knowledge of Arabic is understood as compulsory in Islamic nurture. Consequently, attending such supplementary schools has the longer-term purpose of ensuring children's legitimacy as Muslims. On the other hand, Arabic supplementary schools also reproduce the conditions of the Islamic field by indirectly reinforcing the understanding that Qur'anic Arabic is the most symbolically valuable form of Arabic which needs to be performed and understood.

#### 6.1.3.4. MSA and Arabic ammiyyas

So far it has been argued that the interviewees recognise linguistic practices with both Arabic ammiyyas and MSA as symbolically valuable and legitimate within specific linguistic submarkets in light of the belief that the reproduction of such practices might lead to a better understanding of the sacred Islamic texts written in Classical Arabic. This means an agent with a linguistic habitus adapted to the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic submarket of the home and to those of supplementary schools can acquire religious capital and be validated as a Muslim much more easily. It can now be argued that in turn, the legitimization of linguistic practices with MSA through the institutionalized medium of supplementary schools in Cardiff does not only reinforce the symbolic

value of linguistic practices with Classical Arabic as an essential part of religious practices, but also that of linguistic practices with Arabic ammiyyas. Yusra explicitly refers to this connection:

*our family speaks to us in Arabic at home and we also studied Arabic in Saturday school which helped us to learn our language (Yusra, 25)*

From Yusra's perspective studying Arabic in a supplementary school endorsed the legitimacy of linguistic practices produced within the submarket of the home<sup>282</sup>. It can be argued that this is the case mainly from the perspective of the relative equivalence between the two forms of Arabic; MSA is the relative equivalent in terms of literacy practices of Arabic ammiyyas. Therefore, the existence of formal institutions which enforce the reproduction of literacy practices with MSA also has an impact on the perceived symbolic value of Arabic ammiyyas. In other words, formal religious schools where MSA and Islamic studies are taught may be understood as institutions with symbolic power that potentiate the production of linguistic practices with Arabic ammiyyas. Such institutions construct linguistic submarkets where the production of linguistic utterances with different types of Arabic is legitimate, complementing the linguistic submarket of the home. In turn, the contact of an agent with such submarkets influences the development of their linguistic habitus, endorsing the legitimacy of linguistic practices with Arabic ammiyyas within the linguistic submarket of the home, and thus affecting the imbalanced power relation between these submarkets and the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff.

However, it becomes clear in some of the interviews that apart from endorsing the reproduction of linguistic practices with Arabic ammiyyas, such formal religious education institutions also play a significant role in constructing a symbolic hierarchy of different ammiyyas. Nadeen hints at the basis onto which such a hierarchy may be constructed:

*because [there are] different dialects in Arabic, in the last [Arabic school] that I went to it was the Jordanian dialect and in the Yemeni [Arabic school] it was the Yemeni, it wasn't that good Arabic, it was the Yemeni Arabic, it is good but it is not good for you to learn ... in the Jordanian dialect it's like more of the Qur'an language, of the way the Qur'an is set and that language that the Qur'an has because even though the Yemeni is the language that the Qur'an was set in, it wasn't still the same dialect, it was different words and different meanings so it's because the Jordanian dialect was easier ... to understand the Qur'an it was better (Nadeen, 16)*

Talking about the different Arabic supplementary schools that she had attended, roughly classified according to different Arab nations and their respective ammiyyas, Nadeen reveals her

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<sup>282</sup> A parallel may be drawn between Arabic supplementary schools and Welsh Sunday schools in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The aim of both types of schools was that of spiritually nurturing their followers by teaching them how to read the scriptures of their respective religions. In doing so, both institutions ultimately played a fundamental role in the reproduction of linguistic practices with Arabic and Welsh, respectively. For further details on the Welsh Sunday schools, see sections 3.1 and 3.2.

understanding of the complex hierarchy of linguistic productions with Arabic ammiyyas. The fundamental reason behind her attending such supplementary schools is tied to the belief that she would gain a better understanding of the Qur'an. In light of this, Nadeen refers to a clear difference between the symbolic value of Yemeni and Jordanian ammiyyas; she recognises the Jordanian ammiyya as the more symbolically valuable compared to the Yemeni one due to the idea that the first one is more similar in form to the language of the Qur'an. Therefore, Nadeen's case reveals that Arabic ammiyyas are not equal in symbolic value, but their value may shift potentially according to their supposed degree of formal similarity to Qur'anic Arabic. Although it is difficult to pinpoint the conditions under which such an understanding becomes legitimate, it may be suggested that Nadeen's recognition of the Jordanian ammiyya as more symbolically valuable might be the consequence of her attending a particular, Jordanian supplementary school that acted as a symbolically powerful institution which imposed such a view as legitimate.

#### 6.1.3.5. Arabic supplementary education and mainstream education

As already mentioned, the Islamic religious field in Cardiff consists mainly of the agents who form the migration field of various generations of Muslim immigrants in Cardiff (see 6.1.2). Thus, religious practices and supplementary schools are legitimate internally, but not necessarily externally to this religious field. Taking this into consideration, the present sub-section looks into the relationship between supplementary schools and mainstream education, mainly from the perspective of the provision of qualifications for Arabic at GCSE<sup>283</sup> and A level<sup>284</sup> in mainstream education.

Amira provides a nuanced view of the relationship between Arabic supplementary schools and mainstream education in terms of their symbolic power and the effects it has had on her linguistic habitus:

*in America the education system is a bit different, you have to collect credits to get into uni ... a lot of friends I have they take English and Arabic classes whereas we have to do that in our own time, find somewhere else to do it ... the school doesn't offer it (Amira, 24)*

Drawing on a comparison between her understanding of the American school system and her own experience, Amira underlines that second-generation agents in Wales do not have the opportunity to study Arabic in the formal setting of state schools. Section 5.2.2.1 argued that within the linguistic market of the school linguistic practices with English were imposed as legitimate in contrast with the illegitimacy of linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages, such as Arabic. In turn, this led to the linguistic habitus of the participants adjusting not only to the rules and laws of

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<sup>283</sup> GCSE = General Certificate of Secondary Education

<sup>284</sup> A levels = General Certificate of Education Advanced *Level* (based on which university admission offers are given)

price formation of the linguistic market of the school and the submarket of the home, but also to the unbalanced power relation between the two markets. The existence of Arabic supplementary schools adds a new dimension to this discussion.

Although the participants did not have the opportunity to attend Arabic classes as part of the official curriculum of mainstream education, all of them took the GCSE and some of them the A levels in Arabic. These are two types of qualifications provided by and recognised at the level of British education system and labour market. Nevertheless, it was mainly through Arabic supplementary schools that the interviewees acquired the necessary linguistic competence required for these types of qualifications:

*[at the supplementary school] they taught us grammar and ... when I was in Year 7 the four of us took our Arabic GCSEs ... then they were like come back for AS so then we went back for AS ... but that was two years later so we did that and then in Year 10 or Year 11 they were like do your A2s so then we got our A2s in Arabic as well (Amira, 24)*

*I've got a GCSE in Arabic now because my mum made me go to school ... and at the end I had a GCSE in it, it was good, I actually thanked her for making me go (Nadeen, 16)*

*[at the supplementary school] it was mostly the read and write, the religious side of Islam was taught there as well and they obviously get you prepared for your GCSE [with] past papers (Amman, 18)*

Obtaining this qualification relies on the linguistic habitus of the second-generation agents having developed according to the rules and laws of price formation imposed within the linguistic markets constructed by supplementary schools. As seen above (section 6.1.3.3), the existence of these schools is usually legitimised by the relationship between Islam and Arabic. As section 6.1.3.3 shows, these schools focus mainly on equipping students with competence in Arabic literacy, which means competence in MSA (see 6.1.3.1). Of course, as section 6.1.3.3 argues, these supplementary schools are usually attended by pupils whose linguistic habitus is already partially adapted to a linguistic submarket of the home where linguistic practices with an Arabic ammiyya are recognised as valid. Competence in Arabic ammiyyas and, crucially, MSA, is then evaluated by British standards of education and thus is recognised as linguistic capital that is converted into educational capital:

*MM: and do you think it helps you having this certification, it's like a certification, right?  
Amman: yeah it does quite help cuz I applied to unis this year and I got it on to my personal statement so that might be taken into a bit of consideration, I don't know, I hope it did (Amman, 18)*

As Amman explains, the student receives an extra GCSE or A level, which may be relevant for UCAS points. In turn UCAS points are fundamental for accessing higher education. Nevertheless, this does not mean that actual linguistic practices with Arabic are recognised as legitimate within the linguistic market of the English-medium schools attended by the interviewees. On the contrary, within this

linguistic market, the same contrast in terms of symbolic value between English and Arabic outlined in section 5.2.2.1 prevails. Schools recognise as valid only the linguistic competence *per se* when it can be converted into educational capital, but not linguistic practices with Arabic. Arguably, the fundamental condition which leads the educational system to recognise this type of linguistic competence as linguistic capital refers to the opportunity schools have to evidence a potential higher percentage of pupils achieving a higher number of qualifications. This is important in terms of local and national school rankings, which may affect the level of funding, and ultimately the symbolic power of a particular school. It could be suggested that this type of additional qualifications comes at a very low cost for the schools, given that it relies on the adaptation of pupils' linguistic habitus to the rules and laws of price formation of the submarkets of the home and those of supplementary schools.

While linguistic practices with Arabic are not recognised as valid within the linguistic market of the school even in light of linguistic competence being recognised as linguistic and educational capital by the same institution, it may be argued that this institutional recognition does have an effect on the reproduction of linguistic practices with Arabic. First, it reinforces the symbolic power of Arabic supplementary schools, given that they provide the main means of acquisition of literacy skills (see 6.1.3.3), a linguistic capital convertible into educational capital in mainstream education. Second, given that Arabic supplementary schools build upon the level of adaptation of a pupil's linguistic habitus to the internal rules and laws of price formation of a linguistic submarket of the home (6.1.3.3), the institutional recognition of such linguistic competence as valuable may also reinforce the conditions of such submarkets as valid.

So far has been argued that religion plays a fundamental role in the development of the linguistic habitus of the second-generation participants with an Arab background; it leads to particular conditions of reproduction of linguistic practices with Arabic which complement the power relations within the linguistic submarkets of the home imposing these practices as legitimate (see Chapter 5). The interplay between the symbolic value ascribed to Qur'anic Arabic in general, the institutionalised provision of Arabic literacy in Cardiff and the mainstream education provision of qualifications functions as an interconnected mechanism which may reproduce the symbolic value of linguistic practices with certain types of Arabic on certain linguistic submarkets. It is now important to understand if religion has any impact on the reproduction of linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages other than Arabic in the context of Cardiff.

#### 6.1.4. Non-Arabs

Although there is a scarcity of studies exploring the role played by religion in the production of linguistic practices of second-generation non-Arab Muslims across the UK, some research in this direction has been conducted mainly by Rosowski<sup>285</sup> (2006, 2012, 2013a, 2013b). Fundamentally, in his 2006 study Rosowsky attempts to show that the “vernacular languages” of a specific South-Asian community<sup>286</sup> in the UK are in competition with the “religious classical”. The most relevant finding is that this “struggle ... is being clearly won by the religious classical, Qur’anic Arabic, at the expense of the community’s vernacular languages, Mirpuri-Punjabi and Urdu” (pp. 309-310). Starting from this interpretation, the present section aims to provide a more nuanced picture of the relationship between the religious and linguistic practices of the non-Arab participants<sup>287</sup>. My research suggests that Rosowski’s analysis (2006) fails to take into account the existence of a potential relatively unified linguistic market of England, where linguistic practices with Mirpuri-Punjabi, Urdu, and Arabic are measured against English. In light of this, following the findings of Chapters 3 and 5, the present section explores the impact of religion on the development of the linguistic habitus of the non-Arab participants and therefore their production of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in Cardiff. In contrast to Rosowski’s approach (2006), it examines the potential difference in the symbolic value assigned to Qur’anic Arabic compared to Somali, Bengali, Urdu or Punjabi by taking the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff (see Chapter 3) as a fundamental reference point.

##### 6.1.4.1. Non-Arabs, Islam and Qur’anic Arabic

Chapter 5 showed that all non-Arab participants recognised linguistic practices with English as the legitimate ones within the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff. Furthermore, their linguistic habitus was adapted to the internal rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic submarkets of the home, where practices with Somali, Bengali, Urdu or Punjabi were recognised as legitimate. Their linguistic habitus is also adapted to the unbalanced power relations between the two linguistic

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<sup>285</sup> It has to be acknowledged that research has been carried out with respect to the linguistic practices of different non-Arab ethnic minorities in the UK. See, for example, Blackledge (2001), Blackledge et al. (2008) Blackledge and Creese (2009; 2014), Creese and Blackledge (2010; 2011; 2015). Nevertheless, none of these studies looked into the relationship between religion and other non-autochthonous minority languages.

<sup>286</sup> More specifically, according to Rosowski (2006, p. 316), this community “has its origins in the Mirpur province of Pakistani Punjab and Azad Kashmir”. The author does not specify the location of his study, but it can be deduced that it took place somewhere in England. Furthermore, the author adds that “the language spoken by the community is generally Mirpuri-Punjabi, a dialect spoken in the corresponding region of Pakistan. The dialect has a written form which uses the Urdu script ... However, this written form is generally only encountered in poetry. The principal literary language is Urdu which is the literary language of the state of Pakistan, and before that the written language of the Muslims in pre-partition India”.

<sup>287</sup> More precisely, this section refers mainly to the interviews with Nazir, Ahmed, Bilal, Aisha, Faiza, Amal and Anwar. For further details about these participants, see Table 3 in Chapter 4.

markets. Chapter 5 also argued that, due to certain social factors, the rules and laws of price formation of some of the linguistic submarkets were more complex than those constituted by Arab families. More precisely, only the Somali- and Bengali-speaking participants<sup>288</sup> have their linguistic habitus adapted to the conditions of linguistic submarkets where mainly practices with Somali or Bengali are recognised as legitimate (see 5.1 and 5.2.2.3). The rest of the participants<sup>289</sup> have their linguistic habitus adapted to linguistic submarkets whose conditions allow a higher degree of heterogeneity, a complex and usually hierarchical interplay of linguistic practices with Urdu, Punjabi and English being recognised as legitimate (see 5.1.1.2 and 5.2.2.3).

Given their Islamic religious affiliation, this group of interviewees has also had to acquire the necessary linguistic capital in order to be recognised as Muslims within the Islamic religious field of Cardiff (see 6.1.2). Therefore, the level of complexity of their linguistic habitus is even higher than suggested in Chapter 5. One of the key informants, KI4<sup>290</sup>, from her personal perspective as a mother of two young adults, underlines the importance attributed to the ability to perform the Qur'an as fundamental for the recognition of non-Arabs as Muslims. Crucially, she also highlights the different consequences this may have on the reproduction of linguistic practices with those languages validated within the linguistic submarkets of the home for non-Arabs compared to Arabs:

*all Muslims learn to read Arabic so we've all had to I read it, my children read it ... therefore is easier for parents who speak Arabic to maintain [it] cuz they're gonna teach them Arabic anyway, how to read it and if they can read it and understand the Qur'an at the same time they're gonna persevere aren't they cuz every parent, every Muslim who doesn't speak Arabic perseveres with teaching their children Arabic so that is an automatic advantage for Arabic-speaking groups, the disadvantage for non-Arabic speaking groups is that it isn't essential for the religion and the faith always has that priority ... Urdu is not essential for religion but Arabic is, so all parents will send their children to read the Qur'an in Arabic but not all parents will think that teaching their children Urdu is that important, so that's the bottomline ... they don't have the same importance or [the parents think] it's difficult even if they thought it was important they recognise that trying to get your child to do Arabic ... there's no negotiation about not learning Arabic, that's going to happen no matter what, but then on top of that adding another language for your child to learn, they will have some compassion, they will feel pity and sympathy for the child they can add all of this while doing all the schooling as well (KI4)*

KI4 highlights the expectations that young Muslims encounter with respect to their ability to read the Qur'an in Arabic, regardless of their ethnic or linguistic background. However, she also

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<sup>288</sup> Reference is made here to Amal, Anwar (Somali speakers) and Nazir (Bengali speaker) (see Table 3, Chapter 4).

<sup>289</sup> Reference is made here to Ahmed, Bilal, Aisha and Faiza (see Table 3, Chapter 4).

<sup>290</sup> KI4 was interviewed primarily as a key informant (see section 4.2.1) given her professional role dealing with ESOL provision in Cardiff. However, as this was a semi-structured interview (see section 4.1), at several points the interviewee enriched the discussion with personal examples, drawing from her experience as a first-generation immigrant from Pakistan and as a mother of two second-generation agents whose linguistic habitus had been affected by similar factors as those of the primary interviewees (see section 4.2.3).

underlines that this relationship between Islam and Arabic has different consequences on the linguistic habitus of second-generation agents, depending on whether they are Arabs or non-Arabs. On the one hand, she reinforces the idea that in the case of the Arab Arabic-speaking agents the relationship between Islam and Arabic (i.e. Qur'anic Arabic) as highlighted in 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 endorses the reproduction of linguistic practices with all types of Arabic within particular linguistic submarkets, as shown throughout 6.1.3. On the other hand, she also stresses that any other linguistic practices are not "essential for religion", while "faith always has that priority". Therefore, from the perspective of religion, linguistic practices with Qur'anic Arabic are recognised as much more symbolically valuable compared to linguistic practices with other languages (such as Bengali, Somali, Urdu or Punjabi). This means that while all Muslims parents recognise the legitimacy of reproducing linguistic practices with Qur'anic Arabic, not all of them recognise reproducing linguistic practices with other languages as significant. Although KI4's discussion seems to point towards Rosowski's (2006) idea that the competition lies between linguistic practices with Qur'anic Arabic and Somali, Bengali, Urdu or Punjabi, her final comment brings attention to the overall conditions under which these linguistic practices seem to be competing for legitimacy. By referring to mainstream schooling, KI4 recognises that this supposed competition is taking place in the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff, where English is recognised as the uncontested dominant language (see Chapter 3). In a different part of her interview, KI4 states that in Cardiff the "English language is absolutely essential to function on a daily basis". Therefore, the interplay between the linguistic submarket of the non-Arab participants' home and the linguistic submarket of the Islamic field has to be understood in light of their subordination to the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff.

Following KI4's comments above, it can be suggested that in comparison to linguistic practices with Arabic (see 6.1.3.2), linguistic practices with Somali, Bengali, Urdu or Punjabi are not recognised as linguistic capital convertible into religious capital. In other words, the Islamic field may not potentiate the reproduction of linguistic practices with these languages within the linguistic submarkets of the home. Rather, as Chapter 5 has shown, the most important power relations that ensure the reproduction of linguistic practices with Somali, Bengali, Urdu or Punjabi remain those between parents and children within the submarkets of the home. Without the support of an external symbolically powerful field, the linguistic submarkets of the home are prone to a more unbalanced power relation with the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff.

#### 6.1.4.2. Supplementary education, Qur'anic Arabic, and Somali/ Bengali/ Urdu/ Punjabi

In the case of the Arab participants, it has been noted that the relationship between Islam and Qur'anic Arabic as highlighted in 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 leads to the constitution of supplementary schools. Section 6.1.3.4 highlighted that the existence of such symbolically powerful institutions endorsed by the Islamic field of Cardiff may have potentially led to the reproduction of the symbolic value held by Arabic ammiyyas within the linguistic submarkets of the home. In contrast to this, while the non-Arab participants also attend religious supplementary education, the interplay between these relatively symbolically powerful institutions and the submarkets of the home had different consequences.

Fundamentally, the type of religious supplementary education Muslim non-Arabic speakers underwent was different to that of the Arabic-speakers. In order to embody the ability to perform the Qur'an, they attended primarily the second type of education identified by Scourfield et al. (2013, p. 78), Qur'anic literacy classes<sup>291</sup>:

*so after school from half four till half six we were in mosque five days a week ... we would start off with learning the basic alphabet and then learning to join up the different words and also learning the different signs ... it is music actually ... so we start off with the alphabet, then we progress on to another book, then we progress on to the Qur'an (Faiza, 34)*

Faiza underlines that the focus of such classes was acquiring the ability to correctly recite the sacred verses for ritual purposes. Nevertheless, as sections 6.1.1 and 6.1.3.1 argued and as Boyle (2004, p. 33) reinforces, the acquisition of this technical competence does not also imply understanding the meaning of sacred book:

*so I know how to read [the Qur'an] from when were taught how to read it, so when you pick up the Qur'an you can read it but then it's strange because you can't understand what you're reading so you're taught how to read it but you don't know the meaning of it (Amal, 31)*

Although the participants recognise the ability to perform the Qur'an as religious capital, they also refer to their lack of understanding of the verses as a significant drawback. When confronted with the fundamental mismatch between the rules and laws of price formation within the linguistic submarkets of this group of participants' homes and those recognised as valid within the linguistic market of the Islamic field, the role of the Islamic field's institutions, regardless of their level of formality, is to ensure that children are equipped with the basic competence needed to perform

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<sup>291</sup>The participants attended a variety of classes, ranging from mosque-based ones (Amal, Anwar, Nazir and Faiza) to home-based ones: some taught by a certain person from the community to various children (Ahmed) and some taught by their mother (Bilal and Aisha).

compulsory religious rituals and thus obtain the necessary religious capital to be recognised as legitimate Muslims. It is therefore necessary for them to focus primarily on the form of the Qur'an. This comes in contrast with the classes attended by those participants whose linguistic habitus enabled them to produce linguistic practices with Arabic ammiyyas, and which focused on MSA literacy as a way of gaining a better understanding of the meaning of the sacred verses (see 6.1.3.3).

Nevertheless, some of the participants seem to imply that this lack of comprehensibility leads to a different relationship with the translations of the Qur'an rather than the canonical one, outlined in section 6.1.1:

*I can read [the Qur'an] but I don't have a clue what it's saying that's the problem as well, so I try to read it in English as well so I know what's being said but when I read in Arabic I have no clue what's saying, to me I'm just reading something which I have no clue what's saying ... I think it's good to know how to read it in the actual language itself and the way it's written and I think also when it's in Arabic there's different sounds which you make when you say different words or letters so I think it's more important to say in Arabic because it's the actual language in which it was written (Aisha, 19)*

*the problem I found when I first learned it cuz I've read the Qur'an a few times, the first time I read it fully obviously as a kind of learning as I go I didn't really understand what I was saying like I couldn't translate it between the page in my brain then I read the translation in English then I read the Qur'an again when I was a bit older so I was like 16, 17 then and then I understood it in Arabic as well because maybe because I remembered the translation but that's how I learned Arabic, I can say I can read Arabic I can't speak it or write it, writing is really hard man but yeah I'm very basic reading aloud (Bilal, 22)*

It becomes clear that these second-generation agents have tried to find ways of negotiating the symbolic value attached to the form and the crucial importance of the meaning of the scripture. Thus, while Aisha and Bilal recognise the fundamental symbolic value associated with the form of the Qur'an, contrary to the view that the Qur'an is untranslatable (see 6.1.1), they also seem to recognise translations of the sacred scripture as partially legitimate renderings of the sacred scripture. It is also relevant to highlight that both of them refer to translations of the Qur'an in English, rather than Urdu or Punjabi. This is mainly due to the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic submarket of the home of these two agents, where they produce primarily linguistic practices with English among themselves and with their parents (see 5.1.1.2 and 5.2.2.3). Furthermore, this may also be linked to their illiteracy in Urdu or Punjabi, issue that is discussed in the following section.

#### 6.1.4.3. Lack of supplementary education and illiteracy in Somali/ Bengali/ Urdu/ Punjabi

While the symbolic value of linguistic practices with Arabic ammiyyas was reproduced through the existence of symbolically powerful Islamic institutions (see 6.1.3.4), these same institutions do not

reinforce the legitimacy of linguistic practices with Somali, Bengali, Urdu or Punjabi. In fact, there is a lack of any type of equivalent symbolically powerful institutional support external to the linguistic submarket of the home for linguistic practices with the above-mentioned languages. More specifically, none of the non-Arabic-speaking participants have attended any supplementary school where linguistic practices with the same languages imposed as legitimate within the linguistic submarket of the home could have also been validated. Thus, the participants do not refer to any supplementary education institutions from which their respective linguistic submarkets could have drawn any symbolic power.

The consequences of the lack of supplementary education are best exemplified by the phenomenon of illiteracy. With the exception of one participant, none of the non-Arab second-generation agents is literate in Somali, Bengali, Urdu, or Punjabi, respectively:

*in terms of reading yeah very bad, very very poor, I struggle to read in Bengali but then there's very few reasons for me to read Bengali, I never had a reason to read books and sometimes I want to but I haven't really managed to pick up the skills ... it's something that I would like to learn and it's still on my agenda you know one day, I can speak Bengali so let me just make sure I can read it properly and then suddenly all these books open up to me and I love reading so maybe I can try that but I just haven't got around to do it ...my literacy skills are very bad (Nazir, 25)*

*I read in English I'm not very good at reading in Somali to be honest (Amal, 31)*

*Aisha: I do understand [Urdu] but I can't read or write it so I tried to learn once how to actually read it my grandma tried to teach me but it didn't go very well I was just like I can't do it and then I left*

*MM: But it's a completely different alphabet isn't it? Is it similar to the Arabic alphabet?*

*Aisha: it's supposed to be similar but to me I can't understand anything I can't read anything like Arabic I find quite easy to read only like the Qur'anic Arabic but when I tried to read a magazine [in Urdu] my mum had I wouldn't be able to I was just like I don't know this, this isn't familiar to me so it was completely different, I felt like it was completely different, my mum was like no it's the same I was like but you're fluent, you know it, it's easier when people are fluent it's really easy (Aisha, 19)*

What all three participants have in common is their relative illiteracy in Bengali, Somali and Urdu. Nazir recognises that although literacy in Bengali would bring him a certain amount of cultural capital, allowing him to read books written in Bengali, this type of capital would be recognised as such within a very limited field, potentially only that of his own family. There is no other symbolically powerful external institution which would recognise literacy in Bengali as symbolic capital in the context in which he lives his life and it could therefore not be easily converted into any other form of capital in the context of Cardiff. In other words, while the interviewees recognise the relative legitimacy of producing (or at least evaluating as legitimate in case of Aisha) oral linguistic practices with Bengali, Somali, Urdu, or Punjabi within their respective linguistic submarkets of the home,

there are no external institutions which could either function as the means of acquisition of literacy in these languages or recognise the agents' potential literacy as symbolic capital.

The only symbolically powerful institution where this linguistic capital could potentially be recognised as such and could even be converted into educational capital is mainstream education, through the possibility offered the second-generation agents to take a non-compulsory qualification in either of the languages spoken at home. Nevertheless, none of the participants have taken their GCSEs or A levels in either Somali, Bengali, Urdu or Punjabi. Having this qualification usually involves only the possibility of examination, with little or no support for the actual development of the linguistic habitus of the agents in this direction. Compared to the Arabic speakers who attended Arabic supplementary schools, the non-Arabic speakers did not have any means of access to acquiring even the linguistic competence required to obtain such qualification.

The only exception is Anwar, the only participant who is literate in Somali:

*in the household I was taught to speak Somali it was a strong emphasis on that in my current household ... it was a strong emphasis not to forget your roots forget the language that is yours so basically I'd speak English outside and Somali [at] home I think that's helped me strongly cuz it gives me the ability that I'm bilingual now in both Somali and English ... I read and write Somali fluently and that's something that's self-taught reading as well through parents and myself, so I can read and write Somali and speaking Somali I'm confident in speaking Somali and comfortable (Anwar, 29)*

In comparison to all the other non-Arab interviewees, Anwar's literacy skills were endorsed by the power relations between his parents and himself. He underlines very clearly that his parents recognised the unbalanced power relation between the two linguistic markets (that of the home and that of Cardiff) and that, almost as a form of opposition, they imposed Somali as the sole legitimate language within the linguistic submarket of the home. According to him, his parents recognised that literacy in Somali was an important component necessary for gaining linguistic capital and a fully functioning linguistic habitus.

#### 6.1.5. Conclusion

To sum up, although there may be a difference in the symbolic value held by Qur'anic Arabic and Somali, Bengali, Urdu or Punjabi, this relationship does not necessarily constitute the fundamental condition under which practices with the latter languages are devalued, as Rosowski (2006) suggests. Taking the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff (see Chapter 3) as a reference point, it can be argued that the devaluation of linguistic practices with Somali, Bengali, Urdu or Punjabi does not necessarily come at the expense of reproduction of linguistic practices with Qur'anic Arabic, but mainly with English. More specifically, this section on religious practices has

traced how the Muslim belief regarding the 'untranslability' of the Qur'an in light of the sacredness of both its form and meaning has led to differentiated consequences for second-generation Arabs compared to non-Arabs. While Islam acts as one of the underlying conditions for the reproduction of linguistic practices with Arabic in the context of Cardiff (see section 6.1.3), linguistic practices with Somali, Bengali, Urdu or Punjabi do not enjoy similar conditions of reproduction of symbolic value and legitimacy.

Moving forward, the following section builds upon these highly differentiated consequences on the development of the second generation's linguistic habitus in relation to religious practices in order to explore the role that digital practices may have played in the reproduction of linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages in Cardiff. It is argued that most digital practices are reliant on literacy practices. The present section has analysed exactly the socio-historical conditions which enabled the second generation acquire or not literacy in languages such as Arabic, Somali, Bengali, Urdu, or Punjabi.

## 6.2. Digital practices and second-generation agents in Cardiff

So far it has been argued that the second-generation agents interviewed find themselves at the intersection of several linguistic markets. I have shown that their linguistic habitus has developed according to the internal rules and laws of price formation, as well as to the power relations among the respective linguistic markets. While Chapter 5 analysed the power relations within and among the two fundamental linguistic markets according to which the participants' linguistic habitus developed, the role of the present chapter has been to complement it, by examining potential additional conditions, external to the linguistic submarket of the home, which may have influenced the reproduction of symbolic value of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in the context of Cardiff. In light of this, the previous section has shown how the reproduction of linguistic practices with different types of Arabic was highly potentiated by the symbolic power of the Islamic field in Cardiff. At the same time, however, it was shown that the non-Arab participants, although part of the Islamic field, had no equivalent symbolically powerful institutions which could endorse the reproduction of linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages in Cardiff.

Continuing the analysis of the linguistic biographies, the present section explores the role that digital practices play in the development of the linguistic habitus of the second-generation interviewees and their reproduction of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in Cardiff. Apart from understanding both religious and digital practices as drawing the symbolic power legitimating them from outside of the field of family (and thus of the linguistic submarket of the home), there is another significant factor which binds them together and led to their exploration into a single chapter. While digital practices are understood from a broad perspective, including all types of technology-mediated practices which enable instant, non-physical communication (i.e. telephony, e-mailing, social media, Skype, etc.), those participants who stayed in contact with social networks outside of the UK reported they employed primarily digital tools which relied on literacy practices with languages other than English or Welsh. Given that literacy in languages other than English or Welsh among the second-generation participants seems to be highly related to religious supplementary education (6.1.3.3), the analysis in the present section would not have the same valence and depth unless carried out in relation to how the Islamic religious field, through its symbolically powerful institutions, has influenced the levels of literacy of the interviewees.

The main argument of the present section is that digital practices can foster the construction and maintenance of social relationships across borders. Thus, such practices allow for the constitution of online linguistic markets where these agents become subjects to different power relations than the

ones they experience physically and where English is no longer necessarily the legitimate language. It is argued that the existence of such markets has a significant impact on the linguistic habitus of the second-generation agents and on their production of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in the context of Cardiff. To explore this process and its consequences, the present section is divided into two interconnected sub-sections: physical mobility and digital practices. The relationship between the two can be understood as causal, travel practices having extensive influence on the constitution of social relationships which are reinforced afterwards with the help of digital practices.

### 6.2.1. Immigration, digital practices and language

The relationship between migration, digital practices and language has been explored mainly from the perspective of transnational migration studies<sup>292</sup>. Within this discipline, it has been posed that the recent development of information and communications technologies can have a considerable effect on how immigrants lead their lives in the host country. More specifically, the most important role that such practices seem to have is in the construction and maintenance of relations across borders (Vertovec 2009; Lam and Rosario-Ramos 2009; McLean 2010; Komito 2011; Lam and Warriner 2012).

However, the transnational lens on migration focuses mainly on how first-generation immigrants are affected by transnationalism. One of the most pertinent questions addressed to this paradigm refers to the way in which transnationalism influences the practices and experiences of the second generation. Although not much research has been conducted regarding these aspects, according to Vertovec (2009, pp. 75-76) there are two main perspectives on this issue. On the one hand, there are scholars (e.g. Rumbaut 2002) who believe that although second-generation immigrants are transnational actors, their transnational activities will not impact their long-term practices and experiences. This is supposedly due to the lack of frequent physical mobility in-between their parents' sending country and the host country, a process that represents the tenet of the phenomenon of transnationalism (Levitt and Waters 2002, p. 4). On the other hand, there are those who argue that the relevance of physical movement is exacerbated by the holders of the first view. Contrary to the first perspective, these scholars underline

the strong influences of the transnational social fields in which the second generation is embedded. This view stresses the importance of the sending-country individuals, resources, and ideas that are a constant presence in the lives of the second generation and holds that even selective, periodic transnational practices can add up (Levitt and Waters 2002, p. 4).

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<sup>292</sup> For a review of the concept of 'transnationalism', see Kasinitz et al. (2002, pp. 96-122).

Therefore, this alternative view suggests that transnational practices other than physical movement can have an impact on the practices and experiences of the second generation.

One type of such alternative transnational practices could be digital practices. With regards to digital practices in a migration context, most studies highlight the salient role that language and literacy practices play in “constructing and maintaining social relations across borders” (Lam and Warriner 2012, p. 191)<sup>293</sup>. In their study, Lam and Rosario-Ramos (2009, p. 171) found that digital tools represented crucial instruments through which their research participants (youths from immigrant background in the United States) constructed and maintained links with people, media, and events regardless of national borders. What is more, the researchers argued that this was facilitated by the bilingual or multilingual skills of their participants. More precisely, they argue that their multilingual practices were central to the sustenance of such social links across borders (Lam and Rosario-Ramos 2009, p. 180).

Lam and Rosario-Ramos (2009, p. 183) also show the connection between digital practices and language learning and maintenance: “the maintenance and creation of transnational social ties through internet communication allowed students to diversify their access to linguistic resources, especially those that are not easily available in their physical environments [such as] the students’ native languages”. By facilitating the construction and development of social relations across borders, digital practices also implied the need to produce linguistic practices with languages other than the legitimate ones within the potentially relatively unified linguistic market of the US. In other words, “there is mutual reinforcement of social networks and language practices ... as the networks create the conditions for the development of practices and the practices become a contributing component in sustaining and shaping the networks” (Lam and Rosario-Ramos 2009, p. 183). A particularly interesting perspective is given by these researchers with respect to the value accrued by the minority languages of their participants through digital practices. Lam and Rosario-Ramos (2009, p. 187) suggest that

for these youths, their first language is not simply a ‘heritage language’ that is passed on from previous generations, but can be seen as a ‘global language’ (in terms of scale rather than dominance) that is spread out across geographical and national space and is used to connect people in different parts of the world. In other words, language maintenance for these young people goes beyond the preservation of culture and identity among minority groups in a society to the construction of new identities as transnational friends and family members and global information seekers.

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<sup>293</sup> For a comprehensive literature review on the relationship between language and literacy practices, digital practices and transnationalism, see Lam and Warriner (2012).

In other words, this study proposes that digital practices, through their reinforcement of social relationships across borders, and by offering a platform that can be frequently (sometimes instantly) used, render certain language practices as valuable at a global scale, as opposed to less valuable in the context of their host countries. This idea is crucial for understanding how digital practices may influence the development of the second-generation agents who live in Cardiff.

Similar to Lam and Rosario-Ramos (2009), McLean (2010) focuses in more detail on the relationship between digital media and language practices in the case study of an immigrant adolescent in the United States. McLean's research (2010) is relevant because when trying to understand how the immigrant adolescent used digital literacy practices to construct her identity, she underlined the salient role of the multilingualism of her participant. Starting from the idea that "digital media transform diasporic cultural contexts [and that] the Internet, personal webpages, and social networking sites are being used by young persons to create transnational linkages and reinvent and position their national identities" (McLean 2010, p. 15), the researcher focuses on the multilingual practices the adolescent employs on social media platforms. McLean's main finding (2010) is that digital practices allow for the removal of linguistic boundaries and hierarchies, enabling agents to assign equal value to their multiple languages.

Thus, the relationship between digital practices and multilingual practices in the context of migration has been approached through the lens of transnationalism, focusing primarily on literacy practices. One of the most important gaps in the relevant literature is the lack of research on the linguistic practices of second-generation immigrants. Also, the existent literature focuses mainly on the role that linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages have in constructing and maintaining social relationships across borders as well as constructing and maintaining different, multiple identities. With few exceptions (such as Lam and Rosario-Ramos 2009's brief discussion), there is a lack of consistent engagement with the role that such digital practices may have on the production and reproduction of linguistic practices with languages other than those recognised as legitimate and dominant in the second generation's host linguistic market.

### 6.2.2. Constructing social relationships across borders

Most of the second-generation interviewees acknowledge that they have a varying number of relatives and acquaintances in their parents' country of origin. When asked whether they kept in contact with those social networks, the majority responded affirmatively, although the frequency of such contact varied greatly across the set of participants. Their experiences of constructing and maintaining social relationships across borders seem to be the result of two interlinked phenomena.

First, many interviewees have the possibility to undertake relatively frequent trips to their parents' country of origin. This ensures a rather stable relationship with the social networks present in that particular context. Second, this relationship is further maintained and developed with the help of digital practices. In many cases, this may imply a relation of causality. Constructing social networks through physical mobility may be understood as a foundational step towards a more frequent contact between the respective agents through digital practices. Thus, before exploring in detail the relationship between digital practices and linguistic practices, it is first necessary to briefly examine the role that physical mobility in itself has on the development of the linguistic habitus of the second-generation interviewees.

#### 6.2.2.1. Physical mobility

Most interviewees acknowledged undertaking relatively frequent trips to their parents' country of origin. It has to be highlighted that the frequency of such trips varies across the group, but it is usually higher in the case of the participants with an Arab background<sup>294</sup>. More specifically, the participants with Arab parents stated that they visited their relatives almost every year. This was also the case of Anwar. At the opposite pole, the rest of the interviewees (i.e. Aisha, Nazir, Bilal, Faiza, and Amal) mentioned much less frequent trips. The focus of this sub-section is on those participants who travel regularly to their parents' country of origin:

*we do tend to go [to Yemen] once a year, we try our best to go there once a year like I've been for the last three years (Yasser, 20)*

*we go normally every year but this year we haven't gone and I'm really sad because we haven't gone but when I'm over there and we stay there for two months I get really bored because I have no girl cousins over there, they are all boys and it's like really boring for me but it's not for my mum because it's her family ... I'm planning on going in December on my own for two weeks for the Christmas holidays and my mum's not gonna go because she said two weeks is a little bit for her she doesn't want to go for two weeks she wants to go for longer (Nadeen, 16)*

*I visit [Pakistan] every two three years (Aisha, 19)*

In order to understand how such travelling practices may affect the development of the linguistic habitus of the second generation, and thus their production of linguistic practices with linguistic practices other than English or Welsh in the context of Cardiff, reference needs to be made to the linguistic submarket of the home, as analysed in Chapter 5. Section 5.1 suggested that the linguistic submarket of the home is at the intersection between the linguistic market of the parents' country of origin and the linguistic market of Cardiff. On the one hand, inside the linguistic market of the home, similar rules and laws of price formation to those of the linguistic market of the parents'

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<sup>294</sup> See Table 3, section 4.2.3.

country of origin were reproduced in light of the power relations between parents and children (at least before the children started attending school) (see 5.1.1). On the other hand, it has been suggested that this linguistic market of the home did not function in a vacuum, but was rather subordinated to the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff (see 5.1.1.3). Consequently, although the linguistic submarket of the home mirrors the conditions of the linguistic market of the parents' country of origin, this reproduction is only partial, due to the unbalanced power relation between the submarket of the home and the market of Cardiff. It has also been suggested that the linguistic habitus of the second generation develops according to the rules and laws of price formation of the two linguistic markets, but it also internalizes the unbalanced power relations between them (see 5.2). In turn, this allows agents not only to correctly identify the situations under which specific linguistic practices would be evaluated as legitimate, but also to hold the necessary symbolic power to negotiate the conditions under which specific practices may gain meaning and value. In light of these relationships, the relatively frequent trips undertaken by some of the participants can have a significant impact on their linguistic habitus. Fundamentally, by travelling to the linguistic market according to whose conditions the linguistic submarket of the home was partially constructed, the second-generation agents experience significant shifts in the level of power relations among the markets involved:

*when we go home there [Iraq] cuz everyone speaks Arabic I think like wow like this is what, there's so like such a small community over there [in Cardiff] when we speak but now it's like a whole country of all so that's when I feel like I'm at home there (Amman, 18)*

*the first time I went to Iraq was in 2004, it did actually feel quite weird because everyone was speaking [Arabic] like that's the most [amazing] thing that I love about going back home is that everyone can your language (Amira, 24)*

*depending on where I am my first language changes like when I'm here my first language is English obviously cause that's what I use to communicate but then when I'm back home [in Iraq] I say my first language is Arabic even though they can tell it's not because my Arabic is different over there (Amira, 24)*

By taking such trips, second-generation immigrants such as Amman and Amira have the possibility to experience the existence of different linguistic markets with different hierarchies. This implies that they go through a shift in the values held by their different practices, and, together with this, a shift in their own symbolic power in relation to their interlocutors. While in Cardiff their various linguistic practices with Arabic are meaningful and valuable within certain linguistic submarkets (mainly that of the home, as seen in Chapter 5 and those constructed by Islamic institutions, as shown in section 6.1), in the linguistic market of Iraq their linguistic practices with an Arabic ammiyya are recognised as valuable at all levels. As Sanaa, mother of four, explains in her interview, this can have significant implications for the development of these agents' linguistic habitus:

*MM: how did you raise your children, did you tell them to use only one language [at home] or what do you think about this?*

*Sanaa: no it's automatically because ... in the house we speak Arabic so they understand and more than that every year we go to Yemen so they have contacted my family and my family because they can't speak English so they [my children] force themselves to speak Arabic so they will learn more (Sanaa)*

Sanaa highlights that having the possibility of immersing her Cardiff-born children in the linguistic market of Yemen has the result first and foremost of bolstering both their linguistic competence of Arabic (ammiyya) as well as their level of internalization of the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic market of Yemen. As she points out, this linguistic market does not allow for deviations from its rules and laws of price formation mainly because the linguistic habitus of their relatives is developed in its entirety according to these conditions. As linguistic practices with Arabic are rendered meaningless in most situations within the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff, most linguistic practices with English are sanctioned in the interactions between the second generation and their interlocutors in Yemen.

Nevertheless, when the second generation goes through such a shift in markets (e.g. through a trip) some agents may experience a mismatch between their linguistic habitus and the linguistic market of their parents' country of origin:

*sometimes I feel that my Arabic is heavy like when we go back home they ask me where are you from and I'm like Iraq and they're like no you're not, yeah yeah I'm speaking Iraqi look, they're like no, you're not, your Arabic is different and I'm like it's not different, it's the same and I'm like brought up in the UK, how did you know, so they can obviously tell even though I don't feel it's any different ... like in here if I were speaking on the phone to someone [in English] they couldn't tell that I was a foreigner you can't tell that I'm from the Middle East but if I were speaking on the phone back home [in Arabic] you can tell that I don't live in Iraq (Amira, 24)*

As Amira underlines, the mismatch between her linguistic habitus formed primarily in the linguistic submarket of the home in Cardiff (see 5.1.) and the rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic market of Iraq is usually sanctioned by those agents whose linguistic habitus matches almost perfectly the conditions of the linguistic market of Iraq. This is probably the best exemplification of the effects that the subordination of the linguistic submarket of the home to the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff has on the linguistic habitus of the second-generation agents. In other words, this mismatch appears due to the different conditions of formation of the linguistic habitus of the corresponding agents. Due to the unbalanced power relation between the linguistic submarket of the home and the market of Cardiff, the submarket cannot reproduce exactly the same rules and laws of price formation as those pertinent on the linguistic market of Iraq. At the same time, the linguistic market of Iraq has most probably not frozen in time; it is likely that its own rules and laws

of price formation have suffered certain modifications, according to unavoidable changes in power relations among its agents.

The experience of mismatch is particularly prominent in the accounts of those agents who do not travel frequently to their parents' countries of origin. Aisha explains in detail the severe effects such mismatch has in her case:

*when I go back to Pakistan it's embarrassing when cousins like make fun of accents because obviously they'll have a different accent when they speak their language and then when you try to speak the language it's more of an UK British accent on the language and they just laugh and it's so embarrassing that's why I'm just like no I'm not saying anything anymore (Aisha, 19)*

What Aisha's comment brings forth is the underlying power relations between her and her cousins. As they live in Pakistan, Aisha recognises them as the quintessential legitimate speakers of Urdu, talking about Urdu as "their" language, signalling that in comparison to them, she does not feel a legitimate Urdu speaker. It has to be reiterated that Aisha's linguistic habitus is adapted to a more complex linguistic submarket of the home, where heterogeneous linguistic practices with Urdu, Punjabi and English are recognised as legitimate. What is more, neither Aisha nor her brother Bilal are producers of linguistic practices with Urdu or Punjabi in general, although they are consumers of their parents' practices with these languages (see 5.1.1.2 and 5.2.2.3). As a consequence, when in Pakistan, due to her recognition of her cousins as legitimate speakers of Urdu, Aisha experiences a particularly harsh form of mismatch when they sanction her linguistic practices with Urdu, by laughing at her. In her case, these trips seem to exacerbate the mismatch between her linguistic habitus and markets where Urdu is recognised as legitimate to the point of rendering her mute.

Nevertheless, in the cases of those second-generation agents where the mismatch is not as severe as Aisha's, the evaluation of their linguistic practices within these relatively unified linguistic markets (e.g. Iraq, Yemen) may lead not only to a better internalization of their rules and laws of price formation, but it can also potentially affect the unbalanced power relation between linguistic submarkets and the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff:

*in the [school] playground yeah we'd speak Arabic with my Yemeni friends I'm still friends with them now so it was better because you speak again now when we're older and we understand more things because we've been back to Yemen we've seen what Yemen's like and we understand more Arabic now that we're older (Nadeen, 16)*

Discussing her linguistic practices with her Arabic-speaking friends in Cardiff, Nadeen refers to the regular trips undertaken to Yemen. Due to experiencing recurring shifts in the value held by her linguistic practices with Arabic, Nadeen underlines the extension in symbolic value that linguistic practices with Arabic now have from her perspective within specific linguistic submarkets in Cardiff.

Thus, the possibility of experiencing the legitimacy of her linguistic practices with Arabic ammiyyas at the level of an entire market adds another layer of complexity to Nadeen's linguistic habitus, conferring a certain degree of symbolic value to her linguistic practices with Arabic in the context of Cardiff.

Having explored how physical mobility itself may impact the reproduction of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in the context of Cardiff, it is now important to reiterate that the social relationships constructed through regular trips are often reproduced with the help of digital practices.

#### 6.2.2.2. Digital practices

In light of the above section which showed how physical mobility may impact the development of the linguistic habitus of the second-generation agents particularly through the construction of social relationships across borders, the present section aims to explore how digital practices reinforcing such social relationships may influence the production of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in the context of Cardiff.

Although telephony was mentioned by most interviewees, Internet-based digital tools such as social media or Skype were their preferred tools of communication with those social networks:

*now with Whatsapp and Viber we have daily conversations with most of my relatives back home but obviously it's hard because over there ... it's not a safe country so a lot of the time electricity is off or they haven't got connection to internet but otherwise I would say we have daily contact with them when things are going ok for them over there (Yasmeen, 24)*

*we communicate with them via telephone via internet via etc. social media ... we do try our best to keep in contact as much as we can, we call international ... Whatsapp, so social media helps to communicate with them (Yasser, 20)*

*I have 3 sisters and 2 brothers one of them they live in America and my sister she lives in Saudi Arabia and two of them my sisters in Yemen and my older brother he lives in Yemen as well ... [I talk to them] every day with the Viber and Whatsapp (Sanaa)*

These excerpts show that digital practices can play a significant role in the lives of both first-generation (see Sanaa) and second-generation (see Yasmeen and Yasser) immigrant agents. Through digital channels of communication they manage to construct and reproduce salient relationships with specific social networks across borders. The significance this can play in the development of their linguistic habitus is paramount. The main argument of this section is that this connection leads to the construction of a linguistic market where different power relations come into being and the issue of the shifts of value of linguistic practices becomes central.

At this stage it is necessary to highlight that most Internet-based digital practices apart from those resembling telephony (such as Skype) are highly linked to literacy practices. As section 6.1.4.3 showed, not all participants are literate in other languages apart from English<sup>295</sup>. More specifically, due to the relation between Islam and Qur'anic Arabic, all participants are literate in Qur'anic Arabic, the ability to read and perform the sacred scripture being recognised as religious capital which is compulsory for the young Muslims' recognition of religious legitimacy (see 6.1.2 and 6.1.4.1). The same relationship legitimates the existence of supplementary classes (usually mosque-based) where Arabic ammiyyas speakers acquire literacy competence in MSA, which is recognised as linguistic capital, in light of the belief that such competence may lead to a better understanding of the Qur'an (see 6.1.3.3). In contrast, speakers of Somali, Bengali, Urdu, or Punjabi did not have access to any symbolically powerful institutions which could represent the means to acquire literacy competence in the languages produced within their respective submarkets of the home (see 6.1.4.3). The only exception was Anwar, literate in Somali in light of the power relations internal to the linguistic submarket of the home (see 6.1.4.3). Thus, given the centrality of literacy practices for the production of digital practices, it can be argued that illiteracy in languages other than English may have a significant negative impact on the frequency of contact second-generation agents have with the social networks from their parents' country of origin. Consequently, most of the interviewees who kept in regular contact (i.e. on an almost daily basis) with the social networks of their parents' country of origin through digital practices were primarily those with an Arab background.

Returning to the idea of an online linguistic market, Yusra's comments offer an insight into the function this may have:

*we speak to them over the phone all the time, over Whatsapp, Viber you know they've got it all now so I think that's really good because we can speak to them more than we used to so they have wi-fi at home and it just makes things so much easier, we speak to them quite regularly like every day and most of my family are back home so I only have like my two uncles here and my one auntie from my dad's side but all my mother's side are all back home, nobody from my mum's side is here so it's quite hard (Yusra, 25)*

It has been seen so far that the formation of the linguistic habitus of the second generation is influenced by the power relations within and among the linguistic market of Cardiff (through schooling, as shown in 5.2), the linguistic submarket of the home (as shown in 5.1), and the linguistic submarkets of the religious institutions they attended (such as religious supplementary education, as shown in 6.1). In the case of digital encounters across borders the linguistic habitus of second-generation agents, such as Yusra, can come in contact with the rules and laws of price formation of

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<sup>295</sup>All participants are literate in English as a result of their incorporation into mainstream education as shown in section 5.2.

the linguistic market of Yemen, where certain types of Arabic are recognised as legitimate. In Yusra's case, the construction and maintenance of social relationships across borders through relatively frequent trips to Yemen can be understood as a foundation for the reproduction of such relationships through digital practices. From Yusra's account can be deduced that the online linguistic market seems to be governed mainly by the same power relations as well as rules and laws of price formation that inform all other interactions between the corresponding agents. Having instant access to this linguistic market on a daily basis may in turn consolidate her linguistic and social competence of the Arabic language. Furthermore, gaining linguistic and social capital on a daily basis for her linguistic productions with Arabic within this linguistic market may have reinforced the symbolic value assigned to Arabic ammiyyas within the different linguistic submarkets where such practices are already recognised as legitimate. Thus, the existence of the online linguistic market may in turn reinforce the legitimacy of internal conditions imposed within specific linguistic submarkets in Cardiff.

A more nuanced account of a somewhat heterogeneous online linguistic market is that offered by Amira in her interview:

*recently a lot of my family from Iran and Iraq and everyone like that I've seen once back home [are] adding me on Facebook ... so I made this family group just for us family to like share things on Facebook or photos and stuff like that so my relatives from back home joined it in now but we've realized that it's become really hard so there's like the ones that can just speak English and like no Arabic at all kind of read and write it and then on the other end we have the ones that can just speak Arabic can't read or write English don't know what's going on and then there's us that can speak both so it's become really hard like before it was just us Westerners like living in the West but now it's everyone so the group sort of become split because they're like commenting in Arabic and then there's like my auntie that can't read Arabic so she's like I don't know what to say and then she comments in English about something else and then I comment in Arabizi I mean it's just all over the place now but there's like load of things like you know you have those photos on Facebook that are like jokes and memes and the trolls and all that so there's like loads of Arabic ones as well, but it just gives me I think a wider scope of my world in a way cuz I can do both so yeah I guess that's a benefit (Amira, 24)*

Amira makes reference to the role played by the social media website Facebook in bridging the distance between her and her relatives who live in the Middle East. Amira's creation of the family Facebook group is meant to reunite in just one virtual space all the family members who are separated by thousands of kilometres. When they all join the group, Amira realises the difficulty such an enterprise entails. Although seemingly a relatively 'free' linguistic market due to its presence online, it would be incorrect to understand this linguistic market in a vacuum. In fact, this linguistic market is highly significant precisely because it represents the instant possibility of becoming the verging point of all power relations associated with the linguistic habitus of each agent involved. It is the intersection where the entire family network can be instantly reunited. Therefore, this linguistic

market is marked by the power relations between the corresponding agents, who, in turn, are also marked by their linguistic habitus in this new context. According to Amira, from the perspective of their linguistic habitus, there are at least three types of agents who are part of this online linguistic market: 1) the ones whose linguistic habitus is only adapted to a linguistic market where Arabic is the legitimate language (implying here the different types of Arabic, as discussed in 6.1.3.1); 2) the ones whose linguistic habitus is only adapted to a linguistic market where English is the legitimate language; 3) and the ones whose linguistic habitus is adapted to the conditions of both types of markets (such as Amira herself). In reality these agents do not come in contact on a frequent basis (apart mainly from the yearly trips undertaken by those who live in the UK back to Iraq) (see 6.2.2.1) and therefore, the existing power relations are partly reconfigured within this online linguistic market, mainly due to the linguistic habitus of the agents who can come in contact all at once. Amira's experience of this encounter is that of complexity and discontinuity, characterising the group as 'split', that is, divided according to the linguistic habitus of the interlocutors.

Apart from the compelling complexity of such a linguistic market, this account is also crucially relevant as it represents Amira's reflection of her own position within it. She refers to being able to understand everything that is posted on this group as an advantage: "it just gives me I think a wider scope of my world cuz I can do both so I guess that's a benefit". This becomes crucial from the perspective of her experiencing a power relations shift, similar to the discussion in section 6.2.2.1. Within the linguistic market of the Facebook group, Amira's linguistic habitus and practices can reach new valences. Her linguistic habitus adapted to both types of markets is recognised in this context as highly valuable. She gains more linguistic capital which is recognised as such, and transformed into symbolic power in relation to some of her interlocutors. Amira is now the one whose utterances are recognised as legitimate in all cases, and all other agents recognise not only her utterances as valuable, but also her linguistic habitus which has internalised both the rules and laws of price formation of several linguistic markets, and the unbalanced power relations among them. The relationship between her as a young niece and her older English-speaking Cardiff-based auntie is reshaped for this context, as the auntie asks for Amira's help. On the one hand, without her help, the auntie is rendered 'deaf' and potentially 'mute', neither understanding what is being said in Arabic, nor being able to properly engage in the conversation. On the other hand, when she posts something relevant in English, all the non-English speaking agents can also be, in turn, rendered powerless in that particular context. It is therefore a situation where Amira's linguistic habitus enables her to bridge the gap between the types of agents present in such a divided linguistic market, at times by translating for each other. In turn, through the instant possibility of being present in such an online linguistic market, Amira comes across different sets of power relations

which are both inscribed and still inscribe the linguistic habituses of the interlocutors. Amira's own linguistic habitus is thus present at this crossroads between legitimacy and illegitimacy, reproduction and transformation, being influenced by the traces of the different linguistic markets and power relations agents bring with them through their linguistic habitus and, thus, through their linguistic practices. At the same time, Amira's specific linguistic habitus also influences the power relations present in this linguistic market, as it already entails the internalization of the majority of traces of history of all other different habituses, as well as the power relations that characterise them, which brings her sufficient symbolic power to be able to negotiate and impose certain levels of symbolic value imposed on certain linguistic products.

Furthermore, Amira raises an issue which puts the spotlight on literacy practices and adds an extra layer to the already complex case of the Arabic language as discussed in section 6.1.3.1. Both in her previous comment and in a different part of her interview Amira talks about a particular literacy phenomenon which enables the construction of specific online linguistic markets:

*obviously the Arabic letters, the alphabets are different to the English so when we type let's say on Facebook we communicate in something called Arabizi, which is Arabic and English because English in Arabic is called engliszi so we call it Arabizi uhm and it's basically using the English alphabet and the numbers to speak Arabic so like ... the H sound in Arabic [ح] kind of looks like a 7 twisted on its side so you use then number 7 and like the 6 looks like a twisted ط /٢/ so that's what we kinda use, that's more for online sort of speaking and texting, that's the new way and that's kind of worldwide in the Middle East so I think like almost anyone that can speak English and Arabic understands that in a way online, my mum can't speak Arabizi because she can hardly like text and stuff it's more like the newer generation thing coming out but then again it differs from country to country like how they use the letters and the numbers (Amira, 24)*

Amira highlights here the usage of Arabizi in the online Arabic-speaking world. Arabizi is the system through which the Arabic alphabet is romanised mainly for digital literacy practices<sup>296</sup>. Yaghan (2008, p. 39) explains that the term is a combination of the Arabic words "arabi" (Arabic) and "engliszi" (English) and its representation in its own system would be "3rabizi". According to Hahne (2014, p. 156), "most romanisations of Arabic ... are transcriptions, which add vowels that are voiced, but not written, in Arabic" mainly because their aim is that of rendering pronunciation. Also, as Yaghan (2008, p. 44) underlines, "the consonants that do not have an English counterpart are represented by numerals". Nevertheless, similar to Amira's explanation, "there is more than one alternative for most of the letters" (Yaghan 2008, p. 44)<sup>297</sup>.

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<sup>296</sup> Nevertheless, Yaghan (2008, p. 46) highlights that the use of Arabizi is growing, as it is increasingly used by young people especially in graffiti art.

<sup>297</sup> For a detailed tentative account of the Arabizi rules, see Yaghan (2008, p. 42) and for its letter set, see Yaghan (2008, p. 44).

Furthermore, in their study on the representation of Gulf Arabic in Instant Messaging, Palfreyman and Alkhalil (2007, p. 49) found that the Arabic used in the computer-mediated conversations of their participants differed significantly from the more traditional ways of writing in Arabic. Given that across the Arab world literacy practices with MSA are legitimate outside the religious field (see 6.1.3.1), probably the most interesting finding of this study is that the romanisation of Arabic for digital practices actually involved the rendition of United Arab Emirates ammiyya, and not of MSA. Similarly, in their study of the usage of both English and Arabic in digital practices, Warschauert et al. (2007, p. 309) found that in less formal situations (such as informal emails and online chat), their participants used a combination of English and Egyptian Arabic. Thus, Yaghan (2008, p. 42) highlights that “the Arabizi system differs for every Arabic country, depending on the local dialect”. He also mentions that the system “is even extended to include using the English verbs and conjugating them according to Arabic grammatical rules” (Yaghan 2008, p. 47) or simply borrowing English words and phrases (Yaghan 2008, p. 42).

The phenomenon of Arabizi is restricted mainly to young people who can speak both Arabic ammiyyas and English. Yaghan’s research (2008, p. 45) on the reasons why Jordanian students used this system suggests that Arabizi was perceived as “cool”, which means that within online linguistic markets, linguistic practices with Arabizi lead to linguistic and social capital among its users. Nevertheless, while there is a significant lack of research in relation to this phenomenon, it could be argued that the emergence of linguistic practices with Arabizi may represent a potential threat to the Arabic identity as potentiated by the belief in a homogenous Arabic language, highlighting the level of heterogeneity of linguistic practices in real-life contexts.

From Amira’s perspective, the specific online linguistic markets where linguistic practices with Arabizi are recognised as legitimate is reserved for those people whose linguistic habitus is adapted to at least two different linguistic markets, which recognise English and respectively Arabic as legitimate languages. In reality, in order to adjust to the rules and laws of price formation of such a linguistic market where Arabizi is legitimate, second-generation agents need to have had their linguistic habitus adapted to the conditions of at least three different linguistic markets: 1) a linguistic submarket where an Arabic ammiyya was imposed as legitimate (because Arabizi represents the partial transliteration of ammiyyas); 2) a linguistic submarket where literacy in either Classical or MSA was acquired (because Arabizi requires knowledge of the Arabic alphabet); 3) and a linguistic market where English was recognised as legitimate (because Arabizi requires knowledge of the Latin alphabet and it is characterised as the transliteration of linguistic practices with an ammiyya and English). The linguistic habitus of Amira fulfils these prerequisites for her to learn

Arabizi and be recognised as a legitimate user and interlocutor. In turn, the online medium, through Arabizi, offers her the possibility to be in contact with Middle Eastern linguistic markets. Through digital practices with Arabizi, which partially represent Arabic ammiyyas, her linguistic habitus is fully exposed to rules and laws of price formation that are no longer just internal to a linguistic submarket subordinated to the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff. In a similar fashion to trips to Iraq (see 6.2.2.1), the online ambit enables her to experience shifts in the symbolic value assigned to her linguistic practices, following the shifts in the linguistic markets she is part of. Arguably, this type of regular connection with the online linguistic market where she gains linguistic and social capital through her practices with Arabizi may lead to the reinforcement of the symbolic value held by linguistic practices with Arabic ammiyya within the linguistic submarket of the home.

To sum up, within online linguistic markets the immediacy of access renders possible completely different power relations than the ones experienced by the second generation on a daily basis. Therefore, the online linguistic markets where different literacy practices with Arabic (i.e. either Arabizi or MSA) are legitimate and to which second-generation agents have immediate access can indicate that in different contexts, for example, the Arabic language can be more symbolically valuable than within the hierarchy of the linguistic market of Cardiff (see Chapters 3 and 5). Having constant access to a fragment of a relatively unified linguistic market where linguistic practices with Arabic are dominant, as is the case of Yemen or Iraq, agents can become aware (consciously or unconsciously) of the existence of different linguistic markets, of the power relations that govern them and which render different languages as valuable and meaningful. This implies that it would be incorrect to state, as McLean (2010) does, that digital practices allow for the removal of linguistic boundaries and hierarchies, enabling agents to assign equal value to their multiple languages. Although such practices allow for the experience of legitimation of different linguistic practices through the instant access to different linguistic markets, this does not mean that linguistic boundaries and hierarchies disappear. On the contrary, through digital practices, these agents do not enter a new linguistic market devoid of power relations and hierarchies, but rather have instant access to and becomes subjects of different power relations than the ones that govern the linguistic markets that they are otherwise part of. In turn, I have argued, the linguistic habitus of the second generation internalizes these shifts in power relations, which may potentiate the reproduction of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in the context of Cardiff.

### 6.3. Conclusion

Following the analysis of the main power relations leading to the development of the linguistic habitus of second-generation agents carried out in Chapter 5, the purpose of the present chapter has been to uncover complementary power relations which affect this linguistic habitus in such a way that it enables agents to produce linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in the context of Cardiff. The analysis of the linguistic biographies of the thirteen participants revealed that there were at least two types of interlinked practices which may have reinforced the symbolic value of linguistic practices with Arabic, Somali, Bengali, Urdu or Punjabi in Cardiff: religious and digital practices. The logic of the two types of practices is quite distinct.

Islamic religious practices involve the existence of an Islamic field and the constitution of relatively symbolically powerful institutions. In turn, the symbolic power of such institutions may have particularly significant effects on the reproduction of linguistic practices with all varieties of Arabic in specific linguistic submarkets of Cardiff. Nevertheless, this applies mainly in the case of those participants whose parents have an Arab background, and who constituted a linguistic submarket of the home where linguistic practices with Arabic (*ammiyyas*) were imposed as legitimate (see 5.1); the constitution of symbolically powerful Islamic institutions potentiates the legitimacy of linguistic practices with Arabic within the linguistic submarkets of the home. In comparison, while also members of the Islamic field, for the participants with a non-Arab background the symbolic power of the Islamic institutions only led to the acquisition of a specific competence in Qur'anic Arabic, mandatory for their recognition as legitimate Muslims. In their case, there were no equivalent symbolically powerful institutions which could have aided in the further reproduction of linguistic practices with Somali, Bengali, Urdu or Punjabi. For these participants, the internal power relations within the linguistic submarket of the home (as seen in Chapter 5) are the main ones imposing linguistic practices with the latter languages as legitimate.

The second type of practices which has been understood as potentially leading to the reinforcement of the symbolic value assigned to linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in specific submarkets are digital practices. While the logic of linguistic reproduction is different, religious and digital practices are closely linked; digital practices require mainly literacy practices which some of the participants acquired through supplementary schooling legitimated by the Islamic field. With one exception, only the participants with an Arab background are literate in a non-autochthonous minority language. Consequently, this has a significant impact on their production of digital practices and therefore contact with the linguistic markets according to the rules of which their parents' linguistic habitus developed and in turn, constructed the linguistic submarket of the

home (see 5.1). Digital practices enable the second generation to maintain the social relationships in their parents' countries of origin constructed through travel practices. Digital practices enable a shift in power relations, through the constitution of online linguistic markets where agents have the chance to gain linguistic capital for linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh. However, compared to the linguistic submarkets of the home, the online linguistic markets are not subordinated to the relatively linguistic market of Cardiff. In turn, the opportunity to be in constant contact with linguistic markets whose conditions are similar to those imposed as legitimate within the submarket of the home, may lead to the reinforcement of the legitimacy of such practices in real-life encounters in Cardiff.

Thus, religious and digital practices may represent two external factors that reinforce the internal power relations of the linguistic submarket of the home, affecting the development of the linguistic habitus of second-generation agents in a direction that may lead to the reproduction of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in the context of Cardiff. Nevertheless, it has to be highlighted that the potential symbolic power of the Islamic field in Cardiff, the shifts in symbolic value of linguistic practices enabled by physical mobility, or the possibility of achieving symbolic capital in online linguistic markets do not fundamentally affect the unbalanced power relation between the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff and the linguistic submarkets where linguistic practices with non-autochthonous languages may be produced (as shown in section 5.2). These external forces ultimately reinforce the symbolic value assigned to linguistic practices within non-autochthonous minority languages in specific linguistic submarkets, but do not essentially modify their subordinate status and lack of legitimacy when measured against the dominant language, English.

## 7. Conclusion

This study set out to explore the phenomenon of multilingualism among second-generation immigrants in the officially bilingual context of Cardiff. The main aim has been to uncover the conditions which enable second-generation immigrant agents produce, reproduce, and negotiate linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages, such as Arabic, Somali, Bengali, Urdu, or Punjabi. Central to this endeavour has been the Bourdieusian conceptual framework and understanding of language, which functioned as a lens through which the analysis of thirteen linguistic biographies collected from second-generation immigrant agents has been carried out. Significantly, employing this theoretical model has also implied testing its suitability to account for the production of illegitimate practices, change, and the phenomenon of multilingualism. Consequently, I have not only applied the Bourdieusian model, but also extended it in order to answer more accurately to the phenomena in question.

The guiding research questions at the outset of this thesis were:

1. What are the conditions enabling second-generation immigrants to produce multilingual practices in the context of Cardiff?
2. What is the linguistic hierarchy of the linguistic market of Cardiff?
  - a. Are English and Welsh, the official languages of Wales, also the legitimate languages in the linguistic market of Cardiff?
  - b. Are non-autochthonous minority languages rendered illegitimate in the linguistic market of Cardiff?
3. What are the conditions enabling second-generation immigrants to produce, reproduce and negotiate linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages in the linguistic market of Cardiff, if they are rendered illegitimate?

### 7.1. Main findings

In order to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon of multilingualism among second-generation agents in Cardiff, the present project employed the Bourdieusian conceptual tools (linguistic market, linguistic habitus, and capital), as well as this author's understanding of language as an instrument of power relations. Bourdieu's model steers away from the structure/agency dichotomy, resting on the idea that linguistic practices are produced as a result of the relation between the mutually shaping linguistic habitus and linguistic market, mediated by power relations.

In light of this, it was deemed crucial to first explore the linguistic hierarchy of the linguistic market of Cardiff. Chapter 3 employed a diachronic approach to explore the socio-historical and economic conditions as well as the power relations which have led to the linguistic hierarchy prevalent in the linguistic market of Cardiff. The analysis suggests that this particular linguistic market is relatively unified. This means that English is currently the main legitimate language; most agents have their linguistic habitus adapted to recognise, evaluate, and produce linguistic practices with this language as legitimate. As a consequence, all other linguistic practices are measured against linguistic practices with English. Although an official language since 2011, Welsh does not share the same level of legitimacy as English, linguistic practices with Welsh holding much less symbolic value than those with English. More specifically, the analysis shows that although the linguistic submarkets where Welsh is recognised as legitimate are gradually increasing in number and symbolic power, in Cardiff there is a relatively small number of agents whose linguistic habitus is actually adapted to produce linguistic practices with Welsh. Third in this hierarchy are linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages. Chapter 3 shows that such practices are virtually illegitimate in this linguistic market, when measured particularly against English, but also, partially, against Welsh.

It was in light of these findings that the core research question of the present project was posed: how can second-generation immigrants produce linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages, if they are deemed illegitimate in this context? Chapter 5 and 6 aimed to provide an answer by exploring the development of the linguistic habitus of thirteen second-generation immigrant agents. Their linguistic biographies were analysed using the Bourdieusian conceptual lens. This meant that the participants' understanding of their social and linguistic trajectory was not taken as an end in itself, but rather examined in light of broader socio-historical conditions and power relations.

Chapter 5 has shown that the main condition for the production and validation of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in Cardiff is the constitution of what I call a linguistic 'submarket' of the home. This is a linguistic market whose internal rules and laws of price formation are usually different from those pertinent within the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff. It is argued that both the constitution of such linguistic market as well as the imposition of different conditions are potentiated by the internal power relations prevalent within the field of family, which are in turn influenced by a gender-differentiated integration into the labour market. Before attending school, the linguistic habitus of the participants is adapted primarily to the rules and laws of price formation of such submarkets, where linguistic practices with Arabic, Somali, Bengali, Urdu or Punjabi are rendered legitimate. It is also shown that such linguistic submarkets do not appear in

a vacuum; rather, in light of the position of their members in the social space of Cardiff, these submarkets are subordinated to the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff. It is only internally that linguistic practices with non-autochthonous languages are recognised as legitimate, but almost never externally.

Chapter 5 then argues that while before attending school the linguistic habitus of the participants was adapted primarily to the internal conditions of their respective submarkets of the home, when they start attending English-medium schools, their linguistic habitus also adapts to the conditions of the linguistic market of the school, and thus, to the conditions of the relatively unified linguistic market of Cardiff. This enables agents to start producing multilingual practices. Steering away from a dichotomous perspective, the chapter shows that due to the contact with these two markets, the linguistic habitus of the second generation suffers a major transformation: it adapts to the rules and laws of price formation of both markets, and also, crucially, to the unbalanced power relations between them. In turn, the internalisation of the power relations and the resulting linguistic hierarchies prevalent on these multiple markets results in the linguistic habitus functioning as a compass which enables agents to identify and even negotiate the conditions under which they can validate linguistic practices with English, non-autochthonous minority languages, or even linguistic practices which draw on their entire set of linguistic dispositions. The same chapter shows that Welsh does not hold a high level of symbolic value from the perspective of the participants.

Chapter 6 shows that while the linguistic submarket of the home represents a fundamental condition for the second generation to be able to produce linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages in Cardiff, there are several complementary conditions which reproduce such practices as symbolically valuable. Based on the linguistic biographies of the participants, the chapter shows that religious, travel and digital practices play a highly significant role in the development of the agents' linguistic habitus and their production of linguistic practices with languages other than English or Welsh in Cardiff.

Thus, Chapter 6 shows that there is a strong link between Islamic religious practices and linguistic practices. Nevertheless, it also highlights that in spite of the fact that all participants are Muslims, whether their religious practices play a fundamental role in the validation and reproduction of linguistic practices with other languages depends upon the rules and laws of price formation prevalent in their respective linguistic submarkets of the home. Chapter 5 provides a nuanced analysis of how the symbolic power of the Islamic field of Cardiff enables the imposition of Islamic precepts as valuable, leading to the reproduction of linguistic practices with Arabic in the linguistic submarkets where such practices are already legitimate. My study also shows that this symbolic

power does not have any particular effect on the linguistic practices with other non-autochthonous minority languages in Cardiff: the validation of practices with Somali, Bengali, Urdu, or Punjabi relied solely on the internal power relations within the linguistic submarkets of the home.

Furthermore, Chapter 6 shows that digital practices may play a particularly significant role in the reproduction of linguistic practices with non-autochthonous languages in Cardiff. However, my analysis highlights that in order for such digital practices to be produced in the first place, certain conditions need to be fulfilled. First, their production is highly linked to the internal rules and laws of price formation of the linguistic submarket of the home. Second, their production is reliant on the level of geographical mobility of the participants, and their possibility to construct social relations across borders. Third, digital practices are highly dependent on the literacy levels of the second generation in languages other than English or Welsh. In turn, the analysis originally pinpoints that digital practices with non-autochthonous languages in Cardiff are tightly connected with religious practices: Arabs are literate in Arabic, while most non-Arabs in the sample are illiterate in Somali, Bengali, Urdu, or Punjabi. As a consequence, only Arabs report producing digital practices in Arabic on a regular basis. This strengthens their social relations in their parents' countries of origin, which in turn reinforces the legitimacy of their linguistic practices in certain linguistic submarkets of Cardiff. In contrast, non-Arab participants do not have this opportunity, primarily due to the lack of access to the necessary conditions to acquire literacy in the non-autochthonous minority languages reproduced as legitimate within the submarkets of their homes.

## 7.2. Research contribution

From a theoretical perspective, my study has tested out the suitability of the Bourdieusian framework to account for the production of illegitimate practices, change, and, ultimately, multilingualism. The thesis provides evidence that the conceptual instruments devised by this author are not only suitable, but particularly valuable in exploring such issues.

One of the strengths of the present thesis is having shown that the Bourdieusian understanding of the role of language in society, as well as this author's concepts can be used to offer a highly nuanced, in-depth analysis of how linguistic practices rendered illegitimate in a specific context can nonetheless be produced and validated. Such an enterprise is possible by understanding legitimacy and illegitimacy as fluid states of already socially constructed languages. The levels of symbolic value of specific linguistic practices in a particular context are not fixed. Rather, they are influenced by a complex set of socio-historical and economic conditions, which leaves room for change. In light of this, the strength of the Bourdieusian model of linguistic production and circulation is that it both demands and enables a historicized, relational analysis of the immanent conditions and power

relations under which linguistic practices can become legitimate or illegitimate, which, in turn, becomes key in understanding how illegitimate practices can nonetheless be validated in certain contexts.

Furthermore, my study has also suggested that an extension of the Bourdieusian framework may be particularly useful when trying to account for the production of illegitimate linguistic practices and therefore, for change and multiplicity. The case-study of the multilingual second generation in Cardiff has been instrumental in devising and showing that a vertical interpretation of the Bourdieusian model may be more appropriate in this case compared to the original horizontal approach. Thus, understanding the Bourdieusian model of linguistic production as a generative model whose instruments can be moulded in such a way as to account for the object studied, one of the main contributions of my project is the introduction of the notion of 'submarkets'. The notion assists in accounting for the production of illegitimate linguistic practices not randomly, but according to strict rules and laws of price formation socio-historically developed following the logic of power relations. Furthermore, it helps in explaining that alternative linguistic markets do not appear and/or function in a vacuum or in parallel to the relatively unified linguistic market but always in relation to it. As such, employing the notion of 'submarket' aids in accounting for heterogeneity in cases where it can otherwise only be explained by unilateral theories of agency-laden individuals who are able to consciously resist norms. Contrary to such views, the notion of 'submarket' facilitates an emphasis on the socio-historically developed imbalanced power relations between the relatively unified linguistic market and other markets that may appear. I suggest that this unbalanced relation plays a key role in the production of linguistic practices on all linguistic markets that an agent is member of.

Closely linked to the previous point, a highly significant theoretical contribution of the present thesis is having demonstrated that a partially adapted Bourdieusian model of linguistic production does not only successfully account for the phenomenon of multilingualism, but also extends our understanding of it. The theoretical model employed in this thesis offers a suitable alternative to both the structural linguistics theory of language as a model to be performed and the critical sociolinguistics stance where agents can consciously, critically and creatively choose what linguistic practices to produce. An alternative reconceptualization of the phenomenon of multilingualism is made possible by two interlinked factors. The first one refers to Bourdieu's firm rejection of the idea that language is an autonomous and homogenous object, a model that is merely performed (a perspective that most disciplines which derive their understanding of language from that of structural linguistics adhere to). In light of this, it is also difficult to continue conceptualizing the

phenomenon of multilingualism as consisting of two or more such objects. Instead, this thesis has shown that in order to explore how specific linguistic practices are produced, the linguistic habitus must be understood as strongly linked to the socio-historical conditions under which agents live their lives. Thus, one of the main strengths in using the Bourdieusian framework to explain this phenomenon is the relational perspective it proposes, steering away from understanding both reproduction and transformation as processes solely determined by either structures or individuals. The second factor refers to the understanding of the linguistic habitus as an integral, dynamic, and generative principle; this has allowed me to reconceptualise the phenomenon of multilingualism as referring not only to the development of the linguistic habitus in relation to each of the markets the agent is part of, but also, crucially, according to the unequal power relations among such markets. Understanding the linguistic habitus of a multilingual agent as an integral set of dispositions whose development is linked to dynamic power relations within and among multiple linguistic markets allows breaking away with the rigid linguistic perspective of multilingualism as a double/triple monolingualism. At the same time, it enables conceptualizing an individual's set of linguistic dispositions as integral without falling in the trap of understanding both its development and the production of multilingual practices as non-constricted by any linguistic hierarchies. In other words, the partially adapted Bourdieusian model (particularly the concept of linguistic habitus understood as integral, dynamic, and generative) offers a suitable alternative to the phenomenon of multilingualism as conceptualized by both structural linguistics and critical sociolinguistics.

From a more empirical perspective, this is the first study which explores the phenomenon of multilingualism associated with immigration in the officially bilingual context of Cardiff. Furthermore, it is also the first study which analyses this phenomenon by paying close attention to the personal experiences of second-generation immigrant agents. In light of this, the present research project draws on an original conceptual and methodological pairing. I have demonstrated that the combination of the Bourdieusian theoretical framework with linguistic biographies is not only possible, but also fruitful, if properly carried out. Linguistic biographies can represent an invaluable source of data if they are not taken as an end in themselves. The Bourdieusian lens makes it mandatory to zoom out and explain the participants' social and linguistic trajectories, as well as their narratives in light of the most important socio-historical conditions and power relations under which they have lived their lives and told their stories.

Furthermore, while there is a significant amount of research with respect to the status of the Welsh language in the context of Wales and Cardiff, this is the first study which analyses the relationship between Welsh and English from a Bourdieusian perspective. This work reconstructs the history of

the competitive relationship between English and Welsh by taking into consideration the socio-historical, political, economic and cultural conditions as well as the power relations which have influenced the levels of symbolic value held by linguistic practices with the two languages throughout history, leading to Cardiff's contemporary linguistic hierarchy.

One of the most important contributions of the present study is the nuanced understanding that emerges from it of the conditions which enable the second generation to produce linguistic practices with illegitimate languages, and ultimately multilingual practices in the context of Cardiff. While it was expected that the family would play a significant role in the production of such practices, the present thesis has helped in reconsidering this role, understanding the production of linguistic practices with non-autochthonous languages in light of the symbolic value imbalance between them and linguistic practices with English and Welsh. Furthermore, I have shown that rather unexpected practices, such as religious, travel, and digital practices, function as complementary sources of symbolic value for some non-autochthonous minority languages in Cardiff. One of the strengths of the thesis is having explored these sources as intrinsically linked to one another. At the same time, the study has highlighted and offered a nuanced explanation for those cases where these sources of external symbolic power did not affect the level of symbolic value of certain linguistic practices.

Another strength of the present study is the diversity of the data obtained and analysed. Drawing on a culturally and linguistically heterogeneous pool of participants, I have been able to explore not only the relationship between the value attributed to a single non-autochthonous minority language in relation to English and Welsh, but also in relation to other non-autochthonous minority languages present in this context. The possibility to draw on comparisons and similarities has allowed the present study to steer away from essentialist views on immigrants as a homogeneous group and to offer a more differentiated picture of the conditions which affect the reproduction of linguistic practices with specific non-autochthonous minority languages in Cardiff.

### 7.3. Recommendations for further research work

First, the case-study explored in the present project based on the extended Bourdieusian model of linguistic production (which incorporates the notion of 'submarket') can function as a springboard for the analysis of other linguistically heterogeneous situations. The complexity of the present case-study involving intertwined power relations among a dominant language, an autochthonous minority language and several non-autochthonous minority languages serves as proof that the Bourdieusian conceptual instruments can be applied and, if necessary, developed and extended to account for the phenomenon of multilingualism, with a focus on the immanent conditions leading to it.

Second, as this was an individual research project which involved time, financial and human resources limitations, the sample of participants is necessarily constrained while nonetheless representative. It would be particularly fascinating to expand the number of participants, which could potentially also involve an even better representation of the linguistic diversity of Cardiff.

Third, at the moment there is no resource which can indicate even approximately the number of Cardiff residents who speak more than one language other than English or Welsh. The only source is the 2011 Census, which has recorded only the number of speakers of other 'main' languages. As previously argued, this potentially hides a much higher number of multilinguals residing in the capital city of Wales. Therefore, it would be particularly timely to carry out a survey which could portray more accurately the extent of this phenomenon, at the level of Cardiff, Wales, and the rest of the United Kingdom.

Fourth, in light of the latest developments in the educational and labour field of Wales and Cardiff, it would be interesting to assess whether younger second-generation immigrant agents have different experiences of the symbolic value held by the Welsh language compared to the participants of the present study. If so, it would also be significant to explore if such an increased value has any influence on the reproduction of linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages.

Fifth, more detailed research could be carried out with respect to the relationship between Islamic religious practices and linguistic practices with Arabic. The findings of the present study could be extended through ethnographic work focused on religious supplementary schools. Furthermore, the relationship between Islamic religious practices, Arabic, and other non-autochthonous minority languages could also be explored further. It would be particularly interesting to examine the increased number of Arabic language classes for adults in Cardiff, attended predominantly by non-Arab Muslims. This is a phenomenon merely observed while carrying out the present research but left aside as it was not centrally connected to the research questions of the thesis.

Sixth, further research regarding the relationship between digital practices and the reproduction of linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages would be worthwhile. More specifically, a further study would be needed to assess more closely the relationship between English and non-autochthonous minority languages and how the imbalance in symbolic value affects the reproduction of non-autochthonous minority languages in this medium.

#### 7.4. Recommendations for practice and policy

The Bourdieusian understanding of language and the findings with respect to the symbolic value of the Welsh language suggest that neither Welsh-speakers, non-Welsh speakers, policy makers nor

governments can 'save' the Welsh language on their own. Rather, linguistic practices with a specific language are reproduced as legitimate within a linguistic market where they confer distinction and validity to their speakers. Therefore, a key priority would be the development of efforts which could increase the symbolic value of linguistic practices with Welsh. The increase in the number of Welsh speakers through educational efforts should be matched more appropriately with an increase in demand for such competence, primarily in the labour field.

Currently there is very little institutional support for non-autochthonous minority languages in Cardiff, with most efforts for their reproduction being made at grass-roots levels. If linguistic reproduction is a goal for any party, such an enterprise should include much more governmental, institutional, and financial support for the reinforcement of the symbolic power of linguistic submarkets which are already reproducing non-autochthonous minority languages. Such efforts could also include raising awareness on what multilingualism is, how it develops, its advantages and disadvantages in the particular context of Cardiff. While this thesis strongly argues against the view that individuals produce practices driven by agency and creativity, having access to accurate information can potentially lead to an increase in symbolic value of the phenomenon of multilingualism among the Cardiff population, which may also lead to the reproduction of linguistic practices with non-autochthonous minority languages.

Furthermore, academics and stakeholders involved in analysing and discussing issues such as immigration, integration and cultural diversity in Cardiff should also take into consideration the problem of non-autochthonous minority languages. Ignoring this crucial aspect in the lives of immigrants of any generation makes the discussants prone to reproducing English as a legitimate language dominating the linguistic market of Cardiff.

Finally, from a wider perspective, we live in a world that keeps changing at an increasingly faster pace, leading to more intense phenomena of immigration and multilingualism. However, unfortunately, we are also witnessing high levels of inequality involved in these phenomena, and, crucially, increased efforts of rebuttal of freedom of movement as well as ethnic or linguistic diversity. Europe's response to the tragedy of the refugee crisis and Brexit are only two recent examples which pinpoint to the rise of nationalism across Europe, a phenomenon which is still largely legitimised by national languages. Building bridges between theory and practice may be useful in obtaining nuanced and in-depth analyses of such processes. I have tried to show that Bourdieu's understanding of the production of linguistic and other social practices does not only enable, but also demands pinpointing the social and historical power relations which function as the source of inequality and division in particular contexts.

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## Appendix A: Interview guide

### BASIC INFORMATION

- 1) First, tell me a little bit about yourself: name, age and birthplace
- 2) What languages do you know and how regularly do you use each of them?

### PARENTS/IMMIGRATION PROCESS

- 3) Are there any stories of family members who immigrated to this country?
- 4) What is the country of origin of your parents?
- 5) What is their occupation?
- 6) What languages do your parents speak?
- 7) Do you still have relatives in the country of origin (of your parents?)
- 8) [If yes, do you communicate with them regularly?]

### CHILDHOOD

- 9) What languages did you use when you were a kid in your home? [What was it like growing up in your house/neighbourhood?]
- 10) Were you encouraged by your parents to speak English when you were a kid?
- 11) What family or cultural celebrations, traditions, or rituals are important in your life and how do these relate to different languages?

### SCHOOL

- 12) [How did you learn English?]
- 13) What languages did you use in school? [What was it like for you to go to school?]
- 14) Do you have any particular memories of using other languages than English in school? [friends/ playground?]

### RELIGION

- 15) Is religion important for your family and for you now?
- 16) [If yes, how does your religion influence your use of languages?]
- 17) Do you attend religious services regularly?
- 18) What language do you use within such institutions?

### PRESENT

- 19) During a typical day, when do you use each of your languages?
- 20) What language do you use with your family/siblings/friends/community?
- 21) What languages do you use for work?
- 22) What languages do you read in? [favourite books/newspapers]
- 23) What languages do you watch TV in? [favourite TV show]
- 24) What languages do you write in usually?
- 25) Internet usage: websites, social media?

## PERCEPTIONS

- 26) How do you think others perceive you when you speak each of these languages?
- 27) How do you perceive yourself when you talk to others in each of your languages? [what images or thoughts do you associate with talking in English/Arabic/Somali/Bengali/Urdu/Punjabi?]
- 28) Is there anything you would like to add?

## Appendix B: Primary Interviews

### Amira

*MM: What languages do you speak?*

So I speak Arabic and English Arabic is my mother tongue obviously because I'm not sure what mother tongue actually is is it your the language your parents sort of give you or where you grow up but anyway I just say Arabic is my mother tongue it is quite personal isn't it so Arabic is my mother tongue and my first language and my mother tongue yeah

*MM: You can define it what it means for you*

Ok I think mother tongue is what like your parents passed down to you this is what I think because basically I opened my eyes I couldn't speak English but it was Arabic first of all so that means mother tongue however depending on where I am my first language changes like where I'm here my first language is English obviously cuz that's what I use to communicate but then when I'm back home I say my first language is Arabic even though they can tell it's not because my Arabic is different over there but we'll get on to that anyway

*MM: Ok*

I can because I was born in Iran not Iraq I can understand some Iranian and I can speak it in a conversation I can get the gist of what they're talking about but I can't specifically like answer them back or anything depending if it's a child it is more simplified but Iranian is sort of like hard my mum can speak it fluently and my sister can speak it more uhm ok so that's that uhm ok what else should I talk about uhm

*MM: Ok so you were born in Iran*

Yeah I was born in Iran but I'm Iraqi originally even though yeah it's weird because I was born in Iran and I came here so before I even like realized that I was Iraqi I hadn't even been to Iraq or anything the first time I went to Iraq was in 2004 uhm it did actually feel quite weird because everyone was speaking like that's the most thing that I love about going back home is that everyone can your language so it just it sort of feels like it feels like the UK cuz to me the UK to me is home but it's not really because no matter how hard I tried off in here but then it's the same back home because no matter how hard I tried off in back home either so kind of torn between the two uhm so yeah I speak Arabic at home as well with my parents only because their English is a bit bad sort of like they are not fluent English speakers but to my brothers and sister my friend my cousins all the rest of the family mainly apart from the older generation is English uhm you probably heard about this you probably have this as well in Romanian you're Romanian right

*MM: Yeah*

I don't know if you do this but there's like obviously the Arabic letters the alphabets are different to the English so when we type let's say on FB or whatever we communicate in something called Arabeasy which is Arabic and English because English in Arabic is called Engelizi so we call it Arabeasy uhm and it's basically using the English alphabets and the numbers to speak Arabic so like the alphabet to make like to make the H sound in Arabic kind of looks like a 7 twisted on its side [ok] so you use then number 7 [ok] and like the 6 looks like a twisted [?] so that's what we kinda use, that's for more for online sort of speaking but and texting that's the new way of and that's kind of world like worldwide in the Middle East so I think like almost anyone that can speak English and Arabic understands that in a way online uhm yeah my mum can't speak Arabeasy, because she can hardly like text and stuff it's more like the newer generation thing coming out but then again it differs from country to country like how they use the letters and the numbers uhm yeah

*MM: Ok so you basically came here in the UK when how old where you?*

I was almost 4 years old and I couldn't speak a word of English all I knew was Arabic and a tiny bit of Iranian cuz I hadn't started Nursery yet when we were there my sister had started Nursery so she could speak a bit more Iranian uhm and I but I started Nursery here because over there the kids start Nursery at age 6 so I hadn't I wasn't in school yet so when I came here I started learning English obviously so that kind of became my second language uhm my mother always has trouble with this speaking Arabic and English at home because she says you're gonna forget Arabic and sometimes I do feel that it's a bit hard like there's a lot of words in English that I'm trying to tell my colleagues or people that work with me and I'm like what what is this word I know it in Arabic but I don't know it in English and it's the same the other way around but it happens more often like I know the word in English and I don't know it in Arabic so I feel like I'm losing like my Arabic plus that I'm worried about like the generations after us it's something I worry about cuz my Arabic is fine like I get away with it I can read and write fine I even have my A levels in Arabic but I'm worried that like I see my little cousins they can hardly speak Arabic so that sort of worries me maybe because their mum is White I'm not sure but still like the big boy he can speak fine worse than me so it's getting worse and worse as we're getting younger so I'm kinda getting worried uhm yeah so that's the difficulty I have and like being with the older like being around the older generation say in Mosque like other occasions events that happen uhm it's kinda hard to communicate with them just because their English is bad and our Arabic isn't perfect so yeah, that's kind of yeah they always kind of like when we sit in Mosque in a group or something and they hear us speak English they're all like speak Arabic your Arabic's getting really bad you're not gonna be able to read or write and stuff like that but I can so it doesn't worry me but I like sometimes I feel that my uhm Arabic is heavy like when we go back home they ask me where are you from and I'm like Iraq and they're like no you're not yeah yeah I'm speaking Iraqi look they're like no you're not your Arabic is different and I'm like it's not different it's the same and I'm like brought up in the UK how did you know so they can obviously tell even though I don't feel it's any different uhm well yeah

*MM: What about your parents?*

My parents like in terms of Arabic and stuff

*MM: In terms of Arabic and English*

Their Arabic is like is perfect obviously cause they've lived there their whole life my dad is actually he's a poet he does it as a sort of hobby for the community he's got a couple of things published but it's not like an official job but he writes poetry he's really like intellectual in that sort of way and I just think it's a shame because if he's like that I feel like I wanna do that and I want to pass it on like I'm really proud he does all the poems and stuff but he can he's really good at Arabic language but I find it's a shame I can't do it even though I think maybe my privilege is that I can speak Arabic and English whereas they can't speak English so maybe like everyone's got a benefit right so I think maybe that's my benefit but my mum she was a teacher back home so her Arabic is good it's probably school teaching and uhm illiterate people as well she used to teach so obviously their Arabic was perfect but then their English is quite bad like they're just sort of getting to know the computer and emails and things like that like they say switch it around like do it in Arabic for us but I think there's no point they might as well learn English cuz everything is in English and it's not going to be the same once it's translated in Arabic so I just think you might as well I tell tell them you might just as well learn it cause if you're gonna want to be computer literate you might as well like read or write in English isn't it so yeah their Arabic is their English is not like they can just sort of get away with like things like complex things like being in the doctor's where they where there's like big words and like think they won't understand and we have someone has to go with them so we can translate for them uhm but things like in the shops and that you don't need to speak much you buy you just go

*MM: Yeah, just give me that*

Yeah exactly

*MM: How do you feel that they are seen from this point of view that they don't speak like perfect English what's the perception of other people?*

I think you probably heard this I think people see them as like freshies you know what freshie means?

*MM: Yeah something like new*

Yeah like they've just come to the UK like as they call them in America boaters like they've just come off the boat even though they are not boaters half the people but even like I think it's quite it's quite a common thing to see even though people don't realize that we've been here since like '94 so it's been almost 20 years I think yeah almost 20 years we've been here so but then I tell them it's kind of like your fault if people get like annoyed with you like when they're shopping and stuff because you've been here for so long you should know how to speak the language by now like I've been to Paris like 3 times and I can sort of communicate a little bit just because I try and I ask people what is this what is that and I try to use the language so I tell them it's sort of your fault for like coming here just being in your own bubble like you know people are gonna think oh yeah they're totally British you know what I mean you know you can't even like and sometimes she gets really annoyed that she can't understand even though they sort of they get it like they understand English but it's just the way they put sentences together properly and that's the difficult bit of it for them just because it's not like properly they weren't properly taught even though you don't really need to be so

*MM: And how come they didn't?*

Well my mum because when we came here I sort of understand because we were young so if she wanted to go and properly learn it I mean she can't be out and about all the time cuz you know we were like young at the time and if she wanted to take like studies or classes it obviously meant she had to be in education that was kind of hard there wasn't like there wasn't a lot of crèches and stuff back then when we came so it just meant that she had to stay at home she like thought it was more important to be at home with us and my dad just because he didn't have time to learn so he just started working my dad can speak more but he doesn't understand as much my mum understands more but she can't answer about just as well cuz my dad obviously works so he like he gets to interact more with people but my mum didn't, my mum just sort of just came along with us in a way

*MM: What about your schooling years and how was for you to learn English and how was your Arabic supported by the school let's say?*

Ok uhm when I started school I started off with everyone else my own age so when I started there wasn't reception when I went in to school there was only Nursery so I was at the right age when everybody else started Nursery

*MM: Which was?*

Almost 4 I just sort of enrolled the last couple of months in Nursery and then I started Year 1 with everyone else so when I started obviously the little kids couldn't talk either so I was kind of lucky cuz I sort of joined everyone else so I didn't feel any different like I've been speaking it well I guess with everyone else except the little kids probably started a couple of months before me but you can only start speaking at a certain age so I sort of jumped in with everyone else uhm I didn't feel it any different I don't think my sister felt it either because even she started in Year 2 like yeah so she started the last couple of months in Year 2 at the end of Year 2 I don't think she felt any different either just because she picked up quite quickly cause she was at that age when kids can learn languages quite easily and they helped her a bit cause they gave her books to take home and extra things like that she picked up quite quickly my brother was born here so he had no problem either uhm and then in later years at school I really loved speaking two languages cause I have this friend

uhm she's Iraqi as well but they were more Westernized Iraqis weren't like us like scarf and things like that but I could communicate with her like say if you want to say something in secret or like keep it secret we can say it in Arabic and I really loved that cuz I felt like it was something special and nobody would understand us and I picked that up and that stayed with me for like all my school years because everywhere I'd go I think it really affects if you can speak another language cuz it depends who you pick who as friends to me I felt because I felt I didn't want to be friends with everyone else I'd rather pick someone I can speak my own language to just so I have this special thing with them because we can share secrets and it was just sort of like a commonality thing like I found it more comforting to me it felt like being with my own family in a way so in primary school I had that one friend but half-way through primary school I moved to another school and again I found another Iraqi girl and she was my friend that was something special and then throughout high school it was kind of a bit on-off with her at times but still then I went to the Asian group not because I couldn't find anyone else that was Iraqi so that was a bit more common even though we couldn't speak the same language and then in 6th form another girl joined so I became really close friends with her she's Lebanese but she speaks Arabic too so uhm that was my friend for high school but then she left as well she moved to London but then in uni I found it quite hard again because the whole I mean the whole year group was just like proper Westernized girls that it was a Fashion course you can imagine how the girls were like so and there was no Arab there was like no Arab no Muslim like nobody in uni so that was kind of difficult but then I kinda got I became good friends with another girl she's White so that was fine with me cuz she was really understanding that's basically all you want from your friend just to like you know you don't want to be constantly fighting and arguing over things so yeah that kind of replaced not having an Arabic friend but that's what I really like cuz I can pick my friends really easily when I have two languages and that was something special

*MM: And how do you think that you were perceived like the two of you speaking Arabic while everybody was speaking English?*

I think it got on their nerves at times I mean sometimes like our close circle of friends I mean don't get me wrong we were we were a mixed group as well and we had white girls Asian girls and Chinese everyone was sort of like mixed but with the other girl it was always this special bond because she could speak the same language and sometimes it would kinda get odd like to like classmates and other like school friends not the close ones they would think we were always talking about them or like were talking about something bad but to the closer circle of friends they knew it was something like it wasn't something special oh do you want a drink or something you know it was just something normal but you know because we were used to is we would say it in Arabic instead of English uhm yeah I think sometimes it annoyed them but sometimes we do it purposely just to annoy them if they were annoying us cuz it was like it was sort of our weapon and secret I think so we decide how to use it

*MM: Ok what about the actual the actual institution of school did they try to promote or to encourage you to speak Arabic?*

Actually yeah they did thinking about it, more in because XXX primary school is more of like it's a really multicultural school it's got loads of mixed people and different races and cultures so they didn't really sort of focused cause they knew that everyone can speak fine but in XXX because I was sort of the first and only I was I don't know about the first Arabic speaking girl but I know I was like the first hijabi girl there so they sort of thought I was a bit different so they brought in this woman that she's like a translator and she helps kids she was Palestinian so they were like oh go and see that special teacher thing so I was like ok so I went to see her she was like you know what I'm here for I was like no she was like basically I'm gonna see you every week because you speak two languages so they brought me in to help you uhm all the words you don't know throughout the week

write them down and I'll translate them for you in Arabic and I was like ok I don't think the school realized that I speak I had been speaking English all my life and I didn't actually need help

*MM: That you were bilingual*

Yeah it was fluent for me both and probably even the words she translated for me in Arabic I probably wouldn't even know in Arabic nor in English

*MM: Yeah yeah yeah because you use in it in the context of school*

Yeah exactly so uhm the first week she came she was like so we'll start from next week I'll see you next week blabla so she came next week and she was like ok let me see your book I took my book out and there was one word in there and she was like is this the only word that you didn't know for the whole week I was like yeah and I sort of knew what it meant but I wasn't sure but I just wanted to write something just not to make her feel bad and she was like are you sure this is the only word I was like yea, and she was like ok this is the Arabic translation for it and then she sort of explained it to me and I sort of knew what it was and she was like ok and then she was like write more words for next week so I was like ok and I didn't know anything for next week and then she stops coming after that I only saw her twice they probably thought there's no point because it's useless her coming in uhm and then in Ramadan as well one year cuz we have to pray cuz by the time we go home it's too dark so prayer is like too late so I asked to pray in primary school this was really new in high school it's fine cuz like loads of kids come and go and so I asked the head teacher is there somewhere where I can pray and he was like yeah come pray by my office or something like that so a few other boys and girls said we wanna pray too if you're gonna pray so he was like tell us tell me about it what's Ramadan this and that I explained it to him we prayed and then break our fast and eat soup he was like ok he was like do you want to do an assembly about it and I was like I'd love to do an assembly so he got me two other boys I think a Christian boy uhm I'm not sure the other boy what was it I think he was Pakistani and a Jewish girl Debra which I really hated she was so racist I didn't hate her because she was Jewish but because she hated me so I obviously I hated her back in a way I'll tell you about that in a minute as well uhm so yeah we all sort of sat on the stage I explained about Ramadan the Jewish girl explained about Hanukkah and things like that so it was really nice that I can sort of give something back in a way if you get what I mean because there's probably like a lot of kids sat in the audience that had never seen things like that in their life so it was good to teach them from such a young age I think and that's when my multiculturalism came handy I guess that Jewish girl basically the first day I started XXX is really not a multicultural school it wasn't at the time before I started it was only me and this one other girl the one I made friends with that I knew were Arabic like Arabs I didn't know anyone else and it was really hard on the first day that I went I had my scarf on and they were like this is your peg so hang your bag and stuff like that so I'm hanging my bag up and she just walks past me behind me and she pulled my scarf down and obviously that's a real shock cuz I was like 9 years old or something and like my mum had taught us like your scarf is your dignity and it's this and it's that don't ever take it off don't let hair show don't let it and I thought the whole world can see my hair so I really panicked I was like ah and I probably had like I thought I was going to faint or something cuz it was like it was a real big deal that my scarf had come off and I had just started wearing it like 6 months before so I was really trying to protect it and then I was like omg what shall I do and everything and then I walked past and I pulled her hair I didn't know she was Jewish but no other like I got weird looks from other kids but no one actually attempted to do anything that was on my first day and then I saw that girl and I made friends with her and she was like yeah and she's this and she's really mean and she always gives me looks and stuff and she was like do you know she's Jewish and I was like oh maybe that's why she hates me then cuz she's Jewish and by the way everyone else changed except that girl even we finished high school and she was still mean and I never got why and that was my high school life and school generally

*MM: Alright you were saying you were telling me that you have your A levels in Arabic*

Yeah because my mum's a teacher so uhm when we came here and she was like talking to a friend she was like our kids are gonna start forgetting uhm Arabic and stuff like that we should do something let's start a school so then they were like so they start using the Mosque first of all to teach us Arabic and cuz my mum was a teacher she sort of knew what she was doing she was like let's get books and we'll start this and that and that whatever so my mum started like we just got a couple of like the community kids there was only like I think the first ever class was like 6 of us or something it was my mum in a room and we were all on the floor and she was teaching us on the board it was like this black board proper like make shift school and then like some of us were getting cuz we were different ages but none of us knew how to read or write Arabic so then we sort of finished the year sort of thing and then little brothers and sisters came on and so they were like we need another class so then we moved up in another class came and things like that so then the school started and now they even my mum's left though it's on Saturday XXX and they do they have like I don't know 6 classes or something like that so that's like a proper school now XXX but Saturday is this school the Arabic school so uhm if you ever do go past on Saturday and hear kids screaming that's the school uhm so what was I talking about yeah so then we they moved out of the XXX and they've got XXX and we sort of upgraded classes and then they taught us grammar and things like that and then when I was in year 7 uhm the first basically by the end of it there was only 4 of us left in the class cause the other 2 kids had dropped out so the four of us then took our GCSEs we obviously were in different levels I was in year 7 when I did my Arabic GCSEs my sister was in year 9 so we did that and then they were like come back for AS by the time there was only three of us in the class so then we went back for AS but that was two years later so then we did that and then in GCSE in year 10 or year 11 they were like do your A2s so then we got our A2s in Arabic as well but it sort of seemed really pointless but I hated it don't get me wrong Arabic grammar is the hardest thing like the hardest grammar you will ever learn I really really hated it but now I love the fact that I can read and write especially when it comes to reading the Qur'an because the Qur'an is so complex my cousin describes it as a traffic jam of words that's what it looks like a bit Arabic like with all the dashes and then things like that so it's really confusing but I can read it now even though I makes loads of mistakes so usually I have to have something playing I can read along with it and like things it's like really easy things like on FB I can read what everyone's writing and things like that so now I'm really appreciating the fact that I can read and write it so I feel sorry for like the younger kids and stuff that they can't even speak it right or write cuz I think in a few they probably don't realize now they probably hate it but in a few years' time you will really appreciate the fact that you can read and write both I mean and really easy things like crossing over in airports now like when the things aren't translated into English I sort of like read it so I'm like wow I can do it so yeah uhm so I got my A levels in that which I really love

*MM: So you basically use your English for communicating in general*

For all my life basically yeah Arabic is more like a personal family socializing thing like even when I talk to my mum on the phone I don't even speak English on the phone like it's a really sort of close circle thing in a way like even in the mosque with like just friends that you know from the community we don't even speak Arabic to each other we only sort of like again we don't use use say if we were on a bus and we saw something like I don't want to tell her something I say in Arabic so it's sort of like really like personal thing if you get me in a way like I have friends in like America and stuff like that uhm we even speak English to each other so it's like we only speak Arabic when have to or when we need to or we want to say something or if it's like an Arabic joke or something like that so it's quite like yeah it's quite a personal thing it brings you closer to someone I reckon when you can speak like their mother tongue in a way because like I'll give you an example a lot of people say uhm I'm actually one of them I think it's really important that like for example the guy I marry can speak Arabic and English and I don't want his English to be freshie because that will drive me crazy like I love accents don't get me wrong but to like your English is perfect and your accent which I love because I love hearing people's accents but like wrong English drives me crazy because it's like

my parents do you get what I mean I have to constantly like correct and translate for them and things like that but I think like I'd have to sort of be with someone that can speak both like me just because it brings us closer we can share the same common jokes and things like that Arabic and English jokes so I think that is like a personal thing

*MM: So not at all in the public life what do you think?*

No cuz I don't think like you mean like social gatherings events

*MM: Anything anything apart from your family?*

Yeah I think like Arabic is yeah I think it's important like socially too because if there was a concert or things like that if I couldn't speak Arabic even though I am an Arab I wouldn't go because I wouldn't have a clue of what they're saying or like these lectures and stuff like there's a lot of English lectures that they do for youth and stuff like that I mean I go to them because it's easier to understand but I also think it's important to go to the Arabic ones so I don't forget my Arabic and I keep like sort of keep on top of it because they use big words so I think if I go then I'll sort of understand what they're talking about and a lot of you know like religious topics they are really big like jurisprudence and things like that I don't even know what that is in Arabic so I think it's important to like attend things like that and I think it gives me more of a mixture of what I can do because I can speak Arabic whereas like like I said my little cousins and that in the future they wouldn't be able to go to the Arabic lessons, it would be pointless cuz they don't know what they are saying, they only have to go to the English ones so yeah

*MM: What about Facebook?*

Like how I use the Arabic uhm yeah actually you mentioned it now uhm recently a lot of my family from Iran and Iraq and everyone like that I've seen once back home but adding me on FB and I'm thinking wow who are you but just because it's become such a wide thing like now you can translate FB into almost any language that you want but so I made this family group just for us family to like share things on FB or photos and stuff like that uhm so my relatives from back home like joined it in now but we've realized that it's become really hard so there's like the ones that can just speak English and like no Arabic at all kind of read and write it and then on the other end we have the ones that can just speak Arabic can't read or write English don't know what's going on and then there's us that can speak both so it's become really hard like before it was just us Westerners like living in the West but now it's everyone so the group sort of become split because they're like commenting in Arabic and then there's like my auntie that can't read Arabic so she's like I don't know what to say and then she comments in English about something else and then I comment in Arabeasy I mean it's just all over the place now but there's like load of things like you know you have those photos on FB that are like jokes and memes and the trolls and all that so there's like loads of Arabic ones as well but it just gives me like I think a wider scope of my world in a way cuz I can do both so yeah I guess that's a benefit as well

*MM: What other opportunities do you see being a bilingual? What do you like about being a bilingual?*

Loads of opportunities I really love I think I take a lot of pride in it and I wanna learn more languages because uhm I just think I think it's quite ignorant if you can't speak another language when you're in the country in a way so I think like I'm doing fine now and I'll do fine in the Middle East cause I can speak Arabic as well but say if I were to live somewhere else as well I think it's like like Italy I'd want to I'd have to learn the language cause I'd feel quite rude so in terms of opportunity I think it gives me like as a career I can move I have obviously the whole of Europe America Australia and the Middle East so I can move to anywhere like that I can even even if I move somewhere else say the rest of Europe or something I can use it in a way as a medium like translating something like that which is quite important like international affairs uhm like online in terms of online it gives me more

scope for like friends and family connecting with people and things like that uhm I feel like I can do a lot more speaking two languages because again I take pride in my religion loads so I feel like I can benefit like the younger generation cause I can sort of bring what the elders are giving me translate it and pass it on so I can benefit loads loads of people as well as to learn myself because like I can read Arabic books even though afterwards I don't know what they mean I need like an English Arabic dictionary yeah so a lot of opportunities in a way

*MM: And challenges?*

Challenges is the biggest challenge I have is like translating words like for example when my mum's just go Facebook so when she's like what does 'comment' mean somebody has commented what does that mean uhm mum that's a notification and she's like what's a notification and then I have to think of a word to translate notification too and I'm like it's like a sort of like a alerty alarm sort of thing like it's telling you like a warning and I'm like no it's not a warning it's like and I just don't know the word and I'm like wait I have to get my phone and translate it I'm like that's what it is that's my biggest challenge it's like finding translating words over but especially big words I can do conversation and informal language when it comes to big words I really need a dictionary and I've got like all the apps on my phone

*MM: Right how do you feel that you're treated as a bilingual in this country?*

In here in this country I think they treat me with a lot of respect uhm from my experiences I think because I think they see because my English is perfect I think I think they sort of see as a benefit the fact that I can speak two because they think ok like she can sort of come in handy when we need translating and things like that and I think they really respect it because I can speak their language properly I'm not like ignorant to their own culture so and I know their lifestyle things like that so I think they respect it like I'm gonna give you an example when I came in handy when I was working in XXX and this woman came in and you could tell she's not been here very long time so she bought these jeans for her two boys and she I was trying to explain to her before she bought them cuz she bought them in my shift and she was returning on my shift so she was like I want jeans and stuff like that and she was like do you speak Arabic I was like yeah and then I was helping her in Arabic I was like this is the size for your son and stuff like that and she's like ok and then I was like this is a plus size by the way it expands for bigger boys it's not a normal size she was like no no my sons are thin I was like you'd better get them the thin ones then and then she was like ok so there wasn't his size so she had to buy them now and I was like it's gonna be too big and she bought it in the end anyway so then she comes back like two weeks later and she was like she was trying to explain to someone I wasn't serving her though and she was like I bought these jeans and they're too big and he was like what he couldn't understand what she was saying so I was like I remember you and I went to her and I was like are you trying to return them and she was like yes so then I had to I was like the translator for them so then they were like oh thank god that you were here I didn't know what to do with that I didn't know what she was saying I said that's ok so yeah they it comes in handy more than anything I think

*MM: Are people curious to learn to find out more about your world?*

I think it depends on who they are in a way like my colleagues and that sort of thing they aren't really bothered in a way because it's not something to do with them in a way that is just my job and I go but like my friends and people that I mix with yeah they do they ask a lot about culture religion and language and when I'm with my mum on the phone they are like wow what did you just say what does that mean what does this mean what's that what does that mean so yeah I think they do they they are curious to find out about my language and back in school this was more everybody sort of said oh teach me something tell me a word what does this mean that probably just because they were kids but yeah they do

*MM: Ok ok and what about languages and your identity you said in the beginning that you were born in Iran but then you came here and you speak perfect English but you speak Arabic as well but that you still feel that you don't fit in*

Yeah it's actually that's actually really right because like in here if I were speaking on the phone to someone you couldn't tell that I was a foreigner you can't tell that I'm from the Middle East but if I were speaking on the phone back home you can tell I don't live in Iraq so it kind of in a way it does both it confuses my identity but then it gives me more of an identity as well because uhm because I realized since like all these profile things have coming out like join this make a profile do that make a profile make a profile so it's become a lot easier to write things on the profile cuz before I didn't have a clue what to write but now I got used to it cuz now I can say like Iraqi Brit or you know Iraqi living in the UK or born and bred whatever you know like things like that so like in the terms that it confuses my identity is because when people ask me where are from I mean I can say Iraq but then they think why aren't you in Iraq then you know like that's not your real identity you are obviously partly British and they'd be like what's your citizenship what passport do you have I'm like Brit so you're really not Iraqi you can't ever prove that so that way it sort of confuses me cuz I think really what am I but then it gives me more of an identity cuz as soon as people ask me what are you I'm Iraqi living in Britain and I've lived here all my life but I'm originally Iraqi as you can tell I don't belong here so it like defines me more and I can say like I can say on CVs and things I'm bilingual you know I'm a Muslim so it gives me more of an identity and at the same time it confuses me cuz you kinda get torn between who you are and what you are

*MM: Ok and what would you say that it's your main identity?*

If I had to put my identities in order the first thing I'd say is Muslim that's the first thing I'd say cuz to me religion comes first then I'd say Iraqi so automatically you know I'm an Arab and I speak Arabic uhm then I think I'd say British just because like at the end of the day if I was if my passport was taken back of me there's nothing like I basically the only place that would take me back is Iraq if you get what I mean even though I've lived here all my life but at the end of the day I'm not if you get what I mean do you understand what I mean

*MM: Yes yes yes*

So yes so I think my language in a way like my yeah I think Arabic is important but to me it's not like it's more important for me to be a Muslim from anywhere else like if I was a Muslim I'd love that more than to be able to speak my language if that makes sense

*MM: Yes it does*

I think it's a privilege that I can speak Arabic like it's a privilege that I'm a Muslim that can speak Arabic because even though it might not seem anything significant to everyone else but it is a big deal when you're trying to read the Qur'an and like read supplements and pray and things like that and Arabic is not your mother tongue it becomes really hard so in that way again this is something else you can add I really appreciate the fact that I can speak Arabic as my first language because because it makes religion a lot easier for it goes hand in hand

*MM: I see I see what about your friends?*

My main circle of friends actually I just realized my main circle of friends was family because after my sister left she got married and moved to Lebanon so after she left I realized so really who are my friends and I realized it was my sister my cousins and that but like my circle of friends are mainly from school they're the Muslim Asian group that I tend to uhm stick with cuz I didn't really make I didn't really have good relationship not good but not strong relationship with the girls in university just cuz they were like to me they were almost from another planet uhm but my circle of friends I think first of all I picked them based upon if they are Muslim or not like this is not people that I

happen to be friends with from work or school like this is generally just friends so it's first of all if they're Muslim that's really important and then if like this is how I saved them down like Muslims and then Shias like I mean don't get me wrong like I have loads of Sunni friends and I love them but then we like the Shias we become closer and then if they're Iraqi we become even closer and if we're from the same home city we become even closer so that's kind of how they my triangle of friends works in a way but yeah they have to have something in common like you know if you get what I mean

*MM: Yeah yeah yeah and what language do you speak you said that you only speak English or*

Yeah English Arabic and I can sort of get away with

*MM: No no with your friends*

Oh with my friends uhm if they can speak Arabic then I mix we mix English and Arabic like we even switch halfway through the sentence that what we do

*MM: Yeah yeah yeah completely normal*

I don't know if you guys do that as well

*MM: Yeah yeah completely normal*

A lot of people they like don't get it they're like what wait you were just talking in English I'm like it's ok

*MM: Yeah yeah and then you just use one word in Arabic the rest in English*

Yeah exactly and then when you're back home you use English and when you're here you use like Arabic that's what we do as well

*MM: Yeah yeah it's completely normal*

Ok that's fine uhm yeah if they can speak both I speak both if they can speak just Arabic which is quite rare because I don't tend to make like only Arabic speaking friends actually I don't apart from family and relatives I don't have any only Arabic speaking friends

*MM: Ok*

That's weird I hadn't realized that yeah so depending on what they can speak I'll speak to them if they and depending on the dialect as well I don't know if that's quite interesting to you

*MM: Yeah yeah*

Iraqi is the easiest uhm not easiest but it's the dialect that like the accent that uhm it's like Iraqi is kind of Iraqis can understand almost every other accent but not a lot can understand them so like say Lebanese uhm they do not get a word of what we say they only pick up the odd words but we can understand them fluently and we can even switch to their accent so like when landed in Lebanon just before we got there we had a transit in Rome so we were talking to this Lebanese woman this old woman she was like oh our plane is delayed whatever whatever so then I started speaking Arabic to her Lebanese in the Lebanese accent my brother started looking at me like what are you doing because obviously like it's not Iraqi and then he was like then we got on the plane and he was like why did you just switch accents he's like be proud of your own accent speak Iraqi and I was like she doesn't I was like she won't understand if I spoke Iraqi and he was like no of course they do and I was like no watch I was like land there and speak Iraqi and see if anyone understands what you're saying he's like yeah fine we got there he start going to the shops and stuff and he was like I don't know how to speak to these people I was like why he was like he was like I spoke Iraqi and the guy was like sorry I don't know what you're saying he was like and I can't speak the Lebanese accent

he was like I don't know what to talk to them he's like no one speaks English it's only French and I was like see I was like you have to switch to Lebanese so like that's our common problem we have it's Iraqi isn't I know that Moroccans Algerians Tunisian Libyans also have that trouble as well because their accents are quite hard to understand but we're lucky because we can almost speak every accent that's handy as well

*MM: Yes definitely no it's very cool and then this is pretty much the last question unless you want to add something which you are more than welcome to*

Probably will

*MM: How would you describe the Welsh linguistic context because you came here to Wales when you were a kid so you've been in Wales for your entire life*

Yeah had to learn Welsh as well

MM: Really?

Yeah I can't speak it though I mean I can read but I don't know what I'm reading as well uhm actually I feel two things about Welsh I feel like uhm it's a really it's a culturally rich language just because it has a lot of history behind it I mean at the end of the day we should speak Welsh in this country cuz it's we shouldn't speak English cuz that's from England sorry that's what I think but even though English is a lot easier and it's like it's a universal language so don't get me wrong I love it uhm but I feel like it's uhm I hated learning it in school because I felt like it was pointless because we didn't use it anywhere so it just felt they were wasting our time and even now like I've learnt it from primary school up until high school GCSEs I got GCSEs in Welsh and now in work they're oh they always ask you can you speak Welsh and I'm like no even though I spent years and years learning so I think if you're gonna teach me teach me properly that I can use it cuz now it's pointless I can read road signs but once I'm out of Wales there's no point it's like useless so uhm I feel like in a way rather use it properly or just scrap the language but I don't think they wanna scrap it because it's such a it's a special thing to Welsh people like even though less and less people are speaking it and also I think it's something else like I find it I find Welsh is dying down in terms of like it's almost gonna become extinct because not a lot of people are speaking it everyone's scrapping it for English and no one and no one uses it I mean even people that can speak Welsh when they come here they start speaking English so it's almost useless to them as well so I think it's almost becoming extinct and I fear that Arabic is following in its footsteps just because I can see it happening now like a lot of younger generation they can't speak uhm Arabic even when they're in like I don't know Dubai or something everyone speaks English which is like Dubai is an Arab country so why aren't you speaking like do you get what I mean like I feel kind of sorry for them the language I feel sorry for Welsh and Arabic in way I feel sorry for all languages that are dying down but I'm more sympathetic to Welsh because people are like oh can you speak Welsh I'm like uhm no like even though I would like to because I live in Wales even though when we go to London my cousins are like speak Welsh and I don't know anything in Welsh I just make up words and they're like that's amazing I was like I know but that's not Welsh so again it's sort of like like I feel proud of it on the smaller scale compared to Arabic you know in a supermarket or something

*MM: And like overall with all the languages that Wales has do you think how do you think that Wales treats its languages and its speakers of so many languages because there are almost 100 languages spoken in Wales*

Wow I didn't even know that ok I think well I don't think it gives them a lot of help really because somebody living in Wales and Cardiff for my whole life I didn't even know there was that many languages spoken so I don't think it gives them enough justice in a way I think it can do a little more like I mean you see them mostly like in the museum and city hall like it has welcome in 16 other languages but I probably just thought that was like an artistic thing or something they do just to look

cultural but like thinking about it there's not road signs in any other language I mean what apart from Welsh and English which is fair enough but there's no like options for other languages like train stations I don't know about the ticket machines but I'm pretty sure they don't come in any other language apart from Welsh and English whereas in London you get French Spanish English Arabic everything basically uhm nothing is like there's no options for having anything translated like books things like that in a way so I think it can do a little bit more but then I think it does that purposely so people realize oh you're in Wales you have to speak English or Welsh so don't get comfortable here I feel

*MM: Do you think so?*

Yeah I feel I mean I think it doesn't do them much justice I mean Arabic is quite a widely spoken language and even like now there's not much Arabic going around and I read on a website the other day that Polish is the most the second spoken most spoken language in the UK I didn't even know I thought it would be something like Arabic or Pakistani or Indian or something like that or even

*MM: Yeah I think Arabic comes right afterwards*

Or French really

*MM: I'm pretty sure yeah I think it's something like English and then Polish Arabic Urdu Punjabi*

Wow but a few years ago there wasn't that many Polish people here I don't remember it like I over sudden it got loads I don't know what's going on

*MM: Yeah I think that from uhm I'm not sure 2000 maybe they opened the borders*

Yeah I think specially in London it started now it's getting more and more here but uhm actually the other day I was cuz I have to do like all this research for the company and there was this anti-Romanian like this propaganda going on marketing like not to let them in and they're coming over here and taking the jobs and things like that and I was thinking it's a bit racist for a country that's like multicultural and so welcoming and respectful up until this what's going on so I found that a bit rude cuz I was thinking that's not fair you can't put everyone under one like one hat and if like and if people are coming to your country obviously it means they think there's going to be safety here and you know things like that so I was thinking come on now don't be like that I mean imagine Romania did a things don't let Welsh people in it's rude

MM: Yeah yeah yeah exactly exactly I can't say anything I mean I can say a lot of things but

I don't know I thought it was a bit racist to be honest

MM: Yeah so do you want to add anything else like how do you think they are promoting languages do you think they're promoting languages that languages are promoted and

I think the best for me the best way of like making something not live but like making something grow in a country is to put it into new generations and I don't think they're doing enough because there's a lot of kids they grow up they have no idea about other cultures they have no idea about like anything else apart like almost their own little bubble in a way and I really don't like that like I think teach them about other I mean they're probably doing it more but I think there's more they can do like probably more in Wales as well because in England they have the option to learn Spanish as well in high school as French Spanish and German but here it's Welsh it's compulsory and then it's French or German why why why don't you give me an option like I used I took they put me into German but it's pointless cuz I never ever wanna go to Germany I don't like German I don't like the language I don't like the sound of it so if you gave option of like even Turkish I wouldn't mind learning Turkish or Russian you know something like that or Spanish like I don't mind learning Spanish French would have been handy since we're going to France so I think they can do more

maybe they can do sort of like evening not evening classes but something extra in case someone want to learn it cuz I think the world is getting closer and closer with all these like social networking and online media and things like that so I think it's really important to get everyone sort of educated and prepared in a way cuz like I know that in America they offer them the education system is a bit different you sort of have to collect credits to get into uni it's not like a whole subject so they have options of like learning like a lot of friends I have they take English and Arabic classes whereas we had to do that in our own time in our own like find somewhere else to do it the school doesn't offer it uhm this is in during school time during college time

*MM: And you get credits for it*

Yeah exactly it's accounted whereas like now they tell me Arabic is not a modern foreign language and I think well like a third of the world speaks it so why can't it be a modern foreign language and if I can like it's so widely used like in airports and everything so why can't you credit it why is it only French Spanish and German why not Italian as well why not like Chinese Chinese is massive or Japanese or something I think they can definitely do more why is it only like French why is it only European languages that are modern foreign why can't we all be modern foreign

*MM: Yes exactly that's a very good*

So yeah they're not uhm

*MM: This is going to be my PhD thesis title*

Why aren't we all modern foreign languages

*MM: Yes why can't we all be modern foreign?*

I think it's almost a waste of my time and torture in that school learning the grammar but I try to convince people that it's a real language and that Arabic is modern foreign I try to convince them when they say do you speak Welsh I say no I'm like no but I speak Arabic by the way and they're like wow so that sort of replaces my Welsh bit

*MM: I think so personally I think so*

Exactly

*MM: Yes and now that we were talking about the Arabic being modern foreign and you were telling me about your cousins and everything that they don't really and the younger generations growing up without learning Arabic why do you think this is so why don't the parents teach them or?*

I think because it's all about age and generation really I mean it's sort of what's going on the world's getting tipped upside down because my relatives back home they can speak like they're doing they take evening classes and things their English is becoming fluent so even now when I go back home I can't use my English as a weapon like when I went out my sister said something I'd be like omg what is doing look at this look at that but now I can't do that cuz most of them understand English now but I think it's because this is how I this is my theory when my parents came here they were quite old so they didn't take the time and effort really to bother to learn English properly and so that's us we can speak Arabic cuz my parents couldn't speak English my uncle he came here when he was like 22 I think or 21 so he met his wife she's a convert so he obviously had to speak English to her so she can understand even though she learned Arabic so she speaks fluent Arabic now she learned it off my mum so when her first son was born uhm so she made sure that he could speak English uhm Arabic so he starts he could speak fluent Arabic he started going to school with my brother because they're sort of the same age and stuff like that and then the second child came and it was sort of like less emphasis because his brother was like I hate Arabic school so he's like don't really wanna go so he can sort of speak it less he can understand but his accent is a bit a funny it's wonky it's like a really

freshie version of Arabic the younger one he can sort of understand most things he can hardly speak he does try he tries a lot the one younger the little girl she can hardly speak and understand anything and I think it's because by the time the kids got older my uncle obviously he could speak fluent English now his accent is still a bit funny and he gets things wrong like spelling and things like that but he just found it so much easier than to bother teaching them Arabic just to speak English to them so now as they're growing up they can't speak I think people just get lazy as well like my auntie took so much time and effort to teach the older one and it got less and less probably because she got sick of it and it wasn't a priority anymore so I think it's all about generation and I think like for example if I like move away somewhere else and I have kids I'm gonna have the same problem with English like my kids won't be able to speak English they'll speak whatever the language whatever country we're in so say if it's like Turkey or something I'm gonna want to teach them Arabic English and they're gonna be speaking Turkish so it's gonna one of them it's gonna get compromised for the other not sure which will be but

*MM: But do you want to teach your children Arabic?*

Yeah I think Arabic just because it really really really makes a difference to like religion if you can speak Arabic it just makes life a lot easier than trying to find resources in English I mean there's a lot and it's getting better and better but it's still quit hard so I think I'd do them a big benefit and it's the language of the Qur'an so to me it's something really special so I'd teach them they'll probably pick English from school or things like that so I won't care about that

*MM: But do you think that people care about that whenever they have children let's say now and they speak both Arabic and English do you think they refuse to speak to their children in Arabic in order for their kids to have an advantage let's say in speaking proper English and perfect English?*

Yeah I think

*MM: Have you heard of any cases?*

Yeah I've seen it like there was this guy that married he brought his cousin over from Iraq and they got married and they had kids when the wife came over she couldn't she quite loved the idea of the UK come to the UK she thought she was going to be like heaven and then they had kids then she like before when she was pregnant and stuff she'd put on English TV and stuff like that and she took loads of time to learn English she went to the XXX she went to College and things like that and then she got pregnant and then her son was born and she wouldn't speak a word of Arabic to him even like she'd even go to the trouble of learning English herself just so she can speak to him instead of realizing that he's gonna go to school and he's gonna learn English anyway so don't worry uhm I think that's a mistake she made because now like her two little kids they can't speak very good Arabic and they have like trouble like mosque and things like that things that you need to speak Arabic for and the Arabic is a bit funny and now she can speak fluent English but it's so pointless because his English is already fluent from school so you just compromised his Arabic for him like and to me it's a big like to me I don't care what like I think it's more important to teach the child the mother tongue than teach them the language like cuz they're gonna like kids are gonna go to school and they kids pick up language anyway quite easily so I think it's important for me to enforce something that they are not gonna pick up in their environment so it's something that it has to come from me do you get what I mean

*MM: Yeah yeah of course*

So I think yeah I think I'm it's more important to let the child learn what you think it's important because there's a lot of things they don't learn like religion you don't pick it up from environment I mean religion is a big thing they don't it's something that gets actually environment kills religion in a lot of senses I reckon in a way especially with Islam stuff like that so I think for me religion and

language come first of what to teach the kid and then English they can learn it or learn whatever they wanna learn outside it's fine

MM uhum well these were pretty much my questions

You're welcome it was nice talking to you as well and I realized I need to make some only Arabic speaking friends

*MM: Do you think there are many only Arabic speaking people at your age in the UK?*

Here no I don't think so I don't think I've ever come in contact with them either like generally people not even in the UK just because the way how we pick our friends isn't it like I pick my friends through like say I've made quite good friends from Facebook uhm I've actually met up with them as well which is something really weird but like yeah we've become quite good friends so yes it's always through Facebook through another friend or through family I guess or community that's how you meet your friends so Arabic and English is the middle ground for me like my community is here so if people live here they're gonna speak English automatically so I've never come into contact with only Arabic speaking people only relatives yeah and they sort of start to scare me now can't speak English I have to learn another language

*MM: Thank you very much*

You're welcome I hope that's enough if you need anything else just let me know

## Amman

*MM: Ok so if you want to tell me your name and how old are you?*

My name is XXX I'm 17 years old

*MM: Ok*

Yeah that's pretty much it

*MM: And when where you born?*

I was born in 1995 I was born here in Cardiff

*MM: Here in Cardiff?*

Yeah yeah I was born here in Cardiff

*MM And what languages do your parents speak?*

Arabic and English and they speak a bit of Iranian as well

*MM: And what about you?*

Arabic and English

*MM: And how did you learn each language that you speak?*

Well English I learnt it cuz I live here and school and everything and Arabic just from parents and home I just grew up and you know just learnt it from home mother tongue I guess it was

*MM: Yeah?*

Yeah

*MM: So where do you use each language?*

Oh yeah I did actually go to an Arabic school as well and where do I use each one mostly Arabic is at home with family sometimes outside if we see other people from the community English basically everywhere else outside at school uhm shopping on the street everywhere computers writing everything else is pretty much in English

*MM: In English, right?*

Yeah

*MM: Can you tell me something more about the Arabic school that you went to?*

It was just on the side I went there for uhm I can't remember how many years uhm a long time and then they got us ready for GCSE exam which we then just did outside of school and that was pretty much it then I just left it from there

*MM: And what skills were they teaching you? What skills did you develop in Arabic there? Was it only reading or?*

Yeah it was mostly the read and write aspect cuz you could probably pretty much most people and everyone they could speak it from home and everything so it was mostly the read and write the religious side of Islam was taught there as well and yeah it was mostly that and they obviously get you prepared for your exam for your GCSE past papers and stuff like that

*MM: Ok and did you pass did you take your exam?*

Yeah yeah yeah I did it I did it I got an A\* that's probably what you were looking for

*MM: Ok I'm looking for anything any type of information*

Yeah yeah that's fine yeah I did the exam

*MM: Ok, was it difficult? I mean I don't know anything about this GCSE so...*

It's alright it's not too difficult I mean if I've got an exam it can't be that difficult uhm but yeah it's not too hard because we find it quite easy cuz I like grew up speaking Arabic like I probably spoke it before I spoke English I'm not too sure I can't remember but so the questions they kind of ask aren't that challenging but then I never did the A levels she did and apparently those were a lot harder they had like poetry analysis and stuff so I thought you know I'm just gonna leave it there so I just left it there it wasn't too difficult I guess it's probably cuz I've been speaking it since I since a very young age

*MM: And do you think it helps you having this certification, it's like a certification, right?*

Yeah yeah yeah it does quite help cuz I applied to unis this year now and I got it on to my personal statement so that might be taken into a bit of consideration from the unis you never know so I don't know, I hope it did

*MM: Yeah?*

Yeah

*MM: And what unis have applied for and what subject area are you interested in?*  
I applied for Pharmacy and the unis I applied for were Cardiff Redding Portsmouth and Kent those were the ones I applied to

*MM: So you're going to study in English basically*

Oh yeah yeah that's what yes I don't think they teach pharmacy in Arabic here

*MM: I wouldn't think either. So you said that basically you speak Arabic with your parents with the community members outside if it happens. Where would you speak Arabic in the public spaces?*

Just like just sometimes you're just walking around shopping you find someone just to say hello that kind of stuff I used to work in a Peacock's a clothes shop and I just I was working on the till one day and then this woman came I could tell from her appearance that she was Arabic and I was trying to serve her in English and don't really understand so I just immediately spoke Arabic and then I just did the whole thing in Arabic from there on so those are like the quite rare occasions there that you get to use it but apart from that apart from yeah situations like that not really much outside and if you're going out with a friend and there's who speaks Arabic and there's one that doesn't speak Arabic and if you wanna chat about him you don't want him to understand it's quite useful there yeah it's quite useful

*MM: Ok what about the school period the time when you were in school did you get to use your Arabic much?*

Very rarely if there are people that do speak Arabic we mostly speak English but sometimes when you don't want others to understand you just speak a bit of Arabic so the rest don't actually understand but yeah apart from that not much cuz nothing is really taught in Arabic over there so we can't really use it much

*MM: Right and were there many people speaking Arabic like your classmates and stuff like this?*

Not really actually I know from a few years above me there were quite a big community and a few years below me there are but in my year there was not many but in terms of the school I think there are but in terms of people with me no not so many no so yeah I was quite limited I think in my sister's year there were quite a lot of Arabic speakers but with me not really not that much

*MM: Ok ok so apart from when you didn't want other people to understand what you were saying when else would you use your Arabic?*

Never really I don't think I used it apart from that

*MM: How do you feel about this?*

Well I could have put it into more use if I did have people that spoke it around me I mean it would have been an advantage but I didn't have those people much so it was very rarely that I got to speak it so if I did it might have been but for me I didn't really use it that much cuz there's not much like I'd be talking to myself really if I did use it so yeah I don't really use it that much uhm yeah

*MM: And how proficient are you in Arabic? Because you're obviously proficient in English there's no question about it*

I'm quite I reckon I'm quite ok cuz when Arabic's got a lot of dialects each country's got its own dialect even the cities have their own dialect but I could pretty much understand them all but maybe the Moroccan and the Algerian which sounds like a totally different language to me but I can understand them all which I know a lot of other Arabic speakers don't really can't really pick up on the other dialects just their one they can't speak them I can kind of do that it's cuz like I've been brought up in that Arabic those other people might have just one mum who's Arabic or a dad who's Arabic and when I grew up it was like uhm our TV mainly downstairs was mostly Arabic so from that you'd be surprised how much you can pick up just from like TV so from there I learnt a different dialect like I learned the language at home and parents but from the TV I kind of picked up on the different dialects and my sister always tries to imitate the dialects and I picked up on that as well

*MM: Ok what about the TV what do you watch on TV now?*

I don't uhm now I just mostly watch English TV but I do sometimes watch Arabic TV if I'm down with the family downstairs we've got the TV is mostly Arabic cuz my parents are down there so I just watch what they watch and what my sister mostly puts on as well just like series and TV episodes so I just sit there and watch that but upstairs in my room I've got English TV not really Arabic

*MM: Not really Arabic*

Yeah I like but it's just it's downstairs I put English upstairs in my room so it doesn't doesn't make sense

*MM: And what about your friends now do you speak what languages do you speak?*

English pretty much there is one friend I've got who can kind of speak Arabic he can understand it more than he can speak it so I can say stuff and he'll understand it but he cannot really reply back to me so I kinda use it with him if I'm like trying obviously again people I don't want them to understand I tell him and he'll understand it he'll pick up on it and there are other few people but you rarely I rarely tend to use it we do sometimes when there's like a few of us we do but yeah there's not many in my year group that do have it I don't know there were some older ones and younger ones there are but with me there were not that many

*MM: And in general how useful do you think that it is for you to be bilingual to*

I find it very very useful uhm cuz it kinda opens up two doors if you know what I mean cuz like I could understand it and speak it and all of that and then I could use it over here like how people

even for me like I can understand things and it's quite good but then when I go abroad to Arabic countries and Arabic is a country spoken in more than just one country a lot of countries so that opens up a lot of other doors if you know what I mean like I don't know maybe later on in life jobs and stuff that might be useful back there and even just for holidays and stuff it's really useful and I've got family obviously back in those Arab countries and they don't really speak that much English so it would be a bit hard there and even over here it's quite useful being bilingual I think I'm not sure maybe interviewers like it but I don't know that's obviously up to them

*MM: How much contact do you have with the family that you have in the Arab countries?*

Quite a lot actually we go there like once every two years or something so quite a lot of contact but I've also got Arabic family over here as well so mostly with them yeah over there obviously it's quite far away so once every two years we go over so yeah that's pretty much it

*MM: And over Skype or phone?*

Yeah over phone sometimes and Skype these kind of things but I don't know sometimes I'm a bit busy so I don't really I think my sister talks with them

*MM: I know what it feels. What would be the challenges that you encounter as a bilingual speaker or as a community language speaker?*

What do you mean challenges in terms of the actual languages speaking it

*MM: In whatever sense you prefer*

I don't know the language obviously if I do ever make a mistake while I'm speaking a language not many people can make fun of you cuz obviously I haven't lived in Arab countries and I've just learned it from that so that's not much of a problem but I don't really find any problems with it I mean it's an extra thing that I have that a lot of people don't have so I don't see where the negative is really uhm

*MM: What about from a social point of view that you live in Cardiff do you encounter any challenges that maybe you would want to use your Arabic more but you don't get to use it or you don't feel like that?*

I guess I yeah there's not much I wouldn't say it's really a challenge I like again when I was working that lady came in that's just like something I found that's quite useful and obviously helped the lady out and there were some other people that came in that were speaking in Arabic so I helped them and obviously replied back in Arabic so there's not much of a challenge but in terms of not getting to use it as much as I'd like yeah probably cuz there's I I thought I'd be using it a lot more but in terms like when I was working but I don't know obviously I'm still 17 I haven't seen that much I haven't you know mixed in with people that much cuz it's mostly school and home school and home but maybe later on uhm I'm probably put it into practice some more

*MM: And I guess you call home what do you call home?*

Well home in terms of the language is home but obviously when I go to my uncle's house and they obviously speak the same language so that's probably home again in terms of what you're looking for here so that's pretty much what it's home

*MM: And what would you call home would you call Wales home or?*

I don't know it's a bit weird with me cuz I'm born here and I've lived my whole life here but my parents aren't from here so some people still say I'm a foreigner but then when I go back home they're like you're not born here, you're born there so I'm still a foreigner so I don't really know where to go I'm kinda stuck in between I don't really know I don't know but home is it I don't know cuz I would like to say this is home but then people still look at me and say you're foreign but when I

do go home people still look at me and say you're foreign from there so I'm a bit mixed uhm they're both kind of home I don't know home here I've gotten used to the lifestyle over here but when go home there cuz everyone speaks Arabic I found I think over like wow like this is what there's so like such a small community over there when we speak but now it's like a whole country of all so that's when I feel like I'm at home there but over here same goes with English like I can speak it so it does feel a bit like home here but I'm not too sure still

*MM: But let's say if you could ignore the other people around you what identity would you say that you have?*

I don't know whenever someone asks me where you're from I always get stuck I never know what to say cuz if I say Welsh or English they just look at me and think where are your parents from you know where you're actually from but then if I say I straight away tell them I'm Arabic I'm Iraqi they'd be like oh so you've come from other there no I'm born here then they're like well then you're actually Welsh so I just have to every time someone asks me I have to kind of explain the situation for them to really understand it so every time someone asks me I just like have to explain

*MM: And how do you think you're perceived in relation to your languages?*

Perceived by who?

*MM: By the other people around you*

Well I've got a few friends who are just like English and they just be like oh I wish I got I could speak Arabic I wish so I didn't really see any negative from it so obviously what they think it's up to them I don't know what they think but uhm from what I know a lot of people think you know wow that's pretty that's a pretty nice thing so I haven't I received positive perceptions I guess nothing really that negative

*MM: Sure do you think that people are interested in other languages or in your language and how curious are they about it?*

Yeah sometimes when you do tell people is you always get whatever language you speak that they don't speak they always tell you say something in it that's always the question say what's hello what's my name how do you say this so you get that all the time you probably get that as well

*MM: Yeah*

And uhm they do find an interest in it uhm that's kind of where it ends cuz like Arabic is not really an easy language it's like the letters are like it's a totally different alphabet to like English and everything so that's kind of where they tend to stop and sometimes cuz they can't actually pronounce the words properly when you repeat it to them I repeat it they might kind of just give up at the end like you know forget it just forget it cuz I can't really say it so you do get a lot of interest from it but yeah I think they find it a bit too hard to grasp but I find like Urdu they it's become reintegrated into the society like you get some white boys in school like we call them white boys like English boys uhm they just walk around and like speak Urdu and then just yeah that's pretty interesting I think it's cuz the Pakistani and that community it's much bigger than the Arabic one that's probably why that's been integrated more than Arabic has but still I still do get a lot of interest from people to speak in it

*MM: So you said white people white boys*

English we just call each other white and you know and that kind of stuff not in a racist sense I'm no racist

*MM: And how would you describe the Welsh linguistic context what does it look like to you?*

The Welsh language?

*MM: What's going in Wales let's say with all the languages spoken here*

Oh it's very multicultural I mean probably not as much as London yet but it's still very very multicultural I mean I used to do in school this multilingual reading circle where I'd go out and help other people from different places and like one person would have like a story of like I don't know she was like Bulgarian lived in America come to Britain and then there were others which were like I don't know from like some African countries I don't know what they speak and there's a lot especially now like obviously the older generation not so much but in school when you walk around it's very very multicultural I mean you'd be surprised where some people like you know when they're from and they've come here there are a lot of Polish are coming down now I think Romanians uhm you don't get much Americans or anything cuz I don't really know French I don't I haven't really come across that much either but in terms of like Asian countries maybe a lot and African countries a lot uhm Egyptians I think I don't know Nigeria or Ghana or something like that as well that's quite a lot of places so it's quite interesting to look into this you know to find out what other people's cultures are so there are quite a lot it's very multicultural I think Wales is

*MM: Ok you mentioned something about a multilingual circle*

Oh yeah that was in school uhm they just kids from because kids from like lower years that are quite new and just come from somewhere else they've come to this place and they just get a book a you'd read with them they'd read and then you just like correct them and just listen to them

*MM: In what language?*

Oh in English well I teach them in English cuz I don't understand all the other languages so it's just like they come down they play a few games scrabble and all of this and you just like look over them and help them out with what they need to uhm yeah so the school's done it and you just anyone from the lower years comes and then from like I'm obviously older higher up in the school uhm I've come down and helped out helped them out read and stuff

*MM: What school are you in?*

XXX

*MM: So you'd say it's a pretty multicultural place*

Yeah I think XXX is a bit more multicultural

*MM: Yeah and what do you think about Welsh now?*

It's obviously useful as another language and in terms of jobs in Wales a lot of jobs are looking to have Welsh they really want Welsh speakers they only take them on but in terms of like the language itself it's very rarely you find someone who speaks Welsh who can't speak English so that just defeats the point of having a second language cuz if everyone can speak English that can't speak Welsh so it's no point of really having Welsh cuz they can all speak English you know what I mean so I I just kinda of think is it necessary sometimes but then obviously it's the heritage of their country so you can't take that away and again it's another language and I also think like it's only speaking in Wales and some countries down in like Brazil or South America somewhere so it does it really work on a broader context it's what I kind of ask sometimes you know like why not learn French Spanish Italian or something where you could use it abroad instead of just having Welsh and confining yourself to Wales not even to Britain that as a whole just to Wales so it can be useful in Wales but outside of Wales I'm not sure how useful it can be

*MM: What about this thing with jobs and Welsh?*

I don't know I think a lot of jobs now like I think to work in the BBC you need to be like a Welsh speaker or something like that BBC Wales and I don't know they gave us like this whole talk about Wales and how what kind of jobs need it and presenters and all of this kind of stuff they all want Welsh and how then being a Welsh speaker has helped them in their careers so it could be useful in Wales but then again outside I don't know how useful it could be

*MM: What about your Welsh language skills?*

Not great no I just left it at GCSE I didn't take along from there uhm I don't know I don't really I don't really feel the need for another language like I wasn't really you know when something doesn't really interest you you don't really look into it that much so I just left it at that wasn't very good at it either that's another point

*MM Is it difficult? I don't know anything about it*

A lot of it it's just like English just with a few words pronounced differently but it's not like I guess it is difficult cuz I wasn't really good at it uhm but in terms of like then again you can read it if you don't speak Welsh you can still read it there are a few letters which you need to learn like a double lls make a different noise the c and the h and what not but I mean it's not like having a language with totally different letters like Arabic or you know Chinese or something like that where it's totally different letters it is again like in the same letters format but I found it quite difficult cuz I wasn't really interested in it that much

*MM: What do you think about your ability to speak English and that you're a native English speaker?*

My ability

*MM: Yeah*

I think it's alright but there are some times where I cuz obviously at home I don't speak English well with my sisters I do but sometimes there are some words that you know they use but I quite don't know what they mean like big long words so I just look them up and find out what they mean or just ask what does that mean

*MM: Well that can happen to everybody with their languages*

But apart from that yeah you know I've pretty much lived here my entire life I've you know school I did it all in English and everything was all in English so I don't know that's for somebody else to judge really how good I am

*MM: No no no I was not questioning you in the sense of how good you are I was thinking more in terms of how useful you find it*

Oh how useful oh very useful uhm obviously I live here in Wales which is pretty much the first language or maybe the second is English but English is the language which is known all over the world wherever you go you use languages like you kind of united language like you know everyone knows it or not everyone but you know where you go and you use it so it is like a a thing to go like wherever you go you use it uhm in school most books most education systems they are all in English so I just find it I find it very very useful

*MM: And how do you feel that community languages are seen in Wales how do people react to community languages when people speak in Arabic and Urdu and stuff like this and any other language here in Wales in the context of Cardiff let's say what reaction do you think they have?*

You might get the racist few which might not like it but I did not really experience that myself but I think people tend to approach it in more of an interested way than they do if someone's racist they obviously not gonna come out and say I'm racist they just kind of have it in their mind and then they

might have some self-hidden hatred towards them but obviously that's within the person I don't know but I think people do have quite an interest in it when they do see people speak the language and you know when you do walk around and you do hear other languages that you don't know it is quite interesting to like I find it interesting you obviously do find it interesting it seems if you do and go a PhD about it yeah I think people that you know native English or Welsh people I think they do find it very interesting from what I know but then again deep down inside you don't know what they're thinking

*MM: No of course and how do you feel the community languages are promoted at let's say an official level and at public level?*

I reckon they need a bit more promotion to be honest with you uhm like Welsh is obviously promoted a lot like every road sign's got English and Welsh, schools teach Welsh but apart from Welsh uhm even if it's not Arabic cuz I understand Arabic you know it's like harder for people to learn you know it seems like you know the letters are and everything different but like in terms of like French Italian Spanish uhm all of these languages I reckon schools should focus a lot more on them and then not just in schools should be promoted a bit more cuz they could be used outside of Britain more than Welsh can an you don't really see any big kind of promotional campaigns for these languages you don't even see you know classes or places to go to learn being promoted anywhere so I reckon it needs probably a bit more in here in Wales I'm not sure about England but I reckon it could do with a bit more promotion languages and what harm is it going to do to you to learn another language so I don't know

*MM: Do you speak any other language I mean did you take classes in any other language?*

No not really I think when I was in year 4 I did French for about 2 classes and left that up until year 9 from year 7 to year 9 I did German I don't know if you find that interesting either uhm I did find it interesting but do you know when you kind of lose one bit and then the next week carries on from that and everything I just lost if from the beginning and I just thought you know forget it I don't really need it the teachers didn't really help out either I don't like this

*MM: This is what happened to my French as well*

Yeah you understand then

*MM: Definitely definitely well this is pretty much it if you have any other comments if you want to tell me anything else about your languages ?*

No I just I just find it very useful very very useful actually and whoever's out there just try and go out and learn another language I mean it's not gonna do you any harm it's interesting you it's like it opens up a whole other country or community for you so uhm I just think it's a really good idea to have another language that's about it

*MM: And I was wondering about your Arabic writing*

Writing yeah I can write it but obviously not as fast as a native Arabic writer and my spelling obviously is not as good I can't really get it right but yeah I can write it and I can read it but when I read it I read it like slower than I read English and then slower than Arabic than native Arabic speakers can but I can do it it takes me a while but

*MM: And when would you would you write in Arabic?*

Sometimes at home but not that much probably I don't really write reading it I end up reading it more than do writing it cuz obviously school work and everything else is done in English and apart from that like you know revision and stuff I don't really do much writing I do text it sometimes cuz the phone's got the Arabic feature so just texting sometimes and linking back to you were asking

about people back home when I do sometimes like I find my cousin once texted me like a couple of days ago and I did reply back in Arabic and what has kind of developed is this Arabic English where you write Arabic but with English letters so the way you say the word in Arabic you write it in English that's just something they've developed and that's quite good I guess cuz in terms of us it helps us with our Arabic and in terms of the people receiving it it helps them with their English so it's a bit of a mix so I find that quite useful

*MM: And what language do you speak with your sister?*

English

*MM: All the time?*

Yeah unless we're cursing or something it would probably be in Arabic if we don't want you to understand something we'd speak in Arabic so you don't understand but apart from that English at home and everything

*MM: And with your parents?*

Arabic

*MM: All the time?*

Yeah pretty much yeah unless we don't want them to understand what we're saying but they are still picking up on it

*MM: Well that's pretty much everything thank you very much for your time*

## Yasser

*MM: So I will ask you afterwards to sign a consent form for confidential and anonymous data which means that basically I'm gonna keep your data confidential and anonymous if you want me to*

Yeah

*MM: And that would be it like if you are not happy with the interview or with anything you can just tell me either to stop or afterwards you can tell me*

No worries

*MM: Yeah?*

Yeah

*MM: So if you could tell me a little bit about yourself like your name, your age and when you were born*

Yeah my name is XXX uhm I'm 19 years old I'm turning 20 on the 20th of July I was born in Yemen, a city called Taiz and I actually live around the corner a street away XXX I've been living there for about since 1998 yeah I live there with my 5 brothers including myself and my two sisters and my mum and dad and I speak Arabic at home so Arabic could be seen as my first language and English is my second although I am more fluent in English than Arabic uhm I come here when I was about 2 years old I come to Birmingham I lived there and then I come here uhm obviously because I was born because I come here at a young age I was socialized in my language my language I was socialized I was taught Arabic language here but we did have access to Arabic schools Yemeni schools so we did have uhm institutions where they managed to pass on our language but obviously practicing it at home that also like helped us encouraged our language and at the same time with English that was in school so both languages are being transmitted to us either at home or at school so that's why we are able to speak those languages uhm another thing is that my mum she's not very good at English so when I have to conversate with her in Arabic that also strengthens my language as well so it benefits us both in a way and yeah

*MM: Could you tell me a little bit more about how you moved here to the UK how was it for your parents to move to the uk and why they moved?*

Well actually my grandad was actually working here and my dad when he was very young he was in Yemen so my grandad brought my dad here my dad studied here he did his degree and then got married to my mother and then we lived in Yemen for a bit to be honest I don't know what happened before I was there before I was here I don't know what happened but I know that I was in Yemen when I was born and then we come we we all obviously come here we come to Birmingham we set up in Birmingham and then we come to Cardiff and set up in Cardiff but it was more of a my dad studied here previously that brought us here in the first place like so that we can benefit from an education as well so my dad didn't want us to be deprived from an education that he had so yeah that's the reason why we come here

*MM: Can you tell me about your parents what's their occupation what do they do?*

My mum is a mum my mum is a mum my dad he works in a lot of places he worked abroad and that uhm my dad has got a Law degree and also a Business degree so he's now taking his LPC which is the Law Practitioner Course to become a lawyer but my mum doesn't matter like she looks after the children etc.

*MM: Of course of course that's very normal and what languages do your parents speak?*

Arabic my dad's fluent in Arabic fluent in English my mum's got broken English and she's good at Arabic but obviously when my mum sacrificed her life looking after us teaching us rights and the wrongs etc and that's why she didn't have time to study but that's for us to compensate to her in the future cuz I want to become a barrister so when I do become a barrister I can look after the whole family hopefully

*MM: Of course of course how many brothers and sisters you have?*

I have two sisters one 22 years old and a bit young she's in Year 7 so makes it about 12 years old and I have brothers we're 5 I'm the 5th brother but I'm not the youngest i have two elder than me and two younger than me so I'm bang on the middle

*MM: Do you still have relatives in Yemen and do you communicate with them quite often?*

Yeah yeah uhm we communicate with them via telephone via internet via etc social media and we do tend to go there as well uhm once a year well we try our best to go there once a year like I've been for the last three years but I'm not gonna go this year so we do try our best to keep in contact as much as we can but we do call we call international calls you know the international cards you get you do call up you do communicate Whatsapp etc so social media helps to communicate with them uhm they study English as well but the way we learn our English here and the way they learn their English there differs because they learn the formal English

*MM: Absolutely yeah*

We can talk slang here so we can so for example Cardiff's got its own slang terminology, London's got its own slang so we know how to adapt to that but then when you're learning it abroad you have to learn the formal English but it's still good still used here you can use it anywhere in the world which is good so yeah they still learning languages English language

*MM: I see could you tell me a little bit about how it was like to grow up in your home and the neighborhood that you were growing up especially from the point of view of what languages you were using?*

The neighborhood I was growing up in uhm well I grew up in this neighborhood uhm I grew up for example this family they're very very very close to me very close to my family so we bond together we both speak the same languages so when we live next to each other I can hang around with him for example I work with him we see each other nearly every day we have to see each other so we both speak the same language we have common norms and values we like to call it uhm I mean our neighbor on the left speaks Arabic as well so we've been blessed to be in a place where there's multicultural we live in a multicultural diverse place so it's good yeah uhm growing up you know you meet a lot of people from all over the world you get to practice to practice your religion freely you get to practice your culture you get to learn about other cultures so it's a good thing

*MM: Absolutely what about your home were you speaking in Arabic at home?*

Yeah uhm in my house I try to speak as much Arabic as I can the reason why it's because I can I can say that I know enough Arabic to last me my lifetime but I don't want that to be the case I want to keep strengthening my Arabic and I want to be able to teach my children just like we got taught

*MM I see I see and why is that important for you?*

Because you don't want your culture to die out you we've got a number of different people a number of different examples of where languages and it's not just in Arabic it's in any other languages for example you get British Welsh people and where their descendents have all spoken Welsh they haven't passed it on properly and therefore they're Welsh but they don't know the Welsh language and I don't want that to I don't want us to fall victims of that I want us to keep

holding our language because it is important to us it's an important thing keeping your language for example you do you know how to speak Romanian?

*MM: of course*

There you go would you like do you have children?

*MM: I don't have children*

Well when you do have children would you like

*MM: I would like to*

Why so you can pass on and it is important because we live in a Western place it's not like we live in Yemen where you don't have to worry about keeping your language cuz they're gonna learn it in school or they're gonna learn it in the street they're gonna learn the language here you're gonna learn you know English you go to you're gonna go to a classroom no one speaking your language if they are speaking your language or if they do if they are Arab themselves the children in school some of them are shy to speak it so they're forced to communicate in English uhm a prime example is even when me and XXX which is my friend we mostly we communicate in English although we are both Arabs we both speak Arabic but we just communicate in English simply because we communicate with everyone else in English so why go for the bother speaking in Arabic but when I go home and my mother's not that fluent in English I'm then forced to speak in Arabic uhm and then when I'm used to speak in Arabic in the house for a bit I'll then gonna speak to my little sister in Arabic if I'm gonna shout at her but then when I'm back outside I'll speak in English again so it is important yeah

*MM: I see are you were you encouraged by your parents to speak English?*

No I was actually uhm like with English obviously our parents have told us the importance of education they've told us that we need to educate ourselves and that it's very important the whole reason why we come here in the first place is to get a better living for ourselves English is vital to make a better living of yourself you're gonna you know you don't come here to an English country and not expected to know their own language you need it for employability you need it for GCSEs you need it to get into the A levels you need it to get into university so English is important we have been encouraged in the sense of it's been portrayed to us how important education is so we need to educate ourselves and we need to learn English as part of that

*MM: What about your education you were saying what do you want to what have you been studying and what do you want to study further?*

I went to XXX Highschool I've done my GCSEs then I've done my A levels I'm hoping to go into Cardiff University I've got an offer from them to study Law this September and I wanna do three years after university I wanna do my pupillage year to become a barrister and then work my way from there

*MM: I see do you have obviously you were saying that you were taught in English do you have any particular memories when you would speak other languages with your friends for example in school or ?*

Well I mean well sometimes as friends we would speak half Arabic half English in a sentence that we would be we were known to do that as Yemenis as well we would bring like ah I can't give you an example from the top of my head but we like to use a bit of Arabic but mainly it would be English but it's like I don't know it depends on what we're speaking about sometimes it depends on what we're speaking about if we're speaking about religion we'll speak in Arabic like we'll give an example in Arabic we'll speak in Arabic if we're speaking about just general things like I'd send to my friend like I

don't know are you awake for work in the morning I wouldn't [switch] my keyboard on Whatsapp and type it in Arabic why because it's easier to type it in English

*MM: Is it much more difficult to type in Arabic than in English?*

Yeah although I managed to achieve an A for my GCSE English [means Arabic] I wouldn't be able to construct a paragraph for you in Arabic which is weird but I don't know

*MM: so you have a GCSE in Arabic*

Yeah yeah I got an A in Arabic for my GCSE in Arabic

*MM: Were you going to a Saturday school as well?*

We went to a school in down the Parade it's a Iraqi school they're Iraqi teachers but they teach general because in Arabic we have uhm I think it's called the formal Arabic so everyone from around everyone in the Arab world can communicate in a certain standard of Arabic which everyone understands yeah I don't know what's it called in English but in Arabic is called Arabic fusha

*MM: I see I see and did you learn how to read the Qur'an there as well or?*

Not there no I was actually I did I tell a lie I did but it was in it was more of Islamic Studies but the Qu'ran it was my dad and my mother yeah they implement that a lot they implement religion and everything a lot

*MM: and they taught you how to read the Qu'ran and write in Arabic*

They taught me the importance of reading Qu'ran and everything but to learn the Qu'ran you're gonna need to read believe it or not I could read fluently from the Qu'ran but I wouldn't be able to read fluently Arabic I don't know why

*MM: I see*

I don't know, why we believe in miracles you know Qu'ran is easy to read and remember

*MM: How important is religion for you then?*

Religion is important it is important yeah uhm I'm not perfect like I've I'm not like a perfect person no one's perfect but religion is always like it has to be like it's a daily thing you do think about it and then like Ramadan for example now you have to fast and everything so it does play a vital role it does play a big role yeah

*MM: And how often do you attend the mosque?*

I try and attend the mosque as much as I can but I pray five times a day yeah

*MM What about the languages used in the mosque?*

The languages I use in the mosque yeah Arabic yeah Arabic we use in the mosque because Arabic is the mother tongue of Islam so like everyone you can speak whatever language you want Islam does not say teach uhm speak Arabic alone but Arabic the Qu'ran was done in Arabic so it is easy to understand that what it actually says like in the Qu'ran so it is Arabic is the mother tongue so that it is an advantage that we are Arabic speakers because we get to understand the religion more so we are in advantage yeah

*MM: and could you tell me for example during a typical day what would your typical day look like and what languages would you use with whom?*

Typical day

*MM: For example today let's say*

Today I got up I spoke to my mother for a bit in Arabic asked her to iron my shirt which she kindly did uhm I then Whatsapped my friend and I told him to wake up and then come to the door and knocked his house his mother answered obviously his mother is very much she's got a very good English as well she learnt English and now she speaks it properly so now we can conversate with her in Arabic and in English so it's a learning process and then we went to work and then we actually know this person in work that went to Egypt for three months he is Brazilian he's not Muslim and he's not Arab and he managed to learn Arabic I can have a proper conversation with him in Arabic

*MM: really?*

Really I was actually having a conversation with him but he speaks Egyptian Arabic so he is it's crazy to think that you think wow like and yeah he's writing as well I asked him to write brilliant like it escaped me I'm looking at him and I'm thinking is this person if you want you could say that he's an Egyptian you'd be able to you know if I if I started work and he said I'm Egyptian and he starts speaking

*MM: You'd believe him*

Yeah I would believe him

*MM: Why did he learn Arabic what was his motivation?*

He did a three months course in Egypt

*MM: that's insane*

It is yeah and that's why if you if the topic is about learning languages a prime examples is the way is how much you wanna try

*MM: uhum so but usually apart from this guy what languages do you use at work*

English

*MM: and what languages do you read in?*

I read in Arabic I read in English I could attempt to read in Welsh yeah I can actually attempt to read in Welsh but whether I'm successful or not I don't know but I can attempt to read in Welsh like I a baby trying to speak English like that's it

*MM: what do you think about Welsh how much Welsh have you learned and what's your attitude towards Welsh?*

To be honest with you I think that it's an obstacle to learn although we live in Wales no disrespect to any Welsh person like I love Wales Wales is a good place but you get 90% of the Welsh people here who claim to be Welsh don't know how to speak their own language so if their own Welsh people are not regarding their language of importance then what makes you think an Arab who just about learned English wants to you know

*MM: But do you think it's useful to learn Welsh?*

No

*MM: No?*

Not at all not in this not not not in my life anyway I'd love to learn Welsh as a hobby I love learning languages you know especially Welsh sounds like but I don't think it's useful in terms of I mean if you want to become a doctor a lawyer an accountant and aircraft engineer no one's gonna ask you to

speaking Welsh they're gonna ask you for your grades they're gonna ask you for your A levels they're gonna ask you for this that they're not gonna ask you do you speak Welsh

*MM: But how important is then English?*

English very important very important like specially like what I wanna do I wanna do Law I'm gonna be in courtrooms I need to use professional English it needs to be understandable to the members of the jury the people of the public everything the judge everything so it needs to be professional English so and I'm gonna be doing essays in university so English is very important and thank god like I've always been good at English like I've had As in my English language English literature so my English is perfect like near perfect

*MM: Absolutely yeah uhm what languages do you watch TV in what do you watch on TV?*

TV soaps British soaps bit of football bit of this bit of that bit of Celebrity Master Chef uhm Come Dine with me bit of everything they're all in English yeah

*MM: Do your parents does your mother for example watch anything in Arabic?*

My mother only watches Arabic channel Arabic channels uhm we have specific channels Arabic Aljazeera for examples news and that Arabic yeah

*MM: Do you ever watch it with her?*

Yeah sometimes to be honest with you my my mother's perspective my mother's perspective is I've I've brought them here to educate themselves so they can look after me so I don't need to I don't need to like all I need to do is raise them up and hopefully when they graduate and they get jobs and that they will provide for me so investment that's what it is

*MM: Have you ever had to help your mother for example with her English?*

Yeah she does if she does if she requests anything to help I'm always there to help in English she's practicing yeah why not

*MM: For example somebody was telling how he goes to the doctors with his mother and he translates for his mother*

Yeah sometimes sometimes translation there is a language barrier sometimes so sometimes there is a language barrier sometimes the basic English is not enough you need a level of English where you know people can communicate with you and this is that's why people like myself they do represent their families in that in terms of speaking and translation yeah

*MM: I see what about Internet what language do you use online?*

English

*MM: Do you have your phone in English for example?*

Yeah

*MM: and then social media and stuff like this?*

Social media yeah I communicate in that as well English all English

*MM: I see well yeah that would be about it actually would you like to add anything else maybe about how important it is for you to speak Arabic?*

Arabic is the mother tongue of my religion I think it's extremely important to speak Arabic very very very good and I wouldn't even you know I wouldn't say degrade the importance of such ever in my life

*MM: Alright that would be it thank you very very much*

## Yusra

*MM: Thank you very much for coming and I was wondering if you could first tell a little bit about yourself like your name age and where you were born*

My name is XXX I was born in Cardiff uhm I'm 25 years old and my family are from Yemen so yeah I've lived here all my life I've studied here primary school college and I also did a degree in XXX University

*MM: What was your degree in?*

It was combined studies so it was Marketing Business and Education

*MM: Ok*

So very different uhm and yeah I've graduated two years ago and now I'm just doing my own thing uhm at home just self-employed in fashion really

*MM: That sounds very exciting*

So something very different so yeah

*MM: Could you tell me about your languages what languages do you have skills in?*

Yeah uhm I know Arabic cuz my family are from Yemen and that's we speak Arabic back in Yemen I mean considering living here for a long I mean being born here and living here everybody's usually shocked that I speak Arabic

*MM: Ok*

Because they usually not many people know the second language if you live here but we would go back to our homeland every two three years and our family speaks to us in Arabic at home and we also studied Arabic in Saturday school which helped in like you know helped for us to learn our language yeah

*MM So you speak you use Arabic on a daily basis*

Yeah yeah

*MM: I see could you tell me we'll go back to this aspect but first could you tell me first a little bit more about your family and your parents and how come they came here?*

Yeah so uhm I mean my father came here when he was 11 years old so he wasn't born here uhm both my parents were born back in Yemen my grandfather emigrated to Britain and he was a seaman so uhm when he was living here then my grandmother married him and that was her second marriage so basically my family my father's dad passed away when he was younger so when she got married here she brought her children over which is my dad and his brothers and sister and then they studied here they went to high school uhm and they were looked after by their stepdad which is my step-grandfather uhm so yeah they grew up here and then my dad went back to Yemen and met my mum they got married and he brought her here cuz he was already living here so he settled here and then uhm and my dad was then a he worked as a mechanic first and then he did like mobile technician you know whatever you wanna call it just to fix mobiles and things like that yeah my mum just studied English and that's it really

*MM: How old was your mother when she came here?*

She was about 22 because I was born here she had me when she was 20 and then we lived in Saudi for two years so my first two years were in Saudi and then we came here so yeah she was about 22-23

*MM: What about you were saying that she studied English here*

Yeah she just studied English in like college she used to always do courses in like college and things like that so she speaks English now but when she first came here she didn't know any English so she kind of learned it as she went along

*MM: What about Yemen how was for them to leave Yemen and come here?*

I mean Yemen was a really nice place to live in but at the time there was a war going on I think uhm I don't really know who with I was very young so yeah there was a war at that time so we thought we'd come here so cuz we stayed in Saudi like I said and then we I we stayed in Yemen as well so it was a bit of everywhere and then when there was a war then we came back to Britain

*MM: And how was the experience for them to be moving around?*

I think they just got on with it

*MM: Yeah I see uhm you've already told me what they do what do they do now?*

My dad now lives in Birmingham they are not together anymore

*MM: Ok*

And my mum is uhm she's finished studying now so what she does is she she's actually she makes my clothes so when I design the clothes she makes them so we work together kind of thing at home

*MM: Oh I see I see yeah*

So yeah she enjoys making clothes a lot she enjoys sewing so yeah

*MM: Yeah yeah do you sew?*

I sew but not as professionally as my mother yeah I'm learning as I go along

*MM: Has she been sewing for a long time?*

Yeah she's been sewing since she was a young girl with her mum so yeah kind of same thing

*MM: I see I see and what languages I understand that you live with your mother or?*

No I'm married and I live with my husband and my daughter my mum lives quite close to me actually but yeah I don't live with my mum

*MM: But you used to live with her*

Yeah

*MM: And you've already told me that she speaks both Arabic and English I imagine and do you still have relatives in Yemen you were telling me about the relatives in Yemen how often do you keep in contact with them and how do you keep in contact with them?*

We speak to them over the phone all the time over Whatsapp Viber you know they've got it all now so I think that's really good now because we can speak to them more than we used to so with they have wi-fi at home and it just makes things so much easier uhm we speak to them quite regularly like everyday every other day and most of my family are back home so I only have like my two uncles here and my one auntie from my dad's side but all my mother's side are all back home nobody from

my mum's side is here so it's quite hard because when we go we get so attached to them and we're really close to them and then we have to come back here and leave our like family and come back to our lives here and it's so hard

*MM: Yeah I understand and you were telling me that you go back pretty regularly*

Yeah

*MM: How much time do you spend there?*

Quite a long time we stay like two months when we go so like over the summer so everyone's like wow two months holiday but it's not really a holiday it's kind of not a holiday because for my mum she's just going back home so it's kind of different from the usual holiday the two week holiday

*MM: I see I see could you tell me a little bit more about your childhood how was it growing up here and in your home and your neighborhood especially from the point of view of languages?*

Yeah I think that specifically being in Cardiff uhm it's a really welcoming really friendly area because they are so used to the whole they are so used to so many ethnicities around here so I mean growing up here was fine for me it was always like my father was always saying not to speak in English in the house because he wanted us to remember our Arabic but we learned [Arabic] I mean we learned English from going to school and uhm we also had to go to Arabic school every Saturday so we were like why do we have to go two schools [laughs] not my friends my friends don't go to two schools but you know it was our Islamic school as well and I mean it was fine living here yeah we kind of adapted to it kind of

*MM: I understand uhm so yeah that was my next question if you were encouraged by your family to speak either Arabic or English inside your home?*

Ok so I mean in the beginning when we first came here my dad was like speak English in the house because he wanted us to learn it but then when we picked up English from school when we spoke so much English he was ok speak Arabic in the house so we don't forget our mother tongue you know

*MM: Yeah what about your mother what does she think about that?*

My mum I mean we speak both languages at home now are kind of uhm we switch between Arabic and English even in like one sentence we like finish half in English or half Arabic it's quite funny but I mean it's really good I find it it's a good thing to be able to speak two languages

*MM: Absolutely*

So yeah she she's like she understands English but she prefers us to speak to her in Arabic because it's just quicker understanding for her so she doesn't have to concentrate so much when she's listening to us yeah

*MM: I see do you notice any difference what you're talking about in Arabic and what you're talking about in English for example do you have special domains that you speak about in English and something other specific that you speak in Arabic?*

What do you mean exactly?

*MM: For example I live with my partner who speaks Spanish*

Wow

*MM: And we change a lot between English and Spanish but for example we speak in English about our projects about our uni projects*

Oh yeah

*MM: And then we speak in Spanish when we're just like fooling around or something like that*

Oh yeah I understand uhm I think in certain aspects yeah we speak in certain about certain things we speak about in Arabic so for instance when it's a joke you can't translate it in English or uhm I mean we do we speak in English and Arabic about anything and everything we can speak about different things so yeah so it just depends in what mood we're in I guess yeah we we I think it doesn't matter what we're talking about

*MM: I see could you tell me a little bit more about you said that you were married could you tell me a little bit more about uhm the languages you use with your husband and with your kid?*

Yeah I mean he speaks a different language to me as well again he speaks Somali so he's Somali yes uhm he doesn't he understands a little bit of Arabic but he doesn't speak it much he's only learning a little bit uhm so we speak English most of the time which is annoying cuz I would love to be able to speak to him in Arabic I just I don't know how to get him to learn it and I don't speak much Somali myself I only speak little bits of words so I don't know Somali myself

*MM I see but do you understand?*

No I don't understand Somali yeah so we have to speak to each other in English

MM: Yeah I see I see

And it's a bit difficult with my daughter cuz she's two now and we're trying to get her to speak both languages I mean Arabic and Somali as well as English so it's quite difficult we don't don't know both languages so I have to make sure I'm speaking to her in both languages and he has to make sure he's speaking to her in Somali and then hoping she will pick up English when she goes to school and things like that but it's hard because I think English is such an easy language to learn she's picked up so much English now I think cuz she's on her Ipad all the time like watching things like on Youtube and tv she's picked up a lot of English but she speaks more Arabic than Somali I think cuz I speak more Arabic than he does maybe because when I'm home with her more

*MM: Yeah yeah what does your husband do?*

He works he used to work for the XXX he's just left actually this week and he's going to be working here for the XXX again so yeah he used to work in the XXX

*MM: I see*

XXX

*MM: I see so tell me more about your daughter do you speak Arabic to her constantly?*  
Yeah I try to speak to her as much Arabic as I can it's hard sometime because when my husband's there we'll just speak in English but I try to speak to her in Arabic but I also take her to my mum's house a lot as well she stays there she speaks to her in Arabic so I'm hoping she would learn Arabic

*MM: I see*

It's cuz I think in our religion as well it's more important to speak Arabic than Somali because our holy book and all our whole Islam is in Arabic so it's more important to speak Arabic yeah I mean of course I would for her to speak Somali as well, it would be nice for her to learn like three languages

*MM: Yeah yeah absolutely well she'll have at least an idea about Somali that she'll definitely grow up with Arabic*

Hoping to take her to both countries hoping for her to pick up both languages

*MM: Yeah yeah I see uhm could you tell me a little bit about your family or cultural celebrations that you have and how does this sort of have an impact on the languages that you use for example now you're celebrating Ramadan and how does this have an impact on the languages that you use?*

No not at all I don't think so uhm obviously it's different because we're celebrating in another culture I mean mixing the two cultures is different but I don't don't think I mean it's not nothing to do with the languages at all nowadays uhm it's becoming more accepted I think in the West because I mean you have like places like supermarkets like Asdas and Morrisons and Tesco they have a sign like saying ramadanmubarak which means kind of celebrating with us and they sell they're selling our food more during this time so it's just nice because everyone's more acknowledge you know has acknowledged us more now and there's more acceptance of it uhm so yeah we're finding it easier I think now but yeah it's really nice uhm that's Ramadan at the end of Ramadan where we have we celebrate it's like our Christmas so it's called Eid uhm where basically we finished fasting and then we celebrate so we don't fast on Eid and we eat you know we go and visit family and friends and it's all about family on that day uhm you know we have presents and we give presents to each other uhm so that's celebrating the Ramadan and then two months after that straight away there's another Eid which is the bigger Eid

*MM: Is it bigger?*

Yeah

*MM: Ok*

And that's to celebrate the pilgrimage

*MM: Ok*

Do you know the do you know Hajj Mecca

*MM: Yes*

In Saudi Arabia yeah so that's basically where they go in the bigger Eid that's where they go

*MM: Alright*

That's Hajj yeah and then we celebrate that by uhm slaughtering a lamb you know we do it back home so yeah

*MM: Do you usually go back home for Eid?*

No we we I mean back home they usually do it in the house they slaughter the animals quite crazy but here we just buy one from the butcher's yeah that's how we celebrate it we just have a big family feast in the house

*MM: I can imagine*

And children get presents yeah

*MM :what presents do you give is it anything special or?*

No any kind of presents yeah

*MM: Like Christmas*

Yeah just like Christmas any kind of present that you want yeah we also what I really like about Eid as well is we go to pray as soon as we wake up at eight at half past eight there's an Eid prayer where everybody goes to pray and everyone's dressed up really nice and everyone looks really nice and it's

just a happy time and everyone uhm we just pray a short prayer with everybody and that's how we start off our day it's really nice

*MM: Is it for both Eids or?*

Yeah

*MM: I see*

It's really nice yeah

*MM: Could you tell me do you go do you attend religious services in the mosque on a regular basis?*

Only during Ramadan it's quite bad but for ladies uhm it's preferred for ladies to pray at home because it's just easier for us so uhm you don't have to go to the mosque so if it's easier for you to stay at home it's more it's more beneficial for us to stay at home and pray but for the men it's more liked that they go to the mosque cuz it's easier for them cuz I mean with us we look after the house and the kids so you know it's just easier for us to stay at home but uhm so during Ramadan uhm there's this prayer that we do in the night after we break our fast and its we pray we pray for about one hour and then they also do some sort of talks Islamic talks and things like that during this month cuz it's just the holy month so we tend to go to the mosque more in this month yeah

*MM: Could you tell me about the languages that they use inside the mosque?*

Yeah they use obviously the Islamic language Arabic so they try to speak Arabic but then they also translate it to English for everybody else who doesn't speak Arabic cuz not everybody knows Arabic so uhm for instance for the Somali mosque across the road and they say it in Somali and English uhm then there's the Yemeni mosque where they say things in Arabic and then English so it's kind of a bit of both yeah just to help everybody make sure everybody understands

*MM: Of course of course what about the people inside the mosque what languages do you use?*

Arabic English and Somali I guess there's Pakistani as well Urdu uhm I mean there's so many I mean some of them just speak English cuz some of them we have like reverts so people who are Welsh and they turned to Islam so I mean they don't know Arabic as well so it's good to have English as well in mosques nowadays for people who do not speak Arabic you know

*MM: Are there many people who are converting to Islam?*

Yeah a lot of people yeah it's the fastest growing religion

*MM: Ok*

Yeah so so many a lot of people it's the most people revert to Islam

*MM: Are there many people who attend the mosques either the Yemeni or the Somali mosque here?*

Yeah that are reverted yeah and especially here in Cardiff a lot of people marry inter- different things so like Somalis marry Welsh Welsh marry Somalis Yemenis so it's really nice so that's how they got to know Islam more and then that's how they you know so Welsh people go to these mosques and things like that so it's really nice

*MM: Can you tell me a little bit more about the Qur'an and whether you can read and write in Arabic?*

Yeah I mean luckily cuz I went to school I can speak so I can write Arabic and read Arabic I can read the Qur'an as well but with the Qur'an it's the Arabic is more Classical Arabic so not everybody will understand so you kind of have to study it so uhm I can understand it a little bit but not too much uhm I mean it's a good thing that I can read it cuz not many people can read it if they don't read

Arabic yeah it's really it's much nicer when you read it in Arabic than when you read it in English it's different it's like so crazy

*MM: It's a completely different experience*

Yeah yeah definitely

*MM: Could you tell me a little bit more about the school that you attended?*

Yeah it was just a yeah I was maybe ten eleven I attended it I think from the age of six up until eleven twelve maybe and it was just a small basic school where this couple who thought uhm they used to charge people as well and they'd get you know good teachers and good curriculum and we'd go and get tested and yeah it was good it was on XXX and old school it's closed now but there is another one now

*MM: Are you planning to send your daughter as well to one of these schools?*

Yeah definitely yeah I think it will be good for her because I mean I'm lucky that I can write and read Arabic so it would be really good for her to be able to do the same yeah

*MM: Why do you think it's so important?*

I mean for our religion it's really important cuz uhm I mean it's good anyway to be able to read and write in two languages so in more than one language so I guess it's I mean it'll benefit her whether it's just for work life or her Islam you know

*MM: I see uhm could you tell me a little bit more about how you learned English about your experience of learning English?*

I mean I just learned it from school uhm watching a lot of TV my dad spoke to me in English as well cuz he knew English yeah just at school maybe I guess we just picked it up as we went along

*MM: Do you have any particular memories of using for example Arabic inside the school but not as a formal thing maybe talking to your friends or on the playground?*

Yeah when I went to primary school not many I didn't have many friends who were Arabs so I didn't use Arabic much but I remember a lot of my Welsh friends were so interested when I could tell them that I could write Arabic and then they'd always be like oh wow write my name in Arabic and they'd all get me write their names in Arabic and they'd always ask me how to say certain words in Arabic and so yeah they'd find it really interesting

*MM: I see I see we've already talked about religion uhm I was wondering could you tell me like during a typical day how does your typical day go and especially from the point of view of languages?*

I mean my normal typical day is just uhm I work from home as I have already mentioned so when my mum comes over I speak to her in Arabic or English mainly Arabic with my mum uhm and then when my husband comes home we speak in English cuz he's there and it wouldn't be nice to speak in Arabic cuz he doesn't understand so we just speak in English and uhm what was the question about

*MM: Your typical day*

So yeah so if we go to a shop or and there's somebody who doesn't speak English properly and they say oh do you speak Arabic and they we speak if it makes things easier we'd all just speak to them in Arabic but I mean we just switch really between Arabic and English all day so my mum watches Arabic TV so we kind of so you know we understand Arabic TV and we also watch English TV a lot so it's a bit of mix I think through the whole day it's just a big mixture yeah

*MM: what about your friends what languages do you use with your friends?*

I speak to them some of them speak Arabic so they speak Arabic to be honest we speak in English a lot so even if we speak Arabic we kinda speak in English most of the time which is quite bad cuz sometimes it's nice to speak in Arabic to just so that you don't forget it or so you become more fluent in it so yeah we speak in English a lot of the times me and my friends even if they speak Arabic

*MM: I see I see do you see any reason for this or?*

Yeah yeah yeah I think it's cuz obviously we live here and we're just so used to speaking in English and I guess now being married I speak to him in English as well a lot so I'm so used to speaking in English now TV all we watch is English TV we don't watch any Arabic TV only my mum watches Arabic TV so I mean our whole daily life is mainly English yeah but I mean when we need to speak in Arabic say if we go out and we need to say something in Arabic we'll say it oh let me think if we see someone we that they don't speak English we'll speak to them in Arabic or yeah we kinda switch but mostly I would say English yeah

*MM: And you say when we need to speak in Arabic what do you mean by that?*  
Say like say it's just say if we're out and we someone and we're like OMG like what she's wearing or look what she's doing we just say it like that in Arabic so they don't understand yeah

*MM: I know what you mean I see what languages do you read in and what's your favourite thing to read for example?*

I mainly read in English only because my Arabic is not cuz I don't read so much in Arabic I'm not kinda fluent in it so it'll take me longer to read Arabic that it'll take me to read English and I understand English more so whereas Arabic I'm really fluent in the Yemeni aspect of things when it's like written it's different Arabic it's more classical form of Arabic so it's harder for me to understand so yeah I think English more

*MM: And what would you read in English?*

I read the newspapers the uhm online everything in English uhm books you know fiction non-fiction things and everything in English yeah

*MM: What about the way you communicate with the family back home you were saying that you use a lot of social media and things like this*

Yeah I speak to them in Arabic I mean I can type on my phone in Arabic quite quick now so I just type to them in Arabic or speak to them

*MM: You were already telling me about the TV that you mostly watch TV in English but your mother when you're at your mother*

Yeah she watches a lot of Arabic TV

*MM: I see I see and about writing I guess you don't need to write that much apart from social media*

Yeah just on social media I don't write don't really write much in Arabic so only when I need to speak to my friends and my family back home

*MM: I see do you use somebody else was telling me about Arabeasy about the combination between Arabic and English*

Oh yeah I've never heard that one before that was different

MM: Ok

Yeah I that's what we do we just completely change everything so if like if it's a word in Arabic we change to English or if it's word in English we change it to Arabic so yeah we kinda do the same thing I think everybody does that it's quite funny

MM: Somebody was telling me that they write for example they write in their text messages and things like these

Oh yeah I know what you mean like uhm they write in Arabic but use English letters yeah

MM: Yeah that's what I mean and numbers and things like this

Yeah it's quite fun

*MM: How do you think that others perceive you when you speak Arabic for example in the public?*

I think they just find it interesting and they just look at me like strange like what is she saying but I think they're kinda used to so many languages here I guess there's so many different languages here you've got you've got Polish you've got Irish you've got Welsh as well I think cuz they're used to Welsh as well but even though not many people speak Welsh but they kind of we do have a second language here anyway so that I think that's why they're not that they're not if it was in England then it's different but because we have Welsh here as well they kind of they're kind of used to it already do you know what actually the Welsh language sounds a lot like Arabic they have like certain pronunciations that's like Arabic so they say like [h] and they say uhm we say [h] but they say [ʔ] we don't say [ʔ] but it's kind of they also say if you speak Arabic you'll find it really easy to learn Welsh which is quite different but I've never I've never learnt I mean we only did it in primary school and Welsh and high school we haven't really studied Welsh that much it's kind of it's kind of like my family just thought you already have Arabic it's just too much for us to also learn Welsh because we used to also go to Saturday school so it'd be too much for us I think and plus nobody ever needs Welsh here in England I mean Wales everybody speaks everybody speaks in English yeah so I mean even Welsh people don't even know Welsh so yeah only certain people only a small number of people

*MM: I see I see do you have any friends who speak Welsh?*

No no uhm I think even though people like to teach it like schools like to teach it you know to people they do mostly speak in English to everybody so it's not gonna be easy to pick up but there are Welsh school that people take their children to uhm I mean only a small number of people take their kids to Welsh school so not everybody knows it

*MM: How do you perceive yourself when speak for example Arabic or English?*

I think it's quite cool to be honest I love the fact I can speak Arabic it's really nice for people to have different languages it's really important I think uhm it makes people more open minded to be able to see people speaking different languages you know and I love languages myself so you know like you said you speak Spanish I love Spanish and I've always wanted to learn Spanish so when I see people speaking in like Italian or Spanish or French I love it I just think it's really nice and it's good to have that in place I think

*MM: I see I see do you intend to*

I mean I'd love to I always say like I want to learn Spanish but I've never actually gone to do it so yeah I'd love to be able to

*MM: Yeah I see I see you were saying that you studied in English basically throughout your life you studied in English and you studied in English for your degree as well*

Yeah

*MM: That would be it basically uhm is there anything else that you'd like to add?*

No not really I think I spoke too much

*MM: No no no not at all could you tell me just to sum up why it is important for you to speak Arabic?*

I think it's important to have your roots and to be able to stick to your culture so if I'm Arabic I think it's very important for me and my culture as well to speak Arabic so when we go back home or when we go abroad or anything and then people say you know you're Arab and they ask me do you speak Arabic cuz you're from Britain and I'm like yeah so I think it's important for me because I am Arab Arabic of origin even though I was born here but my family are from are Arabic I think it's very important to stick to your roots and to know your culture and to know your mother tongue really

*MM: So your culture your Yemeni background is quite important for you*

Yeah definitely yeah I love culture so it's kind of important to me

*MM: I see is your work your fashion designs are also inspired by*

Yes definitely I mean not all of them cuz some of them are actually Western inspired but I do love my Yemeni traditional clothing and I have incorporated that in some of my pieces yeah but I won't do it in all of them cuz obviously it won't appeal to everybody my Yemeni friends obviously love the Yemeni traditional clothes that I've done but it's not everybody's cup of tea so yeah I kinda like to mix things up

*MM: And how important is it for you to speak English?*

I mean it's obviously very important because I've lived here so to be able to speak and to read in English and to be able to you know know English very well is very important as well I mean most of the Wales speaks in English I mean most of the Welsh population so it is important because you know living here some people they're here some people like my nan for instance came she came here like forty years ago and she doesn't speak English so it's very like I think it's quite bad but they don't speak English because they've lived here for so long and it's kinda their life here now so I think they should have been able to speak in English even though they're not so I'd still think it's very important yeah

*MM: Doesn't your nan speak English because maybe she stayed at home or?*

Yeah I think that's why she just didn't ever need to learn English so she'd always uhm my step-granddad was also the one who obviously did everything for her and living here so many women come here and their husbands do everything for them and they're not very independent so that's why they don't learn the language so they just stick to Arabic and they stick to the community and they speak to everybody in all Arabs in Arabic and they watch Arabic TV so they'll never learn it so it's quite bad yeah I think

*MM: Could you tell me a little bit more about the Yemeni community here?*

Yeah I mean in Cardiff it's a very very big Yemeni community but because Cardiff is so small everybody knows everybody everybody knows everyone's business and I mean it's a lovely community Yemenis don't get me wrong Yemenis are very friendly people they're actually the most friendliest Arabs that you'll ever meet but sometimes because they come from such villages they're not very open minded so they're not very educated and they'll just come here and think oh you know my husband has to come and do everything I don't have to do much I'll just look after my children I don't have to study and that's kind of the mentality that some of them have but on the contrary I mean so many born and bred Yemenis here have studied they've become you know they do medicine they do pharmacy they you know they some of them take the good and some of them take the bad so it's not you know it's kind of a bit of a mix uhm yeah I know two Yemeni boys who

are brothers and they are very well educated uhm I mean I know a Yemeni doctor I know so it's kind of nice to see that here rather than just the ones who don't wanna study there are other ones who do want to make the most of their life you know

*MM: Of course of course*

So I mean some of them are very well stuck into their culture too much and they don't want to implement the English kind of culture into their lives at all yeah

*MM: I see I see that would be it thank you very much*

You're welcome I hope I was helpful I hope you've got everything you needed

MM: Extremely helpful thank you very much

## Nadeen

*MM: Can you tell me a little bit about yourself like your name your age and where you were born?*

My name is XXX I'm 16 year old and I was born in Cardiff here uhm I live with my mum my brother my two brothers and sometimes my sisters comes cuz she lives in XXX sometimes she comes over and sometimes we don't see each other sometimes yeah my nan lives in XXX as well so yeah we've got a lot of family here

*MM: And just generally what languages do you know and how often do you use them on a daily basis?*

I know Arabic I speak Arabic everyday with my mum and English and i know a little bit of Welsh and I learned French in school but I don't really remember anything

*MM: Could you tell me I already know the story of how your mother came and your parents came uhm I know that you have many relatives back in Yemen how often do you stay in contact with them and how do you stay in contact with them?*

Because my mum talks to them every day I like sometimes talk to them as well or sometimes I'll just call them on my own and I'll just contact them yeah I just I we go normally every year but this year we haven't gone and I'm like really sad because we haven't gone but when I'm over there and we stay there for two months and it's like I get really bored because I have no girl cousins over there they are all boys and it's like really boring for me but it's not for my mum because it's her family and her relatives so yeah sometimes I get bored sometimes I don't

*MM: I see do you plan to go this year?*

Yeah because I've got a job now I'm planning on going in December on my own for 2 weeks for the Christmas holidays and my mum's not gonna go because she said 2 weeks is a little bit for her she doesn't want to go for two weeks she wants to go for longer

*MM: What job are you gonna have?*

I work in a call centre now in Sky I got the job yesterday uhm I start on Monday

MM: Oh congratulations

Thank you

*MM: And are you going to use your Arabic?*

No just English

*MM: Just English I see because I used to work in a call centre back in Romania but I was using different languages*

Oh yeah

*MM: Can you tell me a little bit about what was it like to grow up in your home and in your neighborhood here especially from the point of view of languages?*

Yeah because our community is mostly Yemenis and Somalis and like Muslims it was really like easy for me to get along with people and because I went to this primary school here it's XXX and they have a lot of Muslims there so it's quite easy to get along and be in the be a Muslim like it was easier for you to get along with Muslims and you wouldn't get any racist people but it was easier for you to like because when you'd be celebrating like Eid and Ramadan it'd be easier for you as well because they're going through the same thing as well and for Eid because they are celebrating you feel as if

you're back home celebrating it with the people around you so you'd be so it was good yeah I really enjoyed it the time in school

*MM: What about your home what languages did you grow up with?*

Arabic mostly English it depends mostly like mum said earlier it depends what situation you're in because if you're arguing and if you're in disagreement you'd speak mostly in Arabic because it was better because with Arabic it's when you speak Arabic it's you can sense someone's emotion through the words that they are saying and you can so if you're sad you'll they'll know you're sad but in English it's normal when you're speaking so yeah it was better to speak in Arabic sometimes because like what I said about arguments and everything but it's good I like speaking Arabic because when you're out and you wanna speak to your mum about something so people around can't understand you so it was better

*MM: I see how do other people when you speak Arabic for example in the public how do they react when you speak in Arabic?*

They used to be kind of weird they'd always give you weird looks because they'd think you're talking about them but they wouldn't understand the way where you're coming from so it was kind of hard but now I'm used to it like when I speak in Arabic with my mum I'm kind of used to the people and how they look at you but in Yemen I use to speak English to my mum in the streets so people don't understand again and it was kind of weird cuz they would all be shocked cuz they know they don't know what you're saying again and they are kind of shocked cuz you know a different language so yeah

*MM: And for example in the house and we've already talked about how you basically speak mostly Arabic inside the house could you tell me a little bit more about how you learned English?*

I was born here and it was really easy for me to pick up the English language because I was like fresh I was like cuz I was born here it would have been easy for me to pick up another language as well as Arabic and because I went to primary school it was easier for me and because I went to highschool and I'm now in college I nearly finished now and it's it's because I know Arabic and English it's easier for me to learn another language as well because I know it's hard it's to learn another language but because I know Arabic which is like a difficult language to learn anyway it's really easy for me to learn different other languages

*MM: And can you tell me a little bit more about your college and what do you want to become or what do you want to do afterwards?*

I've applied for a new college now I'm gonna do Accountancy an apprenticeship in Accountancy hopefully and I've done a Health and Social course in this college that I'm in now I've passed that thank god and then yes so I'm hopefully gonna do accountancy and when I go we're planning on moving back to Yemen soon after we finish education

*MM: Ah ok you and your mother?*

Yeah all of us

*MM: All of you?*

Yeah and I'm gonna be we're gonna back to Yemen hopefully I'll find a better job over there because it's accountancy there's a it's a really good job for different countries like mostly Arab countries Muslim countries so that's gonna be good for me

*MM: Yes definitely definitely*

Yeah as well as for them because they're gonna gain someone like with more experience kind of and like more languages than they have so it's gonna be easier for me to get the job as well because I have a British passport and over in Yemen if you have a British passport you are seen as royalty

*MM: Ok*

Yeah so it's better because I'm gonna get the faster I'm gonna get a job faster than what the people a Yemeni would have that would live that was living in Yemen so that's gonna be good

*MM: So tell me more about this decision of moving back to Yemen*

My mum's always had this decision because she misses her family and she's got a house over there we're building a house so uhm yeah because she's got a land you can build houses on that land so we're gonna be building our house and then go in there after we finish our education and yeah because my mum wants my mum doesn't feel at home sometimes she like misses her mum and her sisters and she feels like going back sometimes but she can't she can't leave our education she said because our education is more important she says so we have to finish and then we're gonna go back there hopefully

*MM: I see I see even your little brother?*

Yeah he has to finish education as well

*MM: So that's gonna be quite*

that's a long yeah but if I finish education because I'm gonna finish education first I can go there and get a job and wait for my mum to come so it's gonna be easier and because my sister lives here and she's older she can look after my little brother as well and live and he can live with her or yeah and my older brother as well

*MM: I see so you're really into you think Yemen is really important*

You see I think everyone if you're not from the UK and you have another country that your parents lived in you feel more at home there sometimes cuz you don't feel like because I'm a Muslim and it feels I mean you get some really racist people out there and you don't feel at home sometimes so you wanna go back to Yemen and I think my mum feels the same as well because she doesn't have anyone here she only has her auntie uhm she feels as if she's alone sometimes so she wants her she wants her company of her family of her sisters over back in Yemen so yeah I think it'd be good for us to go back there

*MM: I see I see could you tell me a little bit about the languages that you used in school for example?*

Welsh yeah it was for GCSE it was like all through high-school it was compulsory to learn Welsh and you had to because obviously we're in Wales so we had to learn Welsh and we had to take a GCSE exam for Welsh as well uhm yeah I think everyone complained about the lessons in Welsh because they didn't really enjoy it because you wouldn't understand it sometimes and it was difficult to learn something that you didn't like especially because we didn't like the language you don't enjoy it if you learn it so yeah I think everyone complained in my lessons because they didn't like learning Welsh so we were all happy when we finished high-school because we'd never learn Welsh again and the teachers would always tell us that it is important to learn Welsh because you're in Wales and I think that is true a little bit because if you are in a country and they speak a certain language you do wanna learn a little bit about that language so it's kind of hard but it was annoying at times so we got it in the end we finished it's good

*MM: So you sort of understand Welsh now*

I understand the basics like how to say thank you please and things like that and yeah at least you can speak to some Welsh people and you can understand them you can't really speak back so it'd be easier for you to understand than to speak a language and in this it would be Welsh so yeah

*MM: I see I see again with school you said you had many different Muslim friends and obviously you were taught in English*

Yeah

*MM: But do you remember using Arabic do you have any particular memories when you were using Arabic with your friends in the playground or something like this?*

Yeah yeah some of my friends were Yemeni and Somali and some Somalis understand Arabic so it was better for us to speak Arabic and Somali with Somalis they understand Arabic but some of them can't talk back as well so it was easier for you to speak Arabic with them and in the playground yeah we'd speak Arabic with my Yemeni friends I'm still friends with them now so it was better because you speak again now when we're older and we understand more things because we've been back to Yemen we've seen what Yemen's like and we understand more Arabic now that we're older and yeah in school we used to have assembly which was like we would all get together and the head teacher would talk and we'd have plays like people would with Eid celebrating Eid we'd have a big Power Point and talk about Muslims and why they celebrate Eid and everything and yeah it was good to learn about different because we have Christmas and things like that it was good to learn about different ethnicities and what they had as well and it was good for them to learn about us as well because it wasn't just about Christians it was about Muslims as well because like 90% of that school are Muslims so it was good because they're still Muslims that go there and will be in the future hopefully so yeah everyone will learn hopefully about Arabic and Welsh hopefully

*MM: Yes kids will like it I see I see your sister was telling me that she went to Saturday school in order to learn*

Yeah I went to Saturday school as well my brother goes as well I think all of us went to Saturday school because because in Yemen they learn English and in here here it's important for you to learn Arabic as well because of the Qur'an it's 'arabī it's Arabic so you have to learn about Arabic so you can understand the Qur'an because it's compulsory to learn like to read the Qur'an in Islam so yeah it was it's good for me for you to learn Arabic as an Arab child it's good for you to learn about where your how your mum speaks how your parents speak so it's better for you to understand because if you just know English and you don't understand Arabic you'd feel an outsider if you go back to Yemen and you don't understand any of their Arabic so it's good that learned Arabic and I've got a GCSE in Arabic now because my mum made me go to school so it was good that she made me because I didn't really enjoy going but because she made me and at the end I took I had a GCSE in it it was good I actually thanked her for making me go so yeah

*MM: For how long did you go?*

I've been going since I was little I can't remember how old 4 or 5 years old because you learn better when you're younger you learn different languages when you're younger and it's easier for you to learn so I've been going to different ones but the best one was the one that my brother's in now my little brother

*MM: Ok why was it better?*

Because they the one that I was last in is it as in the XXX centre that's the XXX and it was all Yemenis and some Yemeni kids they don't let you learn because they're so like irritated and they don't listen so you'd wanna learn about it you have to learn you have to go home with learning something new but you would go home without learning anything in the new Arabic school I went to it was good because I'd go home and I'd I'd show my mum what I have learned and she'd be impressed by what

I've learned but because of the other Yemeni of the Yemeni school uhm it was it wasn't that good it wasn't good for the money that she was paying for us to go to and yeah and in that because it's different dialects in Arabic in the Arabic language in the last one that I went to it was the Jordanian dialect and in the Yemeni one it was the Yemeni it wasn't that good Arabic it was the Yemeni Arabic it is good but it is not good for you to learn it wasn't that strict as well they would just let you do anything you want and in the Jordanian dialect it's it's like more of the Qur'an language of the Qur'an of the way the Qur'an is set and that language that the Qur'an has because yeah even though the Yemeni is the language that the Qur'an was set in it wasn't still the same dialect it was different words and different meanings so it's because the Jordanian dialect was easier

*MM: To understand the Qur'an*

To understand the Qur'an yeah it was better

*MM: so in this Saturday schools you study general Arabic or do you study*

General religious and Maths sometimes you'd learn the general when you first go and then the religious after break and the Maths after break as well so yeah it was good because you'd learn different things at different times and you'd come home knowing that you've done something good in that school so yeah

*MM: And for how many hours is that?*

It was from 10 till 3 the Jordanian one and the Yemeni one was from 10 till 1 so there was a time difference but because of that certain time two hours I learned more in the Jordanian one so yeah it was good

*MM: So you're happy with everything*

Yeah I'm happy that my mum made me go

*MM: I see I see could you tell me a little bit more how important religion is for you?*

It's so important some people don't understand how important Islam is and because of that because of the news now they say they're showing that Muslims are not like good but they have to learn about the history about Islam and about Islam now they have to see the difference because there's such a big difference because of the society now and how they change how they changed Muslim Islam and how they've shown Islam now they need to just learn about how the prophet used to be and how he used to be to all people not just Muslims how he used to treat people and they just don't know anything about that they just see about how society now has changed Islam in the media and in the newspapers and the news and everything it's really bad how they've changed Islam and they've made us as if it's a bad religion but it's not because they haven't learned about it so they just see the outside of it and they judge too quick and it's just really bad how they judge and they don't give you a chance to explain they just jump to conclusions about Islam all the time and like I said we're gonna move to Yemen because it's better like because all here it's good because you have some communities which are Muslims but they don't because of society again they've changed the whole like way of Islam and they've changed how Islam looks but back in Yemen it's easier for you to learn about Islam because there's loads of mosques loads of people who have knowledge in Islam and you can ask you can ask anyone in Yemen about Islam but here it's hard because you don't know where they've learned from and what like what books they've been reading and there's a lot of things that people don't know about Islam they just jump to conclusions again so it's important for you to learn about Islam so on the day of judgment you know everything that you need to about Allah and your religion

*MM: Has anything happened to you personally for example to feel like all this what's going on in the media to affect you personally?*

In high-school there was this this year where they said it was it was forbidden for Muslims for Christians to say Merry or Muslims to say Merry Christmas and that was really bad like why can't you say Merry Christmas and and Christians were being like weird to Muslims about it and they would be racist to Muslims again the Muslims didn't say that and they're just making up rumors and in primary school I had an argument with this girl because she was being racist to Muslims when she doesn't have to be racist about anything she just could say what her problem was but she didn't have to say anything racist but it was like really rude how she her point of view was really rude and racist towards Muslims and it was just it wasn't good for her and it wasn't good for Muslims either so yeah it's really bad how people jump to conclusions again about Muslims and Christians even though we can we can all be friends but it's the things that people say about Islam and how they change the views of Islam and everything around them so I just think people just need to learn before they say anything because yeah because it's just it's not it's not right to be racist it's just disgusting to be racist I just don't I'm not comfortable with racist people I don't like it when people are racist towards other people who have who haven't done anything to them

*MM: Absolutely we are all like people in the end you know*

Yeah

*MM: Absolutely and could you please tell me how often do you go a mosque for example?*

Uhm I'd say about every Ramadan you go for Eid you should go as well but you should go boys more should go more than girls they go all the men should they go to mosque every Friday to pray because that's our like that's our holy day yeah and yeah that's it Eid and Ramadan all women should go really but it's not compulsory for the women it's compulsory for the man so yeah that's it

*MM: And what languages do you use in the mosque for example?*

Mostly Arabic

*MM: Mostly Arabic yeah yeah what languages do you use with your friends?*

Because my friends are not Arab they are not Arab they're Muslims but they're not Arabs they're Bengalis and Pakistanis so I speak to them in English but they understand a little bit of words of Arabic because they're so used to me they hear me listen to me speaking to my mum in Arabic and I hear them speaking to their parents in Bengali and Pakistani so I picked up a little bit of words and they picked up a little bit of words so yeah they mostly they mostly hear me speaking Engl I mostly speak English to them but mostly I speak Arabic to my mum so they pick up words and I pick up words from their parents as well

*MM: Are you going often to their places and are they coming often to your house?*

Yeah they we always get together and like they always come home to my house I always go to their house they're coming on Saturday actually to have their to break their fast here so yeah

*MM: Oh ok I see I see what time do you break the fast is it like 9.30?*

It's half nine here

*MM: I see I see could you tell me during a typical day of yours what do you do and especially from the point of view of languages how do you use your languages?*

It depends because I finished college now I'd get up uhm pray go back to sleep and then I'd get up come downstairs and ask if my mum wants me to do anything I'd clean the house clean the kitchen cook sometimes and then my mum would go to my sister's house I'd stay here and then at three o'clock I'd go and pick up my little brother from primary school on the way home we'd speak about what he had done in school and then I'd stay at home he'd go out to play with his friends and then

my mum would come home we'd eat and we'd both go to bed so we have a different lifestyle me and my mum because she's always in my sister's house and my little brother is always out playing I'm always home if I go to college my friends are Somali in college and they speak one of my friends they live they lived in Egypt for a year so she understands Arabic and she speaks Arabic with me as well cuz she enjoys speaking Arabic so we both speak Arabic to each other but we mostly because of my other Somali friends they don't understand I don't understand Somali I do a little bit but if they speak because they speak mostly Somali to each other I understand what they say sometimes my Somali friend that understands Arabic she always asks me do you understand what we're saying and I'm like yeah and they I tell her what she's saying and she's like wow you've picked it up so fast and she lived in Egypt so she knows the Egyptian dialect and I speak the Arabic dialect sometimes I have to change my words because she says different words and I say different words so it's difficult sometimes because I don't really understand the Egyptian language and yeah so different

*MM: what language do you speak with your brother with your little brother?*

Sometimes Arabic if he's not listening to me in the street I'd speak to him in Arabic and then sometimes English so yeah

*MM: Do you think that Arabic is stronger for him to listen to you?*

Yeah for him to listen to because Arabic as I said earlier is an aggressive language if you hear people speaking Arabic it's aggressive people think it's aggressive but it's really not so sometimes it is aggressive and sometimes it is not so you have to speak to my little brother in Arabic for him to understand that you're being serious with him and that he has to listen to you but in English it's kind of he just takes everything as a joke so yeah you have to speak to them in Arabic sometimes yeah

*MM: What about your other siblings?*

I speak to them in English mostly sometimes Arabic it's mostly English because we all know more English than we know Arabic even though we all learned Arabic and we all understand Arabic we all speak in English mostly because it's just easier for you to understand in English I don't know some words that my sister and my mum know because my sister because she's more closer to my mum so she understands they speak more Arabic sometimes so yeah it's hard to know some words in Arabic but it's mostly easier in English

*MM: I see I see could you tell me what languages do you read in usually?*

English but if I'm reading Arabic I'm reading the Qur'an it would be in Arabic sometimes I'd go back to my Arabic books because I sometimes forget how to read Arabic how to read the Qur'an so sometimes have to listen to some people reading the Qur'an or I'd go back to my books and read over things that I didn't know

*MM: Right*

That I forgot so it would be easier for me to learn the Qur'an as well so because I know Arabic it's easier for you to understand and to read other languages as well as the Arabic language so yeah

*MM: And what do you usually read in English?*

I read I wanna read this new book I can't find it anywhere I'm mostly on my phone talking to my friends texting in English I have the Arabic keyboard in case I wanna to talk to my family back in Yemen in Arabic or if I can't be bothered typing in Arabic I'd just talk to them on the phone so it was it's more harder to type the Arabic language because you don't you say the word and you say the alphabet and it's just totally different to how you're pronouncing the words and the letters that come up so it's sometimes easier and it's sometimes harder depends on the situation you're in really yeah

*MM: What about what book do you want to read?*

It's called The Fault in Our Stars the book that I wanna read but I can't I can't find it

*MM: Ok and what about TV what language do you watch TV in?*

TV English mostly mostly soaps yeah

*MM: What's your favorite program on TV?*

Eastenders and Hollyoaks

*MM: what about the Internet what language do you use the Internet in?*

English but when I'm speaking to my family again I'd text them in Arabic cuz it's easier for them

*MM: well this would be basically everything if you'd like to ask anything or to add anything*

Oh no I'm fine thanks no I'm fine

*MM: Alright thank you very much then*

Thank you

## Yasmeen

*MM: So first of all thank you so much for coming I appreciate it so much ok so first of all could you please tell me a little bit about yourself like your name your age and where you were born?*

Ok my name is XXX I am 24 years of age I was born here in Cardiff and come from a place called Yemen so my parents are Yemeni and I am a Yemeni British

*MM: I see could you tell me a little bit about your languages the languages that you use on a daily basis more or less?*

Yeah I use more or less English and Arabic on a daily basis kind of try to use them as much as possible with any person I kind of use them in one sentence if that makes sense I can use Arabic and English in one sentence

*MM: Who would you use it with?*

I talk to my mum my family my cousins my friends I have a lot of I'd say I have a little more friends who speak English rather than friends who speak Arabic so I tend to use English with my friends and Arabic mainly with my elderly family members so like my mum my uncles and aunties while my cousins have all picked up the Western language so English so we all speak English between ourselves

*MM: I see I see I'll come back to that as well but could you tell me if there are any stories or uhm the story of your parents how they've come to the UK?*

Yeah sure uhm my dad came here in the 50s uhm he came here from Egypt uhm he started work in the welding factory and then he kind of got married to a British lady so he picked up the English language as well while with my step mum and with time my mum came in 20 years after him

*MM: So in the 70s*

Yeah in the 70s and then she had me in the 90s and her life was quite difficult because she didn't pick up English quite quickly so she had to live quite reserved cuz there were not a lot of Arabs around back then because she had to speak she was very isolated at home and just kind of waited for my dad to come home from work in order to have a conversation with someone because even back then there was no such thing as technology like phones were really hard to phone back home cuz it was an international call so she only really had the TV and even the TV she'd tell me she used to watch Eastenders at neighbors and not understanding what they were saying because she didn't have English language it was a major barrier for her because she wasn't able to do much with her life up until the 90s when she went to school and she went to ESOL classes and she studied English and she kinda picked it up gradually but my dad didn't have a problem with picking up English cuz he was working in the field so he had a lot of time to sit there and talk to his colleagues in English so it was easier for him than it was for my mum

*MM: I see I see what about your mum now?*

Oh no she's fine she's really good now obviously with time she's gone to different classes and she has friends from different angles of the area she's very engaged with everyone else so she can go to the doctors by herself she can go out and meet new friends and it's easier for her now but it's taken a long time for her to be in the confidence using the language

*MM: That's normal, isn't it?*

Yeah so it's good

*MM: So what do your parents do now?*

Well my mum is at home obviously she's in her pension age but she does go to like sewing classes she tries to keep herself busy my dad passed away four years ago so she kind of lost him her arm if that makes sense she kind of lost the confidence to go out and stuff but she's been able to regain that confidence and kind of get herself back into society and busy with everyday life so it's fine but yeah

*MM: Do you have any siblings?*

I have three siblings no four siblings three brothers and one sister my sister lives back in Yemen with her husband and she has her own family and my three brothers live in Liverpool and they all have their own businesses and they all study and do their own thing and I'm the only one that lives here with my mum

*MM: I see so do you still have any relatives back in Yemen you were saying about your sister and if you have how much contact do you have with them?*

Yeah like now with Whatsapp and Viber it's like we have like daily conversations with most of my relatives back home but I obviously it's hard because over there it's it's not a safe country so a lot of the time electricity is off or they haven't got connection to internet but otherwise yeah I would say we have daily contact with them when things are going ok for them over there but yeah I would say we have daily contact

*MM: I see and do you have many relatives there?*

I would say medium a lot of them are here now they all live in Birmingham or Liverpool so so most of them are here in England but most of them are still back home

*MM: Could you tell me a little bit about your childhood how was it like to live to grow up in your home in particular and with regards to languages?*

My childhood was fine it was really nice I wouldn't say I had any problems growing up as a child my family were quite engaging like going out to the parks or letting us play outside like trying they encouraged us to learn so then they kind of want us to go to Sunday school for Arabic so we and learn the Quran so we have that on the Saturday and then like normal English school on the weekdays but it was really nice like I wouldn't say we were we had any barriers because of the Arabic language no we just kind of got on with it in during English school we'd speak English with our friends and then we got home we'd speak Arabic to our parents but then that's it Arabic kind of stayed inside it didn't ever like spread outside yeah like we didn't have a lot of Arab friends when we were younger I think we only managed to get Arab friends as we got older but like during primary school I didn't have any Arab friends I had a lot of Asian friends who spoke Urdu or Hindi which obviously I don't speak but like we left English as the playground language and then when we went home we all spoke our different languages but other than that it was nice

*MM: What about your father because he obviously spoke more English than your mother?*

With my cuz I have a step brother cuz my dad married a British lady and like his son didn't speak Arabic so it was hard because my dad was trying to teach him Arabic but he didn't pick it up like me and my brother did because me and my brother had our mother to kind of teach us and knuckle it into our heads but uhm my dad kind of like I don't know what you call it now but he spoke English and Arabic like I said in one sentence I'd say like I'd use an Arabic word and an English word and then try to combine them together to make a new language but that's what my dad used to say used to do an we all kind of picked it up now and we don't kind of just use Arabic or English it's like both mixed into one and I think that's how we grew up learning Arabic because we'd pick up small words and then we're like in Arabic but yeah my dad and my mum obviously cuz they have the mother tongue which is Arabic so my dad would only speak to my mum in Arabic but like with friends and other people he'd speak English so it kind of depends on the person you're speaking to really

*MM: And your mother?*

Yeah my mother actually got into her confidence but I'd say at that time in my childhood it would be very minimal so she'd only speak English to certain people and it would be very broken English it wasn't exactly perfect as it is now

*MM: I see so it would only be in the matter of asking for something or going*

or replying to someone with the basics oh he's not here can I leave a message etc

*MM: I see I see what about your neighborhood where did you grow up?*

I grew up in XXX so back then in my childhood it was quite multicultural it wasn't it's not as multicultural as it is now so we had a lot of Western neighbors so in my street particularly I think we were the only Muslim family in my street but it was fine like our neighbors understood our culture and they would respect us and it was just fine me and my brother would play with the children in the street and it would be fine like we all had our curfews we'd all go home obviously at 5 o'clock on time but yeah they would all understand like I'm grateful for being brought up in XXX because it kind of brought awareness of different cultures that we were surrounded by so we had the Hindus the Pakistanis the Somalis but everyone was you know very uhm mixed with each other so we could get on but yeah

*MM: I see uhm and another thing you were telling me about your father speaking switching between English and Arabic so my question was that whether you were encouraged to speak English inside the home for example*

No like our my parents were quite opposite they'd encourage us to speak Arabic at home because they were like well you spend seven days a week uhm no five days a week in school speak English so you should pick up you should use the time at home to speak Arabic in order for you to learn more and you know to not lose it if that makes sense also we were encouraged to go to Arabic school on Saturday but that's to have more of a knowledge like our religion and our language so at home it was very focused on the Arabic language rather than just English so even if my mum or my dad heard us speak English they'd tell us off like no speak Arabic ask him again in Arabic do you even know what that is in Arabic so yeah they made us hate the Arabic language when we were younger we used to hate going to school but now I'm older I regret I didn't take enough I didn't teach myself more cuz when you're younger you learn more but I got to my GCSE level and I didn't know anything and they asked me do you want to do Arabic GCSE and I was like yeah I'll do it so I taught myself so I had to go through being 16 with a whole load of exams but I just sat there in front of the TV and made sure that I taught myself the Arabic language

*MM: How did you come to this decision?*

I don't know I just thought well I have it should be something that I'm proud of it should be something that I'm yeah I speak Arabic like it's something that it's my favor so when they asked me if I wanted to the GCSE I just like why why should I not like I should like nothing's stopping me so I just kind of obviously we have Arabic TV at home and we one of the Arabic TV channels it's like uhm films American films but with Arabic translation so I kinda just learned the alphabet and I just kind of picked up myself so I knew what they were saying and what it meant and so it took me a long time but it kind of it worked in my favor I managed to to get an A

*MM: Congrats*

So it's good yeah but now as I'm getting older I'm maturing and I understand and I speak a lot more Arabic so it's good and it's the Arabic language is the Qur'an so obviously in order for me to understand the Qur'an I have to understand Arabic so it's worked in my favor

*MM: And how important was it for your parents you were saying that they would tell you*

Oh it was very important I don't think they ever wanted us to forget our language because obviously it's hard for someone to watch their children grow up in a Western society and for them to lose their mother tongue cuz then it would be really hard for them to regain it cuz if you ever lost it cuz obviously there's my brother and he doesn't speak Arabic and it would be hard for him now to pick it up as he is now in his 30s so

*MM: Absolutely*

Yeah

*MM: Of course can you tell me a little bit more about the Arabic school the Saturday school?*

Oh god it was hell it wasn't that bad I think it's just cuz when you're younger you're quite naive you don't wanna go to school on a Saturday you want your break so we kind of cried and had tempers and cuz we didn't wanna go and it was just basically a little school in XXX and we used to go every Saturday and it would be very very full of kids so it would be like one hall and then it would be four different classes in one hall so you really couldn't hear yourself think and it was just basic like basic like the basic Arabic language so we'd start off learning the alphabet then joining letters together then reading but then I kind of quit I I couldn't be bothered and my parents just couldn't be bothered to listen to me and my brother cry every Saturday so as we got older I would say as soon as I got into high school my dad came across an Imam from a mosque who taught Qur'an he was like ok if you don't want to do Arabic school you're taking Qur'an classes so we ended up going to Qur'an classes and learning the Qur'an so instead of just learning the basic Arabic language we're actually reading words after words after words of the Qur'an but you know it was of learning and it kind of boosted up our knowledge in our religion and also learning Arabic language but I think back then because we were so young we didn't want to learn we were just like why but uhm it looking back now I wish I had [taken/put] more concentration into Arabic obviously kids all you really wanna do is play we didn't really wanna go to school and stuff but yeah

*MM: Of course of course and how old were you when you started going to the Saturday school?*

Saturday school I think I was like 7 or 8 so I was quite young yeah so

*MM: Yeah and when did you sort of quit?*

I quit when I think I was like I think I stopped at the age of 10 maybe 11 and then kind of went back to Qur'an classes when I was in high school so 12 - 13 yeah

*MM: I see I see could you tell me a little bit about how you learned English?*

School obviously I think school and TV I can't remember what my knowledge of English was when I was in Nursery that was a really long time ago so I don't know if I kind of went in to school knowing English already or I learned it through like pre-school and then in Reception so I don't know what it was like for me back then but I think with my older siblings that it kind of happened I think I did kind of went in with a knowledge of English obviously with TV as well it helps but yeah English my dad my siblings and then school school helped me a lot more because obviously it made me aware of how to speak properly how to write read so yeah I would say school was the major influence of me learning English

*MM: I see I see and what was it like for you to go to school?*

I enjoyed school I think there were certain subjects that I hated but I enjoyed school school for me was more of a social event than it was actually go and learn I kind of enjoyed going to school especially primary school I just kind of enjoyed going to school to play with my friends rather than actually learn I hated education I was so against I hated Maths Maths is like mean I know it just

made me wanna cry everyday but yeah high school yeah high-school was good I think that's when reality kinda kicked in like oh we're meant to come here to study ok primary school was just more of a playing playground for me but high-school was kind of the kick in so I kinda learned a lot more about myself in high-school than I did beforehand

*MM: And that's what motivated you to do a BA?*

No I was so against going to university beforehand I didn't want to do it I was just like I'll work instead but my dad kinda forced it upon us to go to university

*MM: I see I see so you were working as what?*

No no I mean I wanted to finish high-school and go into work straightaway but that wasn't the case

*MM: I see*

I did get a job actually during my GCSEs I worked in Debenhams I got my first job in Debenhams and I was working there for three years but obviously I had to quit cuz I went to university

*MM: I see I see and what did you study in university?*

Youth and Community Education yeah and I worked in the field before I went to university cuz I when my dad passed away I kinda took a year off I didn't want to do anything so I worked in a youth centre and within the community and then I was like oh this is actually a rewarding job because I was you know motivating young people to kind of follow the right path and then I went to do the course and now I'm graduating tomorrow

*MM: Oh congratulations*

Thank you it's my graduation tomorrow so yeah

*MM: That's so exciting*

I know I'm so nervous

*MM: Oh but it's only the ceremony like you passed everything and*

Yeah yeah I passed everything and I came out with a 2:1 so I'm really happy

MM: Congratulations

Thank you

*MM: Oh so you've written like your thesis your dissertation like recently*

Yeah yeah only I handed it in May

MM: Ok

Scary process yeah

MM: I see I see anyway congratulations

Thank you

*MM: Could you tell me just to stay a little bit more around the topic of school do you have any memories where for example on the playground or things like this you would use other languages than English maybe with your friends or something like this?*

As I said I grew up not knowing Arabs so the Arabic language to me was quite I wasn't interested in it in the playground I didn't have anyone speak to it except for my brother but then I wouldn't speak to

my brother in Arabic in the playground so no I didn't really use any of the languages so no I used English mostly

*MM: I see I see you were telling me about the Qur'an and how you learned Arabic through the Qur'an and uhm how important is religion to you and to your family*

Oh very important it's the number one priority so I'd say a lot of my life decisions are based on religious values and cultural values but mostly religious values I think as a younger child I wasn't really I wasn't really practicing if that makes sense uhm religion was just something my parents brought up [us in] and made sure that we followed religion in that sense but as I got more mature and I was in high school I kind of understood it more and kinda practiced the values of it more but yeah I'd say obviously as a Muslim it was number one priority we were kind of brought in knowing that we were Muslims and we would die Muslims so yeah

*MM: And when you refer to life decisions what type of*

Like knowing that I can't have boyfriends I can't go out drinking uhm you know like steering away from bad habits like smoking just things like these that we knew it was wrong like day to day things

*MM: I see I see and do you think that any religious practices influence the languages that you choose to speak in?*

Obviously like we have to pray five times a day so a lot of our prayers are in Arabic so most of my day I'm praying anyway so I'd be speaking Arabic uhm reading the Qur'an is also in Arabic what else I wouldn't say it's no I don't think it'll influence anything else other than praying and reading the Qur'an cuz everything else is in English anyway

MM: Do you pray in Arabic?

Yeah

MM: Can you also pray in English?

Oh yeah obviously for people like converts and people who don't understand the Arabic language obviously they can pray in English but for someone who is born as an Arab it's like like you should know how to pray in Arabic because it's your language so you have to work hard in order to understand Arabic language in order for you to pray in the Arabic language so that's why it was important for my parents to bring us up in that Arabic you know scene in order for us to grow the people we are to be able to pray in the proper sense for them

*MM: I see I see uhm do you attend the mosque usually?*

No not usually cuz obviously our mosque is very far for us so we don't tend to go unless it's like unless we're in the community where the mosque is then we'll go to the mosque but I wouldn't say we attend it quite often

MM: And the Qur'an how often are you supposed to read it?

Well that's it really the Qur'an you're supposed to read it like every day I suppose not every day but like as much as you can but obviously in today's society that's never an issue because we have phones to distract us we have internet to distract us we have 101 things that are distracting us away from what we're really supposed to be doing so it's quite hard to sit down and actually read something and kind of understand it and work with it you know what can we do life is quite distracting in of itself

*MM: Definitely by the way now it occurred to me are there any like I don't know applications or I don't know websites*

There is oh definitely there is but it just like I just find it when you're on your phone and you're like reading something would be like Whatsapp or you have a new notification on Instagram so you kinda fall into that category so you end up going to the social media aspects of things rather than focusing on what's really important do you know what I mean cuz obviously it's bad for me to say this but I'd rather I wish I could sit there and read the Qur'an and focus on it but I find that everyday situations like Instagram Twitter Whatsapp is always distracting me even when I'm not doing anything the Qur'an would be the last thing that I turn that you know go to which is really bad but I think I think with age as you get older you kind of fear more so you end up reading the Qur'an because you fear for your life

*MM: I totally understand that everything is so distracting and we always have like our phones like*

Oh everything is so distracting like especially with myself cuz I live in a house with my mum so my mum is doing her own thing I'm doing my own thing but then it'll never result in me actually sitting down and reading the Qur'an it's always like oh I'm watching a thing or oh I'll be on Whatsapp or oh I'll be on the phone it's never something like I wish my mum was cuz my mum actually has gone older she doesn't tend to pester you a lot more do you know what I mean when someone says oh have you read the Qur'an today or have you prayed today like pray I can say I pray 5 times a day on time so that's a good thing it's just the Qur'an it's actually sitting down and focusing on what I'm reading it's quite difficult and even when you're reading sometimes I tried my head and my mind is elsewhere it's not really on what I'm supposed to be doing

*MM: Yeah yeah I see I totally understand it's much more difficult like nowadays to just like focus and even if you don't have like anything around you sometimes you just have this text and you're like right*

Yeah I know it is really hard to keep to one thing rather than thinking of 101 things

MM: Isn't it?

Yeah

*MM: Yeah yeah I totally agree uhm could you tell me during a typical day what languages would you use?*

English it'd definitely be English yeah it's I think it's cuz we're just so used to it now like it's everything we do is in English we're out in the street everyone's speaking English we go to the TV everyone's speaking English so I think I go to work everyone's speaking English go to school everyone's speaking in English so I think it's just a normal thing now like obviously the only time I'd me and my mum have conversations in Arabic I think it's cuz it's easier to understand each other in Arabic than it is in English but on a day to day basis 90% of the time I'm speaking English and then that extra 10 it'd be time that I'm speaking with my mum in Arabic other than that yeah

*MM: I see I see and what languages do you use with your siblings?*

English yeah all of them English I don't speak to any of them in Arabic oh actually my sister my sister I'll speak to her in Arabic she doesn't know English so yeah

*MM: So your sister the sister*

That lives in Yemen yeah

*MM: And how come she doesn't know English?*

She just she doesn't go to school to study English so she doesn't like obviously when you're in Yemen everyone speaks Arabic you only study English if you're in university she didn't get to go to university so

*MM: I see but she was born here*

No she was born there

*MM: Ah ok*

Yeah

*MM: No I had the impression that she was here and then*

No my dad and my mum married so basically my dad married my mum then came here if that makes sense

*MM: Yeah*

So my mum had two children in Yemen my older brother and my older sister then my dad left them to come here and then he married my other step mum

*MM: Right*

Then he brought my mum but he was still married to my mum technically in Islamic law but in English law he was only married to the one

*MM: I understand*

If that makes sense

*MM: yeah yeah yeah I understand*

And then she had me and my younger brother here in Wales

*MM: I understand and your brother and sister remained in Yemen when she moved*

Yeah but my brother came with my mum afterwards when I was born so in the 90s so my brother lives here now but he was born in Yemen

*MM: I see I see I see I totally understand*

Sorry it's a little bit of a complicated family

*MM: No no what about your friends and the rest of the community what languages would you speak to your friends?*

A lot of them English I don't have as I said I don't have many friends who speak Arabic I have like a small minority of them and even that small minority a lot of them don't speak Arabic so we result in speaking English

*MM: What about XXX?*

English yeah I don't think we only speak Arabic if we're like somewhere we don't want the other person to understand but yeah I the majority of time we speak English I don't think we ever speak Arabic we don't make good use of it which is a shame really

*MM: Maybe you switch?*

Oh yeah definitely switching but then that's a new language in itself it needs a new name

*MM: but do you do it in certain places or would you*

No it just depends on the mood really I could like give you a sentence in order for you to understand what this new language is it's like oh I'm going to [?] [?] means to iron I am going to iron do you

know what I mean I used English but then I used that one word in Arabic and it just makes no sense I do it all the time and it's so irritating

*MM: Irritating*

People but people understand me so whatever

*MM: Irritating in what sense irritating for you or*

It's just because it's like uhm it's just a bit of a headache like combining two languages together and it's just like oh why do I do this to myself why can't I just speak one or the other why does it have to be all combined in one mashed language but I think it's just the new generation I think we resulted in speaking two different languages and combining them into one but I'm not the only one a lot of people do it at my age so

*MM: Yeah yeah definitely I see uhm what languages do you use for work?*

English

*MM: what do you*

I'm a youth worker

*MM: and where do you work?*

the XXX like the community centre in XXX do you know what there is behind the XXX

*MM: Yeah yeah I know it*

Yeah yeah yeah

*MM: Yeah I know XXX*

Yeah yeah XXX yeah

*MM: I see I see so you use English and what languages do you read in including social media and Qur'an?*

Well with social media it depends like obviously I have different followers so I'll be following a lot of Arabs or a lot of English so a lot of Arab followers use the Arabic language so I can read in Arabic so if they post something I can read it and then someone else who doesn't speak Arabic will post in English I'll read that so kind of mix and match really there's not one certain thing on social media cuz if you look on my feeds they'll be in different languages so one post will be in Arabic one post will be in English and I do the same something like I'll speak something in Arabic but then also tweet something in English

*MM: Right right I see I see uhm and what about books or newspapers?*

English books and newspapers English definitely I find it quite hard to read a lot of things in Arabic

*MM: Like a longer thing*

Yeah like a longer novel or something it's just certain words in Arabic that I don't have a great understanding of so just finding out what that means it's just the hassle so I just result in reading in English yeah

*MM: I see I see what about TV?*

Arabic and English yeah there's a lot of soaps in Arabic that I enjoy watching so I watch them but then I also enjoy watching American series and stuff like that so it's a bit of both really it depends on my mood

*MM: Do you have a separate TV or?*

Yeah we have two separate TVs so we have like my mum's room which has the Arabic TV and then my room which has like English channels and stuff like that

*MM: So do you ever watch together?*

Yeah we do watch together but uhm it's the majority it's my mum watches the Arabic and I'll watch the English but then I result in watching my Arabic soaps online so then like just in case my mum wants to watch something and I don't wanna watch that I result in watching it online

*MM: I see I see do you stream a lot?*

Yeah

*MM: And what languages would you write in usually?*

English English yeah definitely English like sometimes you know you find a quote in Arabic that you like so I'll write it down in Arabic but I wouldn't say that I write letters or emails or anything like that in Arabic it's just like simple things that I come upon and I like that I'll just write down but I wouldn't necessarily use it on a daily basis

*MM: And you were telling me about the Internet like websites and social media that you sort of*

Mix and match between them yeah

*MM: Yeah yeah yeah I see I see how do you think others this is the last set of questions how do you think others perceive you when you speak different languages?*

They are amazed my friends in uni were so shocked they were just it's amazing but then it's like that with any language because when you have two different like bilingual when you're bilingual it amazes people because they don't understand it because they're only ever used to just learning the one language but yeah I think it's an exciting thing for them to see and they're like so shocked but even myself I wanna learn a new language I wanna kind of go that extra mile and learn something new but yeah I think it's a good thing and I think even in jobs when you apply for jobs they always ask you do you know another language so I think it's a positive thing people perceive it as a positive thing I don't think anyone looks at it as a negative and people sometimes when you are speaking a different language on a bus if you're on the phone they like kind of look at you weird but I think it's just like in shock like wow she speaks another language but nothing really negative

*MM: I see I see how about yourself how do you perceive yourself?*

Like now that I'm getting older I enjoy speaking Arabic even though I don't use it as often as I should but I think it's something you should be proud of and it gives me confidence to know that I've actually achieved and learned a new language even even if I was born with it but I didn't technically take it on board so I kind of taught myself and I'm actually quite proud that I actually sat there and managed to teach myself a really hard language it's not really easy but yeah I'm actually happy like I'm proud of it you know hopefully I can take it further or even teaching the kids I did for my last placement I went I taught in an Arabic school so I taught younger kids how to like you know only like five year olds like the alphabet and stuff but it was actually quite like it gave me that self esteem like cool I managed to do something today I taught them something so it's actually really good

*MM: I see I see do you have any plans in that direction sort of*

Me myself uhm I don't have patience so I don't think I could ever teach someone I like my jobs because it's like you know kids come to me voluntarily like it's not forced upon them so they come to me when they need me and I don't have to go out and which I enjoy because I know that I am doing something to help them and benefit them rather than them coming to me forced cuz I know as a kid

growing up I hated going to school and stuff so I don't want to be that hated teacher I'd rather be someone they enjoy coming to and speaking to

*MM: I see I see can you tell me a little bit more about your work I mean it can be off record*

No no it's fine let's see which part

*MM: The youth work*

The youth work so basically my main job is just to kind of work with young people and they kinda like for instance they come to me they're not in education employment or training so if they are looking for jobs I'll help them I'll help them write their CV I'll help them look online fill out application forms etc and if not then I get them on to training which then they can go for three months or six months and then if they really are that good they may be employed if not sometimes I just go to youth nights which is basically just a group of young people come to us at the XXX it's basically a youth centre they come to us when like they just if they're bored and they have nothing to do we have like a pool table we have like a football pitch and stuff like that sometimes they'll be like oh I'm having problems in school so we'll just sit with them and just like of it's a very informal thing it's like oh so what's wrong and we try to come up with solutions and of we know that there's something going on in the community for instance uhm bullying or sexual harassment or drug abuse or alcohol abuse we'll kind of informally do like a project with them about that certain issue to bring awareness of it so they know what's right and what's wrong and it's not good do you know it depends on the people that I'm working with and what community I'm working with and it just kind of the work in itself it's a really really really like it's a really blessing job like you feel so like you've worked with them and you helped them achieve something so it's nice

*MM: So you were saying that work in XXX*

Yeah yeah I kind of work between the two so XXX and the XXX but the XXX is where I first started off

*MM: I see I see and it's a job like this is just purely out of curiosity is it a job in the council or*

No cuz XXX is a volunteer she's a charitable organization so she doesn't work for the council so she so we're just volunteering out of our own time with XXX it was a council job but with now they've gone it's a private sector because there's not a lot of funding with the council so they had to cut a lot of the youth centres off so XXX is now like private funded organization

*MM: I see I see uhm I was just wondering whether you have any thoughts about your identity in*

No I don't I know what I am I'm a Middle Eastern British so I'm proud of both sides I wouldn't say I'm one or the other cuz I kind of have very much of a Middle Eastern cultural value base and a British cultural value base but I wouldn't say I have like a problem understanding who I am culturally and identify myself as Middle Eastern British and that's who I am and what I am really really

*MM: well that would be everything if you'd like to add anything you're more welcome*

Uhm no not really like no nothing at all really I kinda said everything throughout the interview nothing really no

*MM: Alright then I thank you very very much*

No problem I hope I've helped you

*MM: a lot a lot*

Oh can I just state something I just remembered can I just write it or do you want me to talk about it

*MM: I can record it*

It's just something simple I just remembered with my phone ringing I listen to a lot more Arabic music than I do English just thought I'd mention that quickly cuz I remembered my phone ringing but I enjoy listening to Arabic music than I do English

*MM: I see I see*

So I don't listen to English music at all I don't think I listen to a lot more Arabic

*MM: I see I see does it depend where it comes from or?*

Any Arabic music in general I really enjoy listening to

*MM: Do you also dance?*

Yeah there's a lot of dancing in the Arabic nation

MM: Alright thank you

## Nazir

*MM: Can you tell me how many languages you speak and not necessarily you speak but that you have skills in?*

Sure I speak English and Bengali fluently so Bengali is the language my mum and my dad speak as the language I was raised in uhm then obviously English I learned while I went to school uhm and on top of those I have decent competency in Arabic so I've learned Arabic kind of as a teenager and I'm still kind of learning it now uhm and I also have very basic Welsh skills cuz you do a bit of Welsh in highschool and I did a bit in uni uhm not very good at Welsh but I have enough to consider it as a language skill in the basic way

*MM: Alright, can you tell me a little bit more about how you learned each of these languages?*

Sure Bengali is the first language naturally uhm and it's the first kind of language you know that you naturally pick up as a child that's because my family spoke it at home uhm I was never taught formally it was always informal it was always simply kind of speaking to your family relatives you kinda pick it up first and foremost uhm so that was uhm kinda how you pick up a language uhm English was a bit more difficult uhm cuz you learn it passively you know you learn it cuz people are speaking around you and as I grew older I was more and more exposed to it uhm on TV and so on and as I started having experiences outside the house uhm I went to school then you kinda go through a process when you learn it very very quickly cuz you have to uhm but I did have difficulties in the sense that uhm because the school I went to I think some schools are more aware that a child might come in with very bad English skills but the one I went to I was the only sort of Asian kind of heritage child there so they weren't aware of how to kind of handle that so I was put in kind of remedial classes and put into kind of learning disabilities kind of because they thought I was very slow in that regard uhm so in that sense it took me a while to actually catch up and at the primary level of education I didn't learn to read and write English until I was eight although I could speak it by then I wasn't able to do reading and writing

*MM: When did you go to school?*

We start school at 4 so 4 years old uhm so yeah for 4 years I was struggling with the reading and writing aspects uhm and it was only when I was 8 I was catching up uhm but I could speak the language by 6 or 7 quite fluently and comfortably and now obviously I'm probably more comfortable in English than in Bengali cuz I've just had so much exposure to it uhm Welsh you kind of do basic Welsh in primary school and highschool and it's kind of part of the compulsory learning so you have to do a Welsh GCSE at 16 - 15, 16 uhm so you kind of naturally pick it up uhm I didn't really want to learn it so I didn't put too much effort into it which I regret now cuz maybe I could have picked up the language uhm at university I took some few extra models just in Welsh just to consolidate it but to be honest I didn't really manage to get the swing of it so I have a few words here and there and have a few kind of uhm sentences and I can maybe understand half a conversation but nothing really too substantial uhm

*MM: Depends on what you call substantial I think that compared to other people this is pretty substantial*

yeah I think that a lot of people maybe in Wales have the same kind of level in Welsh they could have gone through the same experiences and they've really tried to learn it but passively I think and Arabic I wanted to learn for personal reasons when I was about 16 so I did some part-time classes in Cardiff and eventually I went away to Syria for 5 weeks and did this intensive course uhm and that kind of gave me a very good foundation in the language uhm I did Religion and Theology as my undergrad for my BA uhm and as part of that as well I took on some Arabic modules which were more about Classical written Arabic and finally for my dissertation I did uhm a translation of a history

Arabic history text so I studied it in Syria and also learning casually also academically uhm learning for academic reasons uhm so I'm at a point now where I can hold a conversation I'm comfortable talking I can understand a text but slowly uhm so yeah I picked so languages bit by bit as I went along

*MM: Alright do you speak Arabic fluently?*

I would say competently I wouldn't say fluently fluently but good enough to have a conversation

*MM: Alright and in what circumstances do you use each language?*

Bengali now almost exclusively with my parents before I used to speak English and Bengali with sisters and brothers as well but now it's English with them and I speak Bengali almost exclusively with parents and like older relatives I speak Bengali so it's so I've probably lost a lot of language skills because of that because I don't speak it very often so it's primary for the home uhm English obviously in most places uhm Welsh very rarely maybe a sign in Welsh uhm I did study a bit in North Wales and there more people speak Welsh and all the signs are in Welsh first and then in English uhm so although you have bilingual signs in South Wales in North Wales the whole Welsh thing is much more uhm stronger uhm so I kinda used it a bit more then probably and Arabic uhm I use it in the religious context so I use it for academic purposes and otherwise you know if I come across an Arabic speaker maybe I'll speak Arabic with them to kind of establish some sort of relationship with them uhm generally yeah I don't use it too often it's only if I get the opportunity I'll try I'll use it

*MM: Do you want to tell me more about your parents and how come you speak only in Bengali with them? Do they speak English or tell me more about them*

Yeah sure yeah my mum doesn't really speak English so well so her English is very basic and she's been here for 40 years but she hasn't really managed to pick it up and I think it's kind of the same story for many people from Bangladesh of her generation, haven't had a reason to really have to learn it fluently and so always with my mum it's easier to speak in Bengali uhm my dad speaks decent English uhm so he's working you know and he was kind of experiencing English so he kind of picked it up from the surroundings uhm and now as well he's working in a job which is uhm where most his colleagues are English speaking so he speaks English uhm more but that's only recently that he kind of improved his English I noticed uhm sometimes he'll start speaking in English with me I noticed so usually we always speak Bengali but in the last few years he started speaking more English with me just I think he's just practising it kind of to get more and more confident uhm so yeah in those contexts my parents kind of speak not too much English so I still speak Bengali with them and yeah it's mainly I guess with my mum as well cuz you know that's where it's really kind of important I want to communicate properly and in Bengali it's a much easier kind of thing

*MM: What does Bengali mean for you?*

Uhm I think it's an important language for me I kind of would want this is a difficult thing I would want my child to speak Bengali but I know it's gonna be really tough to try and give him those skills, give her those skills cuz I look at my nephews and nieces and even if both the parents are Bengali like my sister married a Bengali a British-born Bengali her son, my nephew he can barely speak Bengali now so although he could speak when he was really young he just doesn't have any reason to speak anymore so he barely speaks any I would like my son or daughter to speak Bengali but I do think I mean it's kind of like a link to a lot of heritage and kind of history uhm although I'm British born although most of my relationships and family are here although all the things that are really important to me are here in Wales it's still like a link to kind of a big history and identity and kind of heritage which is still part of who I am I think and part of who my children are so it's kind of a link and access into a history which I might lose if I lose the language uhm it's all kind of you know the language may be only thing we may have left to that part of my history and identity cuz you know I've never been to Bangladesh except once you don't have too many ways to engage with culture or

history there so the language is really carrying all that for me it's carrying all that kind of sense of belonging and heritage

*MM: And what about literacy in Bengali?*

So you mean in terms of reading and yeah very bad very very poor uhm I struggle to read in Bengali uhm but then there's very few reasons for me to read Bengali uhm I never had a reason to read books and sometimes I want to but I haven't really managed to pick up the skills to do so uhm so yeah it's something that I would like to learn and it's still on my agenda you know one day, I can speak Bengali so let me just make sure I can read it properly and then suddenly all these books open up to me and I love reading so maybe I can try that uhm but I just haven't got around to do it and it's one of those things where yeah my literacy skills are very bad and it's not really an important part or a significant part of kind of experience

*MM: What about the other languages what languages do you read in?*

Arabic and English then Arabic my literacy would be much more important because for Muslims a lot of texts are written in Arabic so the religious texts almost every child I think Muslim child learns to read and understand Standard Arabic they'll learn to read Arabic to they can read the Coran and so in that sense my reading skills in Arabic are much more competent uhm and they I enjoy quite as well being able to access Arabic literature partly because I have this interest in history so I kind of pick up a history text and read it and I can read that easier than Modern Arabic newspapers because I'm more familiar with the Classical Arabic uhm so I really do enjoy being able to read the source read the Coran and understand it Arabic spoken is a really important part of the religious life for Muslim but also the reading of the Coran and the Holy Scripture because I can understand it being able to read it as well and have that understanding of it which is rare for Muslims is a fantastic experience so yeah the literacy side of Arabic being able to read and engage with the text is really important to me uhm definitely uhm Welsh not so much I guess reading signs and reading kind of public signs in Welsh is probably the extent of my Welsh reading

*MM: So how often do you speak each of these languages?*

Probably it would be English, Bengali, Arabic and Welsh in that order so I speak English the most Bengali at home Arabic would be a close second in terms of my engagement with it because uhm I speak it with other people, I read and engage with the text so I do this almost daily so I'll almost daily read something in Arabic with the view of understanding and engaging with the literature uhm so that's definitely up there uhm but because I'm speaking daily with my parents in Bengali I think uhm that also would probably be more dominant than Arabic uhm Welsh very rarely, very very rarely uhm but yeah that's probably the order I would put it in in terms of how I use it

*MM: So you speak Arabic quite a lot then?*

I would say I read a lot more than I speak it actually I would probably be reading something in Arabic more often than I'd be speaking it but then yeah I would say several times a week I'll be having a conversation in Arabic

*MM: And in Bengali?*

Bengali I'd say daily but almost exclusively with my parents I mean very rarely will I have a reason to speak Bengali to anyone but my parents uhm the only case would be family friends visiting and they are Bengali speaking in which case I would speak Bengali to them uhm otherwise Arabic I'd be speaking with someone I meet but with Bengali it's almost exclusively with my parents uhm it's a very strong home language kind of thing

*MM: What about TV what language do you watch TV in?*

English almost exclusively yeah uhm I would watch a bit of Bengali but only if I need to like sometimes things would happen on the news in Bangladesh and it's not covered in UK media so the Bengali channels were covering it so I would watch the Bengali channels although the Bengali dialect that they are using is a slightly different dialect it's a it's called Dhaka dialect whereas I speak Sylhet so a lot of Bengali migrants to Britain speak Sylhet Bengali which is a rural small city uhm small kind of village version and Dhaka is the high receive kind of more respected version of Bengali so all the TV channels would speak a different dialect so they are a bit harder to understand but I can just about understand what they are reporting on so like TV I don't really watch Bengali channels if it's the news or something of particular interest I'm gonna watch otherwise if it's for relaxation like watching a movie it's almost exclusively English except maybe for the Bollywood movies but then they speak Hindi and there's a bit of overlap, small amount of overlap uhm but still I would need subtitles so yeah English is how I consume most media

*MM: Do you understand Hindi as well?*

Not very well, maybe like 10-20% crossover and then you can pick made a few handful of Arabic and Hindi and Urdu are very similar and there's a lot of Arabic words as well so with Arabic and Bengali I can just make out what they are saying but then I'll still rely on the subtitles if I can't make out so yeah it's one of those things where you pick up a language and then you pick up another language you can sometimes get the momentum going with Hindi slash Urdu uhm but I'll just kinda watch and maybe understand bits and bobs

*MM: So which are basically the reasons for not speaking a community language here in Cardiff?*

I think it might vary on the area you live in so in the sense that like in certain places I'll be very conscious of not speaking Arabic or Bengali or any of those language because it would be received badly and you are conscious and I think you have to be conscious of the way in which people can sometimes feel alienated so people like if you are Welsh born white kind of person from Wales and you hear speaking Bengali or Arabic they can you know sometimes I hear comments when I speak Bengali like 'speak English, you're in England, speak English' although you're not in England uhm it can be received badly but then in certain areas I'm thinking like Riverside in Cardiff where there's a higher proportion of Bengali speakers it's much more accepted so even if you go to some of the markets like the Sunday market in Splott or they have food markets sometimes on Riverside a handful of the sellers like white British sellers will know you know will say a word or two in Bengali kind of grabbing your attention so uhm it's much more accepted and part of the life of the community in places where there's a higher proportion of those speakers uhm where there are very few Bengali or community language speakers I'm more conscious of not doing so because it can be received badly and it can be taken badly by others uhm so it can be biased in that sense and I think as well like in public institutions there's a pressure to avoid it because uhm you are conscious of being stereotyped so there are experiences where you know uhm I'm British born I can speak English fluently I'm not exactly someone who consider myself foreign or unable to operate in society uhm if you speak a community language like Bengali or Arabic in public institution you can see like you go to the doctor or hospital or something like that you can see the process of like stereotyping going on with some of the officials uhm where they kind of think oh this person must be foreign or this person must be a migrant or something like that and you kind of feel a pressure of being stereotyped so you are conscious to make sure you speak English to show that I'm fluent in English I can speak English perfectly fine and you don't have to get a translator you know speak slowly to me or anything like that uhm and so I think that in certain institutions as well you are conscious of avoiding it

*MM: Has anything like this happened to you personally or to somebody that you know?*

Uhm when I was younger a few experiences happened not so much since maybe teenage years but I have had experiences with like i mean probably primary school is the best example because I was struggling to speak English and I was speaking a community language I was I kept be pushed towards

like I had people come in to assess me for learning disabilities and I'm glad to see I don't have any in the sense that you know it was something that you know they were misunderstanding or [telephone rings] so they were misunderstanding when I spoke in Bengali or struggling to speak English as being part of a learning disability uhm and yeah that's probably the most significant example I can give and I have my friends like one of my friends gave me a funny story like she was going to the doctors and she's a Somali uhm wearing a hijab so visibly kind of Somali and Muslim and the doctor was like would you like a translator for us and she's a again British born speaking English fluently has kind of an accent and she was so offended like, she was like oh yeah Chinese uhm they were still like ok Chinese then and like not questioning like and she was like being sarcastic and these kind of things do happen uhm and I think as well there's something doctors call Begum syndrome now Begum is a very common Bengali surname and amongst GPs I've got friends who've become doctors and they told this to me and kinda confirmed this with me that there's this kind of notion that South Asian women so people from India Bangladesh Pakistan the women tend to be hypochondriacs so they come to the doctors and they'll complain about x y and z and then the doctors think they make up problems and they give them a Paracetamol and send them home but often and especially now that people become more and more attuned to kind of maybe cultural differences realize that actually it's just a difference in terms of explaining so you know in South Asian languages you won't say for example I have a headache or you say you talk more about the emotional response to that so for example I'm feeling very disoriented so you won't say my head hurts you'll say I'm feeling disoriented if you're having chest pains you won't say you know my chest is hurting you'll say you know my heart is beating back and fro it's kind of throbbing or something like that and there are all these kind of different ways of explaining something which is a medical problem uhm and so my mum I noticed sometimes you go in and she has a serious problem and you know she has a few and this is like something which requires medication and a few times she was just sent home with a Paracetamol and I'm ok and I'll go back in with her and I would make sure I listen to what she is saying and saying it in a language that doctors could understand and I put it in English but not just English it's English but also in an English which is very straightforward so you know she's talking about you know for a while she had an ear infection and so she was feeling dizzy and she had fever and all these other things so I had to go in like when they gave her a Paracetamol explain them that her ear is hurting this is happening this is happening cuz I'm able to maybe kind of understand what she's saying and also understand how the doctor wants to be told the information and so it's frustrating these things happen and it's something which as a problem as well across the house service I've got friends who've gone into the GP services said Begum syndrome you know that's what they call it and so that kind of frustrates me as well like sometimes if you speak a community languages even if you speak in English like this is a barrier and a lack of understanding in a way you're kind of being profile which can be really problematic and kind of disadvantage you even more than you might be to begin with

*MM: Can you tell me more about the relationship with your languages and how languages sort of influence your identity?*

I like being multilingual I want to be good at languages I always wanted to pick up at least 7 or 6 but I'm nowhere near that you know like 2 or 1 I'm maybe competent while the rest I'm learning now uhm so I think the way I see myself I want to be someone who I don't wanna use the word global citizen but I want to be someone who as a person is able to kind of transcend normal boundaries and I think that my parents as well like you know my parents are very basically educated in Bangladesh before they came to the UK but they still speak 3 or 4 languages so they speak Bengali they speak Urdu they speak Dhaka uhm and they'll be able to you know read in any South Asian language they'll find a way to communicate and I found that really impressive especially when a lot of people are monoglots they only speak in one language uhm and so I wanted to be multilingual from the beginning so to be multilingual is almost part of who I want to be uhm but certainly as well, being able to speak Arabic is an important part of who I am because it's part of my religious identity

uhm and I think it's important thing to kinda pick up, to engage with kinda religious side of your life and being able to speak Bengali is part of my heritage and I think as well I want to be able to speak Welsh and the reason I tried to learn Welsh in uni was because I saw it as part of where I am now and part of the kind of the locality and history of the location that I'm belonging to in here in Wales and I want to be able to pick up Welsh to have access to that side of history and so the kind of languages are part of where I would like to be I guess that's identity but also the part of who I want to be in terms of how I see myself as kind of like a global citizen someone who's not kind of rooted to one place and only experiences that one place but is able to move across the world and able to communicate and I think that communication aspect of having human relationships with people and doing so in a language that they are most comfortable in is important to me in a way

*MM: How do you think you're perceived in relation to your languages? You were mentioning a couple of things earlier on about the spatial location that you find yourself in but apart from that?*

I think it can be a good thing about it so speaking Arabic for example in Arabic cultures speaking Classical Arabic is a sign of education a sign of being really well taught and having a good educational background and so when I speak Arabic to someone from Arabia or the Middle East is almost always received positively is a way kind of like uhm opening doors and kind of being respected and there's a perception in terms of from Arabic speakers that you speak Arabic especially classical Arabic you're educated you're refined you're cultured but then obviously speaking Arabic in another context can cause kind of problems uhm and so there is the risk of being stereotyped and prejudiced against so speaking any community language Bengali Arabic is in some places again it kind of brings forward 28:13 a part of racism and discrimination and also especially in the UK I think Islamophobia which is a big thing which is this kind of prejudice against Muslims and sort of perception Muslims being terrorists or any type of threat to the state kind of thing but then I think spoke a bit of Welsh when I was in North Wales that would have a positive impact as well I think sometimes that if you speak in the language of a person they take that positively can you remind me of the question again cuz I think I might have got off the beaten track

*MM: Yeah how do you think you're perceived in relation to your languages?*

Yeah so I think there are those aspects uhm and then there's that aspect as well of sometimes institutions can look down upon and I have come up in public institutions looking down upon community languages Bengali Arabic which isn't English or Welsh uhm even Welsh actually to be honest I think sometimes Welsh as well anything which isn't in English if you speak Welsh you get kind of stereotyped so if you speak in Welsh I imagine and I've been told this by others who were in kind of liberation campaigns for the Welsh language and student movements that you are classified as rural stupid uneducated uhm I think that if you speak Arabic or Bengali you are classified as being foreign uhm again as a migrant someone who is not natively from Britain and so there's this kind of sense of being an immigrant as soon as you speak a language other than English uhm and I think a well even if you spoke in English and then you demonstrated an ability to speak any other language rather than always be welcomed sometimes and now I mention in society in a very general way so I guess it's maybe a bit uhm a bit too general but people can kind of take that as a negative thing, as a sign of again being foreign being uneducated being from a particular background kind of stereotype and so on

*MM: How would you describe the Welsh linguistic context then in its entirety, not necessarily the entire Wales but maybe focused on Cardiff?*

I think it's probably very little Welsh spoken in Cardiff and every time I compare it to North Wales there's a big difference so like in Cardiff no one would expect me to speak Welsh but a few times I've been in North Wales and the first they'd say hello and start a conversation in Welsh and if I don't respond in Welsh then they'd go to English so that doesn't really happen in Cardiff uhm so I think in Cardiff Welsh is seen as being although it's bilingual and all the signs are bilingual, I don't think it's

taken seriously as a second language of Cardiff if it's the second language of Wales it's definitely not seen as the second language of Cardiff uhm and it's very rare to hear it spoken so in a way I think Welsh is only formally part of the Cardiff scene uhm I don't think it's the same everywhere I think that if you go simply to Swansea or Carmarthen or anywhere outside of Cardiff that's it that there the Welsh is much more serious and more part of the life there but I think that in Cardiff because it's so metropolitan uhm because there's very few Welsh schools it's not so common to hear it spoken I mean there's some Welsh schools but they don't seem to engage so much with it I think the only time I'll hear Welsh in Cardiff being spoken is as a performance almost so it might be a politician giving a lecture in the Senate speaking in Welsh with the translation as a point to make a point that this is part of Welsh identity uhm well or for example I was at the opening of a public institution of a public mosque and they had an individual speaking Welsh at the beginning and then going in English for the rest of the speech but just speaking that Welsh to show that you know recognizing the language's importance but very rarely I see it organically naturally spoken you know between two three people

*MM: What about the other languages?*

I think you're probably be even more likely again maybe this is part of my experience of where I am coming from and who I am engaging with but I'm more likely to hear Bengali or Arabic spoken between two people as a natural conversation in certain areas than I will I think in other places maybe that's because of where I'm going I think that's probably part of it so in a mosque it'll be more likely to hear people speaking in their natural languages so I think sometimes as well this is something I'm conscious of that they'll speak maybe Arabic inside the mosque two people speak Arabic but when they leave the mosque they'll start speak in English cuz they feel comfortable in the mosque to speak a language which isn't the mainstream language same with Bengali or Urdu or any of the kind of language in the mosque it is a kind of vibrancy and a kind of you'll hear you know you could hear four different languages spoken you know cuz everybody's speaking the language they feel most comfortable in so I think in that sense the other languages are even more likely to hear them spoken within the mosque context for example uhm not so much on the streets unless of course you're in a space like Riverside where again it's much more common to hear it spoken in certain areas

*MM: Do you think that community languages are promoted in Cardiff or what's your opinion about this?*

I wouldn't think they are promoted actively but I think pragmatically they are used so I think there are translations of things in the NHS in different languages which I think it's very useful and important I think it's less important for languages like Bengali and Urdu but more important for like let's say Somali cuz again it's about meeting the needs of the wider community and most Bengali and Pakistani migrants come to a point where they have enough English or their children are English speaking so it is important but I think with Somali for example it's much more an aspect of the interaction with that community uhm I might be wrong again I'm using generalizations but I think it's very pragmatic so when they are trying to reach a community with a specific message they are conscious that actually it's not always English that's the best method to reach that community with that message that other languages are useful uhm I think as well there's uhm a willingness definitely probably in Wales more than in other places to accept like third sector bodies which are working in a specific language so sometimes I think this is very strong in social support for example they are conscious that having a midwife or having a therapist having a psychologist who is able to speak a specific language to be able to reach a hard to reach aspect in the community is very important so they can bridge the gap between the mainstream social services and the communities that are there to be helped and then having a third sector kind of a publicly funded body which isn't necessarily part of the NHS or welfare program that can reach these communities hiring these people that can speak their languages I think that's become something which is seen as a strength and not

necessarily a barrier but I haven't seen very many examples of it being actively promoted or kind of recognized as a part of the culture or heritage of Wales and that's what I'd like to see I'd like to see maybe a recognition that you know Bengali and Arabic and Somali and Urdu and Hindi and you know all these other languages which are spoken by people in Wales and in Cardiff are part of that identity of Wales and Cardiff is part of the life here and not trying to put it aside so really so far I've only seen it in pragmatic kind of circumstances where they recognize it's best to use it but not really celebrate it as part of Wales' kind of unique sort of culture and heritage

*MM: Now just for the record I would like to ask you who you are and what do you do?*

My name is XXX I am a PhD student in XXX University XXX and I am doing a PhD on XXX and I think also maybe relevant to this interview is that I work for a few different Muslim community organisations in the UK in Wales most significantly I'm XXX with the Muslim Council of Wales which is kind of an umbrella body which represents mosques and charities and all these organizations in general so I think that's probably most relevant to this so yeah that's who I am

*MM: What about Arabic you said you started learning it at about 16 but you are still learning and I would like to ask you about the process of learning Arabic I know that you mention that you started doing some classes and then you went to Syria but if you want to give me more details about the process itself*

You mean like the learning process?

*MM: Well yeah*

I mean I think the specific kind of texts I was using were very much conversational based so again Classical Arabic but then Arabic has few different ways so there's Standard Modern Arabic, there's Classical Arabic and then there's the different dialects so every Middle-Eastern country has its own dialect Saudi Arabian, Egyptian, Yemeni and so on and then as a lingua franca as a way to communicate between themselves they use Standard Modern Arabic which is used in newspapers used in cartoons and so most people speak that and that's very similar to but it's an updated form of Classical Arabic which is Coranic Arabic and it's the kind of Arabic that was used in the 9th-10th century history texts so I'm like a bit historically rooted in the sense that I know Classical Arabic but it's not so much of a jump to be able to speak Standard Modern Arabic everyone can understand me and I can understand dialects to a certain extent as well so the kind of learning process was 40:02 using conversation so the textbooks for conversation and afterwards we'd look at vocab and grammar they were interaction-based so in the class you would be having actual spoken conversations with people practicing what's in the textbook learning conversations and then building your vocab and grammar from there and it was very similar when I went to Syria it was very much focused on conversation and even our Arabic teacher couldn't speak English so we were forced to speak Arabic more and I think that was very important as well in terms of immersion just go into a place where I could only speak Arabic so if I wanted to order you know some food or I wanted to go to the shop and get some lemon juice or something I would have to say it I couldn't just rely on English I couldn't try and say in English I couldn't just rely on English I had to say it in Arabic or I'm not gonna get what I want and that kind of forced me to think in Arabic properly and since I came back it's much more of a vocab grammar-based sort of learning which I don't enjoy as much and I think isn't the best way to learn personally speaking but it's what's available and it was ok because I was learning in university I was doing it to kind of with an academic focus rather than a spoken focus so it was all about understanding text rather than be able to speak or communicate but I think because I had the spoken communication side earlier in my life this kind of helped me to kind of fill in the gaps uhm so yeah it was very start and stop as well so to be fair for the last year I haven't done much Arabic it was only in the last few months I started teaching Arabic again so basic Arabic but it has really helped me to remember stuff I had forgotten and keep it fresh so that's kind of part

of the learning process as well cuz I'm teaching it now it's definitely helping me to keep on top of things and keep improving so yeah I'd say that's part of the learning process

*MM: alright, and who do you teach?*

I teach in the XXX and it's a class of to be fair it's a very diverse class like the youngest student is 13 years old and the oldest one is a retired 60 year old mother so big diverse range but in the mosque they have GCSE tuition classes and A level tuition classes and a few of the students doing that were expressing an interested of doing some Arabic so the organizer of those classes asked me to come in and just do an hour of Arabic in the mornings so I started doing that and also in the university I did a short course which finished now but I might be doing it again in September which basically goes through a single textbook of Arabic I kind of had a class of about five or six and they were university students and I just went through basic Arabic with them so that was only for a few months but that helped as well

*MM: And one last question what do you think about English?*

in what sense?

*MM: In the sense that we are all speaking English in Cardiff and as you were saying from a pragmatic point of view there are so many other languages but still we are speaking in English*

I like English, I think it's a great language it's my natural language kind of my most natural language the one I'm most confident in so I think it's more about when I say I would like to hear and see more languages promoted I think it's about recognizing diversity recognizing other people's identity cuz if you don't recognize somebody's language you're not recognizing a part of who they are which I think can be damaging in a way but with English I think it's a great language for communication especially between people so I think we'll always want and need a language which is a lingua franca a kind of way of communicating between different other languages and communities and I think English does that job very well and something I hadn't realized about English learning other languages is that English is very forgiving that as a language you can make lots more mistakes and still be intelligible whereas maybe in Arabic and Bengali and definitely in Welsh you can't just like if you say something in the wrong way you can change the meaning or you can be misinterpreted whereas in English you can kind of say things in the wrong way but you still somehow convey a sense of what's being meant I think it's more forgiving in that sense but I think as well that as a second language English can be a very difficult language to learn especially if you're you know if you come to Britain maybe as a 20 30 40 year old migrant so you're not a young person who can pick it up naturally it can be a very confusing language to learn but I think all those kind of aspects of awareness partly if everyone spoke a second language I think they'd be completely many people would realize the strengths and weaknesses of English as a language but also I think they would have a greater respect for other people's languages cuz I've noticed you know people who speak Welsh whether as a second language or a first language alongside English are much more respectful and understanding of someone speaking Bengali or Arabic they understand how language is such an important part of who you are they understand how sometimes is nice to speak a different language they understand how sometimes you can express something in one language that is completely impossible to express in another language and all these kind of little nuances that come along with speaking more than one language I think are kind of lost if you're only speaking one so yeah I think it's great that English is something that everyone can kind of share and communicate with but it'd be nice as well if there was more recognition of other languages

*MM: that would be all from my point of view I think it's amazing but if you have anything to add*

uhm I don't think so I mean I'm very interested in your research so please keep me up to date let me know how's it going and anything you produce like publications or conference papers let me know so I can maybe pop along cuz I'd like to kind of see how it's going and I think I told you this earlier I

think it's really important having some research in this field especially in Wales so yeah I'd like to see more about how it goes

*MM: alright thank you very much then thank you very very much*

## Ahmed

*MM: First thank you very much for accepting to come here and if you just begin by telling me a little bit about yourself like your name how old you are and your birth place*

My name is XXX I'm 28 years old in November so I'm 27 right now and I was born in Cardiff

*MM: Alright and how many languages do you speak what languages you speak know and use?*

Ok well I learned uhm I can speak Urdu Hindi Punjabi and I spent a year learning well two years learning Chinese Mandarin Chinese and I often watch I'm into Japanese culture as well so I always tend to watch some Japanese stuff and I learned a bit of Japanese and that's about it and English obviously

*MM: Obviously yes I see and how regularly would you use these languages?*

Well Chinese I have rarely used I would only try and use it when I had I had quite a few Chinese friends around and obviously their time in university has finished they go off and I've rarely spoken much Mandarin Japanese again same if I have Japanese friends I'll talk to them in as much Japanese as I can uhm but then Urdu Hindi and Punjabi I use them quite interchangeably uhm it depends on one it depends on my mood and two it depends on who I'm speaking to so you know I spent a few years when I didn't speak it at all

*MM: How come?*

I my mum would often talk to me in one of languages and I would just respond back in English in the end I really just didn't see any point uhm but then yeah recently I've started talking again

*MM: Ok ok was it like a teenager's reaction towards that or?*

No I just felt there was a point where she understood English so I was just I might as well I mean it showed that I could still understand it completely but I just chose to respond back in English but that I think had a little bit of a detrimental effect cuz then I forgot certain words so I because I hadn't used the language for so long you tend I don't know I have a friend who speaks French who's born in France and he came here at a young age and he's completely forgotten French language I mean he was there till he was ten so I forgot certain words since I recently started speaking and but then that's

*MM: And what period was that in your life?*

That was from my teenage child uhm from when I was pretty much a teenager I just responded back in English

*MM: Ok ok*

It was only when times when I was really agitated or frustrated I'd speak to my mum I would say sth in the language you know like it may sound a bit well it may make me sound a bit bad but you know when you swear I would just swear in that language sometimes I would just say something and that was it uhm but yeah I stopped when I was a teenager I didn't speak it much

*MM: Ok*

School had a class that they ran and it was Urdu GCSE and I thought oh they put me onto it but I thought wha what's the point I know this language anyway there's no point in me doing it and I had to skip my physical education class I'm not skipping that but I can't write it that's my problem these languages I can speak these languages but I can't write it my mum forced me tried to force me well

yeah when I was really young I just didn't have enough I just wasn't interested and now when I really need to read documents uhm I can't read it because I didn't learn it at the time so problems

*MM: So what sparked your interest in what made you like sort of make a come back?*

I guess it's just growing up a bit and obviously I need to speak to certain people and their English isn't that great so I have to come the only way I can communicate with them is by talking to them in that language or if I want to keep something secret you know I don't want other people around me to know our conversation I'll talk to them in that language

*MM: So what people would you talk*

Just people from that community like the Asian community uhm elders people like that who just don't they've pretty much not got an interest in learning English they haven't got great language skills so yeah that's it

*MM: I see uhm could you tell me a little bit more about your family and the process I imagine that they came?*

Immigration

*MM: Yes that they came here before you were born obviously*

Yeah uhm my dad came here when in the 1960s when he was 18 he's I don't speak to him I don't get along with him but he's 78 now so he's been here for most of his life now and he married my mother back home in Pakistan in 19 in the 80s uhm and then she came here and that was it but he came to this country because his father made him come here cuz at that time a lot of well a lot of there was a lot of labor work and so a lot of immigrants were coming from India Pakistan etc so they were coming here to just do the work that the natives weren't willing to do and they just did it and yeah they came here at that time but his marriage didn't work out he was married here and it didn't work out so he went back home he married my mum and she came here so yeah that was this my mum didn't really have a choice but yeah that was it

*MM: I see so they come from Pakistan*

Well originally they're born in India but at the time there was all just one country India uhm in 1947 I think partition happened or 1948 I can't remember uhm and they got split and so they had to immigrate from their home in India to the other side Pakistan and then from Pakistan here so that's their life

*MM: I see do you have any siblings?*

I have my dad's been married a few times so he has children with a lot of other women uhm he has there are 5 others 6 others 5-6 others yeah 5 others so yeah

*MM: But with your mother*

I'm the only one

*MM: You're the only one I see and what's their occupation what do they do especially your mother?*

My mother was educated at degree level uhm she did History and she worked she did office work she was one of the early I have to say she was one of the early modern women working in an office at that time even especially in an Islamic country

*MM: It's a big thing*

Yeah women working back from the 1970s 1960s 70s it was a big thing so she was one of the modern she was quite independent uhm but when she came here she became a home a housewife

uhm my father has had just normal jobs bus driver taxi driver mundane jobs he's not educated so yeah that's this

*MM: I see I see what languages do they speak especially your mother because I assume you spend much more time with your mother rather than your father?*

Yeah my mother spoke Urdu Hindi Punjabi and she learned Persian Farsi that is she knew Farsi and then English so my mother was also also knew a few languages and my father he's the same Urdu Hindi Punjabi uhm and English he doesn't know anything that's it

*MM: I see do you have much contact with Pakistan? Do you have relatives that you keep in contact with or your parents keep in contact?*

I do my mum unfortunately passed away since it's actually since the time my mum passed away that I've started to speak the languages again I didn't speak it before but since my mother passed away two years I started speaking those language again uhm and it's because my mum's sister is there and she rings me up and she doesn't speak English so I have to speak to her in one of the languages and sometimes yeah it gets awkward because I've forgotten some words so then I'm just like it takes me a while then to try and bring them back so but yeah I speak to her she rings me and that's it really that's the only person that I speak to back there I don't really have anyone else to speak to but yeah

*MM: Have you visited her?*

I haven't been there since 2000 so I was actually planning to go there this year uhm because I have to sort out some inheritance things so that was the reason why I got all these papers and I can't read it's the bank statements and things like that I can't read them because I didn't learn them and now I'm kicking myself because I should have learnt it but uhm yeah I haven't been for 14 years and so I was debating whether to go at the end of this year or go next year or go next year so I thought it would be and since I've been since I thought that I actually my thought processes have been in Punjabi so I have been trying to just think in Punjabi to just try to improve to improve it cuz they'll know that I'm a foreigner once I get there I want to try and blend in as much as I can to hide so yeah that's that's it

*MM: About your childhood could you tell me what was it like to grow up in your home and in your specific home with your mother and in your neighborhood for example in Cardiff from the point of view of languages?*

Basically my mum never forced me to learn the languages uhm I know that for a fact she said that to me and I know that clearly but they would put movies on you know like Bollywood movies and that's how I picked it up very early I was like 3 4 and I would watch the films and the subtitles are there and somehow I just don't know how somehow I just matched the words to the subtitles I just don't know how I did it and then I just learned the language she didn't even teach me and then she would speak to me she would speak to me in Urdu or Hindi and I would respond back but I've got actually I found I asked for a tape I have these old tapes and asked for them to be put on DVD and they're when I'm five years old and I can see I was watching I haven't seen these for years you know I don't know what was on them and she's talking to me in Urdu and I am again I'm responding sometimes in English which shows I understand what she's saying but then there are times as well when I'm speaking in Urdu back I say oh bring all my toys over here and I'm running off and then oh I need to go to the toilet and I'll say that and then but then there are other times I'm just talking gibberish it's like I don't even understand I can't I can't I'm just talking like I'm making my own words up I don't know so I think that was because I was probably mixing up the two languages English and Urdu and it was just coming up as gibberish but yeah it's quite interesting to see that I was like what am I saying I don't even know what I'm saying just like and then yeah but yeah so it shows that at age I was actually I actually understood at least two languages Urdu and Hindi so yeah

*MM: And obviously English if you were responding in English*

Yeah when I went to school that was in English so but then my parents wouldn't speak my parents would like speak to me in Urdu but they would always speak in another language that I just didn't know what they would talk talk about and when I got to about 10 11 my mum would take me to somebody's house to learn the Qur'an to read it in Arabic and I would do that but instead of me actually reading it I would just sit there and listen to what my mum is talking to this other woman about I would sit there and just listen I remember that I was just like thinking what are they saying I need to learn this language and I was like what are they saying so it got to yeah I was about 10 11 and I just focused instead of reading it I just every time every Monday every or whatever day it was I went I would just sit there and instead of reading I was just trying to listen to what they were saying and I picked it up

*MM: So that was*

Punjabi

*MM: Punjabi*

Yeah I just picked it up I don't know how and then for for years I never spoke a single word of Punjabi but I understood everything they said

*MM: And it was like a*

Yeah but they didn't my they didn't know I I didn't tell them at all so my dad would swear at me sometimes in Punjabi and he'd say some really horrible things to my mum and things like that and then I just like I knew that what he was saying just but he I remember I had an argument with him one day and I just said something I said a sentence and he just didn't know what to say I told him oh you d'you think I don't understand you and he was just like shocked so he was like you yeah so that was it then so he know now so yeah so I spent a few good years trying to figure that out and I was yeah I don't think I can do that as this age now

*MM: Oh you can never know*

Just listening to someone and trying to figure out what they're saying I don't think I maybe you'd be surprised if you're going to a different environment you'd pick up the language so quickly it's adapting but yeah uhm that's that's yeah that's my childhood they'd just speak yeah they spoke Punjabi and I ended up learning it

*MM: But would they speak another language among themselves?*

So that was it it was the Punjabi

*MM: What about Hindi or Urdu would they speak that?*

They would just speak that to me

*MM: And then they would switch to Punjabi among themselves*

Yeah they would switch to Punjabi yeah amongst themselves

*MM: But not only when it was something negative*

No it was just even talking to each other so you know and I always though like uh

*MM: But why do you think that they were teaching you not teaching you but speaking to you in*

Well Urdu and Hindi are the more well Urdu is in Pakistan is the more upper-class language Punjabi is the peasant peasantry language so you know that suppose they were like you know we'll teach him this and that's it but yeah so

*MM: What about your mother did she speak English?*

Yeah she spoke English but sometimes I would laugh at her for her English and she always I remember on the phone she was like I don't understand she was like sorry cuz she didn't understand but I think she would have good she just never spoke a lot of English she did she was fine with my teachers and everything she understood them completely but when she wanted to express herself there was some sense that she couldn't understand like colloquial but yeah that was that was it so yeah she's in the video as well she is like I'm playing with some little sword and she's like oh you're a monster and I'm like yeah I'm a monster she's like oh I'm the mother of the monster but her English is just like yeah with the accent it made me laugh but yeah so

*MM: Yeah so yeah that is that what about the neighborhood that you lived in?*

I lived in uhm when I was young we did I did hang around with people of my own community but then that slowly drifted off because I started making friends with other people when I was really young no not uhm like well natives you know Welsh and Chinese whatever and the people kids from my community that I was with they were like wow why are talking to white people so they said they alienated me in the end so so there were times when I did go to the park there's a park in Riverside Cardiff and a lot of the Asian community go there still do it to this day uhm it's kind of being given a derogatory name it's called the like you know the Paki park that's what it's called now that's because there's a lot of Pakistani people in that park the children everyone and it's not just them it's just even like white children go there play etc but it's called that to this day even but I went there a few times but in the end I got alienated and I just I think that was one of the reasons why I stopped talking as well cuz like but they spoke a different language to me those Pakistanis they spoke Pashtun like uhm yeah Pashtun and I I can't I don't know Pashtun at all so that was that was one reason as well cuz they would speak they would learn they knew Urdu as well but then to their parents they're speaking Pashtun and I don't know that at all so I was always curious of that as well but I just didn't learn that but then yeah so I stopped then uhm but then my parents did keep in touch with the Pakistani like Asian community and

*MM: They did*

Yeah but I didn't personally I just didn't want to know them then if they're saying that you know why you hanging around with Chinese people you know people not of your own community then I was like well there's a whole world out there you can't just be stuck in one little bubble and then I just left it there and there's only recently now I started speaking to them again so yeah show my face to the community now but yeah that was it

*MM: How do they receive you?*

They actually now for some reason respect me now it's not because of a thing it's just because of what I achieved physically like I'm I've been I train a lot and like I train with some really strong individuals who in London and everything and they're making their own name worldwide and things like that uhm and one of them did the Guinness book record and he did uhm I can't remember how many dips did he do you know there's a dip motion dips and he did 35 or something with 100 kilo strapped on so these are like really strong guys and we have like through the Internet things go viral videos on Youtube like exercise and stuff so yeah they end up respect well well uhm not just respecting me I think some of them are like quite intimidated by me so they just say hey and that's it but I'm ok

*MM: Is the physical appearance something very important for Asians?*

No well I mean I don't particularly think so I think I think if they get if you got beard and things as well they like oh you know he's proper religious but that's not the case cuz I'm not that religious as all uhm but yeah they always they've always treated me as a foreigner so that's but you know or sometimes I felt that they're quite jealous because I got away with a lot of other things that they couldn't get away with you know like I didn't become religious yet religion was forced upon them so it was like you know kind of hatred and they would always say oh he's he's mixed he's half-cast don't talk to him but I'm not really half cast because my parents are from Asia I'm not I'm not half-white my half siblings my brothers and sisters are but I'm not so yeah that just happens

*MM: I see I see and what language do you speak with them?*

What with my brothers and sisters

*MM: With*

Oh with this lot

*MM: Yeah*

Oh if it's English is English if I feel like talking to them in Urdu then I'll just say something in Urdu don't understand they speak they're at the same point now they can speak it fluently but then these people I'm aware that they can speak another language as well so I just leave it to that

*MM: I see I see can you tell me how you learned how you started learning English actually?*

School genuinely I can't remember all the way back I it would start from school the general ABCs and stuff when you're here yeah you have to if I was born in Germany I'd probably have to speak German you know I'd be taught German or so yeah that's it I just learned it in school from Nursery or I can't even remember I don't know whether my mum was also helping me with English I can't remember it's too long back but it was school

*MM: So you would speak English in school*

I would speak English in school uhm yeah but I don't know whether I sometimes might have jumped uhm mashed things up I do remember that I was having trouble with the I did have trouble with English I think I do remember vaguely in my second year of infant school I remember the teacher saying something but I can't yeah but that was it you know uhm it's that's the problem when you have uhm when you I wouldn't do it if I ever have children I wouldn't do that to them

*MM: What?*

As in try and teach them languages at home speak to them in too many different languages at home then speak and then they go off I think it would just confuse them and but then again I read that BBC article recently and it was saying that those who learn languages tend to live like retain memory and better memory so whatever don't know we'll see I met well we'll see depends on I don't even personally I don't want children but yeah we'll see

*MM: I see I see do you remember in school do you have any memories of any particular event or not necessarily even but memories of you speaking other languages some of your languages with some of your friends just like obviously the class is in English but just I don't know maybe so that somebody doesn't understand?*

Yeah uhm yeah there were a few with the Asian boys uhm but it's usually swear words so it's just cursing each other it was nothing else uhm I do remember that when I got later and I was at my A-levels stage I was there were a few Indian boys and we were just speaking Hindi and there were just again swear words just cursing each other that's all that's the only experiences yeah if you want to

teach somebody uhm some part of the language it's always the swear words kids just wanna know swear words so yeah we would just curse each other standard boyish thing isn't it

*MM: Oh yeah uhm I understand you were telling me something about religion earlier how important was religion for your parents and how important is religion for you now?*

My dad wasn't really that religious he in his previous years he was quite the alcoholic uhm abusive to women uhm a womanizer if I say the right word uhm he's got a history of beating women so that's not really part of the religion or anything as well he is cuz you're not supposed to drink you're not supposed to smoke you're not supposed to do these kind of things so my dad because he is grown up here I think religion went out of the window for him for quite some time it was only until he got married to my mum that he then stopped drinking well he would drink whilst he was married to my mum but before I was born he just stopped drinking I think that had a good impact on me because I don't drink and I don't smoke and I just don't do anything bad but he didn't pray the usual you know the five times a day instead he would just go maybe if he felt like on a Friday but then as he's getting older he is going more often on Fridays and at the time when I was young and I was at school or holidays and it's like you know Friday prayers and I just didn't want to go I'd pretend I'm sleeping in my bed standard and then he'd be like get up I'm like uhmuhm I'm asleep and he'd be like no get up so he'd force me then and I didn't really wanna go it was like oh you know I don't do anything bad so that was my argument I was like I'm not doing anything bad but I just don't want to go but as I'm getting older now I go I you know I've been through some bad experiences and when my mom passed away I kind of lost uhm I was very angry and I was like why did God do this and then I was saying that I was trying to I was just coming up with you know theories and I was saying God doesn't exist you know why would someone do this you know and I was upset you know I was saying God doesn't exist and yeah it's and then I met some people and they were like you know just pray give it a shot and I was like I hadn't prayed for a long time before my mum passed away just before my mom passed away and after my mom passed away for a bit I was going to the mosque and praying quite often because you know they say prayers are going to help her in the afterlife and so I was going but then I was just I had some personal situations I had an argument with my dad he kicked me out I spent some time homeless like you know sleeping rough and that was the point where I was wow I haven't done anything to deserve this so I distanced myself from religion and now I'm going back slowly slowly it's alright I just sit there on the chair with all the old people because I can't I can't sit on the floor so I sit there on the chair and I'm and I sat next to recently I sat next to an old man and he's Pakistani and he's actually asked me he I don't know how he recognized like thought I could have been someone else but he asked me in Urdu he said why are you sitting here on the chair and so I responded back to him in Urdu and these things are like that he's older his English wouldn't be that great uhm so I spoke to him in translation he said oh that's very sad that you can't you know because you hurt your knee he said who's your father you see that's the thing as well with the older people that wanna know who your

*MM: Who you pertain to*

Yeah he was like why are sitting over there I was like ok so you know that was it so yeah I've been going I couldn't go today I had some training in work but I usually try and I now take I would never thought I would do that when I was a few years ago that I would try and change my break just to go to the mosque and pray because it's my whole lunchtime it goes in the mosque but a few years ago I wouldn't have done that but now I've been doing that I've said Jane she's my supervisor can I leave 1.30 today because I wanna go the mosque and then she said yeah so there we go religion is like it's got some good moral elements to it I don't do many yeah like I said I don't drink don't do that but it's the praying bit that's that that's what I'm not good at five times and Ramadan it's coming up in two days and I haven't fasted for like 6 years

*MM: Are you going to?*

I can't it's too hard for me now I will when it gets when the days go by less in winter maybe when it gets to winter I think I have to wait for a few good years till they get to that but then yeah that's it

*MM: I see I was asking you about religion and whether you attend religious services regularly from the point of view of languages as well*

That mosque that I go to is a XXX

*MM: Is it the XXX?*

Yeah by XXX place I go there so I don't understand what they're saying either uhm when they do their talk cuz they first they talk in Arabic and then they would do they would translate into English for the non-Arabic speakers so that's language is there and I don't know but I'm trying to learn some Arabic cuz I wanna try to go to Dubai and a lot of the jobs there you need to be bilingual in Arabic and English and I'm like dammit so I need to try and pick up Arabic

*MM: Do they have the talk in XXX Arabic or in Classical Arabic?*

I don't know I don't know the difference they just talk in Arabic to me so yeah but they yeah that's it uhm if I want to go to the Canton mosque there's a mosque in Canton they will do the talk in Urdu but I don't go there so I just go to this one but yeah or there's you know XXX

*MM: yeah*

They do it in English completely in English they don't they just do it in English so uhm so yeah that's it because they just see well there's so many non-Arabic speakers well it just depends on the Imam as well

*MM: I understand what about the interactions between people inside the mosque?*

It's after the prayers then you finish and you walk off and you shake people's hands but then I still speak uhm I speak English cuz it's just a lot you know they come to you and speak to you in English or it depends on who it is if you've got somebody who's Somali yeah you just speak in English you know I haven't I don't think I have spoken in Urdu or Hindi when I come out of the mosque it's just plain old English apart from when I went to XXX a few times some of the Pakistani boys would come out I would talk to them in Urdu

*MM: Do you think it matters a lot where you go to the mosque maybe like the XXX there are many people whose languages are Arabic and Somali*

Yeah I think yeah maybe uhm just the boys who are there the Pakistani boys I would speak to them cuz they are speaking in Urdu amongst each other so like I'll just come in a they would say hello and then they'll talk to me going oh saying like what you doing and I'd just respond back so yeah so it does matter yeah

*MM: And you were telling me earlier about your mother taking you to the house to learn how to read and write Arabic but obviously you were learning*

Yeah I was more focused on trying to learn what they were saying

*MM: Yeah but do you have can you sort of understand or read Arabic?*

I did learn it I learnt it I just forgotten it I can't read or write it at all I've completely forgotten it

*MM: For how long did you go to those classes?*

I learned I finished reading the Qur'an in Arabic the whole thing I've just I can't remember it at all now then my mum would say well learn it I remember she tried teaching me again and I was like I wasn't interested and then she bought me recently before she passed away she bought me an

English version so I just have the English version but I can't read if you ask me to go and read the Qur'an in Arabic now I can't read it I've just completely forgotten it I think my memory I think it just hasn't retained maybe it was in short term memory I don't know so yeah

*MM: Could you tell me like during the typical day how does your day go from the point of view of languages what would you do and what languages would you use?*

Well it just depends on who I bump into it all just depends down to that I mean I speak English to my housemates if a phone call comes from my auntie I will speak to her in Urdu I have a friend who's getting married he works in the firm the law firm I'm in but he's Bangladeshi but he understands Urdu and Hindi as well so sometimes I'll just say something to him and he'll understand and he'll respond back and that's about it uhm he spent £2000 on a suit for his wedding he's getting married I was like who the hell's got £2000 for a suit I just said you know I was just saying that to him in one of the languages and he was like well I'm not paying for it the in-laws are so well that's still ridiculous you don't pay £2000 for a suit the max I paid was £500 I can't pay £2000 unless you've got money coming out of your pockets but pff I was like that's why you're spending £30 000 for one day it's a lot of money but it's his choice anyway so it depends on my day and whom I bump into otherwise I don't there are days when I don't even speak it

*MM: And now that you were telling me uhm and you were telling me the story you just said like I told him this in one of the languages*

Yeah

*MM: How do you differentiate between Hindi and Urdu?*

There are uhm Hindi and Urdu are very similar but it's there are certain words and the way you said the sentence structure it's a bit different apart from that they are pretty much the same languages you can then count them as you learn one you can speak the other uhm I just remembered my dad when I was young obviously he'd speak Urdu but then the tone changes when he spoke with Indian people and I tend to do that as well now cuz like my tone changes it gets less uhm Urdu is a bit more it sounds a bit more sophisticated but then Hindi it turns out to be a bit more like you know well kind of not slang but it's just it's just the tone I can't explain it the tone just changes and you say things differently slightly apart from that that's it and Punjabi was completely different cuz I had no idea what they were speaking so certain words that you can use from Urdu or whatever but or Hindi but then yeah it's completely different but that's the reason I couldn't understand them in the beginning I was like wow what the hell are they saying I mean I knew that when I watched the Indian movies Bollywood movies that was Hindi and when I spoke to my mum and dad that was Urdu but I just again it's just difficult to differentiate all I remember is that the tone changes and certain structures sentence structure changes slightly and words they use different words apart from that that's it

*MM: Right right so what language do you use with your siblings?*

I use English they're half white they don't know they don't know any they don't know any language they just speak English they can't speak uhm I do have one brother who is Pakistani full blooded he's about 60 years old now very old uhm I've never spoken to him I don't know what he looks like I've never spoken to him but I know that probably I might have some difficulty speaking to him cuz my Punjabi isn't up to scratch you know so you know I can understand it fluently completely it's like I struggled once when I bumped into a Sikh gentleman in Riverside I tried giving him directions I just I stumbled because I was like oh I knew what I wanted to say but it wasn't coming out it's like yeah it was a bit difficult but that was a time when I hadn't spoken Punjabi in years so then I was trying to explain to him but yeah it was uhm but I just speak to him in English I don't speak to them anyway it's one messed up family

*MM And what about Punjabi do you get to use Punjabi?*

Sometimes rarely rarely I use that rarely uhm yeah I don't really get to use that much

*MM: I see and what languages do you use for work?*

English

*MM: English*

Plain old English when I was working in the XXX temporarily in the customer service desk and I used a bit of my Japanese and Chinese and you know

*MM: Ah there you go*

I used a bit of them and but then that was it yeah just you know I just speak English at work I got no Asian clients or anything like that

*MM: What do you do now?*

I'm working in a I'm a paralegal right now working in a law firm and I just have my own cases I manage them my clients are all natives so I don't really speak to anyone but there are there is an Indian girl who's on my team but she does not speak Hindi or Punjabi or she just speaks English and I find that very strange I met another Pakistani boy as well who I know and he can't speak he doesn't understand Punjabi or anything and I'm like how can you not speak understand or speak because your parents speak it and he said it's the same with the yeah he just said I can't I could understand he can understand it but he can't speak it so I just yeah

*MM: So how important are these languages for you?*

Quite important because I like travelling and I have this goal that I want to learn as many languages as I can and it'd just be cool to learn as much as I can and travel the world and that's it I've still got that dream and hopefully I'll finish work in December and I'll go I will save some money I'll have some money saved and I'll just go travelling

*MM: And you were saying something about Dubai*

Yeah and I wanna try and get a job in Dubai so then I need to learn Arabic or something I need to be able to read it because I won't know where the toilets are or anything like that from there I'll be like ohh bit like China really again I'll be confused ohh man but then their signs are amusing sometimes their English signs but yeah that's it they're quite important I think I'm very lucky to be able to speak as many as I can but I was learning German at one time and you know it's like cuz I yeah it's just you know I think I want to learn Swedish at one point when I was in Sweden I didn't even know I just went and said hei and then they went I didn't realize that's

*MM: Hello*

Yeah yeah I didn't realize that at all and I was just like and when I was in Netherlands they thought I was Dutch and I didn't even speak a word they were speaking to me in Dutch and I was like I have no idea of what you just said I was like but yeah that was it so I am very lucky and I'll continue learning languages till I'm very old if I do grow up old yeah so I think I like German I like French I was very good at French in school very good but I didn't pursue it because my mother wanted me to do academic subjects at A level or for the GCSE and I was actually I was top student in French one of the top students in French uhm I've completely forgotten that now all I remember now is Je m'appelle Shiraz Je habite en Cardiff Je suis gallois I just remember some basic sentences now I can't remember anything else same with German I was good at German but all I remember now is Guten tag [German phrases] I just remember some random things so yeah that's all I yeah so I wanna pick up on French and German as well

*MM: Well you've got a base now even though it might seem that you've like completely lost it or something this but you've got a base*

Yeah so somewhere in my head I just will see yeah

*MM: What about the languages that you read in do you*

I don't read in any other languages I can't read in any other languages I just I'm able to just talk obviously French and German you can read them cuz it's Roman script but I can't read any

*MM: You never learned to*

No just speaking I'm just very good at speaking so

*MM: That's good that's the most important part uhm and what languages do you watch TV in*

I have in the past watched in Urdu and Hindi because my mum was just watching it and I laughed at the soap dramas but yeah I've laughed that's about it in English yeah I haven't watched in any other in other languages apart from Japanese I watch some I'm a big fan of Japanese art so you know like the animations

*MM: Like manga?*

Yeah but I like I watch a bit so I like that but they're always subtitled as well so then I just I pick it up slightly some words there but yeah so I'm doing it but I'm doing it very slow-paced not as I was able to do it when I was a child but obviously because apparently your brain is like a sponge when you're a child

*MM: Of course but on the other hand you were spending much more time with those languages rather than you're spending right now with Japanese*

Exactly so I think I could manage I do plan to go to Japan it's one of my places I really wanna go but I was also learning some Brazilian Portuguese well recently I've started a friend of mine we want to go to Brazil and he was like you know you do know you need to learn some Brazilian Portuguese and I was like wow why let's just go he's like no learn so yeah I've learned I've just been looking up some words and there's like I think there's one called que saudade which means I miss you a lot so I just like yeah I'll yeah and it's just uhm I did capoeira as well and that's Brazilian martial arts and a lot of the things in there it's Brazilian Portuguese as well it's like volta ao mundo which means around the world literally around the world you just pick it up and you just say it but like you know yeah so Portuguese would be another one on my list

*MM: That's plenty on your list*

Yeah so

*MM: And I assume that you were saying that you can't read in the languages that we were talking about so you can't write in any of them either*

I can't write in any of them either impossible uhm

*MM: What about internet like websites and social media?*

I can write in Urdu as in like using Roman script I can try and write I have done that in the past or even in Punjabi actually I've done it in Roman script uhm but that's it I can't actually read the actual alphabet you know like Urdu uses Arabic the Arabic alphabet Hindi uses stuff like Sanskrit and things like that like completely different I can't do any of that but I could just yeah

*MM: So who would you write to?*

I had some friends in Pakistan I was I think I was frustrated at one point and I just put it up like uhm I think well I recently got dumped by a girl so I was putting something up going oh women are just uhm I can't remember I was moaning and then my friends I did it in Urdu or Punjabi script uhm Punjabi in English script Roman script and they they were commenting back and these are the same friends you know some of them are now in Pakistan some of them are here some of them in London so we then were having a conversation just in that and that was that people didn't know what I was talking about but really I was like I'm fed up with women so yeah so that was it

*MM: I see I see uhm and the last set of questions and then you can go*

I yeah I'm an hour late well half an hour late

*MM: just just very quick*

Yeah that's fine

*MM: How do you think that others perceive you when speak these other languages?*

I had a friend who was in XXX he's working there now and one of the Indian guys who I know just came up and he just surprised me and he was talking to me in English I was talking back to him in Hindi and he was replying back to me in English so what I was doing with my mum but he was doing the same and he was telling me he's going on this trip long trip car trip and stuff like that and I was like I just said to him in Punjabi like for how long and he was like oh I'm going for a week and a half in Punjabi what you don't have any work and so I was just talking to me like that and then when our conversation finished I turned back to my friend my friend she was like I never heard you speak like that she was like you sound proper like freshie like straight from India or something uhm yeah some people found it why I know that one of the girls that well I was dating well seeing her she was Lithuanian I was trying to learn Lithuanian because you know I was fascinated by it I wanted to speak to her so I would have to find I don't know some phrases and I would send it to her by text and she'd laugh uhm but I said don't ask me to pronounce these things I think sorry sorry was like [trying to pronounce Lithuanian] a i with a c with an accent on the top iu I was like aiu it just sound like atchu and she just laughed and things like that and yeah but yeah she just said you know my friend when I was speaking Hindi she just said that you sound proper Indian and that was it I think even the girl who I was seeing she said it's an attractive feature languages a man who can speak many languages and can go around to communicate with anyone is an attractive feature apparently uhm but yeah so that was it so my goal is to learn as many languages I can

*MM: And what's your perception about yourself?*

I'm just a normal guy there's nothing I I just walk around yeah I don't have some sort of ego I'm just normal people aren't even aware that I speak the languages so until they read my CV or so I don't do anything I just I ah actually I'll tell you this one story I was in XXX was that XXX or XXX I forgot now Lidl just down there and I was there and I was buying a banana and some milk and there are these Indian guys there and they looked at what I was buying and then they started laughing they were like they didn't say anything they just saw what I was buying milk and a banana for a little snack I was also studying I was having my exams or something and they looked at me and just went and they were speaking in Hindi saying look at this idiot buying banana and milk and they were just mocking me right in front of my face but I just kept normal face and then one of them drops something and then I just picked it up and say [ielodedai] and I just spoke to him and they just went their faces dropped because I had just been standing there listening to them mock me and then I just gave them that and they were just like crap that's it but yeah it is amusing but yeah I'm just a normal guy a normal guy who's nearly thirty and I need to I just don't know what to do with my life but yeah that's it

*MM: I see this would be everything if I missed anything out if you want to say anything to add anything*

No I've got nothing it's your study you should you're quite competent with these questions you know these questions inside out you didn't even have to look at that

*MM: well it's sort of as I was saying it's like a life story it's just like a chit chat in a way you know like*

But yeah I've got nothing else to add I'm just really hungry now I'm gonna get something to eat

*MM: Of course thank you very much for coming*

No problem I'm sorry I came late

## Bilal

*MM: If we can start if you can just tell me a little bit about yourself like just for the record like your name your age and where you were born?*

Ok my name is XXX I'm 22 I was born in Cardiff and I've studied in Cardiff pretty much all my life and I have a Master's Degree in XXX

XXX

*MM: I see can we move now to languages like what languages you know and how regularly you use them*

I obviously I know English as my first language so pretty much in everything I use that almost all the time uhm I know Punjabi and Urdu as the same language unfortunately but I use that daily with mum and dad uhm I don't tend to write it but more speaking and listening Spanish and German I use maybe two times a week two three times a week mainly just listening and typing I speak it but it's more like Spanglish

*MM: Well it's a beginning*

Yeah but that's when I spend time with friends who speak it or that their foreign language but Latin I used to use quite a bit when I was doing research for drugs and chemicals and stuff and like biology but I don't really use it anymore French I used in the same way Spanish and German but not as much because I don't have that many French friends but uhm same listening mostly speaking a bit and then typing if I need to but yeah that's it I mean Urdu and Punjabi English Spanish German French that's it

*MM: Are there major differences between Urdu and Punjabi because you are talking about the two of them together?*

Well I mean they're meant to be separate languages but because my grandparents on my dad's side speak Punjabi and my grandparents on my so my dad's side speak all Punjabi and my mum's side all speak Urdu and when I was learning when I was growing up obviously they were both my mum and dad spoke Urdu to me but my grandparents spoke Punjabi to me and I just kinda like as I was learning asked them what does that mean for example and they'd say that and I'd assume that that was the Urdu version uhm without knowing any difference so when I heard that and then the Urdu version I know them both as the same thing so I just could understand them both but then I'll speak to say my grandparents in fluent Urdu and they would understand me and they're like uhm because I'll the Urdu words instead of the Punjabi words and same if I speak to my mum's side of the family I might accidentally put a Punjabi word into that without even knowing it and they were like what's that word what does that mean so I learned them the same they're just the same language to me and I'm like uhm Punjabi and Urdu I put it down as but if I had to choose one it would be Urdu mainly because that's what mum speaks and that's what I hear most and that's why that's why I put the slash yeah I know they're not the same but you know but yeah

*MM: yeah no it's very interesting uhm could you tell me are there any stories or your family members who migrated to this country?*

With respect to

*MM: Who came to this country if you can tell me how your parents came to the UK for example?*

Well my parents my grand-parents moved to the UK for work I believe so my grand-dad they moved to London and they lived there my dad went to school there uhm grew up there did high-school did the university in XXX and obviously then they went back to Pakistan my mum came over they got

married then they moved to Cardiff but my grandparents have lived in London for gosh forty years now I've lived in Cardiff for twenty mum and dad have lived in Cardiff for twenty but then before that they lived in London for I think fifteen twenty years so I mean but yeah my mum's parents never well my mum's mum she never came to London she never moved out of Pakistan but obviously mum did follow you know dad but that's it really yeah uhm that's it really that's why they moved yeah I mean they moved for work and just better lifestyle better living

*MM: And both your parents came from Pakistan*

Yeah

*MM: And what's their occupation?*

Dad's a civil engineer mum's a teacher and translator but she does lots of things but yeah dad's a civil engineer trained in XXX and mum's a translator trained originally in Pakistan as a teacher she took the teacher qualification test over here again taught at a nursery in London and then came here to do translator work and now she is part of the Ethnic Minority school division so she helps the ethnic minorities learn English and that's what she does

*MM: What languages do your parents speak?*

Dad speaks much better German than I do uhm but the same Spanish level he speaks German French Spanish Urdu and Punjabi English uhm I think he knows some Italian uhm I think that's about it but mum pretty much knows so mum knows Urdu Punjabi Farsi French some German not so good in the Western languages but all the Eastern language apart from you know Chinese and Japanese she knows she knows like so many but yeah but I mean she's obviously Urdu for her is the first language and then her English is better than mine and even though I've grown up in England or UK but yeah that's what they that's the languages they speak

*MM: And what languages do they speak between each other?*

Urdu and English or Urdu when normal and then English when they're angry but I mean our house tends to be just English and the Punjabi or Urdu yeah dad speaks mainly English to me and my sister mum will speak Urdu and half and half really to me and my sister but then dad will speak Punjabi or Urdu to his parents on the phone for example but yeah that's we tend to speak whatever really you know we don't even notice anymore we just like transition between the two but yeah

*MM: Do you keep in contact with your grandparents on your father's side?*

Yeah yeah we tend to go up to London once a month to see them I mean we see them on like their birthdays and family functions of course but then uhm we tend to go up there once a month uhm tend to call them at least three times a week uhm yeah I should really call them uhm but yeah we see them quite often sometimes to ruin our weekend plans but yeah you know dad's like we're going to London I'm like god no I've got plans but yeah we speak often especially on the phone my grandma calls daily usually but I'm never home to pick it up always my sister and my mum pick it up but if they're on the phone I'll say hello and same thing with my mum's parents obviously I've been to Pakistan a few times uhm I think the last time I went it was about seven years ago but they tend to call each other about three times a week and I'll say hello and I mean sometimes they are starting to learn to use Skype so we Skype a lot now and I'd just say hello and again if there's somebody getting married or something we'll go fly there

*MM: What about other family members?*

There lots so my mum's side of the family tends to be mainly only in Pakistan but dad's side is around London there's a few in Germany there's a few in America we'd obviously keep in contact with the ones in London because they tend to come to London to visit their parents as well uhm all my

cousins and all that they live in the UK uhm we keep in contact often enough with the people in Germany my aunt and her sons but the one in America doesn't tend to speak much she's busy and the time the time difference is important also but yeah I mean the family's big very very big

*MM: And do you keep in contact a lot with the ones in Pakistan?*

Yeah uhm like I said

*MM: And how do you keep in contact?*

With the phone and Skype we tend to keep in contact or Facebook uhm but that tends to because they're all living near each other reasonably uhm either I mean my mum's sister they live near each other or in the same house uhm yeah and the two sons and the daughter but the daughter's married now so she's moved out but we keep in contact at least via Facebook uhm my grandma my mum's mum passed away recently and so obviously because of that we had to keep in contact and we have it's really weird it's like a well so yeah my mum doesn't have any parents anymore her dad died when she was little but they have like really really good family friends who we consider family and like lived together for like forty fifty years plus you know so I just consider them to be family I've never known any different uhm like when I was introduced to them they introduced as uncle auntie you know that kind of stuff so I just assumed they were part of the family in turns out they're not I was like huh so yeah even though they are not they are still family to me we keep in contact with them uhm yeah

*MM: And what languages would you use with them?*

They tend to always want to speak English to me always I'm like but I want to practice you know so if I'm over there they'll speak as much English as they can to me practise it and I'll try and respond obviously I'll respond in English but then if like my grandma when she was around she wouldn't speak English she would speak Urdu and I'd understand and respond uhm but most of the younger generation all speak English pretty fluently uhm my mum's sister my aunt she tends to just speak Urdu but she knows English as well but yeah that's about it really

*MM: And on Facebook?*

It's always English always always I don't know why maybe there's a translation thing or something I don't know but they all all the sisters and all the brothers they all put posts up in English and I mean sometimes they put Urdu up but not cuz you know you can put Urdu like the actual letters they don't they put it in English Urdu if that makes sense so they'll say you know a word which I know how to write in Urdu but they'll type it as if it was English so the pronunciation the enunciation type of thing and then that's how they'll type it to each other so yeah

*MM: But it's Urdu essentially like sounds of Urdu but written typed in*

English

*MM: English letters*

So if I wanted to say Salam which is hello

*MM: Yeah*

If I wanted to write it it wouldn't look like anything like English you know like different letters and you can do that on Facebook but they would just say S A L A M and that's how you read Salam so that's what they'll do yeah so Urdu I never thought of that before so that's good that's yeah so that's how they do it

*MM: But do you think they do this because it's easier to just type it?*

Probably it's probably a lot shorter to type as well and it helps them because obviously when they work cuz most of them work for multinational companies their English is the universal language in the company so it helps

*MM: What about the cousins and the families that live here in the UK?*

All English I mean all the cousins I'm one of the oldest cousins uhm there's three that are older than me and there's cousins that are like 15 16 20 uhm we all speak English to each other uhm my aunt who is the my youngest aunt will tend to speak English to me uhm but her sisters if they're speaking to me they'll speak English if they're speaking between themselves they'll speak a mix of English and Urdu obviously their parents they'll speak Urdu but I mean my grandparents obviously understand English fluently as well but yeah I mean we had a I'm just drawing from the last family function we had and everyone was just speaking like different languages I'm like but yeah English is the predominant language between us all

*MM: Right right but you would say that like the switches in languages depend on*

Who they're speaking to

*MM: Who they're speaking to like in terms of generation*

Yeah definitely generation

*MM: Mainly generation or even like relationships or gender or*

So my youngest aunt has no children so she's kind of like one of us if it makes sense

*MM: Yeah*

So she'll speak English to us but then her the eldest of the children of the family she has five children yeah five children but then she's quite uhm a lot more religious and she'll tend to speak Urdu to her children and to us but then if we'll respond in English she'll say some words in English and stuff it's a habit but yeah I'd definitely say it's more of a generation gap the difference

*MM I see I see could you tell me a bit about your childhood how did you learn Urdu slash Punjabi if you*

I wasn't actually formally taught it so it was just more like picking it up at home uhm so it's a funny story of mine first word apparently was newspaper apparently and I said that English and then I said it in Urdu almost afterwards because apparently I just knew what it was and so I just picked up words in Urdu uhm my mum would always say that I'm better at listening to Urdu so between me and my sister we have probably about the same level of speaking and writing it but then I'll pick up on a word that my sister won't understand just because I'll refer it from like the context better uhm in that way I'm probably a bit better in Urdu and Punjabi than she is but we were both never taught it we just picked it up by the surroundings mum my mum made a conscious effort to speak it to us when we were children uhm so that we would pick it up but she didn't sit down and teach us words and letters and stuff but yeah dad didn't help out he spoke English to us yeah and so that along with my grandparents visiting them and uhm just playing in the room while they're speaking and that type of thing when I was six seven I'd be listening in being you know a cheeky monkey listening to what they were saying and then somebody had to turn around to say something back and then are you listening I'm like yeah of course I am that type of thing but that's how I learned Urdu and Punjabi and that's how I mix the two because my grandparents and my mum they're speaking the two different languages and translating for each other and I'm like well they're the same to me so

*MM: I see I see you were saying that your father was speaking English and your mother was making a conscious effort to speak Urdu to you for example but have they ever told you like speak this language or speak this language or something like this?*

No they've always well I mean speak between Urdu and English you mean

MM: Yes

No I wouldn't say they have uhm sometimes my mum will say speak no no they don't they've definitely haven't said that no I mean I'll know what they want me to speak like kind of like if I'm speaking to uhm like a family friend from Pakistan I'll speak in Urdu I'll try to it's kinda rusty but they will never say speak Urdu I'll just like know because that's what's expected but they definitely haven't said you must speak this just whatever you

*MM: But they would sort of encourage you like your mother for example she would sort of encourage you like subtly*

If she did it subtly then I never noticed but when I was younger there was definitely more Urdu spoken when you know like between five and ten but now that I am you know twenty two they don't really care they're like they wouldn't encourage me cuz I speak a mix anyway which is quite funny cuz my sister hates it when I cuz the pronunciation is quite hard sometimes mum will say something and if you say it slightly wrong it means something completely different and my sister will say it and mum's like that's so rude what the hell are you saying and I'll say it perfectly and she's like why does he get to say it perfectly that type of thing but no they just uhm yes so when we were younger we were learning it and we were still learning English as well uhm they made a I guess a subtle effort to make us learn both at the same time and from then like when we started learning other languages we were kind of fluent in both already so by the time I was in high-school I was fluent in English of course and fluent in Urdu Punjabi kind of and then at home we'd speak whatever but then sometimes yeha my mum starts speaking in Urdu but yeah they never forced it on us but yeah

*MM: I imagine you can't remember but maybe like you know from your mother from your parents like you were born and when you were really really young whether they were speaking to you only in one language or it was exactly the same situation*

I think it was pretty much the same situation because I remember there's a video of when I was a couple of weeks old and my grandparents would speak Urdu my mum would speak Urdu but then my aunts would be talking to my dad and they'd be speaking English and then talking about me in English pretty much the same stuff that my mum was saying in Urdu anyway so that that's pretty much the same situation from then the two languages were side by side because there was always this plan that I was going to stay in the West I wasn't going to move home they were never gonna move home and so English needed to be learned

*MM: Do you feel that for your mother is important that you speak that you and your sister speak*

Yeah I think it was important that we did that and you know had the religious base background and everything it was definitely important I mean it's important to my dad that we have like the you know moral background religious background have the experiences in situations and that scenario but not as much as mum but I mean there's obviously some a few times mum would say why are you speaking English to them speak Urdu say that in Urdu but there's never anything serious it's just like say both so they get it you know

*MM: I see I see*

But then I would always say stuff like say dad said something to me in English I'd go to mum and say what's that in Urdu type of thing just so I know that type of thing just for my own knowledge but not at all but it's like if I'm learning it in English I'm also learning in Urdu as well so

*MM: Right what was it like growing up in your neighborhood and going to school and things like this regarding the languages were there many people who would speak Urdu slash Punjabi around or not really do you remember anything?*

In school setting my school's down the road

*MM: What school is that?*

It's XXX so obviously mum she would speak Urdu but at school she'd speak English cuz she taught at the school as well so the school my primary school at least was very heavily English nobody really spoke anything else uhm but around the same time if we're going to a friend's house for example uhm and their parents happen to be from Pakistan or something then they'd speak Urdu and I'd speak in Urdu to them but we didn't speak it in school in a school setting no

*MM: Yeah yeah not even during the breaks?*

Mum this is something that mum sometimes didn't like but I never really because there weren't that many Asians in my school I was probably there was four of us in my class we didn't tend to socialize with the year above year below we were enemies but yeah there's four of us we are all good friends but I tended to hang out with the white kids I know this white kids but yeah white kids they were my friends as well and I'd have friends in both groups and if I was with the white kids obviously I'd speak English and if I was with my fellow Asians uhm I'd speak English to them as well because that's what they spoke and that's what the school encouraged and that kinda went through the high-school as well I hung out mostly with the white kids and then I'd have I'd be like the go-between you know so I'm the only one who knows both but yeah school was definitely just all English

*MM: And you were saying something about your mother that she didn't like that or she liked that or*

My mum didn't really like that I would tend to be more friends with the white kids she said she was like sometimes like in my primary school she was like why aren't you friends with Asians and I was like I am friends with them there's just not many of them you know cuz you know I'd be like going to my friends' house down the road it was never really the Asian kids cuz the Asian kids live far away and so I think mum found it a bit not annoying she just questioned it she was like maybe she doesn't like them or something but I was friends with them just didn't really see each other outside of school that was it really

*MM: I see I see*

But yeah mum said that in high-school she's like you never have any nice Asian friends I'm like yes I do just never meet them

*MM: I see I see what about English what about learning English how did you learn English?*

So obviously I picked it up at home I started to pick it up I had English lessons at school but I was never like separate cuz some of the Asian kids had separate classes for the ethnic minorities so they'd go outside the class I mean I was the one time I remember I had some sort of I guess you call it special help uhm I had it in year 2 so that I don't even know how old I was 8 maybe maybe 7 oh 7 and so usually it's like we'd have the classroom and around that time another teacher would come in and take the ethnic minority outside like into sitting at a little table like this and we'd all go through the alphabet and say words and stuff and then apparently I said I don't know what I said but apparently that was it that told the teacher that I don't need it anymore cuz mum would say he doesn't need it he doesn't need because I didn't have any problems speaking English and because of that they just put me back and they were like we don't need this type of thing uhm so I learned English the same way that every other English kid learns English you know writing handwriting practice uhm letters alphabets pronouns adverbs and that stuff like I could never teach English cuz I don't I mean I don't even think about speaking English I mean

*MM: Yeah yeah it's just the normal*

Yeah it's just like well it's a pronoun I'd see the that's a conjunction whatever that type of thing so I learned it the same way that everyone else learned it in the school

*MM: Yeah you were telling me a little bit about your religion a bit earlier how important is religion for your family first and then for you*

Me personally ok uhm so religion in the family as a whole is Islam that is the family religion as a whole and I guess it goes back to generations my mum very religious my dad is very very very religious but not as he doesn't show it as much as my mum if that makes sense so he's more he obviously has his own identity he knows he's religious and he's obviously got Islam as his main the focal point of his you know life uhm he's not as overt about it as my mum uhm obviously my grandparents are very very religious

*MM: On both sides?*

Both sides and the older my dad's older sisters and older brothers they ok most of the sisters they're very religious as well my youngest aunt is a bit like me we'll come to that with regards to religion so our family as a whole me and my sister my parents we're very religious or were in my case

*MM: Could you tell me what you mean by very religious?*

So you know we would practice we're practicing Muslims so I've read the Qur'an I know the Qur'an I know the translation I've read it many times uhm the you know so has my sister uhm we did like you know Ramadan we know everything there is to know about Islam uhm and how to practice it and you know the rules and everything like that you know that's what I mean by very religious so like you know the four processes like my mum would have some four processes that would not necessarily be the first thing you think of but she'd be like no because my religion this is why I choose it that type of thing or her opinions on you know marriage or that type of thing so that's what I mean by very religious as in a very practicing Muslim who is devout so my mum would pray five times a day dad not so much he'd pray three cuz he's at work but the end of the generation they tend not to be so religious so my youngest aunt who is the aunt I'm closest to on my dad's side of the family she's she's like me we have obviously we grew up in a Muslim household and a lot of our beliefs and a lot of the way we think and you know I guess our moral compass if that makes sense is the way it is because of Islam but we're probably not we don't practice uhm like me I'll fast I'll do Ramadan because I'm at home uhm and because you know it's just expected of me but like some of the believes I just I don't call myself a practicing Muslim anymore because frankly I just don't really uhm I question a lot of things and having read a lot about all the other religions I can see I just don't agree with a lot of it I'm like well when I disagree with something you can't back it up with your religion and I'm like this is why because of this this and this you just even want to comprehend that type of thing and a lot of arguments have been about religion in our house

*MM: Alright so overt arguments with your family*

Yeah so like I'll be mum would call me reckless and insensitive because of that so I'll be like you know I'll be going with my friends and having fun and you know girls and all that type of stuff which is obviously kind of against mum's wishes she's like for example something that's uhm what I had to keep a secret when I was in high-school for example if I was dating a girl or seeing her and I'd be looking at my friends who'd be talking to their parents about you know sex or whatever uhm I'm like I could never talk to my parents about this this is like if I even brought up the subject mum would be like screaming at me for example or like drinking alcohol or you know whatever drugs whatever uhm and that's the reason I kinda really got annoyed with religion cuz there's like a barrier because I can never talk to my parents about stuff that was happening in school so you know like say girls or my

opinion on marriage so I could say my opinion on marriage I mean well I don't wanna have an arranged marriage that's fine and

*MM: What's their opinion on my marriage?*

They're like you're having an arranged marriage and I'm like no no and that's it I mean when I was like 15 16 I could do nothing to say no but now I'm 22 I'm like what are you gonna do if I say no you know uhm I guess more rebellion just because I can now so like marriage is one of the big things uhm the other thing ok that point ok you may choose your own wife I'm like thank you you know but then they are like but she has to be a Muslim I was like well why and that's another argument point which hasn't been sorted out yet but so that's dad agrees and my mum says she has to be a Muslim or any my sister has to marry a Muslim but yeah so that was kind of a talking point in our family argument point was religion and because of that I kind of distanced myself away from it because I was like well it just causes more arguments in my case especially with like stuff like marriage and Western society it just doesn't mesh very well you know I mean there are things like if I wanted to publicly renounce my religion then my parents would kind of like shut me

*MM: Really?*

Yeah so that's why you know religion wasn't my greatest friend I mean I've read all the other books I've read the Torah you know the Bible and stuff and they're the same in my opinion I'm like ok they're different believes but core beliefs are the same be a good person which is why I mean I agree with some of the stuff like because of religion is where I am but I don't say I'm religious because of it you know then I say my background is religious but and because of that I am who I am and that's why my decisions my thought process and my moral compass just kind of the code I live by I guess you can call is because of that and I am grateful for that because if I didn't have that then I could have been god knows what but yeah that's my view on religion

MM: I see I see what about I know that the Qur'an is written in Arabic uhm and I know that various people would go to school and they learn how to recite the Arabic did you have to do it or do you know how to do it

I didn't go to school uhm mum taught it to me at home so we'd have so we'd have I guess you could call it Qur'an lessons so mum would do her prayer at four o'clock five o'clock and then we'd have like a half an hour Qur'an lesson at home where we'd like I mean it started off learning the letters how to pronounce it properly then reading and writing the chapter and then we'd like progress slowly to reading a chapter then reading a book like there's 32

*MM: Books*

Books I guess 30 books like each one's got a chapter and stuff like that and that's how we learned it and that's how I recited the Qur'an but I never went to school or like a formal school I had mum teaching it to me cuz she's I mean she knew it she understood it uhm and she just taught it to me I the problem I found when I first learned it cuz I've read the Qur'an a few times the first time I read it fully obviously as a kind of learning as I go uhm I didn't really understand what I was saying in like I couldn't translate it between the page in my brain then I read the translation in English then I read the Qur'an again when I was a bit older so I was like 16 17 then and then I understood it in Arabic as well because maybe because I remembered the translation but yeah that's how I learned Arabic I can say I can read Arabic I can't speak it or write it writing is really hard man but yeah I'm very basic reading aloud

*MM: Reading aloud basic you said*

Yeah but you know that's only because of the Qur'an I mean I can read it if I was in Dubai I could probably read something but not know what it means

*MM: I see I know because it focuses quite a lot on recitation like the correct*

Yeah the first time I read it was very just reciting it like you know reading aloud not understanding it and then

MM: Like performing more than anything

Yeah that makes sense yeah so I like it's like say I wrote apple and then you learned a p p l e and you learned exactly how to pronounce a with apple like ['æ] and [p] but then you came to say [pe] you wouldn't know how to say [pe] you'd say say [p] something [a] that's how you'd say it so yeah just reciting it that's what I'm saying but yeah that's how I learned the Qur'an

*MM: I think it's a common experience because many people have told me the same so*

Yeah I'm sure it is but that was quite important to mum that we read the Qur'an and understood it etc.

*MM: I see I see and I assume you don't go to the mosque very frequently*

No I don't no no uhm I do if it's Ramadan or if there's like a religious holiday like Eid but not weekly or daily or anything like that

*MM: I see I see could you tell me during a typical day when do you use each of your languages?*

Well it varies I mean if my mum I guess I speak Urdu to my mum if she speaks Urdu to me but if she says something in English I'll respond in English uhm so it tends to be during the day I'll speak you know English or if I'm with some friends then German or Spanish uhm but very broken of course but at home evening time is mostly when I speak some Urdu cuz my mum's home uhm or if she's cooking I'll just help her or something but mainly just English all day and Urdu in the evenings

*MM: What about your sister what languages do you speak with your sister?*

English

*MM: English?*

Yeah it tends to only be English I don't know why but yeah I mean she was learning English the same way I did and then mum and dad were trying to get me to help her to learn English because she's younger than me so when I was maybe ten I spoke better English than she did and then I'd help her and because of that we always speak English to each other

*MM: How old is she?*

She's 19 very happy about managing to say that right away as well last time I said she was 18 she was like I'm 19 you idiot I was like oops she's 3 years younger than me so she's 19

*MM: Yeah I always do the same with my brother now I know that he's 30 just because he's 30 you know what I mean before that I would be like 20 7 8*

Like cuz I don't know about you but whenever my birthday is like say my birthday's in April so last April obviously I turned 22 but I always said 21 cuz I always forgot oh wait no I'm 22 now yay

*MM: I went to a job interview like a month after my birthday my birthday was in March and I went to a job interview in like April or May and I was like 24 and she asked me like one of the first questions was like how old are you and I'm like 23 and then like at the end of the interview I was like oh my god oh my god she is going to like read my date of birth and she's gonna say that I'm like trying to lie to her or something like this and I was like I'm really sorry I'm like 24 sorry*

Yeah but I mean I always it's horrible I shouldn't really forget my sister's birthday but I know exactly what day it is and what time and stuff I'm like I think she's 19 I think you know but yeah

*MM: Yeah what languages do you use for work you were saying that you use English?*

English because the people I work with are predominantly English uhm cuz the university department I work in is the majority are English my colleagues they are all English but then for example if cuz I work with patients uhm if for example I'm working with a Spanish patient who is struggling with a word then I'll just say it in Spanish to them and they're always so shocked but I'm like yeah I speak Spanish keep going so I'll be like testing them and I'd be like I don't understand and they say something in Spanish like to their wife or something and I'll just turn to them do you speak Spanish and say do you understand it oh yeah yeah so sometimes I'll speak Spanish or sometimes I'll speak German if they're Asian or Pakistani I tend not to work with them because they don't no athletes come in for some reason but other departments do and sometimes they ask for me to come and quickly just speak to XXX but yeah I mean sometimes I even had it when up in the hospital I used to work uhm and I just happened to be walking past a ward where somebody was struggling to speak Urdu and English I'd just translate quickly but yeah work just tends to be in English

*MM: What about Spanish how did you learn Spanish?*

I originally learned Spanish in high-school through lessons up to GCSE and then I went on holiday and spoke a lot a lot of Spanish and that's why I think it made me remember it very well because when you're in Spain you want to speak Spanish even though they speak English I gotta try you know that's one thing I do uhm but then I stopped and I went to university and in my third year of university uhm I started learning Spanish in the evenings again so you know the classification to get the European A that thing in Spanish and then that's how I learned Spanish but it's just hobby I'm trying to learn Russian and Japanese at the moment

*MM: Oh really?*

Russian's really hard I'm still struggling to learn the alphabet I'm like god dammit it's just so long but yeah that's how I learned Spanish

*MM: And Japanese you said*

I literally just started that I literally just opened the book and I was like oh that's A

*MM: And what's your motivation for learning*

Boredom I mean one of my main I mean it's like the life challenge I've set myself it's like 50 countries by the time of 50 and Japan's the big country that I want I would like to live in Japan if I could at least for you know a year or Korea but Japan because I don't know why it's always been from when I was really young I've always wanted to go to Japan and I will so that's what I'll do

*MM: I see I see what languages do you read in?*

Read

*MM: Yeah anything from newspapers to books to social media*

English

*MM: English*

Yeah I mean my friends will post something up in Italian or something I mean I can sometimes read Italian because of Spanish but some of them post something in Spanish on Facebook or I'll put a German thing up and I'll comment in German but it tends to be just English social media I only use

Facebook for like I don't even know what I use Facebook for but I sit there uhm newspapers and books they're all in English so

*MM: Yeah yeah what languages do you watch TV in?*

English and sometimes if I'll watch like there's a show I used to watch called Community which uhm there are two Spanish characters in there and they'll speak Spanish to each other but they'll have the subtitles but I'll understand the Spanish and I you know stuff like that I'll watch like an Urdu film or something uhm or a Punjabi film if it's on and I just happen to be in the living room or something uhm and I guess that's watching it in Urdu even though I mean they sometimes have subtitles but I don't need them yeah but majority like if I was watching a film for example or a TV show in English

*MM: Do you have separate TVs and one is like has Urdu?*

No no no uhm we have there's like an Urdu channel or something and I don't know mum puts it on uhm which has like films and TV shows and dramas and stuff but yeah she watches that and I just sit there sometimes watching it you always tend to watch cooking programs I don't know why yeah I mean I have my own computer in my room for work and I tend to watch stuff on my computer

*MM: I see I see and what's your favourite TV show then?*

At the moment my favourite TV show of all time is [?] and that's a cartoon I mean I like you know House like the Dr that stuff House of Cards like I mentioned there's a show called Chuck Chuck Love

*MM: It's not the one with like the doll*

No no that's a film the scary one no Chuck is a comedy but I guess it's like a it's a bit of everything like comedy action drama romance and stuff you know that and what I'm watching I don't know what I'm watching at the moment I tend to yeah just browse uhm yeah

*MM: What about websites do you read anything in Urdu?*

No not really it tends to be just English I mean sometimes if I'm feeling like reading if like one of my friends posts something in Spanish or a link to a Spanish website or a German one I'll click on it and I'll read it but eventually I'm like I don't understand that word click translate and I'll just translate the entire page and read it like that but yeah it tends to be just English 99% of the time English yeah just cuz sometimes I don't even notice my computer translating oh this is a translation so

*MM: Well it's pretty handy isn't it?*

Yeah Google Translate is really good you just gotta remember that it's not always completely correct which is quite funny so

*MM: How important it is for you to be able to speak Urdu and Punjabi and English?*

I think it's really important just to learn all the languages like one on one uhm because like I mean I class myself as multilingual uhm but I think as soon as you learn more than one language it's easier to learn all the other languages and that's why I think it's important because you well I just think it's important to learn all the languages because I mean if you need to speak to somebody and they don't understand English then what are you going to do for example or one of the probably there's a story that dad told me which is quite uhm surprising he was working with a client you know he was trying to secure a client for a project and all the other competition would just be English but he had I mean one of the colleagues happened to speak Algerian or something and the guy was the head CEO was Algerian and they just spoke in Algerian and because of that he gave them the contract and just because of that and well that just shows you languages are important so I think it's very very important that you should learn more than one I mean not necessarily just Urdu and Punjabi English Spanish and French and keep adding for example

*MM: I see yeah well these are all my questions if you'd like to add anything*

No I mean I'm sure as soon as I leave the room I'll be like yeah I could say that

*MM: Well send me an email*

Yeah sure I mean yeah I mean I think I've answered them to my best ability

*MM: Thank you so so much for coming thank you very very much yeah so this would be about it*

## Aisha

*MM: First if you could tell me a little bit about yourself like your name your age where you were born?*

My name is XXX I was born in Cardiff and I'm 19 years old and I study at XXX Uni I study Law I'm second year

*MM: You're second year already*

Yeah

*MM: How many years do you have to study Law here?*

It's three and then you do well you apply for like scholarships to do a fourth year called legal practice course and it's best to get a scholarship cuz it costs 10,000 pounds if you don't have one and I can't afford that so I need to work hard to make sure I get a scholarship for the fourth year cuz if you don't do your fourth year you can't be a qualified solicitor

*MM: So it's basically mandatory*

Yeah otherwise you just have a like law degree which you can't do anything with so it's mandatory to the fourth year

*MM: I understand how come you started studying Law?*

I studied it at when I was 17 18 in college and I really enjoyed it so I thought I should go into Law then and I was quite good at it so I wanted to actually be a doctor but my chemistry grades weren't kind of enough I used to study so hard for chemistry and then in the end I was just like oh I can't do it so I'll do Law instead

*MM: Ok*

But I'm really glad I do law now because I love it so much I have so much fun and you know when you're good at something you enjoy more so

*MM: Yeah absolutely absolutely*

So I love doing it now but second year is so much harder than the first year it's just like double the work and then more reading the first year was easy and then I was just like hopefully the second year will be the same but it's so much harder I didn't realize like how hard it would be but everyone's saying that third year should be a bit better cuz you'll be used to the pressure so I'm like hopefully

*MM: I guess that like even the job itself it involves quite a lot of pressure in a way so maybe uni is good cuz it sort of prepares you for reality in a way and afterward you won't feel it as pressure anymore because you'll know how to handle it*

You'll be used to it I'll be used to hopefully all the reading there's so much reading I'm like oh I don't wanna do anymore

*MM: And do you have to write essays and things like this or how does the program work?*

Every week we have two prep seminars so they give you like I do four topics so I currently do media law evidence law which two you can choose and and the two compulsory ones are land law and taught law so every week they'll give you prep work for like two of them and then you sit in class and then you have to like discuss like the work you've done and the cases you've read and stuff but sometimes you have well I just did an assignment but it doesn't count for anything but sometimes you'll have assignments which count towards your final mark but at the end of the year they just

give you a three hour exam for each one and it's like four essay questions you have to do so you have to like read loads and try to memorize the cases to like put in there to like back up your points and stuff like that it's not too bad cuz I do have a good memory with memorizing stuff but it's like easier when you know what the question is which would never happen they wouldn't tell you the exam paper

*MM: Of course of course yeah can you tell me a little bit more about your languages the languages that you use in any way not necessarily that you speak fluently but that you use on a regular basis or you have knowledge of?*

English is my first language so I've grown up with that but then my mum also speaks Urdu with me but I don't reply because I'm not fluent and I reckon I could be fluent if I practice but you know when you are a bit shy in case you get a word wrong so I don't tend to say anything so when I go back to Pakistan I don't say anything in Urdu they all speak to me in Urdu and I'll reply in English and they'll understand so it's not too bad but I do wish I could try and have more confidence to speak it but I'm just embarrassed in case I get a word wrong but it's not too bad and yeah my grandparents speak Punjabi so that's a lot harder because I don't haven't grown up with that one that much so when they speak to me I just have to nod and say yeah ok it just takes me a while to process what they are saying cuz I try to change it all in English in my head and then by the time I've changed it in English they're like oh never mind but yeah those my mum just tends to we in my house we tend to just speak English and Urdu but I can read Arabic because of the Qur'an and but I can't speak it as in speak it like fluently in the language I can only speak it and read it when I'm reading the Qur'an but that's about it

*MM: Could you tell a little bit obviously I know some bits but could you tell me a little bit about your family were they born here did they come here where did they come from originally?*

My mum and dad are both from Pakistan and I think my mum grew up there and my dad moved to London when he was I don't know how old and then that's about it but then my most of my all my mum's side of the family live in Pakistan but my dad's parents live in London and then the rest his brothers and sisters live all around everywhere and then the rest of his family lives in Pakistan as well and then we're over here everyone else is in England and we're in Wales

*MM: Yeah it's a common thing like my parents are still like yeah our daughter is in England and I'm like yeah it's not England but it's ok*

Everyone just assumes cuz UK England and then it's just like well there is Wales and Scotland

*MM: I'm like I'm in Wales but it's ok just keep saying whatever you want*

When you come to visit me just make sure you come to Wales

*MM: Yeah yeah exactly uhm and do your parents do?*

My mum is a ethnic minority teacher so she helps people well children who have come from abroad and then my dad is an engineer and that's about it

*MM: What languages does your father speak?*

He speaks Punjabi but he can't speak Urdu that well

So that's why also in my house because my mum and dad speak different languages then it's harder for me to grow up with speaking all three so my mum can speak many different languages but my dad can only speak English and Punjabi so it's just harder like when I was growing up but I do wish I could speak it fluently I have a friend actually who in her house they speak Punjabi and then she's so good at it and I study with her as well she also does law with me and it's really cool when I hear her I'm like I can understand everything she's saying but I wouldn't be able to say anything so when she's

on the phone talking to her parents and her parents are speaking to her I'm just like I know what they said but I wouldn't be able to reply I find Urdu much easier to speak compared to Punjabi cuz it's a more softer language the other Punjabi is more like a harsh language

*MM: Is it?*

Yeah it's quite fast as well so when people do speak it to me it's so fast I'm just like what did you say again just slow it down a bit

*MM: But Urdu you understand*

I understand it pretty much fluently like I can watch dramas and know what they're saying sometimes I'll have to say to my mum say what did they just say what does that word mean and then she'll tell me and I'll try to like remember it so I do understand it but I can't read or write it so I tried to learn once how to actually read it my grandma tried to teach me but it didn't happen very well I was just like I can't do it and then I left

*MM: But it's a completely different alphabet isn't it is it the Arabic alphabet is it similar to the Arabic alphabet*

It's supposed to be similar but to me I can't understand anything I can't read anything like Arabic I find quite easy to read only like the Qur'anic Arabic but uhm when I tried to read a magazine like my mum had I wouldn't be able to I was just like I don't know this this isn't familiar to me so it was completely different I felt like it was completely different my mum was like no it's the same it's the same I was like but you're fluent you know it it's easier when people are fluent they're like it's really easy but when you just like I can't do that but yeah that's about it

*MM: I see what about your relatives you were saying that your grandparents they speak Punjabi to you?*

They also speak sometimes broken English but they do speak English at times but majority of the time they'll just speak Punjabi and then sometimes I'll have no idea what they're saying I'm just like I don't know what you said but then all my dad's side of the family who live in the UK speak English like everyone just communicates in English but then my mum's side in Pakistan they all just speak Urdu and they can speak English so they'll just reply it I'll speak English and they'll understand it and then they'll just reply in Urdu and I'll understand it

*MM: Do you visit Pakistan quite often then?*

I visit it about every two three years I was planning of going this year but I'm not too sure with all the work so my mum was just like come you should try and come but I'm just like I have so much law work to do and it's in semester time I feel if it was in holiday time I would go but it's in February so it's just after the holidays when I have practice exams and stuff like that and I'm just like I can't miss them

*MM: Yeah and then sometimes you feel you think like ok I'm gonna go on holiday and I'm gonna take my work with me*

Yeah that never happens I did that once I took my law work over there and I don't think I saw it the whole two weeks I was just like I'll come back in the evening I'll come to this but you're too busy having fun with all the relatives that you're just like I don't need to do my law work right now and then you come back and you're just like I should have done it

*MM: Yeah yeah*

I did that actually two weeks ago I went to Amsterdam and it was only for a few days so I tried to make sure I got all my work done like two weeks-worth of work done in four days and it was so

stressful but I managed to do it so I was just like oh this is ok I can enjoy my holiday but I did take it I would never take it on holiday it was with the law society so it was just like yeah

*MM: Ah ok it was basically work*

Yeah that's what I was trying to say yeah it's a school trip but yeah I didn't do any work it never happens people always try to say I'll do my work when I'm there and I'm just like no

*MM: No no I know from my personal experience that I never do any work when I'm like back home or on holiday I didn't even I've never tried taking my work on holiday but when I go for example I'm from Romania so when I go to Romania sometimes I'm like yeah I'm gonna write this essay there never happens I'm never home like I'm always like going out with my friends yeah could you tell me a little bit about your childhood what was it like to grow up in your house from the point of view of languages?*

It was ok I think I guess we just normally used to speak English and then I remember my mum teaching us Arabic so we could read the Qur'an and that was a mission at times because we were like we have to do more work now and then I don't really remember her speaking Urdu that much with us I think she'd speak and then I think actually when we were younger we used to try and speak more Urdu than we do now because I think when you're younger you're less embarrassed of getting something wrong and now you're just like oh I've said that wrong or with your accents it's funnier also actually when I do go to Pakistan uhm it's embarrassing when cousins like make fun of accents because obviously they'll have a different accent when they speak their language and then when you try to speak the language it's more of an UK British accent on the language and they just laugh and it's so embarrassing that's why I'm just like no I'm not saying anything anymore but yeah the childhood was just mostly us just learning English and then Arabic and then my mum just occasionally speaking to us in Urdu and we'd just reply in whichever language

*MM: Would she try to is she now trying to speak more Urdu to you like as you've grown up or?*

Yeah I think she now speaks more Urdu with us because we actually I think she's always spoken she does English and Urdu like mixture so then we'll know what she's saying and we'll just reply in English and then I think as you as we've grown up well as I've grown up I tend to pick up more on what she's saying and it doesn't actually I used to have to change it into English but now it just comes like naturally a bit what she's saying I'm just like ok I'll go it so it's I think as we're older she does tend to speak with us in Urdu but we still reply in English

*MM: But I remember they were telling me that you are the most amazing one with the accents and everything?*

Yeah I can do different accents as in if someone says to do like a Welsh accent or a Irish accent or American accent I can them but I can't speak the language if it's in English I'll do it but I tend to like learn languages I can learn languages quite quickly but it's just like in case I get something wrong I don't like to say anything which my mum always tells me that it's fine to get it wrong cuz it's not fluent so I'm just like yeah but I don't it's more embarrassing when cousins make fun my mum's side of the family tend to make more fun but then they do try to tell me no it's fine we're only joking about I'm like no

*MM: I see I see uhm were you encouraged by your parents to speak English inside the house?*

No I think we've always been encouraged to speak Urdu my mum always encourages us to speak Urdu I think my dad's side my dad's side of the family encourages more to speak English because they said as we were growing up then it would affect us if we had two languages and stuff like that but I know loads of people who've grown up with so many different languages and they're fine English is such an easy language I think to learn it's a universal language anyway now so I think it's I forgot the question I don't know what I said

*MM: If you've been encouraged by your parents to speak English*

My dad's side of the family encourages us but then as we've grown older they've encouraged us to speak more Urdu because it's just like it's good to know a different language with everything in the world you can go travelling and like go to different countries then and speak and I'm like yeah I suppose but in school we learn uhm in high school I learned French and Spanish but I'm obviously I'm not fluent but I enjoyed Spanish a lot I thought Spanish was really similar with uhm to Urdu and Punjabi cuz it's quite a fast language so it wasn't too bad when people like speaking it but I could speak more of that than understand it cuz when they do speak it it's so fast I was just like slow down I'll catch up on like a few words but I enjoyed that one more than French sorry to any French people

*MM: No I find Spanish much easier than French as well*

French the accent's really hard I think to put on

*MM The accent and so many exceptions to the rules that it's like I'm like no*

And I find it actually when we used to listen to French recordings I would have no idea what they were saying because they have such a strong accent I'm like what did they say but it does sound so nice I love like hearing people speak different languages it's so nice cuz I have a friend who speaks fluent Arabic on the phone to her parents and it sounds so cool I'm just like I wish I could do that and I also had a friend who's Serbian and he speaks fluent Serbian and it was really cool to hear it was really nice

*MM: Yeah yeah it's always nice to listen to other languages*

Yeah exactly you're like what did they say

*MM: yeah what about school how did you learn English?*

I think I went to an English school anyway so primary school everyone communicated in English and then we also used to try and learn Welsh in primary school cuz it was Welsh was compulsory but no one ever really cared about learning Welsh and then high-school was just French and Spanish we had to learn along with English but English was just like I think it was quite easy to learn I can't remember actually learning it it's weird to know how did you learn the language

*MM: But obviously you picked it up from*

Everywhere

*MM: Do you have any particular memories of using other languages inside the school I'm thinking mainly about Urdu because I know people who for example they speak Arabic as well apart from English and they would speak Arabic with their friends so that nobody else understands what they are saying?*

Yeah yeah I never used to do that actually I think sometimes in primary school me and my friends used to try and do it so they wouldn't have a clue what we were saying but then we weren't all fluent so it was a bit of a fail because I don't think in the end we knew what we were saying but in high-school no there wasn't that many I had a few friends who were from Pakistan but they couldn't speak at all as in they only spoke English so they didn't know anything as in they couldn't it either so I was the only one that could understand what was being said but then they'd understand like a few words if I'd like say something like oh look at that person over there and then they'd laugh if I said something clearly not supposed to be said actually yeah most people who know a different language when they want to like insult someone they tend to use their own language so the person won't know it's what everyone does my mum even does it in the shops or when she's driving I'm just like and then because she add English in there as well it's funnier because I'm pretty sure the person will

know like oh that person in the red coat is blablabla and then she's like she's wearing a red coat mum she knows

*MM: Yeah especially because when you're putting together two language sometimes you forget what you're saying in what language*

Yeah most people tend to use their own language to insult other people which is like bad but uhm yeah I don't remember in primary school or high-school actually using it that much because actually primary school yeah more but high-school no one else used to speak so it was just English everywhere yeah

*MM: You were saying now that you speak more Urdu than your friend you think that their parents wouldn't speak to them in Urdu or why would it be?*

I know one of my friends said that her mum doesn't speak it so she never learned it and then that her dad used to try and speak it but then I think it's harder if actually both the parents don't speak the language because then you're just growing up like which one do I speak so she said her dad would speak Urdu with her and then her mum would speak English but because her mum didn't understand anything then it was harder cuz then they'd have to speak English to each other yeah

*MM: I understand yeah but what language would your parents speak in?*

I think my mum speaks Urdu but then she can speak Punjabi but my dad only speaks Punjabi so then my mum just tended to speak Urdu cuz that's her first language and then I think Punjabi is her second one so she just tends to speak to us in Urdu yeah I think Urdu is easier to learn anyway so but I don't know if that's because I've grown up here and that won more than the other one so it's not too bad

*MM: I have another section about religion so I would ask first how important is religion to your family?*

I'd say quite important just to remember just basic stuff about your religion I know to my mum is very very important to remember that and then to me it's quite important as well but yeah

*MM: Yeah that was my next question whether to you is equally important*

Yeah to me it's important cuz I think it's good to know that what religion you have and to follow like basic principles but then I also I think like being a good person is just the best thing you can do as well

*MM: Yeah yeah and you were telling me that you know Qur'anic Arabic basically and how come you learned this*

My mum just taught me the alphabet when I was younger and then in the end we'd read it together and she'd teach me and then she'd be like this is that letter and then it's just like so sometimes I do forget it if I haven't read the Qur'an in ages I'd be like I forgot everything said here but then once you just keep reading it the more you like remember and stuff like that so I think that's actually with any language though if you just keep practicing you'll get better and better at it which I need to do actually I should do that but I'm always too busy

*MM: Well we are all very very busy yeah*

Yeah

*MM: And for how long did she use to teach you to read the Qur'anic Arabic because I presume that it's quite complex isn't it?*

I think she taught us when we were younger so when you are younger I think it's easier to learn and then every day we had to read like 10 minutes of the Qur'an so in the end it just because oh I know what's being said now so I can read it but I don't have a clue what it's saying that's the problem as well so I try to read it in English as well so I know what's being said but when I read in Arabic I have no clue what's saying to me I'm just reading something which I have no clue what's saying

*MM: But I find that this is pretty much the experience of many people because they learned how to sort of perform it*

Yeah but they don't know what's being said unless they're Arabs themselves and they understand it

*MM: Yeah and even then it's also like almost like a different language isn't it?*

Yeah cuz I think it's different to normal Arabic uhm but I think they'd understand a bit of it well should be able to understand but yeah I don't understand anything that's being said so I just basically know how to perform it but don't know what's being said

*MM: And why is it so important to know how to read it out loud and to recite it why do you think that's so?*

I think it'd be just as important if I read it in English but I think it's good to know how to read it in the actual language itself and the way it's written and I think also when it's in Arabic there's different sounds which you make when you say different uhm words or letters so I think it's more important to say in Arabic because it's the actual language in which it was written but I think yeah it has been translated into English but yeah I just tend to read it in Arabic more I actually find it more fun when I read it in Arabic as well cuz I'm like oh I can read a different language but in English it wouldn't I don't think it'd be as more fun to read in English but it'd probably benefit me more so I'd know what it's saying

*MM: Yeah I guess a combination*

Yeah so I have been trying to I have like a recording on my phone of it all in Arabic and then it says every bit in English as well but it's seems to be taking forever for me to listen to cuz it's just like so long

*MM: Is it the entire Qur'an?*

Yeah and it's really long cuz they'll say in Arabic a few like bits and then they'll translate it in English and then they'll say more in Arabic and translate in English and by that time I've fallen asleep

*MM: It must be very long then*

So I don't I'm literally still only like I'm not even a third way through I'm just like no I'm not third way through so I'm trying to understand it but it's more fun I think actually just reading in Arabic

*MM: And when you read it do you tend to read it out loud or that's what you find fun or?*

I some when I read it to my mum I read out loud but now that I'm older I just tend to read it to myself but I tend to whisper because then I know what I'm I think if I read it in my head I wouldn't know what I'm saying as much so I tend to whisper so I know to make sure that I'm getting actually the sound right otherwise I think in your head you can be like oh yeah I said it right but really out loud you'd be like no that's not how it's said so I just tend to whisper it to myself if I'm reading it just out there I'd just whisper it like I won't whisper it I'd just like move my mouth but not say anything but when I read out loud it's like it's quite tiring actually reading out loud

*MM: Is it?*

I find it quite tiring I'm like oh God I don't wanna do anymore now so then I'll just read it back in my head like whisper it

*MM: Yeah because I imagined that you have to focus on so many little things to get the pronunciation right isn't it?*

Yeah cuz sometimes like like a dot and a one uhm like they could a line and a dot underneath it or above it and you pronounce it completely different or you have to like stop differently and if there's no dot you do something different so it's just like little things that you have to focus on

*MM: But I guess it's almost like driving when you first start driving you have to think about so many things and you're like*

Yeah I've started I've actually started to learn how to drive recently and it's like at the start ok I need to do this and now I'm just like yeah ok but I still haven't passed yet I'm still doing but I do need to pay attention

*MM: How many lessons do you need to take?*

I think there's no set hours I know some people who have done like had so many lessons and then I know some people who were just like oh I had five lessons and I passed but those are mostly boys who are like into cars I think but I've so far had like ten lessons but I'm still quite nervous cuz I'm just like when someone beeps I'm just like I'm sorry and she's like you didn't do anything wrong but you automatically think cuz you're a learner and if they beep you assume that it's your fault

*MM: Yeah yeah in Romania we need to take 30 lessons before actually taking the exam*

I don't know someone said to me that we have like a set number of lessons but I don't know I didn't pay attention cuz I know some people who've just been like oh yeah I've passed after like 5 lessons but I don't know if they had like actually been practicing illegally you never know

*MM: Yeah would you say that you attend religious services regularly so would you go to a mosque?*

I don't tend to attend that many well no actually I don't attend any but then it's not really compulsory for girls to attend it's more of a boy thing should go but then when it's uhm the month of Ramadan then I do tend to go a lot with my mum but this year I didn't go that much because my mum was working so then when you go there you can be there till like one two in the morning and then my mum would have work at seven eight the next day so she'd be like no but I wouldn't I didn't go by myself so I just I tend to just stay at home and my mum will give me all these books and say you should read these but I don't actually read them at times as I should but I think it's because I'm always so tired I'm just like ok I'll do it but then you just put it to the side but no I don't attend that many I joined you know in XXX Uni they have these societies so I did join the Islamic society but I never went to anything but that's because I'm really lazy when it comes to extra-curricular activities

*MM: Yeah but on the other hand you're so busy with everything else that it's understandable*

So when I'm not doing law work I'd rather just go either like home and just well I'd be at home but watch TV or I'll just rather hang out with friends instead of going to these societies even though I know with these societies you meet new people but they're not people you can hang out with everyday and I do tend to just normally hang out with my friend who's on the same course as me cuz then well they're like oh yeah did you do this work and then there's more in common to talk about and then she lives quite near me so then I'll hang out with her friends and actually she lives in a house full of like people who speak different languages

*MM: Oh does she?*

Yeah it's really cool cuz I'll go at their house and she can speak two languages she speaks English and Punjabi and then she also lives with a Lithuanian girl who speaks Lithuanian and English and then a Polish girl who'll speak Polish and English and then a French girl and then there's also a Bulgarian girl so it's just a house full of different languages but then they all speak English to each other but when we wanna like uhm record stuff like oh say this in this language will ask everyone and I'll say it it's really funny cuz then sometimes you know when you phone people and speak in a different language as a joke and then the other person is like what yeah we do stuff like that which is really childish actually when you think about it that sometimes we prank call people and speak different languages

*MM: But who would you prank call?*

We prank call like other friends of ours and then in the end they're like I know it's you and this was like yeah but yeah they're so call when you hear them all speak different languages

*MM: Yeah yeah what languages do you watch TV in?*

English and then I think I tend to watch actually Indian films but that's not in Urdu or Punjabi it's more it's Hindi but cuz it's so similar to Urdu I'll understand what's being said so actually I think I understand actually more Hindi than Urdu because I tend to watch so many of the films that I'll pick up on that language more but then I do have to have subtitles sometimes I'll have the subtitles but if there's no subtitles I just have to turn to my mum and be like what did they say and she'll tell me but yeah I just tend to watch English or Hindi films

*MM: And then for the Hindi films you would have subtitles in English?*

Yeah and then I think I've in the summer actually I watched quite a lot of Urdu dramas to try and improve mine so I was watching one which had like quite a lot of hard words which I didn't have a clue of what they were saying and my mum would just say yeah this one is a really hard one so then she'd have to like watch it with me and tell me what's happening so I was like ok but then I'd try to search for the ones with subtitles on just so I'd understand but I do try to watch them and then not look at the subtitles and understand what they're saying and then quickly look at the subtitles see if I got it right so I'm just like I just tend to do that when I'm watching the film but I don't tend to watch that much TV in general actually I'm more of a social networking person

*MM: Yeah what about social networking?*

I just tend to use English or speak English on all social networks but then sometimes I'll message my friend so I'll type in Google and see how to say the type the words in English but with a different spelling so uhm and then will say like send it to each other it's just one or a few words me and my friends do that but not that much it's mostly English

*MM: yeah yeah that's for Urdu basically*

Yeah cuz one of my friends who speaks Punjabi she'll speak English with me but then because I understand what she's saying she'll add in a few words of oh yeah in her language and I'll know what she's saying so I'm just like oh ok yeah and then I'll do the same but with Urdu cuz she understands it a bit but not as much so I'll be like oh yeah this is that in that language and then also because I have an Arab friend I tend to like pick up on some of the words she said but not as fluent well obviously not fluently because I don't speak it but it's really cool when she speaks it so she'll like teach us a few words and that's about it really

*MM: But would you like to learn Arabic at one point?*

Yeah I think it would be really good to learn Arabic cuz I think it's such a nice language when they're speaking it but then I think all languages are so cool I'd love to be fluent in another language yeah I

was hoping I'd be like trying learn Spanish but then I think it would be good to learn Urdu cuz that's my second language I count as yeah so good to learn that so when I do go back to Pakistan at least I'll be able to communicate better I just need to learn how to read and write it

*MM: But obviously you have a very high level of Urdu maybe it's more like not being afraid of making mistakes in a way it would do*

I think that's mostly it I could just have a bit more confidence but then cuz I haven't learned to read and write it I think I'd have to do that as well so I'd know like then be a fluent I think though if you spend enough time in one country you'd learn how to speak it and then pick up on it very fast so I think I'm half way there just need like have a bit more confidence then I'd push it to full length all the way yeah

*MM: I think so like according to what you are saying uhm what languages do you read in like social media website books anything*

All English everything's in English cuz I can't read any other language apart from Arabic but the Qur'anic one but then online I wouldn't read anything in a different language but I can read uhm Spanish because I learned it in high school but I can read it but you don't know what's being said so it's just like just reading any random letters off a page and be like oh yeah is that right but yeah it's mostly all in English well actually it's all in English I don't know any other to read in

*MM: And the Qur'an how often would you say that you read it?*

Not as much now but in summer I tend to read it a lot more I try to like finish it but it takes a long time but in summer more but during throughout the year I'm just too tired all the time

*MM: And in summer there's the Ramadan*

Yes, I do tend to read it more then because I'm trying to be more religious in that month but then throughout the year I don't read it that much even though my mum says you should read and I think it's good to read it a bit everyday as in like keep it fresh in the mind but I don't do that

*MM: During a typical day when do you use each language so starting from morning till evening let's say*

In the morning I don't speak to anyone cuz no one's at home and then when throughout the day I'll just speak English and then my friend whom I hang out with sometimes like add a bit of Punjabi and that but it's not fluent it's just like one or few words and then in the evening it's a mixture of English and Urdu when I'm with my mum it's more of she'll speak Urdu and I'll just reply in English but when it's all of us we'll all speak me and my mum and my dad will speak English and then no me and my brother and my dad will speak English and then my mum will do a mixture of both so we all understand what's being said though but it's majority English

*MM: But would you reply with a bit of Urdu as well?*

I think sometimes when it's just me and my mum I reply more just a little bit of Urdu but then other than that it's just mostly English I'm like what did you say yeah ok but sometimes I'll add like one sentence in Urdu and that's quite it one sentence trying to get all right

*MM: I see I see thinking about Cardiff how do you think others perceive people who speak different languages?*

I think Cardiff's so multicultural that like so many different languages are spoken here but then everyone does speak English so I think it's ok I don't think anyone ever has a problem with someone speaking a different language because I think everyone over here likes to hear different well I love hearing everyone speaking different languages this is so coll and then cuz there's so many types of

people here anyway I think people are just used to it over here now it's just like a common thing like  
uhm you're from here ok cool

*MM: Well these were all my questions actually so if you'd like to add anything*

I don't know if I have anything to add

*MM: That's fine alright thank you very very much*

## Faiza

*MM: If you could first start telling me a little bit more about yourself like your name your age and where you were born*

Ok my name is XXX I'm 34 and I was born in Cardiff

*MM: What languages do you know and how regularly do you use them?*

My main language is English it's the one I am most fluent in uhm I read I speak and I write in English it's the language I am most comfortable communicating in as well my parents' mother tongue and I suppose mine is Urdu and Punjabi because my parents are originally from Pakistan uhm they both moved here before I was born uhm we didn't really well us kids didn't really speak that much Punjabi or Urdu at home my parents did but then we would respond to them in English especially when we started going to school and we started learning the language uhm it was English was our main language at home but they would speak in Punjabi and Urdu and we would understand and then and then they started they themselves started communicating in English with us as well but it was always a mix between English and Urdu and Punjabi whereas we were mostly English and a couple of words here and there of Urdu and Punjabi uhm I'm not confident in speaking Urdu or Punjabi and I can get I can kinda get by you know in a way like putting words together that would make a sentence but it's not as good as a you know naturally natural speaker of the language uhm yeah

*MM: Yeah and could you tell me a little bit more about your occupation and what do you do in general*

Currently in between jobs at the moment but I work within the social welfare field so

*MM: Do you get to use any Urdu or Punjabi?*

Not necessarily uhm in the last job that I had I was working for a social welfare organisation and they had it's focused on Muslim and black and ethnic minority communities so when there was a someone who I did act as an advocate for a woman who couldn't whose first language wasn't English and she couldn't really speak English uhm so I had to act as an advocate for her translating from Urdu and Punjabi to English and then conversing with her again translating English into Urdu and Punjabi I think I did ok because she seemed to understand what I was saying so yeah

*MM: Ah ok then your level of Urdu and Punjabi*

It's probably a bit better than I say myself I couldn't read it and I couldn't write it uhm but yeah that's I can speak it to some extent

*MM: Could you tell me a little bit about your parents like how did they decide to come here and when did they come here?*

They both came separately my mum came uhm my grandad my mum's dad used to be in the British Army so he moved here after I think the Partition happened in India and Pakistan so he moved here and he was married to my grandmother and he came here for work obviously once he was settled up with his job and everything he uhm my my grandmother with my mum and my uncle and aunties they came over they started school here they were in language school first and then you know they progressed uhm my dad he was uhm travelling around he left Pakistan and he was travelling around Hong Kong and working on ships but then he I don't know how he ended up in the UK his family ended up in the his sister ended up in the UK and my parents met and they got married and they moved to Cardiff cuz that's where my uhm my mum's family resided in Cardiff

*MM: I see I see and how old was your mother when they moved here?*

When she she was really young uhm she was very early teens 11 12 13 so she was here for a few years before my dad and she met and they got married

*MM: And you were saying in the beginning that they would speak Urdu and Punjabi among themselves what about*

The two among themselves yes and to us as well as kids

*MM: And to you as well I see could you tell me a little bit more about their communication process?*

Sure my dad uhm my dad's dialect is different from my mum's in the sense because they're from different parts of Pakistan uhm so culturally they were different as well and attitude wise they were different but they were still able to communicate my mother uhm learned to communicate the way he communicated with his family like the dialect and everything like that and viceversa with my dad so it was working it seemed to work really wellso uhm but obviously you know they had to learn English here and they would speak in English but we had a shop as well you see

*MM: You had a what sorry?*

We had a grocery an off-licence shop so English was our main language especially with the customers but you know in the house my dad would speak in Urdu or Punjabi because it's their natural language they would naturally flow into it and then for them that was their main language they would naturally flow into that and there would be a couple of English words of English etc. etc. whereas it was the opposite with us kids uhm English was our natural language so we would flow into that and then when we really wanted to explain ourselves we would flow into English but we would answer our parents you know in Urdu and Punjabi you know because it's it is how we were taught when we were kids but when it came to talking more than just one or two syllables it would be English

*MM: So basically before going to school you would still be speaking English*

I can't remember I'm sorry I've got really bad memory I can't remember

*MM: No but you were very young*

Obviously I must have because the influence of Punjabi and Urdu was around I would have been speaking it uhm yeah but I suppose I just dropped it once or we didn't really take that much importance and emphasis on it as uhm when we started school and we started speaking in English but it's really interesting because I have a lot of friends whose main language is different is not English and they are as fluent in English as they are in their first language and I find that really impressive that they can speak they can read and they can write and uhm you know they can yeah they can completely comprehend so they can have an in-depth conversation in their natural language

*MM: What do you think that that depends on?*

I think that depends on their parents instilling them the importance of language and their mother tongue but also just I think it's really good for children to know two languages anyway because it helps a certain part of their brain so yeah

*MM: So you were saying about their parents the importance of parents of instilling the*

Yeah the influence of parents

*MM: Yeah the influence of parents what about your parents you were saying that they would speak in Urdu and Punjabi to you but you were responding in English so what was their attitude towards that?*

They would try and you know get us to respond in Punjabi and Urdu but I think after a while they just kind of you know let it go just let us they didn't I do remember them you know wanting us to learn but yeah there weren't that many resources here at the time for us to learn easily uhm I don't know but yeah I think they were just very big on education and you know moving you know being in the UK and stuff like that so as long as we could speak English and we have a good education it's it's uhm we can learn our language later own properly and stuff like that so

*MM: What about the you mentioned the grocery store you think had a big influence on your languages as well?*

Yes and my parents as well I think because you know they were conversing in English the whole day everyday with their customers uhm so yeah so I suppose that's another reason why you know Punjabi or Urdu wasn't so pushed towards us

*MM: What's the difference between Punjabi and Urdu because every time I speak to people*

Ok Punjabi is more uhm Urdu is the official language of Pakistan and it's very formal it's very beautiful and Punjabi is just one dialect because there are the dialects as well though it's very common and it's not only Muslims Muslim Pakistanis who speak Punjabi it's also the Sikhs so you know there's that commonality there uhm it is not as formal as Urdu I do prefer Urdu yeah

*MM: Yeah what about your parents?*

They can go into Urdu they can go into Punjabi in and out yeah so they can speak both fluently

*MM: But does that depend on anything in particular?*

It just depends on who they're speaking with there are people who are just Urdu speakers they don't speak Punjabi so they just speak Urdu uhm so my I mean my dad's passed away now but uhm my mum she can converse in Urdu but then she can also converse in Punjabi so that's good

*MM: Does it depend on a particular part of Pakistan where people speak Punjabi or not?*

I think they can speak it all over Pakistan and in the sense that you can understand it uhm yeah I'm just trying to remember when I went to when I was in Pakistan in 2008 and I was speaking I was trying to get by on bits of Urdu and Punjabi that I knew and I was staying in my dad's village and his dialect is different the way that they pronounce the words and the sentence structure and everything like that and the intonation it's all very different it can come across as crass and very kind of so I don't really like the way that they speak so I was trying to you know I was trying to speak like that but also mixing it with Urdu and Punjabi and mixing I was able to get away with it but when it came to really try to explain I would break out in English but obviously they didn't understand they seemed to understand my Punjabi and my Urdu a little bit but we all seemed to get by eventually so yeah that was interesting

*MM: But would they speak your parents would they speak to you in Urdu Punjabi and your father's dialect?*

Actually my mother didn't learn it she learnt she understood it I don't think she really spoke it I've never really heard her speaking the way that they speak because they speak in a certain way like the way that

*MM: The way they pronounce things*

Yeah the tone their pitch would change and stuff like that but my mother understands it very well so she's always breaking down and explaining like my dad's sister in laws and sister came over to our house last week and they were talking in their language and we couldn't understand a lot of it so my mother was translating for us like this is what it means this is what she meant and stuff like that

*MM: Ah ok and your mother would translate to you into*

In English

*MM: Into English*

or Punjabi it's very easy going with us it's like it's very easy going with the Punjabi and English and things like that I mean if I talk about our house right now the way it is my mother speaks to us in Punjabi and we respond in English uhm sometimes me I talk about myself I'm trying to improve my Punjabi I'm trying to improve my Urdu so uhm I try to break out into Punjabi sometimes and I'm trying to form the structures together and I'm thinking is this the right way or is this the wrong way but I know that I'm not it's just a lot on the surface like I can only count to ten in my language Urdu and Punjabi uhm but I couldn't do more than that and uhm yeah but it's interesting trying to learn another language

MM: And how are you trying to improve your languages?

Well recently my mother started watching these dramas on this Pakistani channel OMG it's so intense and they speak in Urdu and like I said it's a beautiful language Urdu very formal very poetic uhm so I've been trying to learn via listening to their you know the way that they talk and stuff like that uhm so that's one way but I'm not like as fast? on it it's something that I'd like to do but I'm not kind of like putting a lot of effort into it if that makes sense and sometimes because of the place I was working uhm I would speak you know try have conversations kind of in Punjabi or Urdu with my colleagues and one of them actually said oh you speak Urdu and Punjabi very funny in a very funny way I guess that's me just trying to put all the words together that I know in Urdu to make a sentence

*MM: I see and where were your colleagues from?*

There a mix Bangladeshi and Pakistani and there's one guy from Sierra Leone so it's a and Sudanese as well and Indian Muslim so Gujarati so yeah South Africa and South Asia

*MM: I see I see and how useful do you find the TV in learning and improving your Urdu?*

It's yeah I can I started doing it because I read about all these different people who picked up languages via TV and subtitles and I thought how did they do that so I've been trying it and it does when I reflect it does kind of work you know you're associating the words to the meaning when you're subtitling and you can actually pause it copy what they say and they say it back to someone else you know if that makes any sense so that's a really interesting way and then all you pick up on one word and then you hear it in a conversation somewhere else you're like oh that's what it means yeah

*MM: So you watch it with English subtitles or*

When there are English subtitles yeah another fascinating thing that I found is uhm I was trying to learn Arabic as well not the I was trying to learn two different Arabics the Qur'anic Arabic and the actual language spoken language today's language Arabic uhm there's a lot of words that kind of flow uhm that are similar in Urdu as in Arabic as well and they have the same meaning so it's really interesting the way that those two are connected as well so

*MM: Yeah yeah yeah that's very interesting*

Like for example if you pick up an Arabic Qur'an it will be written in the Arabic letters whereas if you pick up an Urdu Qur'an it will be written in the Urdu letters which are also very similar to the Arabic and they it sounds exactly the same as it would in Arabic if that makes any sense

*MM: I understand yeah yeah I understand it's the Urdu alphabet but it's like the same sounds basically uhm that's really fascinating*

It isn't it it's very fascinating

*MM: Yeah but by the way the TV and subtitling I can definitely tell you that it works because that's exactly how I learned Spanish*

Really wow

*MM: Yeah that's exactly how I learned Spanish*

See that's the prize maybe cuz when I was in Italy I was watching a lot of I was watching Italian TV but I wasn't but there weren't any subtitles they didn't have the option so I was just I wasn't it wasn't benefiting me in a sense so I suppose the subtitle aspect is important isn't it

*MM: I guess so I've never tried watching without subtitles so*

Yeah I've always loved subtitles cuz I've got I think I've got a hearing problem so I can't always hear properly so subtitles are actually

*MM: Very helpful*

Very helpful yeah

*MM: I see just another question about your parents what was their occupation?*

They were self employed for a long while because they had the shop and then my father retired because he wasn't well so due to health reasons my mother started and then my mother was working in a bakery for a while after we closed the shop down because my dad wasn't well and now she's also she's also retired so

*MM: I see I see do you have any other relatives who live here?*

So my grandparents my mum's parents they're buried here and uhm my dad's one of my dad's brothers is buried here as well and uhm my mum's eldest brother's wife is buried here all my mum's family is here like her siblings they're all here my dad's two brothers are here and their children wives and children but one of them has passed away the rest are in Denmark or in Pakistan uhm so yeah

*MM: Do you stay in contact all your relatives a lot or not really?*

The ones here yeah my mum is in contact with my dad's side of the family uhm my dad's only sister she's come to visit here from Denmark but they're always on the phone every day and uhm she's always in contact with my dad's youngest brother who lives in Pakistan and another brother you know his family lives in Spain as well so my mum maintains that contact

*MM: I see I see do you have any siblings?*

Yeah all together there's six of us

*MM: Six nice*

Yeah I'm the second eldest there's five girls and one boy

*MM: Oh poor him*

Poor him no he's spoiled

*MM: I can imagine*

What about you?

*MM: I have a brother who's 30*

Are you younger or older than him?

*MM: I'm 25*

Oh you're younger

*MM: Yeah I'm the spoiled one*

Yeah he is spoiled

*MM: Yeah I can imagine is he the youngest one as well?*

No he's number 5 and then there's the youngest one is a girl

*MM: Ah ok ok that's a lot of fun to have so many siblings I imagine*

Yeah it is and then it becomes hard when you're you go away on your own you don't come you're used to coming home to

*MM: A lot of people a lot of love*

Yes and a lot of you know opinions and when you're on your own it's very quiet and you're just missing that the jokes that you have with each other and things like that so yeah

*MM: Yeah yeah yeah what languages do you speak among yourselves?*

English now and then we try when my mum's around we try to burst into like Urdu and Punjabi we're making fun of it or we're just having a joke but I don't think any of us siblings are confident in that language so we just kind of use it now and then one or two words or something like that but it's English

*MM: it's mostly English yeah I see I see could you tell me a little bit about your childhood how was it like to grow up in Cardiff?*

OMG it's changed so much

*MM: Yeah?*

It's changed so much it never used to be this busy it used to be quiet uhm and there wasn't so much of this you know jazz jazzy uhm apartments and hotels and shopping centres it was very it was small compared to what it is like now it wasn't now I see now what I call it is a hotel and apartment city it's not that I remember being kids and living in a mixed neighborhood so there my neighbors were black uhm and they were other ethnic minorities but there were a lot of white people we were the outnumbered ones like there was like a couple of black families and us Asian family and then another Asian family and then the rest were you know white people but I remember us getting along really well and having our door front door was open all the time and we'd all be playing on the streets with all the other kids and stuff like that it was so such a normal childhood you know but now it's now obviously it's different

*MM: Ok do you find that it was different in like people's perceptions about you or something like or*

I think it's a lot more segregation going on now I don't know how it was before because you know I was living in a small and I wasn't aware of everything else

*MM: Of course*

But I thought it was all nice I mean it was obvious that we were not that we were different that we weren't white that we were brown uhm I and this wasn't my parents' country I remember that I remember that some people didn't when we had the shop some people didn't come to our shop because we were brown we weren't white and other people did and some people didn't see the black or brown thing they just saw

MM: People

Another human being and they were they were racists racism and stuff like that but it was very kind of our attitude was very blaze like whatever you know it wasn't something that we'd make a big deal out of or we could make a big deal out of so it's was just kind of it was a very innocent childhood in that sense

MM: Ok ok what about now?

Now it's uhm being in this city being a Muslim being brown it's very alienating

MM: Is it?

Yeah it is you know with the whole rhetoric over Muslims and terrorists and you know oppressed it's very it makes you feel it alienates you and it makes you feel angry in a sense and a bit towards you know towards people who think like that and then they just marginalize you and you know it's really really sad feeling to feel alienated in your home town you know among the people that you know your people it's not a black and brown issue or black and brown and white issue whatever it is it's more you know like we're interacting right now yeah I'm a Muslim you're a Christian and we're getting on you know and it's not it's not like that anymore

MM: Ok

It's really sad but then it wasn't it was like that before but it wasn't so much in your face as it is now

MM: *I understand I understand*

I suppose if I wasn't wearing this hijab life would be life for me would be a little more easier in the sense that I could walk into a room and be people would see a brown person but they wouldn't see you know but with the hijab on they see a Muslim person yeah I'm either a terrorist or I'm oppressed so yeah it's different

MM: *I see I see that's yeah it must be frustrating*

Yeah it is but we choose our paths don't we we can't allow other people who are living their path to you know to kind of force us or influence us to live a path that would make them comfortable

MM: *Yeah it's true it's true uhm we were discussing about the languages that you used to speak in your house when you were children and whether you were encouraged by your parents to speak either Urdu or Punjabi or English?*

They did use to encourage us like sometimes my dad would be like speaking in Punjabi you know and we would try we would try and then we would break out into English and he kind of he kind of gave up yeah

MM: *Ok ok but as you've been telling me there's a lot of mixing of languages*

Yeah yeah

MM: *What was their attitude towards English?*

They had to learn it in order to get by here it's really interesting because there was a news article a news piece either this year or last year that I saw I don't know where I was I think I was in the

doctor's or something but they had a lot of Eastern European children going to school and so they were they would go in Primary Schools they would try and learn Eastern European the teachers were trying to learn Eastern European languages so that they could communicate with the children and you know they could help them progress which is really really good because it's inclusive isn't it whereas my mother was watching that and she said oh they never did anything like that when we were when I was in school you know they were just teaching us English and if we understood we understood if we didn't we didn't you know but what they did have which was nice is that they would have home visitors you know just to check up on the family and stuff like that uhm who would all speak in their language so that was good but I think there's a lot more uhm there's maybe more concessions now for more openness towards non-British children in school but then that was just one piece that I saw

*MM: I understand what about your experience in school?*

Ok in school it was we had we were learning Welsh and French those were the two languages uhm I really loved Welsh but I didn't choose it I could I should have or could have but I didn't I thought France was more there was more opportunity with French uhm but I didn't really do well in French either I just liked Welsh

MM: It's so difficult isn't it

Yeah it's a nice language I just wasn't really keen on languages I'm not very like you know I'm not very I'm not one of those natural who can naturally pick up a language it takes a while

*MM: Yeah yeah I find French really difficult like I find that there are so many rules and so many exceptions that it's like*

Yeah that's what puts me off a lot it's all the rules and the exceptions and having to know them and stuff like that but otherwise it would be nice to learn other languages

*MM: Yeah what about Welsh?*

Yeah uhm I keep saying I'd like to learn Welsh I'd like to learn Welsh I'd like to learn Welsh but I don't actually make the effort to learn it

*MM: Do you think it would be useful for you to learn it?*

The only way it would be useful for me to learn it is if my close friends also learnt it so that if we're trying to have a private conversation on the phone on someone else we could just break out in Welsh no one else would understand outside of Wales so yeah would be interesting to do that

*MM: I see what about your close friends do they speak for example Urdu and Punjabi?*

A lot of my close friends are Arabic so they speak Arabic and I love the way that they are so fluent in it that they have conversations with their parents in Arabic they wouldn't have conversations in English with their parents I'm sure they do but their main language is Arabic and they can read it and they can write it and they can speak it and so that's really good

MM: Do you think because I've been talking with many people who can speak Arabic apart from English and there are also many schools where they can learn Arabic and that their parents send them as kids whereas did this happen or are there any schools or any places where you could have gone to learn Urdu or Punjabi

No actually no no when I was growing up no so that's really interesting maybe in someone's house but then there was never really no no actually when we were growing up there are there are weekend schools here for Arabic speakers and they learn the language they learn their history and etc etc etc so during the week they're on the national curriculum normal school and then on the

weekend they've got their own you know studying Arabic language culture history etc etc the Qur'an and stuff like that so that's really interesting because it keeps you close to your roots doesn't it

*MM: Absolutely absolutely*

Yeah I know that there are few parents who are Pakistani and you know speak Punjabi and Urdu but they also send their kids to these Arabic schools so that they could learn Arabic and they could learn about the culture and the history and stuff because it's because it all ties in you know the Qur'an and everything like that so yeah

*MM: I see I see could you tell me a little bit more about religion and how important it is for you religion and how that is connected to language?*

It's very important isn't it language-wise uhm well religion is very important to me which is the reason why I wanted to learn Arabic and still would like to learn Arabic uhm so I can you know recite and pronounce the words correctly in the Qur'an uhm I would like to learn the language Arabic you know in the sense you know the speaking the dialect like because it's very in your face now isn't it the Middle East is in your face but then that's how the West makes it anyway uhm so it would be interesting to learn that and uhm but I think my main focus in regards to learning Arabic language is to learn the Qur'anic Arabic so that I could recite and you know understand the words properly as well because the translations are very loose translations of the you know the verses so you can't fully grasp what they mean and when you come across someone who has studied the actual Arabic you know Qur'anic Arabic and they tell you that this word encompasses all of this and it means this it blows you away because it's and then you realise god you haven't even scratched the surface with the English translation there's so much depth and so much richness in you know words so that's so I feel like I'm you know I feel like it's so much

*MM: You could get from actually knowing the words understanding the Qur'an*

Yes yes and even the like the like the grammar the Arabic grammar so the different signs that we have to elongate a word or to make it you know to elongate it this much or elongate it that much or to just make it a short word the pronunciation all of that the intonation the pitch and everything like that when you read the Qur'anic Arabic it's actually like you're reciting a song or a poem and it's very beautiful when you get it when you know how to do it because uhm you are actually singing because when you hear a reciter and they're reciting you know the way that it's written their pitch goes up and then it goes down and then it goes elongate and you know and then it stays at a certain monotone and then it is this up and down and you know so you pick up that there's something there's feeling in this there's feeling in every word in a sense

*MM: Yes I remember from the halaqa when I came to the mosque and I had a Qur'an that was bilingual that was partly Arabic and then English*

Arabic and English translation

*MM: Exactly and I remember that I could actually follow it so I could follow the English translation through the intonation because everybody was actually sort of singing it and I could understand exactly where we are and the pattern of the story in a way according to the different sounds that people were yeah because there were many repeat words like repeated verses throughout the*

Verses that we were reciting

*MM: Yeah yeah so that's what I found it really really interesting exactly what you're saying because people knew how to sing it and you could actually follow it*

Yeah yeah it's like a music sheet in a sense

*MM: Yeah yeah yeah exactly so you obviously know how to do that you obviously know how to read it right?*

Yeah I do I do but I'd like to you know obviously it's not it's yeah I'd like to learn to improve it

*MM: I see but how have you learned that?*

Ok so we used to go to mosque when we were kids every Muslim goes to mosque and the kids so after school from half four till half six we were in mosque

*MM: Every day?*

Every five days a week yeah so it was two hours a day uhm and we would start off with you know learning the basic alphabet and then learning to join up the different words and also learning the different signs because there's a sign called fatwā which is on the top and then there's a sign called omg I forgot this

*MM: It's ok*

It's one at the bottom and that kind of like sweetens a word like the one the sign at the top is [a] the sign at the bottom is [i] and then you have another one that's like a like a half circle and that one's [u] so [a] [i] [u] they make different sounds and then you have another sign that's like when you see it you know that you're supposed to say [a:] like elongate it for up to 4 seconds and then the bottom one is [i:] and then [u:] it's really fascinating it's like music isn't it

MM: Yeah yeah yeah

It is music actually uhm and then there's other like letters that when they're together they make a they either they make a different sound or one sound is more pronounced than the other but then that's the same with all other languages isn't it

MM: Absolutely absolutely

So we learnt all of this in two hours five days a week so we start off with the alphabet then we progress on to another book then we progress on to the Qur'an uhm while we're there we're always memorizing we're constantly taught to memorize especially the first verse in the first chapter in the Qur'an the Al-Fatiha which is called The Opening if you you'll find that Muslims all over the world regardless of the fact that they are Arabic or not specifically if they're not Arabic uhm they'll know Sura Al-Fatiha The Opening everyone will know it and you'll find that Muslims all over the world uhm they have memorized part of the Qur'an whether it's a little bit or a lot or whatever whatever whatever there's verses in the Qur'an that they'll know by memory it's it's yeah that for me is fascinating too you know

*MM: And what is the importance of that of the recitation and of the proper recitation and of memorizing?*

Because it's what we recite when we do our five prayers

MM: Yeah oh

There's the Sura Al-Fatiha which is called in English is called the Opening uhm we recite that in every uhm stance uhm how do I put this uhm for example like the early morning morning prayer the before sunrise prayer uhm there's two prostrations so first time you're standing and then you're going to half prostration and then you're going to full prostration and then you get up again and we do that same thing it's two

MM: Yeah

And then in the pre-afternoon prayer it's four prostrations after we prostrate and then we come back up the first time or the second time what we always recite is the Al-Fatiha The Opening so it's and then we recite another verse but we always recite the Al-Fatiha because if we don't if you don't recite the Al-Fatiha then your Salat your prayer is kind of like invalid

*MM: Oh I see oh I had no idea about this it's really really fascinating uhm yeah so for how long did you go to the mosque when did you start?*

I can't remember when we started how old we were can't remember maybe before I think it was before I was seven years old I can't remember once again sorry I know I had to stop when I started my period I stopped but because I hadn't finished reading the Qur'an uhm once my period was over I would go back and continue learning and then so once you finish the Qur'an then you stop going to the mosque unfortunately now it's different now you can now the mosque is well the mosque I go to now compared to the mosque I used to go to it wasn't very woman friendly the mosque that I used to go to it was mostly men oriented and then they didn't have extra classes or things like that it was always you know male oriented whereas this mosque that I go to now XXX it's very centred on women and men and learning as well for both of them so even if you finish the Qur'an you can you still go for like halaqas and you know Islamic studies and things like that you know and just keep on progressing and stuff so yeah

*MM: So do you usually attend any classes they have in XXX?*

I did but I became lazy this year they've got tajweed class which is learning to pronounce the words properly and signs and symbols and stuff like that uhm and they've had that ongoing for like since over the last year but I haven't been I went once but I haven't been cuz I've been really lazy otherwise I would but I did a couple of years ago I did I was going and it was it was lush it was very confusing as well

*MM: very confusing?*

Yeah very complicated complex because you've got this one word and then when you put it with this letter it changes and then when you put that same word with another letter it changes this way and if that letter is in front or if that letter is behind it then it's different you're trying to memorize all the rules it gets complicated I think I'd like to get back

*MM: What about attending the mosque going to mosque is it very important to go to mosque or*

For me it is uhm I can understand and I see for myself how important it is to keep a connection with the mosque you can get so busy with your life you know just day to day and get so involved in it that you kind of you need to ground yourself so just walking into the mosque and saying one's prayer it grounds you and then you come back out and you're like uh you know you can breathe a bit just yeah so I think it is important to keep a connection with a mosque

*MM: This is just for my personal interest I think I was thinking about the ritual of praying five times a day in a way it has the same effect on you praying five times a day it has the effect of sort of keeping you in connection with your religion and with your spiritual life and to yourself in a way doesn't it?*

Yes yes yes it does but sometimes the prayer the five times a day prayer can become a routine so it's just something that you're doing practically uhm but

*MM: sort of mindlessly?*

Not mindlessly but it's like a you know you're on autopilot unfortunately uhm so uhm when you go to mosque and you're among friends and other people who are on the same kind of spiritual length spiritual wave length because they're aware and they're there you know because they love God and they want to be close to God you know it kind of jolts you back into it kind of jolts you off autopilot if

that makes sense so yeah it's nice with that kind of it's like a it's like a daily retreat not a retreat but just like I don't know it jolts you back

*MM: I see I see*

It's like going to the church on a Sunday once a week you know even if people go just once a week they do go and they are reconnected even if it's just for a few minutes or an hour it connects them back to you know themselves so even if it's just once a week going to the mosque it's the same

*MM: Is there any difference between men and women whether they should attend mosque more often than the others?*

Yeah there are differences of opinions there are opinions that women shouldn't go to the mosque at all and then there are opinions that you know that women have as much right to go to the mosque as men uhm those are opinions I'm not exactly I know this is going to sound terrible but I am not exactly sure what God says but I know that women are not as obliged to go to the mosque as men are because women have you know responsibilities such as the house and children so they can't just go up and get to the mosque and stuff like that you know if they can they can they can if they can't they can't there's no real obligation as it is for men it is it is an obligation for men to go to the mosque it's an obligation for them to even if it's just one prayer to pray in congregation because it's very important to pray in congregation uhm so the importance for men uhm it's up there and the women it's up there too but it's not as obligatory as it is for men but unfortunately there was a very long time and it's changing now Alhamdulillah thank god it's changing now but there was a very horrible attitude that women don't go to the mosque which is not right actually when I was growing up it's not right because we would like to pray in congregation too well I would like to pray in congregation too with other women you know I would like to get that that kind of spiritual buzz you know that we're all on the same you've seen us you've seen the way we pray

*MM: yeah yeah*

It's amazing isn't it

*MM: yeah yeah*

We're all like shoulder to shoulder and we're just in unison you know we're all there for one reason and it's lush I mean it's not fair that only men can get that high is it women should get that high too yeah

*MM: I see and does it depend on different mosque and on different people where they come from?*

Yeah it does I think it's different mosques and yeah it does also depend on where you come from geographically uhm for example you'll notice that within well it's uhm I don't know it's very in Arabic as well Arabic culture and also the South-Asian they're very kind of male centred male oriented and women are like at a very you know they should be blacked out and hidden that kind of and it's not religion it's just their interpretation of what you know religion is it's very kind of like straightforward women are told to cover and you know for a reason we cover that's fine why do you want to black us out does that make sense so yeah that happens then we have the opposite where people you know actually respect women like the way they are supposed to respect women the way God tells them to in the Qur'an to respect women and they give you know I shouldn't I don't even like using the word giving them because it's rightfully ours that they give us our rights you know by building an extra room uhm floor where there are just the women and stuff like that etc etc etc in that sense I think XXX especially being in Cardiff it's a very progressive mosque because it encourages women as well as men to learn there's classes for women as well as men and they're equal it's not just like men classes for men in this this and this and women have one class only and something it's really it's inclusive you know it's not only male on the membership board committee board it's also women on the committee board you know their opinions are respected so I think in a sense they're going back

to the way it was during the time of the Prophet at XXX his mosque the building that he built it wasn't only a mosque but it was also a community centre and women were allowed in there as well as men and they have equal rights in that sense so I think slowly it's starting to back to the way that it should be rather than the way that you know some people want it to be it's an interesting journey actually

*MM: I can imagine but you're saying that in some mosque they are still very very traditional?*

Yeah culturally traditional yeah

*MM: yeah yeah even here in Cardiff?*

Yeah yeah Cardiff is small compared to other big cities but what goes on here it would go on in other big cities too but at a bigger scale isn't it so yeah

*MM: what about languages in a mosque?*

You've been to a mosque how many languages did you pick up

*MM: uhm*

Lots right and we were able to still communicate even though there were some who couldn't speak English proper fully English or uhm there were still the smile the warmth that you can give to a person and stuff like that and you know like acceptance and whatever etc etc etc just to make them feel welcome uhm that's a language in itself isn't it and it's a very fascinating language very fascinating but yeah so there's lots of languages going on all the time

*MM: do you think it depends for example somebody was telling me that it depends on each mosque in Cardiff what language is most predominant*

I think that would uhm yeah it does actually like there's a mosque in XXX and XXX I don't think it's got as many Arabic worshipers as it's got Pakistani and Bengali and then there's another mosque that's you know who's got more Bengali worshipers and I've heard a couple of people that they are welcoming to non-Bengali speakers but it's very Bengali orientated which is fine and then there's the Arabic one there's you know there's one Arabic and I suppose uhm but then again English is spoken in all of them uhm so when like Friday sermon I think a lot of the times it's English because they are also it used to be a time when it was like in one language like Arabic or Urdu or Punjabi uhm or you know Bangladeshi as well but I think they are becoming aware now that it's not that they're not just catering for to one language they're catering to lots of them and English is a unifying language in a sense here because you know everyone speaks it you know little or lots or whatever everyone speaks English so yeah so that's their way of reaching out that their sermons would be in most of the time and if there is Arabic then they would translate it you'd hope they would anyway yeah like in the mosque I go to uhm there's Eastern Europeans there's Europeans there's uhm Malaysians South Asians Arabs Africans Sudani Somali Moroccans Tunisians Spanish whatever whatever there's just so many different languages uhm we all communicate one way or another in English so yeah it's lush but you don't really notice the diversity until someone from the outside comes and looks at it and because to us it's normal cuz you know it's so normal cuz Islam is not just for one race or one culture it's for everyone and you just take that for granted and when someone comes from the outsides and looks at it it's like wow there's so many different people it's so diverse and you're all like a nice community and stuff and you think it's normal but it's not really is it yeah so it makes you appreciate it

*MM: Definitely yeah I can imagine I can imagine you were telling me and this is among the last questions you were telling me at the beginning when we met before actually recording how would you think that people who speak other languages in Cardiff are perceived in general?*

To be honest I don't know if I was going to talk about non-Muslims then I wouldn't be able to because I wouldn't know uhm if I'm talking about Muslims who speak other languages then obviously there's an issue because first of all mostly Muslim and anything Muslim is not good so they people shut down I've been in a doctors' surgery and I've watched as a receptionist who's spoken really rudely in a very polite but very rude way to this Muslim guy you could tell that he was Muslim by his name trying to explain to him obviously he couldn't understand properly she was very rude in the way she was explaining and she was doing the whole eye rolling thing as well you know when you roll your eyes and you're just whatever uhm that was really upsetting for me to see obviously the guy was used to it and he was like you know just got the information that he needed and then just walked off but it was like that's I found offensive uhm and if it was a non-Muslim speaking and the same issue the attitude would have been quite different

*MM: you think so?*

You know more warm more welcoming more you know like helpful cuz I've seen that as well so it was just I think it depends on who you are at the end of the day yeah

*MM: I see I see we've gone through most of the questions*

I talk a lot don't I

*MM: That's good could you tell me a little bit more whether you read in Urdu or Punjabi?*

No no

*MM: But you read Arabic basically*

Qur'anic Arabic yeah but I can read it but I don't understand all of it there are words that I understand because you know you read them again and again they are often repeated but also that they have this commonality with Urdu as well so yeah and obviously even though the English translation is a loose translation it still helps in a way so you know you have like a very small grasp of what it is but still

*MM: And how often would you go to Pakistan?*

I've been twice in my life once when I was a baby and I don't remember anything and the second time was in 2008 so yeah

*MM: And the last question how would your typical day go from the point of languages?*

Ok right so let's uhm wake up say Salam Alaikum to my mum uhm you know ask her how she is but those are simple things that you can ask her in Urdu and Punjabi uhm but it would probably mostly be in English how are you are you ok have you had a good sleep and stuff like that and then go to work and the person I work with I've been working with now he's his first language is not English his first language is Arabic but I can't speak Arabic so I would be speaking in English to him and trying to understand what he's saying from his English and I'd have to be very patient with him of course and then I would yeah and if I have a conversation with my mum and I want to have a private conversation on the phone with her then I would break out into my language so I wouldn't be speaking English and stuff uhm so yeah and then I'd go to mosque uhm I'd probably speak my language you know ask a couple of questions here and there just to kind of uhm connect to emotionally connect with someone with one of the teachers in the mosque in the evening I'd speak in Urdu and Punjabi with her uhm yeah and also just so that not everyone knows what I'm asking or I'm saying I'd speak in Urdu and Punjabi with her or them and then break out into English because I'd get frustrated that I can't explain my point properly uhm yeah that would be it so it's interesting because every day in a way I do use I don't only use English I use Urdu or Punjabi as well and it's also

more now than it has been it's also more now than it has been in the last four year than it has been previous to that

*MM: Ok and why do you think that there is a difference?*

I started practicing uhm my religion properly well properly but I started actually you know practicing four years ago so I'm more around you know people who are on the same you are so that's probably why

*MM: I understand do you use any social media?*

Facebook Whatsapp that's about it

*MM: Do you use any other language apart from English apart from social media?*

No English sometimes when I have like spoken to a friend uhm abroad and have tried to write in Roman Urdu but and spoken to them in Urdu or something like that but it's mostly in English yeah

*MM: Well these were all my questions if there is anything else that you would like to add*

No actually I think I've spoken a lot I mean one hour and six minutes and forty two seconds speaking

*MM: That's good that is very very useful and very fascinating*

I hope so I hope there's information in there that will you know you can help

*MM: Absolutely absolutely*

## Amal

*MM: First if you'd like to tell me a little bit more about you like your name your age and your birth place*

Ok my name is XXX I was born in 1983 and just turned 31 this month uhm I came here when I was 6 from Somalia and lived here in Cardiff ever since yeah my mother tongue is Somali and my second language is English I probably speak English more than I do Somali to be honest and but at home to my mum I speak Somali cuz her English is not very good

*MM: I see uhm could you tell me more about the process like how you moved from your country here and what was it going what was going on and how this affected you from the point of view of languages?*

I came from Somalia in 80 uhm late 80s due to the Civil War mainly and the country was like war-torn and it wasn't stable safe so we came here as refugees and I've been here since but initially landed obviously in London and was there for about maybe a year and then because my mum had sort of family here she chose to come to Cardiff so yeah I've been in Cardiff ever since it's not much I can remember about being back home cuz I left when I was about 5 or 6 years old so uhm but I think it had an effect on the language as in if I do go back home now I've been back there twice since being here uhm obviously the language is you know you speak it but it's got that accent twang in it and you know they can tell you're sort of not from there so you become sort of a foreigner in a way in your homeland because you've been out from there more than you've been in really so it does affect the languages you can I can express myself better in English than I can in Somali because obviously the vocabulary scope is more in English than it is in Somali because you're not practicing you're not speaking it every day and so apart from my mum I don't know my siblings we all speak English together in work most of my time 9 to 5 I'm in work so I'm speaking English XXXX but I am noticing as I'm getting older that my Somali is kind of a bit deteriorating because the you know you're not speaking it as much and the vocabulary is not as wide as it is in English

*MM: I see I see could you tell me a little bit more about your parents what do they do?*

Yeah my mum is a she's always been a stay at home mum and she did work when we got older uhm she worked in part-time cleaning and but then my nan my grandmother moved in with us because she suffers from Alzheimer's she had to become a full-time carer for her so at the moment she's a full-time carer for my grandma

*MM: Yeah what about your father?*

My father is back home he when we came here as refugees he wasn't able to come with us so he's been back home since so he hasn't come into the country with us it was quite hard cuz we didn't have status ourselves indefinite status in our passport relatively late compared to when we came here so because of that he's been there since and now because of his age and you know coming here he'd have to start all over again so it's just easier for him to stay there

*MM: I see I see do you keep in contact are there do you have many relatives back home and do you keep in contact with them?*

Yeah yeah personally I'm not very good at keeping in contact with people but we do speak on the phone and uhm the younger generation would be on Facebook you know stuff like that social media sites and email and Skype and so forth but for the older generation like my dad it will be mainly phone cards and calling him on his mobile yeah

*MM: I see I see do you remember what it was like for you to grow up here and in this neighborhood or even in your home and especially with a focus on languages?*

Yes I remember coming here and not speaking a word of English when young and learning in school primary school I think because we were so young you absorb a lot more when you're younger and it was easy for us to learn the language it was easy for us to integrate quickly and I've never really noticed a difference between myself and other Welsh natives really or British people it was just you were young and it was all sort of new and just experiencing it wasn't anything I think as you got older a little bit you maybe you realized a racial difference and the cultural differences but when you're younger you're just all one you don't see that when you're younger so it was nice I mean there were not so many immigrants in Cardiff so I think it wasn't a big issue it wasn't something that was in the media a lot it wasn't something that was sort of there weren't any of these groups that come up now prejudice groups and some folks it was a lot better I think growing up in those days than it is probably for immigrants now because I think there's so many immigrants recently that come into the country that there's been a lot of backlash in the media and so forth so I can understand how that would affect younger maybe people coming in as refugees now than it did to myself growing up here yeah

MM: I see I see what about the languages that you would use in your home and in your neighborhood while you were growing up?

It was predominantly Somali uhm but you know you had maybe a few Arabic speakers and if you have people maybe coming in from the different parts of the world like I don't know like Kenya for example you have Swahili you know stuff like this so it think because it was so little immigrants at that time we're talking about the early 90s late 80s so I think in Wales especially there weren't so many immigrants so probably in our area we lived in a predominantly white area Welsh you know British people uhm there might have been one or two maybe three houses of Somali so it was a close-knit community uhm but you probably heard English spoken more than Somali unless you were at home and as a child you're out you're in school all day and then you play outside in a park so you're hardly in the house really apart from bed time and weekends and stuff

*MM: But at home you would speak Somali*

Yeah I would speak Somali because my mum's English is not very good so the only major communication we really have with my mum is through Somali but like I said my brothers and sisters we all speak English so we mainly interact with each other in English

*MM: I see I see what about your mother would you speak in Somali with your siblings when you're mother is around?*

Probably not no my mother doesn't like it she always says you know you need to speak in Somali I have a five year old and my mother always tells me off about speaking English to my five year old speak Somali because my five year old she she's started off speaking good Somali then she went to Nursery and her Somali just vanished and because she's at home and we're speaking to her in Somali in English myself so you know she's hearing English a lot so her Somali is not very good when she's speaking it but my but she understands Somali because my mum speaks to her in Somali so she'll understand instructions and all this but it's not advances her English and this is you know my mum is always telling me off so at the same time you can't help it it becomes natural if she speaks to me in English you just reply back in English it's so hard to think oh I should reply back in Somali and you know

*MM: But it's difficult isn't it?*

Yeah it's difficult yeah because it's just an automatic reaction really

*MM: And you just want things you just want*

Yeah you just want to communicate quickly you don't want to explain things what's this and what's that so you just want so you say for example can you put your shoes on I just wanna say put your shoes on quickly

*MM: Yeah yeah it involves a lot of effort in a way*

Yeah yeah it does yeah uhm but the danger of that is the washing down of the Somali you know to get the Somali I think it's really it's quite sad when you see a language deteriorating uhm I think that maybe in other cultures like Asian I have a Bangladeshi friend and I always see her speaking Bangladeshi to her children you know it's natural for her but yet she was born here uhm and I think oh why can't I be like that you know it's harder for me than it is for her it just comes naturally yeah

*MM: I see uhm can you tell me more about how you learned English*

Yeah in primary school we were sort of because we were quite young but still I think had like a separate class just people who like immigrants and it was a mixture of Somalis and other children and we were taken and we learned you know they taught us from what I can remember like writing your name the letters just basically the same as teaching English to any other child or language reading and writing uhm we'd have a special class just for us I think because of the age and the advance how the children who were born here were all native here so I think that's the only difference was a separation but the actual teaching technique was as teaching any other child yeah

*MM: And can you tell me do you remember any particular events because I understand that you were studying in English basically you went to school in English but do you remember ever speaking in Somali with some of the other kids and in what circumstances?*

Probably yes I would say there were other children who were Somali and I think you would speak to them in Somali cuz that that was your first language you'd communicate to them in Somali but I think from what I could remember we absorbed the language quite quickly so it was in a matter of maybe months we were probably speaking English to each other and you know and not speaking Somali as much we caught the language very quickly so we were speaking English to each other rather than Somali relatively very soon after we started so I think it wasn't such a big sort of issue that we were speaking Somali to each other when we shouldn't be because it was just so natural I think when you're younger you're just like a sponge so it was just easier for us to learn it quicker

*MM: But for example I was thinking more about for example if I'm with other friends with other Romanian friends and I want to comment about something and I don't want other people to understand*

Yeah I know yeah I know that's excellent that's a good point because I am like that now as I'm getting older when I was younger it was very you know that wasn't such of an issue because at that age I can't remember thinking like that you didn't think that way but now as I am getting older we do that I have friends and we're in a bus or something we wanna say something no one would be able to understand yeah we would speak to each other in Somali or my child it's hard because she'll say everything in English even embarrassing things that I want her to say in Somali and I'm like now I wish I spoke to her in Somali because you know you want things you want to say things in Somali but you don't want anyone else to know here and like in public places yeah I feel like reprimanding her or something you just want to do it in Somali rather than say it in English yeah

*MM: Yeah I see I see and I was wondering if you could tell me how important religion is for you and for your family*

Religion is very important it's uhm I would say it's a it makes up our culture and you know it's sort of our mannerism how we should dress how we should eat so it's something that's embedded in us from day to day living really so it is very important I mean we're trying to do our best as Muslims trying to be good humans you know charity work this sort of stuff and you know teaching that and

trying to be a good person and example and a good role model for your children and so forth so yeah so with religion it is important in that aspect I mean you could to me it's not just about what you wear and how you dress but it is about your morals and your core principles you know how you interact with people how you communicate with people being a good neighbor a good Samaritan that's what I try to teach my child yeah

*MM: I see I see how does religion influence the way you use languages?*

I think it probably uhm other than not cursing and not you know swearing I don't think it would influence it that much to be honest I mean our like Qur'an the Bible sort of thing is in Arabic so it'd influence it as in as a Muslim is you know sort of good to learn Arabic so then you can understand teachings of the Qur'an it is translated but then some meanings will be washed out or translated exactly how they should be [she means literally] so it is good you know personally I don't know Arabic in the Somali language it's Arabic in it so there's like a finish or something like that there's bits of it but there's not a lot of it and the grammar's different and everything else is different so you

*MM: really understand*

You can't understand it but you should be able to read it because some people can read Arabic but don't know how to speak Arabic and you can go to like say equivalent to like Sunday school to learn the writing of Arabic so you can just read it but then it's good to learn the meaning of it as well so it's good to know what you read in and so you can practice it and trying to implement it in your life so I would say maybe that's the only religious sort of influence on me

*MM: So you do you know how to read*

Yeah so I know how to read it from we were taught how to read it so when you pick up the Qur'an you can read it but then it's strange because you can't understand what you're reading so you're taught how to read it but you don't know the meaning of it

*MM: Oh so like the sounds in a way*

Yeah the sounds and the letters and knowing that that letter makes this sound but you don't really know if you write a word what that word means so

*MM: Right and you went to a school*

Yeah the school to learn that like a Saturday Sunday you know school and then my child goes to like Monday to Friday now after school 5 to 7 so she'll learn it a lot more advanced than I did but again it would be good to just know the meaning so it would be good to go to maybe there are a lot of Arabic classes going on in Cardiff University even they do Arabic courses and stuff but it's just I don't have enough time to do it working full time and being a mum yes finding the time to fit that in so

*MM: Of course of course I see do you attend religious services regularly*

No to be honest no because of how busy I am at the moment I don't really have the time to go but it'd be nice to go to some just to learn maybe a little bit more and then because learning is always good but at the moment no

*MM: Because I was interested in what's going on in the mosque like what languages people use in the mosque and things like this*

It's because the religion is like there's no particular race or particular language it's just people from all different backgrounds and different languages so in conversations when you they went there and they converse with each other you probably hear all different languages but mainly sermons are delivered in probably Arabic and English and Somali you know depending if it's majority of Somali people it might translated from Arabic into Somali or the medium language mainly in this country is

English so it'd be probably translated from Arabic into English but the dominant language in sermons that would be Arabic yeah

*MM: I see I see and people then inside the mosque would speak whatever language*

If they're having a conversation like how are you it would be whatever language because it is uhm I don't don't know if you know much about Islam but it's not one particular race it's different different people so you can have people speaking in Slovakian people speaking Arabic English you just don't know yeah

*MM: Of course of course I see*

*MM: Can you tell me about your child?*

Yeah so well I was married but I'm divorced now so yeah she's five years old she's a little girl and the name is XXX and yeah other than that she's an average five year old uhm she likes princesses and stuff like this so yeah it's mainly uhm she speaks she understands Somali she probably speaks English more than she does Somali but she understands it

*MM: I see so she's also studying Arabic for the Qur'an*

Yeah for the Qur'an so she goes to like after-school clubs for that and so but that would just be the writing uhm it wouldn't be a conversation or you know that I'll have to probably put her maybe in classes in the future I think when she's a bit older uhm but at the moment

*MM: Well reading and writing is very important*

Yeah yeah it is important

*MM: It is the basis*

Yeah it is the basis and then later on she can just build on it and like converse in it yeah

*MM: Of course of course how would your typical day look like from the point of view of languages?*

Probably I would probably be in work probably speaking English and then XXX XXX so it's a mixture of languages I'd speak at home in work really then at home it's the same thing I might be speaking English to my sister or my daughter and I'd be speaking Somali to my mum and you know and like my grandmother for example so it's just it's sort of it's very linked my day in work the languages I speak and when I go home the languages I speak as well it's mainly those two languages that I would speak on a daily basis

*MM: And you were saying earlier about mixing the languages*

Yeah mixing the languages uhm yeah we have a little joke here well my XXX call me remix sometimes because I'm mixing all the time English and Somali so I might start the sentence off with English and end it with Somali you know and that's sort of a typical thing that I might do I think it's because sometimes you just find it easier to express yourself for one thing in Somali and then the other thing in English yeah

*MM: Yeah yeah of course of course you do it with people who speak both languages*

Yes yes mainly people who speak two languages I wouldn't do it with like an English person or Somali person I wouldn't speak to him in English yeah

*MM: Yeah yeah I see and the languages that you speak with your family and your siblings what about your siblings?*

It's mainly English with my siblings again unfortunately I think it's because we all kind of grew up here and we find it easy to speak English to each other so mainly English as well

MM: Yeah

Unfortunately

*MM: I see I already know the languages that you use at work and what languages do you usually read in?*

I read in English I'm not very good at reading in Somali to be honest but only English that I read in

MM: And what would be your favorite thing to read?

Mainly yeah like a newspaper or an article a journal novels you know sometimes these are the major things I'd like to read yeah

*MM: What about social media do you use it?*

Yeah I do use a lot of social media so like Facebook I mainly go on I don't really have a Twitter account or anything but yeah I'd say Facebook probably the major one and like Youtube I listen to things or read things in there but yeah

*MM: Do you keep in contact with your relatives from Somalia?*

Yeah I keep in contact with our relatives are really all over the world through Facebook Inbox or email so yeah mainly my brothers they are at the moment on holidays so I normally contact him through Facebook Inbox yeah

*MM: I see what about TV what do you*

TV I don't really have that much time to watch that much TV uhm I might watch a few documentaries sometimes and like soap operas the only really regular soap opera I watch is Coronation Street I don't really watch any other soap operas anymore I haven't got time for them uhm and the news and stuff like this

*MM: But everything is in English*

Yeah everything is in English there is a Somali channel my mother watches at home and sometimes I might watch that with her if there's something I have an interest in but the majority of the time I don't watch it no so maybe it's like mum's thing that she watches only yeah like politics and all that and I don't really have time for that so yeah

*MM: She's following basically what's going on in Somalia*

Yeah yeah what's going on in Somalia it's really good for them because they didn't have that a few years ago so that's something that's really good for them cuz they can and us really that we can find out what's going on any celebrations national days stuff like that

*MM: I see I see and it's a very good tool to keep in contact in a way emotionally as well I imagine*

Yes definitely yeah new developments or what it looks like now because for us it was like a foreign concept you know so far away when we were kids something unimaginable that you didn't even have pictures of anything like that so but now you know you see the TV you see people being interviewed on TV you see people who go there on holidays talking about their experiences there so it's very good yeah

*MM: I see I see what languages do you write in usually?*

It's English really a bit boring I don't really write in Somali or you know in Arabic unless it's something that's given to me to copy or something like that but yeah

*MM: But I presume it's also because of your work most of your writing is for your work*

Yeah exactly that as well

*MM: People don't really write*

Yeah no

*MM: Just for the sake of writing*

Yeah that's true yeah mainly the writing is like at work and if it's something to do with my child's homework or something like that and that's through English again so yeah

*MM: I see I see and the last part how do you think that others perceive you for example in the public on the streets or something like this when you speak Somali?*

I think they probably as in Somalis how they perceive me or in general anybody

*MM: well let's say Somalians and then everybody else like British people or?*

Somalis they just probably think it's norm that if I'm speaking Somali oh it's just a fellow Somali but maybe British people would think oh what's that foreign language and maybe be curious about it or maybe not really understanding and thinking are they talking about me sometimes a bit suspicious I think yeah that's a major perception to be honest I'd probably not be speaking to myself I'd probably be speaking to somebody or addressing somebody or someone or someone just having a conversation so people might be like what language are they speaking in so I think it just depends on the person

*MM: Of course of course what about yourself how do you perceive yourself when you speak Somali?*

I don't know I think I'm not as confident speaking in Somali as I am in English but if I am speaking in Somali depending who I'm speaking to if it was someone that you know I'm new to or uhm I don't really know I might be a bit self-conscious about it if it was like an old friend or something like that or like a neighbor or a regular customer it might be fine

*MM: What about English?*

English is just uhm if I'm speaking to yeah English is just normality it's like everyday's I feel a bit more comfortable speaking in English because it's uhm I'm speaking it more than I am speaking in Somali and I feel I am a bit more articulate in English than I would be in Somali so because the vocabulary is limited for me in Somali so I think uhm I don't feel so much self-conscious

*MM: I see I see well these have been like all my questions I know many questions*

Yeah no that's fine no thank you

*MM But if I've missed anything if you'd like to add anything*

Well no no I think you've covered the questions are very good they give you good insight into the experiences of languages how they affect our day to day uhm experience in life so I think that yeah the questions you know they covered really everything that I would have said anyway

MM: Thank you very much

Thank you

## Anwar

*MM: ok so first if you could tell me a little bit about yourself like your name your full name your age and your birth place?*

Ok yeah my name is XXX and I am 29 years of age and my birth place is Somalia

*MM: Somalia ok and when did you come to Cardiff?*

I came to Cardiff when I was five so 1990

*MM: 1990 and you were born in?*

Somalia yes

*MM: And what languages do you know and how regularly do you use them?*

I speak both Somali and English so Somali is my mother tongue but I am fluent equally fluent in both

*MM: equally fluent*

fluent in both yes

*MM: and you use them*

For obvious reasons work related I speak English so during my working hours I speak English with friends as well I speak English but with certain family members and friends I speak Somali as well

*MM: I see could you tell me more about the story how your family came here?*

My family came here originally through a family reunion so members of my family were living here and because of the civil war which broke in Somalia I came here through family reunion

*MM: I see I see and both your parents together with you*

Yeah

*MM: I see can you tell me a little bit more about your parents what do they do what is their occupation?*

My mum's a housewife and yeah my father is working at the moment yeah

*MM: I see and what languages do they speak?*

They speak English and Somali but Somali most predominantly Somali

*MM: most predominantly Somali is there a difference because you said that your mother is at home and your father works is there a difference between?*

Not necessarily no because she's it's just that she's at home at the moment but she's been through college as well so she's ok speaking English as well

*MM: I see I see*

It's just the kind of situation at the moment that he's working and she's not so they're both like I said predominantly their predominant language is Somali but they are in they can speak Somali I mean English as well yeah

*MM: Do you still have relatives in Somalia?*

I do yeah I have uncles grandparents aunties who are still based in Somalia so I still very strong ties there I'm in constant contact with them via telephone email and every couple of years we do visit back as well so yeah transferring remittance money remittance or through keeping in contact the ties are very much strong with back home as we call it yeah

*MM: yeah I see and you basically I imagine that you speak Somali with them*

Yes most definitely yeah their English is limited

*MM: could you tell me a little bit about what it was like to grow up in the house and in the neighborhood that you grew up?*

Here?

*MM: Here yeah*

Here in fairness I was fairly young when I came here so I went through the education system at the Reception age so in general getting used to the local environment was quite easy and easy to adapt so I just remember a normal childhood really like anybody else in fairness because of the age I came to so it was is there anything specific that you need to know or how it was growing up in my local area

*MM: yeah if you want to*

Yeah yeah yeah it was a friendly area at the same time there were a lot of families in the same local area that had the same situation or war coming from abroad mainly Somalia as well so that made it easier as well

*MM: ok do you remember anything from back home?*

I do remember vaguely vaguely yeah vaguely just there moving from different places yeah I remember yeah I'd say about the longer I'm here obviously the older that memory seems to get fainter

*MM: of course do you have any stories do your parents tell you any stories about the time back then?*

I have stories that they tell me about but it's not many stories that I can recall from there but stories times wars would break out and at a young age would have to flee our house and move to a different area the kind of tales that we were told happier tales are like being at family picnics or getaways or gatherings that would be held back home the times when I was born or when my siblings were born these are the kind of stories that we're told yes

*MM: I see I see and do you remember what languages did you use while you were a kid*

As a kid my first language and my only language was Somali back home and when I came here I went through the education system and I picked up English I learned English as I was I was the longer I was here yeah

*MM: yeah what about inside your home?*

At home in the household I would speak Somali from a younger age in the household I was taught to speak Somali it was a strong emphasis on that in my current household because my parents believed that English you'd always pick up English in our aim was to work here and live here and prosper so English would be brought up in the schools and through education or through employment but it was a strong emphasis not to forget your roots forget the language that is yours so basically I'd speak English outside and Somali home I think that's helped me strongly cuz it gives me the ability that I'm bilingual now in both Somali and English

*MM: so you think you have very strong ties to your language?*

I do yeah I do yeah and I read and write Somali fluently and that's something that's self-taught reading as well through parents and myself so I can read and write Somali and speaking Somali I'm confident in speaking Somali and comfortable and it serves me well so when I go back home and in Somalia I've got relatives grandparents that don't speak any other language it'd feel a bit awkward if I couldn't speak to them so that helps me as well

*MM of course of course what family or cultural celebrations and traditions are important for you now and how do they affect how you use different languages?*

Cultural celebrations is firstly in I'm I'm Muslim so the cultural celebrations that I celebrate are Eid we have two Eids in here so they're the main celebrations that we religiously celebrate so that's and my languages doesn't really have a big impact on that because even though you speak Somali or if you don't then it's a religious belief more than language orientated

*MM: I see I see and you celebrate it together with the entire community don't you?*

Yes yes I celebrate it with the entire community yeah first and foremost we go to the prayers on a Friday in the morning and then after that I usually take time off work so I'll take my leave around that days and there's a family gathering there's a get together after prayer there's a meal usually cooked and you give presents to each other so it's a nice day yeah

*MM: uhum I see you were saying that inside the home you were were encouraged to speak Somali as a kid could you tell me more about the way you learned English?*

I learned English firstly I went to Reception so I was enrolled straight away to a school when I came here when I was five so I enrolled straight away and apart from that I got siblings that I used to speak English too as well when I picked it up and friends friends in the neighbourhood so that's how I learned it but mainly the main way I learned that was through the schooling system and doing homework and concentrating on what I have been taught from school and even if I did have members who came to the country before me or who were elder they'd support in learning the language as well but as a family and when we we're speaking to each other in the household like over the dinner table we'd speak Somali

*MM: I see I see what was it like for you to go to school here and do you remember if you'd use like Somali in school not necessarily for formal things but maybe on the playground with friends?*

Yeah most definitely most definitely when we first go there like I said the way the housing system was then most people were in the same situation housing in the local area a certain local area and when to certain community schools so you weren't isolated you weren't the only one to speak Somali there could be three four members of that class speaking your native language so it's yeah that made it easier to integrate but at the same time it could it's easier to speak your native language so it could derail your your ability to pick up a new language yeah

*MM: ok do you have any particular memories when you would?*

In school yeah I remember a certain classmate that had who was in from Somalia as well and we'd speak English and Somali together and if he didn't understand a certain word in English then I'd say it in Somali and we'd bounce off each other and basically pick up off each other but like I said I was extremely young when I came so the memories are faint

*MM yeah yeah yeah do you sort of remember how people reacted in school if you started speaking Somali what reactions would other people who didn't speak Somali have?*

Yeah I remember it was more of an interest and more of a what language is that yeah it was seen as something different cuz in today's society there's some many different languages we're a

multicultural society and people are taking for granted but when I initially came that was something new I think that most people were interested by yeah there was an interest and there was an excitement around there it was something different young people of our age I even have experiences that I can remember of classmates which are British or Welsh students would want to pick up Somali ask you to say certain words in Somali and as you get older they would pick up certain words in Somali from different Somali members not necessarily all the good words but a couple of words

*MM: I can imagine what type of words they would ask I see I see if you go back to the idea of religion you were saying that you're Muslim could you please tell me more about how important religion is for your family and for yourself?*

Yeah most definitely religion is the forefront of everything so before nationality we pride ourselves upon our religion and we're Muslims and yeah we're Islam is our religion so within our household everything that's done is implemented around religion whether it's obligatory prayers that we're from a certain age we are taught to make sure that we abide by the rules for example whether it's what we eat halal meat is brought into the house to make sure that no haram meat is consumed so religion remains the forefront of everything that's done around the household and that goes on to education that goes on to employability reliability being trustworthy being honest when our parents are teaching us of them guidelines then it always goes back to religion

*MM: what about language because I know that many Muslims would start learning Arabic for example what is it like for the Somali community?*

For the Somali community basically first of all Islam is the Qur'an is written in Arabic so it's important to learn Arabic so for that purpose alone to get a better understanding of the Qur'an and what you're reciting during prayer for example it's important to learn Arabic so from young age I did go my parents did take me to Arabic classes as part of Qur'an lessons Arabic classes and Islam has no faces or culture or color so it is not a necessity that it's valued more to speak Arabic but it's important to understand the language to understand what you study yeah so for them reasons we were taught Arabic as well yeah unfortunately I haven't picked it up I speak Arabic but not fluently as I speak Somali or English

*MM I see I see but you are able to read the Qur'an*

Yes yes

MM: well that is a very important skill

It is it is yeah it is for Muslims yeah

*MM: Of course of course and do you attend religious services regularly do you attend the mosque?*

Yes yes I do yeah I whenever I can I attend the mosque during working hours it's quite difficult to attend the prayers but for example if the prayer falls after I finish work then I'd go to the mosque I'd go to religious ceremonies basically lessons I try to go to as many lessons and talks as well in the local mosques

*MM: could you give me sort of a glimpse of what's going on in a mosque in terms of languages because I imagine that uhm there are various communities who are Muslim and go to the same mosque or am I wrong?*

No no you're right it's various communities all walks of life are welcome to Islam and welcome within a mosque so a glimpse I could give you would be on a Friday ceremony there's a speech read before the Friday prayer which is a reminder a gentle reminder to the Muslims to see it basically raise their awareness so in a glimpse I would give you for any given time that you go there would be

4-500 people at the mosque at a certain time and you'd get people from different backgrounds there in my local mosque for example the ceremony it's conducted in three different languages firstly in Somali then in Arabic then in English but at certain mosques it's done in English in Urdu and all the community languages within that locality so that gives the example that anyone can make benefit of that ceremony

*MM I see I see so this is about how the service is given what about when you interact with different people in a mosque*

In a mosque depending on what language you speak if you're speaking to someone and you see their language skills to be Somali then you'd naturally speak to them in Somali and if not if in doubt then you'd probably speak to them in English

*MM: I see I see does this change is this different from what's going on in a mosque to when you go out of the mosque?*

Not necessarily no in terms of what you speak to someone?

*MM yeah*

No there's no difference no there's no difference it's whatever language you feel comfortable in speaking to them so you wouldn't looked down upon if you spoke English in a mosque for example

*MM: nor the other way around*

Nor the other way around

MM: you don't have any experiences like that?

I don't uhm of anything in particular?

*MM: no in terms of languages and how others perceive you in public like on the street or in different institutions*

Personally I haven't had any experiences like that no but I speak depending on whom I speaking to in what I feel it would be the most effective way to communicate with them if I can see someone speaks Somali but English is their first language then I'll talk to them in English I'll speak English and viceversa

*MM: I see I see could you tell me during a typical day of yours how would you use your languages?*

how I'd use my languages a typical day would be I'd probably wake up speak English to my wife and then come to work speak English but my role is different I speak Somali and English equally

*MM: here*

yeah here because of the locality I'm working in XXX there's a lot of Somali speakers claimants or customers which use our service at the moment so language barriers is an issue so if Somali is their first language then I'll interpret for them into English but as well though the service is open to everybody if an English speaking person comes in then I'd be able to speak English so I have to be very adaptable in my language skills during my working day then I'd go home speak Somali and English to my partner and perhaps speak most Somali to my parents and if I want to make a phone-call back home to check on relatives I'd speak Somali again

*MM: I see I see you mentioned your wife was she born here?*

no she's from we're in the same situation with mine she came here when she was young she came here around the same time and her first language is Somali but again she's fluent in English

*MM: exactly like you yes yes if you were saying it's the same situation*

Yeah same situation yeah

*MM: I see I see you were telling me about the languages that you use with your family do you have any siblings?*

I do yeah a sister and a brother

*MM: what languages do you speak mostly with them?*

In all honesty probably English

*MM: yeah but do you mix your languages?*

yeah I can speak English and Somali at the same time percentage wise I probably speak 70% English to them

*MM: yeah does it depend on what you're talking about?*

It does yeah I suppose it does and it depends on who else is in the vicinity so if any relatives are there in the middle of our conversation for them to understand we'd probably be speaking in Somali if it's just say English speakers then it'd be English

*MM: I see I see*

Yeah

*MM: And you were telling me already about the languages you use at work what languages do you read in?*

I can read in Somali and English the alphabet the Somali alphabet is actually the same as the English alphabet yeah I mean it's just has uhm different letters have a different pronunciation but it is abc to z so that makes it easier to read in Somali and in English

*MM: and you were saying Arabic as well*

And Arabic as well yeah yeah but predominantly English and Somali and Arabic as well yeah

*MM: what do you usually read in Somali for example?*

It's not much to be honest with you maybe texts from certain family members or friends yeah or social networks they write to you in their languages and also news feeds on internet website which are rooted in Somalia so basically newsletters that kind of thing so to keep you updated with what's going on in Somalia as well so the social media messaging and Internet sites that's what I'm mainly reading in Somali

*MM: yeah about English*

English is everyday I think yeah it's again everything it's on the internet books to work related documents

*MM: Uhum what about TV?*

TV in my home there's only there's a normal Sky box so I watch English TV but there are certain households family members who have a Somali dish so they watch all the Somali channels in Somalia which are audio and they read as well

*MM: Uhum I see and what languages do you write in usually?*

I can write in Somali Arabic and English English is the one I use more at the moment

*MM: Yeah yeah what would you write in Somali?*

Again it could be in letters it could be messages it could be that sort of thing correspondence with people that don't speak English which are mainly from abroad

*MM: I see I see so that's mainly what you*

that's what I write in Somali yeah or even to a certain extent some people who are here who are living here who speak English but also write and read Somali

*MM: I see I see and what about Arabic what would you write in Arabic?*

Again it would probably be in religious contexts or Qur'an or say along them lines yeah

*MM: I see I see one last question how do you perceive yourself when you speak different languages what emotions do you feel when you speak Somali?*

I don't know how I that would be for someone else to perceive me when I'm speaking but how I perceive myself is different tones are used in different languages so perhaps it's louder louder tones are showed when speaking a certain language rather than another it's different it depends on what language you're speaking and depending on what the context is

*MM: that would be it if there's anything that you'd like to say*

I think we've covered most things yeah

*MM: yeah*

Yeah I hope that was of assistance

*MM: very much very much thank you very much*