Varieties of English Around the World G50

English in the Indian Diaspora

EDITED BY
Marianne Hundt and Devyani Sharma

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Volume G50

English in the Indian Diaspora
Edited by Marianne Hundt and Devyani Sharma

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Table of contents

List of tables

List of figures

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

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According to India's Ministry of External Affairs, more than 20 million Indians live outside India, either as people of Indian origin (PIOs) or non-resident Indians (NRIs). This is a relatively conservative estimate, however, as it is based on a narrow definition of what constitutes the Indian Diaspora:

> The Indian Diaspora is a generic term to describe the people who migrated from territories that are currently within the borders of the Republic of India.
> (http://indiandiaspora.nic.in [last accessed on 1/31/2014])

The *Encyclopedia of the World's Minorities* (Skutsch 2005) uses a broader definition, including people who migrated from the whole of the Indian subcontinent (including Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan). It is this wider definition that we take as a starting point for the papers collected in this volume. Almost all contributions in the present collection deal with migration from India, but our use of the term 'Indian Diaspora' refers more generally to the Indian subcontinent.

As far as scholarly treatments of the Indian Diaspora are concerned, literary works have received wide recognition (see the work of authors such as Salman Rushdie, V. S. Naipaul or Jhumpa Lahiri, to name but a few). Historians, sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists and economists have focussed on aspects of the Indian Diaspora.[1] Surprisingly, the linguistics of the Indian Diaspora had, until very recently, been given relatively little attention. Previous research on language in the Indian Diaspora has tended to focus on the status and maintenance of Indian languages (e.g. Barz & Siegel 1988; Sharma & Annamalai 2003). One major exception has been research on the Indian Diaspora in South Africa: Mesthrie's work is exceptional because it focuses not only on Bhojpuri Hindi

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1. Lal, Reeves and Rai (2006) provides a good overview of the historical development of the Indian Diaspora. Jayaram (2004) and Bhatia (2007) address sociological and psychological aspects of migration, whereas Oonk (2007) provides an anthropological perspective. An interdisciplinary approach (including economic aspects) is taken in Parekh et al. (2003).

(1991) and sociolinguistic aspects of language contact (1992a) but also describes the local contact variety of Indian English (1992b). More recently, attitudes towards South African Indian English have also been studied (Wiebesiek 2011).

With the exception of South African Indian English, varieties of English in the Indian Diaspora are thus a fairly recent area of study. Research has been restricted to individual cases rather than comparisons of language contact across different diasporic settings.[2] In bringing together research by scholars who have been working on the use of English in the Indian Diaspora, this volume provides the first comparative perspective on the topic. The contributions originated in a workshop at the second ISLE (International Society for the Linguistics of English) conference in Boston in 2011. Together, these works explore the following theoretical and methodological questions:

1. To what extent have the different diasporic situations resulted in different outcomes?
2. How similar are the contact features and processes that we observe across diasporic situations?
3. Do types of responses to dialect contact in migration relate to the relative degree of endonormative stabilization of Asian Englishes?
4. To what extent do differences inform our understanding of community structures, attitudinal orientations and identity development?
5. Is there a relation between the rate of change/adaptation/focusing and the degree of transnational network maintenance or other factors specific to migration?

These questions do not simply further our understandings of the Indian Diaspora. They can ultimately feed into wider theoretical questions in the study of language contact, such as the degree of universality in the process of focusing in migration situations (Kerswill & Trudgill 2005), selection of traits from contact feature pools (Mufwene 2001), and interactions between social access, identity, and language change (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985).

The regional spread covered by the present set of studies ranges from Singapore via Africa and the UK to the Caribbean and the South Pacific. Moreover, the studies in this volume are not restricted to primary diaspora situations but include research into secondary diaspora contexts in the UK and New Zealand. The contributions also span a wide range of linguistic features (phonetics, syntax and lexis) and processes of change.

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2. Hallett (2010) compares code switching in newspaper language in English-medium publications in the Indian and Jewish diaspora.

Accent variation and change has always been a core focus in variationist linguistics. It is therefore not surprising that four of the nine studies in this volume examine phonetic variation.

Leung and Deuber (Chapter 2) provide a case study on pitch (a less-studied variable in diaspora research) in Indo-Trinidadian speech and its significance as a marker of Indian ethnicity. Using acoustically modified speech samples by Afro- and Indo-Trinidadians, the authors asked listeners in their experiment to identify speaker ethnicity. The results of their study show that a high-pitched voice is indeed associated with Indo-Trinidadians.

In Chapter 3, Alam and Stuart-Smith provide a detailed acoustic phonetic analysis of adolescent girls in Glasgow with a Pakistani background. Combining ethnographic fieldwork and naturalistic recordings with close instrumental analysis, they find that fine phonetic distinctions in the articulation of /t/ correspond to Communities of Practice that the girls participate in. Like Mesthrie and Chevalier's later chapter, this analysis points to the importance of ongoing social change and emergent local identities in the diasporic location as central in restructuring material originally contributed by Indian languages.

Rathore also looks at phonological variation in a UK-based Indian diaspora in Chapter 4, but with a focus on variation across different generations in a secondary diaspora situation, i.e. migrants from East Africa in Leicester. The patterns of variation she finds in her case study on rhoticity clearly show that second-generation members of the community adhere to local, East Midland patterns of usage whereas first-generation migrants retain rhoticity, a feature shared with mainstream usage in subcontinental India. As far as generational differences are concerned, the results of her research tie in with other studies on Asian minorities in the UK with similar socio-economic profiles (i.e. university education and middle-class occupations), showing, as Mesthrie and Chevalier do in the chapter that follows, that class and other broad social factors must be considered alongside ethnic or heritage factors.

Mesthrie and Chevalier's study (Chapter 5) looks at ongoing sound change in South African Indian English (SAIE). Part of the chapter offers a broader overview of types of change observable across phonetic features in SAIE, taking a broad view of sources and influences, including Indian languages as well as other local English dialects and languages. This broad discussion also includes a useful preliminary contrast of linguistic and social factors across different Indian diaspora contexts worldwide, that might serve as a basis for further research into similarities and contrasts across Indian diaspora outcomes. In the later part of the study, Mesthrie and Chevalier focus more narrowly on variation in the use of the NURSE vowel in South Africa and specifically in SAIE. Comparing evidence from older SAIE speakers to new data from younger groups, their results indicate, like

Alam & Stuart-Smith's earlier chapter, that phonetic variation in the use of this form points to emergent identities in the post-apartheid era, in particular an interaction of gender with class.

Grammatical, rather than phonetic, variation is the focus of the chapters by Leimgruber and Sankaran (Chapter 6) as well as Hundt (Chapter 7). In a study of imperfectives in Singapore, Leimgruber and Sankaran explore the possibility of ethnic sub-community distinctions in Singapore English. They discover distinctions among Tamil, Chinese, and Malay sub-groups and, assessing the relative contribution of substrate systems, they find that fine distinctions among the substrate language grammars may indeed underlie these differences. The study supports earlier work which suggests that a careful consideration of linguistic systems in contact might account for subtle differences in emergent grammars across Indian diaspora contexts.

Hundt compares variable article use in a primary and secondary diaspora context of Indians in Fiji and Fiji Indians in New Zealand. The expectation was that variable article use in the secondary diaspora would be closer to the patterns found in metropolitan varieties of English, particularly for second-generation informants, but also for participants who had migrated before the onset of puberty. These patterns were expected to be subject to difference in the maintenance of transnational ties. While the data largely confirm these hypotheses, they also reveal a considerable amount of fluctuation within the sample, which is taken to reflect individual speakers' language proficiency in English rather than differences in identity construction in the first generation. For the second generation, maintenance of transnational ties appears to be a decisive factor.

Chapter 8 by Mesthrie is concerned with the lexicon of SAIE, the only variety of Indian diasporic English to have received comprehensive lexicographic treatment so far. Having described themes for a comparative study of diaspora lexis, Mesthrie moves on to investigate cultural aspects of lexical retention and variation. He discusses examples of semantic shift, adaptation and borrowing, and argues that a systematic study of lexis in the Indian Diaspora adds to the dominant language history in giving "a sense of social history from below". As with other studies at the level of phonetic and grammatical variation, his study of lexical variation indicates clearly that there is a balance between heritage sources and local contact processes in semantic change.

One of the recurrent questions in the study of world Englishes is that of shifting norm orientation. According to Schneider's (2007) influential dynamic model of the evolution of New Englishes, a decisive step in the process is a shift from an exonormative, colonial model to an endonormative (local) model. In Chapter 9, Zipp compares data from corpus-based research with evidence from an attitude survey to verify whether Fiji English has progressed to stage four in Schneider's

model, that of endonormative stabilization, but instead of comparing language use by Fiji Indians with usage patterns found in British English, she takes possible links with a diasporic Indian model into account. While there is evidence of the development of a local variety of English both in terms of usage and reported use, the data did not yield evidence of a close connection between the English used by Indo-Fijians and the English of India, neither in terms of actual structural similarities found in corpus data nor with respect to norm orientation in the attitude survey data.[3]

In the final chapter, Sharma continues the focus on the more social question of whether an orientation to Asian norms is maintained over time. The study assesses material (network) and ideological (attitudinal) factors in maintenance of Indian English phonetic forms among second generation Punjabi Londoners. A measure of transnational network activity points to declining transnational ties and declining importance of this factor. For instance, some younger British Asians maintain robust use of Punjabi-derived postalveolar /t/, but this no longer correlates with personal transnational ties, as it did for older individuals. This mirrors other chapters (Alam and Stuart-Smith, Mesthrie and Chevalier) in highlighting the development of local meanings for heritage features. In the ideological dimension, British Asians associate educated Indian English with high status, suggesting that this variety may show increasing pan-diasporic prestige and influence, perhaps especially when wealthy and powerful transnational South Asians are a salient presence.

The primary goal of this collection has been to bring together parallel, state-of-the-art research on a single diaspora but from diverse settings. This permits a consideration of how prevalent shared or divergent developments are in the face of distinct linguistic and social environments. In closing, we consider here how a few of these comparative questions – both linguistic and social – have been facilitated by the present collection.

Several papers address the question of whether some features of English in the diaspora are more durable or persistent than others, i.e. whether certain accent features prevail, for instance, or some syntactic patterns are observable even in second-generation speakers and across diasporic situations. In many studies, certain variables appear to be relatively more durable, although there is little evidence of strictly identical linguistic development across diasporic contexts. These observations have implications for ongoing debates over Angloversals and shared traits in New Englishes, in that they can identify some of the limits of apparent

3. Zipp's analysis in this chapter focuses on the question of reported language use. Cognitive, affective and conative attitudes to varieties of English in Fiji (both by Fijians and Fiji Indians) are investigated in Hundt et al. (submitted).

similarities across contexts, highlight the importance of substrate effects, but also indicate linguistic domains that may be more susceptible to parallel developments.

Another theme that arises across several contributions is whether most speakers adapt to the new environment over time, and which social factors foster retention in general, while also selecting certain adaptations over others. A number of studies show some retention by the second, even the third, generations, but often with structural as well as social restructuring and reallocation. These processes suggest that, although the development of the Indian diaspora communities is in many ways accompanied by cultural and linguistic situations quite distinct from Western urban and rural dialectological studies, certain processes of focusing and reallocation arise regardless of the cultural setting and thus are likely to also pertain to other diaspora contexts (e.g. Trudgill 2004).

In addition, the papers address the related, socially oriented themes of ideology, identity construction, and types of social embedding: To what extent are diasporic varieties exo- or endonormative? How do community boundaries and emerging identities affect attitudes, which in turn may influence linguistic form? How internally heterogeneous are diasporic groups (and what are the consequences of these differences)? And finally, what is the broader positioning of English in the given diasporic setting, e.g. vis à vis the majority variety, second language varieties, as part of a multilingual repertoire, or in a shift situation with an English-based creole?

Among these questions, one particularly striking discovery is repeated across several chapters in the volume. This is the finding that later generations, even if they retain forms that derived originally from heritage language forms, almost always show evidence of new *local* social meanings and clear local interactions of social factors, e.g. strengthening interactions of gender and class. This repeated pattern dovetails with robust findings of this kind in the variationist sociolinguistic tradition (Labov 2001). This parallel between the diasporic studies and older Western urban studies reminds us that dynamics of dialect change in the Indian diaspora may well conform at times, though not always, to well-established principles in urban Western sociolinguistic research.

This volume is just a first step in developing a robust comparative sociolinguistics of diaspora Englishes, and studies explicitly designed to compare a single diaspora across distinct settings remain very rare. We hope that the volume offers a starting point for innovative, comparative research into the question of language variation and change – as well as identity formation and social change – through the specific lens of transnational migration.

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CHAPTER 2

Indo-Trinidadian speech

An investigation into a popular stereotype surrounding pitch

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This paper examines the extent to which fundamental frequency (F0) contributes to the stereotype that Indo-Trinidadians have a distinctive way of speaking, namely that they have high-pitched voices in contrast to Afro-Trinidadians, who are perceived as having voices with a low tone. We report the results of an experiment in which the F0 of voice samples of both Afro- and Indo-Trinidadians was acoustically modified to investigate this stereotype. Listeners were presented with unmodified as well as modified samples and were asked to identify the speaker's ethnicity. Our results reveal that F0 is indeed one of the salient cues which Trinidadians rely on to distinguish ethnicity. In addition, phonation emerges as a potential ethnicity cue.

Keywords: Indo- versus Afro-Trinidadians, ethnicity, perception, F0 manipulation

1. Introduction

At the southernmost point of the Caribbean islands, Trinidad forms a two-island state together with the much smaller island of Tobago. While Tobago has not been significantly affected by Indian immigration, Indo-Trinidadians are now one of the two major ethnic groups in Trinidad, the other one being Afro-Trinidadians. In the 2000 census of Trinidad and Tobago, 40 percent of the country's population was recorded to be of Indian descent, 37.5 percent of African descent, 20.5 percent mixed and the remainder of unknown or other ethnicity (Central Intelligence Agency 2013). The main languages of Trinidad are English, the official language, and a mesolectal English-lexifier creole. Indo-Trinidadians have shifted to English/Creole over time. According to a popular stereotype, their speech is

characterized by a distinctive type of pitch, but there is little empirical evidence for this so far.

After an outline of the historical, social, and linguistic background to the Indo-Trinidadian population (Section 2) and a brief sketch of related previous research (Section 3), this paper will present in its main part (Sections 4–7) an experiment designed to test the extent to which fundamental frequency (F0) – or pitch – is an ethnicity marker in Indo-Trinidadian speech. Conclusions and an outlook for further research will be given in the final Section 8.

2. Historical, social, and linguistic background of the Indo-Trinidadian population

After the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies in 1834–1838, a new source of labour was needed for the sugar plantations. Between 1845 and 1917, approximately 144,000 Indians came to Trinidad under an indentureship scheme (see Shepherd 2006, 306 for detailed figures of Indian migration to the West Indies). Only about 30,000 of these immigrants returned to India between 1850 and 1917 and some re-emigrated as a result of disappointment with what they found there (Haraksingh 2006, 280).

The majority of Indian immigrants to Trinidad came from the Bhojpuri-speaking areas in the present-day states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar (Mohan & Zador 1986, 294; Mohan 1990, 22). Although there were also speakers of other Indian languages among the immigrants, Bhojpuri established itself as the language of the Indian community in Trinidad and came to represent the new Indo-Trinidadian identity (Mohan & Zador 1986, 294; Mohan 1990, 23).[1] It was locally known as "plantation Hindi" rather than Bhojpuri, however (Mohan & Zador 1986, 294). Having been transported from a diglossic situation in which Hindi was the superordinate language (Mohan 1990, 25), it was generally considered a "broken" form of that language in Trinidad, which, it has been argued, contributed to a reluctance to maintain it (Mohan 1990, 21, 25).

The first Indian indentured workers generally lived in barracks on the plantations, while after 1870 village settlements became more common (Haraksingh 2006, 280). After the 1920s the life of Indians in Trinidad changed significantly (Haraksingh 2006, 283). Increasing numbers moved away from agricultural environments, a development which heightened after the 1940s (Haraksingh 2006, 280). Opportunities for education, at first provided mainly by Canadian

1. According to Mohan & Zador (1986, 294), the only Indian language that survived in Trinidad beyond the immigrant generation was Tamil.

Presbyterian missionaries (Samaroo 1975), were increasingly made use of and Indians began to enter professional occupations (Haraksingh 2006, 283). Since the 1940s, successive generations of Indians have achieved increasing economic and educational success and they have become progressively integrated into the larger Trinidad society (Haraksingh 2006, 284–286).[2] In 1995–2001 the office of prime minister was held for the first time by a person of Indian ethnicity, Basdeo Panday. The country's current Prime Minister, Kamla Persad-Bissessar, in office since 2010, is also of Indian ethnicity. Haraksingh (2006, 286) observes that many of today's concerns of Indians in Trinidad are shared by Trinidadians of other ethnicities and that specific concerns are not so large as to create a major division in the society. "This", he writes "is an indication of the depth of integration of Indians into Trinidad society, but more telling is the overriding tenor of life in Trinidad, which is more embracing and celebrates the country's diversity" (Haraksingh 2006, 286).

Bhojpuri has given way to English/Creole as the Indian population has become assimilated. Mohan and Zador (1986) diagnosed language death in a study based on 1979 data from rural Caroni, where Bhojpuri had survived longer than anywhere else (Mohan & Zador 1986, 295; see also Bhatia 1988). The oldest native speaker of the language in their sample had been born in 1930. Among younger members of the community they were able to find only a few speakers, who, moreover, had only a limited, non-native knowledge of the language. The SIL Ethnologue gives the number 15,600 remaining speakers of Trinidad Bhojpuri in 1996, with the addition that those who use the language are older adults and that 90 percent or more of them reportedly have English/Creole as their first language (Lewis 2009).[3] In another study based on the 1979 Caroni data, Mohan (1990, 30) concludes: "The linguistic future, then, would appear to be essentially identical to the socioeconomic future: an Indian community now completely transplanted in Trinidad, and essentially integrated into its new home".

3. Previous studies of Indo-Trinidadian speech

Although Indians are linguistically well-integrated into society, it is not implausible that an Indo-Trinidadian ethnolect may exist. Clyne (2000, 86) broadly defines ethnolects as "varieties of a language that mark speakers as members of ethnic

2. Transnational ties to India are not generally maintained by Indo-Trinidadians today.

3. Despite the dwindling number of speakers, it is noteworthy that there has been renewed interest in research on Trinidadian Bhojpuri, most notably in the research agendas of Jennifer De Silva (2012) and Kofi Yakpo (2012).

groups who originally used another language or distinctive variety". A natural concern which arises in such language scenarios is the degree to which elements of the language originally spoken by the ethnic group are reflected in the new language the group has acquired (be it in lexicon, grammar, phonology, or prosody). As usage of the original language decreases over time, "in the second generation and beyond, its symbolic significance as an identity marker is transferred to a variety of the majority language, the variety which is employed by the minority group either generally or in in-group situations" (Clyne 2000, 86).

Very few studies have focused exclusively on ethnolects in Trinidad despite the lay belief that Indo- and Afro-Trinidadians "talk differently". In a macro-sociolinguistic study carried out in 1992, a majority of respondents thought that there was a difference between Indo- and Afro-Trinidadian speech; pitch, "accent", and pronunciation were cited most often in this connection, followed by vocabulary (Mühleisen 2001, 56). Topics which have received some attention as regards Indo-Trinidadians and their English/Creole language usage include Indic loan words (Winer 2007), phonology (Winford 1978; Leung 2013), and pitch accent (Gooden, Drayton & Beckman 2009). Though indirectly related, work has also been done on the use of Indic lexicon by bi-racial Trinidadians of Indian and African descent (Regis 2012), locally known as *douglas*.[4] To date, no study has investigated whether the grammar of Bhojpuri has had any effect on Trinidadian English/Creole.

As regards lexicon, Winer (2007) has identified 1,844 words of Indian (mainly Bhojpuri) origin that can be considered part of the lexicon of Trinidad English/Creole. Most of these words are from various specific domains such as religion, cooking/food, kinship, and agriculture. Some are also known and used by non-Indo-Trinidadians, but most are associated with the language use of Indo-Trinidadians, who, however, have varying knowledge of them.

In terms of phonology, Winford's major sociolinguistic survey conducted in 1970 indicated that old Indian speakers for whom Creole was a second language had a distinctive vowel system but that younger, first language speakers converged with Afro-Trinidadians (Winford 1978). In a similar vein, Leung's (2013) recent work on vowel variation in contemporary Trinidadian English indicates that at a segmental level there is little difference between the vowel realizations of Indo- and Afro-Trinidadians. That is not to say that differences do not exist at a suprasegmental level. In fact Gooden et al.'s (2009) study of Trinidadian Creole speech reveals that Indo-Trinidadians tend to have a low tone on stressed syllables (L*) while Afro-Trinidadians use a long rise to peak on stressed syllables

4. The term *dougla* is derived from Hindi *dogalā* which means "hybrid: mixture; mongrel animal; person of mixed descent" (Winer 2008, 311).

(L+H*). Furthermore, Drayton (2006) notes that "other Afro-Trinidadians who interact with Indo-Trinidadians also have L* accents instead of L+H* accents on stressed syllables" (qtd. in Gooden et al. 2009).

4. An investigation into a popular stereotype surrounding pitch

As mentioned before, there is a commonly held folk belief that Indo-Trinidadians have a distinctive speech pattern. Indo-Trinidadian voices are often said to be light, soft, fine, and high in pitch, in contrast to Afro-Trinidadian voices, which are commonly described as strong, heavy, deep and low in tone.[5] This stereotype can be well observed in a short cartoon called "Vendor Rivalry" (Sattar 2009) which won the Animae Caribe 2009 award for Best Animation. The video highlights ethnic pitch stereotyping by showing two vendors in full confrontation with each other: the Indo-Trinidadian vendor is represented as having a high pitched voice whereas the Afro-Trinidadian has a markedly deep voice.

What lay people describe as pitch is in fact a perceptual phenomenon. Although frequency and pitch are related, acoustically speaking the two are not the same. It is important to bear the distinction between production versus perception in mind. In speech, humans produce frequencies which are measured in Hertz (Hz). Frequency in correlation to pitch is known as the fundamental frequency or F0. In contrast, when humans hear a voice, they perceive pitch or the "auditory realization [or] impression…of that property" (Ball & Müller 2005, 8). That is to say, in terms of acoustic and psycho-perceptual realities, humans produce frequencies, but hear pitch. For the sake of convenience, we use the word *pitch* to refer to F0 although we are fully aware of the technical difference between the two terms.

As regards perceptual research on speaker ethnicity, an extensive amount of work has been done on European-American and African-American voices over the last 60 years (see Thomas & Reaser 2004 for a comprehensive overview; also Rahman 2008), ranging from studies on vowel quality to prosodic features, such as pitch, intonation, and phonation. Recent works outside of an African-American context include Mendoza-Denton's (2011) research on Chicano gang personas, Szakay's (2012) work on voice quality as an ethnicity marker in New Zealand, and Newmann and Wu's (2011) work on Chinese- and Korean-Americans. Phonation – which may manifest as modal, creaky, falsetto, or breathy, depending on the state of the glottis (Laver 1994; Gordon & Ladefoged 2001) – has also received

5. These descriptors were collected from our survey participants. (See Appendix, Section 2 of the survey.)

notable attention in relation to gendered ethnicity (Stuart-Smith 1999; Alim 2004; Yuasa 2010; Podesva 2013, and others).

The current study endeavours to contribute to this growing body of research on speech perception by investigating the suprasegmental cues that Trinidadians use to assess ethnicity. We start out from the popular stereotype described above on the basis of which we have formulated the following three hypotheses to be tested in the study:

H1: Indo-Trinidadians use a wider F0 range than Afro-Trinidadians.
H2: Listeners will identify Indo-Trinidadians as Afro-Trinidadians if the overall F0 is decreased.
H3: Listeners will identify Afro-Trinidadians as Indo-Trinidadians if the overall F0 is increased.

After a detailed description of the method in Section 5, the results relating to these hypotheses will be reported in Sections 6.1–3, followed by an analysis of interspeaker variation in Sections 6.4–5 and further discussion of the results, also including findings on phonation in Section 7.

5. Method

In order to examine the aforementioned hypotheses, an experiment was designed and presented in a survey format to Trinidadians. They were asked to listen to recordings and to identify the ethnicity of the speakers. Participants were given two options: they could either identify the speaker as Afro- or Indo-Trinidadian. A follow up question "How sure are you?" probed the certainty of the participant's response, to which the following five response options were provided: extremely unsure, unsure, fairly sure, sure, and extremely sure. (See Appendix). It should be noted that we report only the results for ethnicity identification. A sample of 16 clips of Indo- and Afro-Trinidadian speakers was used, which was balanced for ethnicity and gender (4 clips per cell). The clips used were taken from sociolinguistic interviews conducted in Trinidad by the first author in 2009. Speaker names used in this paper are pseudonyms. Clips included neither Indic loanwords nor narratives of any theme which could bias the listener's perception of the speaker's ethnicity. F0 was modified in all of the original 16 clips, thus yielding 32 clips in total. Unmodified clips were not altered in any way, meaning that the F0 of the clips was not manipulated. In contrast, for the modified clips, the F0 was either increased or decreased by a constant semitone value, depending on the speaker's gender: +/– 1.25 for females and +/– 1 for males. This was done

using Audacity, an audio editing software. F0 was manipulated by semitones since they are closer to human perception than Hz. How pitch was manipulated in the clips depended not only on the gender of the speaker but also on the speaker's ethnicity: the F0 of the Indo-Trinidadian speakers was decreased whereas the F0 of the Afro-Trinidadian speakers was increased. Below is a summary of the modifications made:

1. The Indo-Trinidadian female voices were lowered by –1.25 semitones.
2. The Indo-Trinidadian male voices were lowered by –1 semitone.
3. The Afro-Trinidadian female voices were increased by +1.25 semitones.
4. The Afro-Trinidadian male voices were increased by +1 semitone.

Although there was a total of 32 clips, each participant was only asked to judge 16 clips (8 unmodified and 8 modified). In order for all 32 clips to be evaluated, two versions of the survey with different clips were used for data collection. It should be noted that each listener never heard both the unmodified and modified voice of the same speaker.

A total of 88 responses (male = 27, female = 61) was collected in March 2011. Each version of the survey was completed by 44 participants. Chi-square tests for independence were conducted to establish if there was a relationship between the dependent variable "ethnicity identification" (Afro- and Indo-Trinidadian) and the independent variable "clip status" (unmodified and modified). Chi-square tests were run both on pooled data (grouped by both ethnicity and gender) and individual speaker data in an R environment.

Acoustic analysis was also conducted on the clips so as to ascertain if Indo-Trinidadians use a wider pitch range than Afro-Trinidadians and whether Indo-Trinidadians have a higher mean F0. All clips were segmented into intonational phrases, using the software Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2013). In Praat, the following F0 range settings were used according to the speaker's gender: 75–300 Hz for males and 100–500 Hz for females. Exclusions were made in the measurement process wherever creaky voicing occurred and wherever there was overlap or background noise that affected the pitch curve. For each speaker's clip, three F0 measurements (Hz) were made: the pitch floor, the pitch ceiling, and the mean F0 per intonational phrase. The pitch floor (F0 minimum) and pitch ceiling (F0 maximum) were used to calculate pitch ranges across gender and ethnic groups. Pitch range was calculated as the F0 difference between the pitch ceiling and pitch floor. Additionally, the measurement of mean F0 per intonational phrase was used to calculate the overall mean F0. Wilcoxon tests were conducted to look for differences in F0 values between the various ethnic and gender groupings.

This study was originally designed to test F0 as an ethnicity assessment cue. However, during the course of examining interspeaker variation, phonation – namely, creaky, and modal voicing – emerged as a potential factor for ethnicity identification. Although our research was not designed to deal with phonation, we decided to report it because of its apparent relevance to the results. A simple binary coding scheme, referring to "creaky and modal" voice within the intonational phrase, was used to classify phonation in unmodified clips.[6]

6. Results

6.1 Hypothesis 1: Difference in F0 range between ethnicities

As a point of comparison, we referred to Gut's (2009) values for mean F0 (average pitch) and F0 range (pitch range) for men and women. As can be seen in Table 2.1, our results were consistent with mean F0 and F0 pitch ranges for both males and females. Pitch ranges for the Indo- and Afro-Trinidadian men illustrated little difference; both the pitch floor and ceiling were nearly identical. However, among the women, differences in pitch range were noticeable. The Indo-Trinidadian women had both a higher pitch floor and ceiling than the Afro-Trinidadian women. Moreover, the Indo-Trinidadian women had a considerably wider pitch range (351 Hz) than their Afro-Trinidadian counterparts (258 Hz).[7] Furthermore, Wilcoxon tests revealed differences in mean pitch between the Afro- and Indo-Trinidadian women to be statistically significant, $W\ (159) = 1267$, $p < .001$.

Table 2.1 Mean F0 and F0 range for men and women

Gender	Groups	Mean F0 (Hz)	F0 range (Hz)
Men	From Gut (2009)	100–150	70–250
	Pooled	97–135	72–237
	Indo-Trinidadian	97–128	72–237
	Afro-Trinidadian	97–135	72–230
Women	From Gut (2009)	150–250	80–400
	Pooled	147–242	100–471
	Indo-Trinidadian	213–242	120–471
	Afro-Trinidadian	147–193	100–358

6. Since creaky voicing is more likely to occur at phrase boundaries, we base the coding of creaky versus modal voicing on their occurrence within the intonation phrase.

7. Pitch range was calculated here as the difference between maximum and minimum F0.

The mean pitch for the Indo-Trinidadian females was considerably higher (M = 210 Hz) than that of Afro-Trinidadian females (M = 166 Hz). However, differences in mean F0 for the men did not prove to be significant. Thus, hypothesis 1, that Indo-Trinidadians have a wider pitch range than Afro-Trinidadians, could not be confirmed for the men on the basis of the sample. However, there was strong evidence to support this hypothesis among the women.

6.2 Hypothesis 2: Response to modified Indo-Trinidadian voices

Hypothesis 2 predicted how listeners would judge the manipulated clips of the Indo-Trinidadians when pitch was decreased. Chi-square tests revealed that listeners evaluated unmodified and modified clips of the Indo-Trinidadian women differently, χ^2 (1, n = 352) = 89, p < .0001. (See Figure 2.1 for a visualization of responses to the clips.) In unmodified clips, listeners identified the speakers as Indo-Trinidadian 70 percent of the time. As predicted, in modified clips (F0 decreased), listeners evaluated the speakers as Afro-Trinidadian at a high rate of 81 percent. Similarly, for the Indo-Trinidadian men, the chi-square test indicated that listeners evaluated unmodified and modified clips differently, χ^2 (1, n = 352) = 20.1, p < .0001. In unmodified clips, listeners identified the speakers as Indo-Trinidadian 64 percent of the time. In manipulated clips (F0 decreased), listeners evaluated the speakers as Afro-Trinidadian 61 percent of the time. Overall, there is strong evidence to support hypothesis 2 seeing that listeners mistakenly identified the Indo-Trinidadians as Afro-Trinidadians when F0 was decreased.

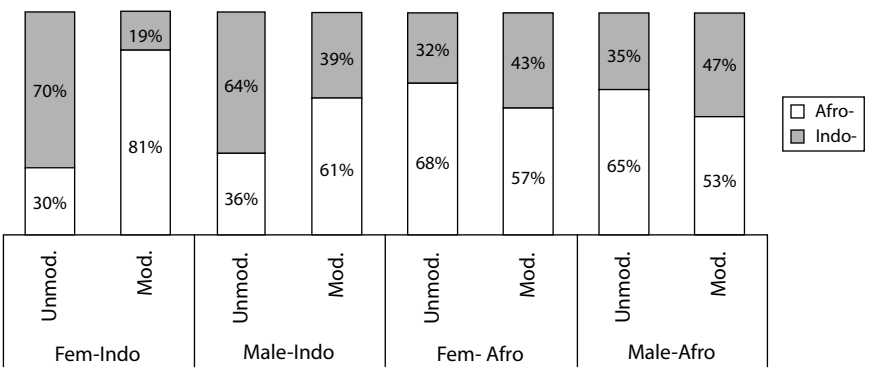

Figure 2.1 Listener responses (N = 88) to unmodifed and modified clips pooled by gender and ethnicity

6.3 Hypothesis 3: Response to modified Afro-Trinidadian voices

Hypothesis 3 predicted how listeners would perceive the Afro-Trinidadian voices when pitch was increased. Chi-square tests indicated that listeners generally evaluated unmodified and modified clips differently. This was the case for both the males and females, (χ^2 (1, n = 352) = 4.71, p = .03 and χ^2 (1, n = 352) = 3.92, p = .048, respectively). (For a visual overview of listener response to the Afro-Trinidadians' clips, see Figure 2.1). When pitch was unmodified in clips for the Afro-Trinidadian men, listeners correctly identified ethnicity 65 percent of the time. In modified clips (F0 decreased), listeners evaluated speakers as Indo-Trinidadian at a rate of 47 percent. With the female Afro-Trinidadian voices, when pitch was not manipulated, listeners identified the speakers as Afro-Trinidadian at a rate of 68 percent. In modified clips (F0 decreased), listeners evaluated the speaker as Indo-Trinidadian 43 percent of the time.

From Figure 2.1, it is clear that a majority of listeners did not perceive the modified Afro-Trinidadian voices (male and female) as Indo-Trinidadian. Overall, this suggests that there was a certain degree of indeterminacy in how listeners responded to the modified clips. In other words, from the pooled data there was not a clear consensus for ethnicity identification with manipulated clips (cf. listener responses to modified Indo-Trinidadian clips in Section 6.2). In fact, when the pooled data were disaggregated, a much more complex picture emerged, particularly as to how listeners responded to both the modified and unmodified clips of Afro-Trinidadian men and women. In light of this, a more detailed analysis at the level of the individual speakers is presented in Sections 6.4 and 6.5. Overall, the results lend moderate support to hypothesis 3.

6.4 Interspeaker variation – Trinidadian women

Thus far, it is evident that F0 is a fairly salient cue in ethnicity identification. Nonetheless, to gain a deeper understanding of the data, additional chi-square tests on the clips of individual speakers were conducted for interspeaker comparison. Additionally, the clips were re-inspected in Praat. Through auditory analysis we discovered that phonation types – namely, creaky voice and modal voicing – might have functioned as cues in delimiting ethnicity.

The disaggregated data for the Afro-Trinidadian women indicated that only the evaluation of Joan's speech supported hypothesis 3, χ^2 (1, n = 88) = 21.84, p = < .0001. When her clip was unmodified, she was correctly identified as Afro-Trinidadian 93 percent of the time. When pitch was modified (F0 increased), she was evaluated as Indo-Trinidadian 52 percent of the time.

Table 2.2 Ethnicity identification of female voices as a percentage with chi-square results, mean F0, F0 range, and phonation type (ethnicity of the speaker marked with an asterisk *)

Speaker pseudonym	Ethnicity identification	Clip status		$\chi^2_{1,43}$	*p*	Mean F0 (Hz)	F0 range (Hz)	Phonation
		% Unmodified (*n* = 44)	% Modified (*n* = 44)					
Philippa	***Afro-***	77	75	0.06	*ns*	147	100–23	creaky
	Indo-	23	25					
Joan	***Afro-***	93	48	21.84	< .0001	193	132–358	creaky
	Indo-	7	52					
Marge	***Afro-***	52	48	0.05	*ns*	163	101–345	creaky
	Indo-	48	52					
Yvette	***Afro-***	48	57	0.73	*ns*	156	102–287	creaky
	Indo-	52	43					
Indrani	Afro-	9	64	28.29	< .0001	224	120–356	modal
	Indo-	91	36					
Rani	Afro-	20	93	47.43	< .0001	213	140–371	modal
	Indo-	80	7					
Chandi	Afro-	39	91	26.35	< .0001	242	148–419	modal
	Indo-	61	9					
Sharlene	Afro-	52	75	4.91	.027	218	126–471	modal
	Indo-	48	25					

For all the other Afro-Trinidadian women, their chi-square tests did not reach statistical significance, as shown in Table 2.2. In the case of Philippa, she was moreover perceived as Afro-Trinidadian (77 percent unmodified and 75 percent modified) irrespective of pitch modification. For Yvette and Marge, there was no clear consensus on how the ethnicity of these women was perceived since irrespective of clip modification, their voices were judged about half the time as Indo-Trinidadian and Afro-Trinidadian. From this interspeaker comparison, it is evident why disaggregating the pooled data is merited as individuals were not always assessed in the same way.

The disaggregated data for the Indo-Trinidadian women demonstrated more consistency in how clips were evaluated, as seen in Table 2.2. All chi-square tests for individual Indo-Trinidadian women supported hypothesis 2.

As for phonation, it is noteworthy that the Afro-Trinidadian women were found using creaky voice whereas use of modal voicing was noted among all the female Indo-Trinidadians speakers. (For further discussion of phonation, please refer to Section 7.)

6.5 Interspeaker variation – Trinidadian men

The disaggregated data for the Afro-Trinidadian men revealed mixed responses to the clips. This can be seen in Table 2.3. Only the results of Jim's and Austin's chi-square tests supported hypothesis 3 (χ^2 (1, n = 88) = 15.01, p = < .0001 and χ^2 (1, n = 88) = 8.69, p = .003, respectively). Conversely, John's speech was consistently perceived as Afro-Trinidadian (93 percent unmodified and 91 percent modified) in spite of clip modification. One peculiar case is that of Niles. Although his chi-square test reached significance, χ^2 (1, n = 88) = 8.69, p = .014, hypothesis 3 could not be supported. As seen in Table 2.3, Niles' unmodified clip was erroneously evaluated as Indo-Trinidadian 77 percent of the time. Furthermore, when pitch was modified (F0 increased), there was little difference in how his ethnicity was perceived (Afro-Trinidadian 48 percent versus Indo-Trinidadian 52 percent).

The disaggregated data for the Indo-Trinidadian men indicated that listeners did not respond to individual speakers in the same way. In the case of David, irrespective of clip modification, his speech was consistently identified as Indo-Trinidadian (95 percent in both unmodified and modified clips). Another peculiarity in the data was the listeners' response to Ricardo's clips, χ^2 (1, n = 88) = 7.57, p = .006. His unmodified clip was erroneously evaluated as Afro-Trinidadian 64 percent of the time. However, when pitch was modified (F0 decreased), he was perceived as Afro-Trinidadian (89 percent). Lastly, chi-square tests for Bisram's and Cyrus' speech reached statistical significance, thus supporting hypothesis 2 (χ^2 (1, n = 88) = 13.31, p = < .001 and χ^2 (1, n = 88) = 12.02, p = < .001, respectively).

Table 2.3 Ethnicity identification of male voices as a percentage with chi-square results, mean F0, and phonation type (ethnicity of the speaker marked with an asterisk *)

Speaker pseudonym	Ethnicity identification	Clip status		$\chi^2_{1,43}$	*p*	Mean F0 (Hz)	F0 Range (Hz)	Phonation
		% Unmodified (*n* = 44)	% Modified (*n* = 44)					
John	***Afro-***	93	91	–	*ns*	97	72–187	creaky
	Indo-	7	9					
Austin	***Afro-***	82	52	8.69	.003	151	90–230	modal
	Indo-	18	48					
Jim	***Afro-***	64	23	15.01	< .0001	103	75–226	creaky
	Indo-	36	77					
Niles	***Afro-***	23	48	6.03	.014	125	78–219	modal
	Indo-	77	52					
David	Afro-	5	5	–	*ns*	129	80–237	modal
	Indo-	95	95					
Bisram	Afro-	25	64	13.31	< .001	118	75–235	modal
	Indo-	75	36					
Cyrus	Afro-	52	86	12.02	<.001	105	73–205	creaky
	Indo-	48	14					
Ricardo	Afro-	64	89	7.57	.006	97	72–187	creaky
	Indo-	36	11					

As regards phonation, the coding did not reveal a clear tendency among the men according to ethnicity. (For further discussion of phonation, see Section 7.)

7. Discussion

In this section we examine individual speakers in relation to what we assume to be "prototypical" of the respective ethnicities. What we consider prototypical is dependent upon both production and perception data. In other words, by triangulating individual speaker F0 range, phonation tendency, and listeners' response to clips, a rough template of a prototypical speaker emerges. We do acknowledge that locating the precise features listeners use in ethnicity identification is not a straightforward task, since they are likely to be relying on a bricolage of linguistic cues (Thomas & Reaser 2004; Newmann & Wu 2011). Nevertheless, given the semi-experimental nature of this study, we have been able to gain some insight into the prosodic features at play.

Speakers with the most prototypical Afro-Trinidadian voices included Philippa and John, both of whose clips were perceived as Afro-Trinidadian prior to and post pitch manipulation. Both these speakers had small pitch ranges (139 Hz and 115 Hz, respectively) and accordingly lowest mean F0 in their groups.[8] They also used creaky voice within the intonational phrase. In contrast, speakers with the most prototypical Indo-Trinidadian voices included Rani and David, both of whom had high F0 means as well as fairly wide pitch ranges (231 Hz and 157 Hz) in their respective groups. Both speakers also used modal voicing. Examining these prototypical voices lends insight into the potential role phonation plays in the ethnicity identification. One may hypothesize that Trinidadians associate modal voicing with Indo-Trinidadians and creaky voice with Afro-Trinidadians.

Analysis of less prototypical voices can also motivate this hypothesis. David, for instance, is an interesting prototypical case to juxtapose with a less prototypical speaker such as Ricardo. In contrast to David, Ricardo was erroneously perceived as Afro-Trinidadian the majority of the time when his voice was unmodified. Ricardo has the smallest pitch range among the Indo-Trinidadian men (115 Hz). Additionally, both his pitch floor and ceiling are low and are in the same range as the prototypically Afro-Trinidadian male, John. His mean F0 (97 Hz) is on the low end and he often uses creaky voice. In other words, multiple prosodic dimensions of Ricardo's voice are similar to that of the most prototypical Afro-Trinidadian male in the study, even though he is actually Indo-Trinidadian.

8. Pitch range expressed here is the difference between maximum and minimum F0.

For a speaker such as Joan, a tentative case for the role of phonation in ethnicity perception can be made. Joan is the only female Afro-Trinidadian whose voice was consistently judged as Afro-Trinidadian when unmodified (93 percent). At such a high rate of Afro-Trinidadian identification, it is natural to ask which cues we can delimit as being salient to listeners. In terms of F0 values for Joan, her pitch floor and ceiling are quite high (similar to the range of the Indo-Trinidadian women). In this instance, listeners do not appear to be responding to the pitch of Joan's voice or else they would have been more likely to perceive her as Indo-Trinidadian. Thus, there must be another cue to which listeners are responding. Similar to the other Afro-Trinidadian women, Joan uses creaky voice. Even when her pitch is manipulated (F0 increased), listeners are still uncertain as to her ethnicity, with almost half of them still perceiving her as Afro-Trinidadian (48 percent Afro- and 52 percent Indo-Trinidadian identification). Since F0 manipulation does not affect creaky voice in the clip, we tentatively deduce that listeners are potentially responding to her use of creaky voice. This evidence is hardly strong on its own but taken together with the clear distribution of creaky versus modal voicing we observed among the Afro-Trinidadian and the Indo-Trinidadian women, respectively, the possibility ought not to be discounted.

8. Conclusion and outlook

This study indicates that there are multiple cues that listeners use to ascertain speaker ethnicity. Differences in F0 are indeed salient in distinguishing Afro-Trinidadians from Indo-Trinidadians. The results lend some credence to the folk perception that Indo-Trinidadians have higher pitched voices than Afro-Trinidadians. From the small sample of voices in this study, this generalization can be applied most strongly to the Indo-Trinidadian women since there is a marked difference in the pitch range and mean F0 values between their speech and that of their counterparts, the Afro-Trinidadian women. However, the data from the study do not show this to be the case with the men. Work on a much larger sample is desirable and necessary. As for other prosodic features, phonation emerges as a potential ethnicity cue.

Our results suggest that an Indo-Trinidadian ethnolect may well exist in Trinidadian English at a suprasegmental level. Outlining some general acoustic dimensions of prototypical Afro- or Indo-Trinidadian speakers thus illuminates an important aspect of sociolinguistic variation in Trinidad. However, attributing a type of prosodic feature to a social factor – as this study does – is of course not the only lens through which ethnicity can be examined. In fact, Podesva (2013) cautions against such correlations between social factors and prosodic features:

"[I]n spite of robust correlations between phonation patterns and identity categories, the social meanings of particular phonation types are culturally specific and should not be reduced to purely iconic or unanalyzed associations to either gender or race" (Podesva 2013, 428). In our case, however, the ethnic distinction is a locally salient one; by using an ethnic stereotype as a starting point we take into consideration what people perceive to be relevant social categories for linguistic variation. Other research paradigms, such as indexicality (Eckert 2008) and ethnolinguistic repertoire (Benor 2010; Sharma 2011), which take into consideration the social meanings associated with a linguistic variable, offer constructs that could be useful to employ in future work. An increasing number of studies utilize such frameworks to examine the use of prosodic cues by gender and/or ethnicity (e.g. Sicoli 2010; Becker Forthcoming). A potential study making use of the notion of indexicality or ethnolinguistic repertoire could examine pitch accommodation, that is, the ways in which speakers adjust aspects of their prosody, depending on the ethnicity of their addressee. We have informally observed such a phenomenon. It is probable that accommodation depends not only on the ethnicity of the addressee, but also on speaker stances taken in the discourse.

What remains uncertain is the extent to which suprasegmental features of Bhojpuri/Indic languages have impacted on the English/Creole of Indo-Trinidadians. Since Trinidad and Guyana are similar in their ethnic composition, and share histories of indentureship and settlement, perhaps a parallel investigation of ethnic stereotyping in Guyanese English/Creole may prove useful in determining whether these prosodic differences possibly come from Bhojpuri/Indic languages.

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Appendix

Section 1

CLIP 1 of 16

1. Identify the ethnicity of the speaker:

   ☐ Indo-Trinidadian
   ☐ Afro-Trinidadian

2. How sure are you?

   ☐ extremely unsure ☐ unsure ☐ fairly sure ☐ sure ☐ extremely sure

Section 2

1. What cues/clues did you use to identify the speaker's ethnicity? Please note that you are asked to consider:

   a. Afro-Trinidadian females vs. Indo Trinidadian females.
   b. Afro-Trinidadian males vs. Indo Trinidadian males.

I used these cues/clues to distinguish **Afro-Trinidadian** voices:	I used these cues/clues to distinguish **Indo-Trinidadian** voices:
AFRO-Trini FEMALE	**INDO-Trini FEMALE**
AFRO-Trini MALE	**INDO-Trini MALE**

CHAPTER 3

Identity, ethnicity and fine phonetic detail

An acoustic phonetic analysis of syllable-initial /t/ in Glaswegian girls of Pakistani heritage*

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English in the Indian diaspora in Britain is of much interest, both in the emergence of regional ethnic Englishes (Heselwood & McChrystal 2000) and in the potential links with language change in mainstream English (Kerswill et al. 2008). Also intriguing are the processes by which features percolate through generations of speakers (Sharma & Sankaran 2011). At the phonological level, subtle differences in phonetic characteristics may index locally-situated social/ethnic identities in second and further generations (Stuart-Smith et al. 2011). Lawson et al. (2011) show that the auditory-articulatory relationship is complex, with very fine-grained phonetic characteristics potentially having salience for a community (Docherty & Foulkes 1999). We present results of an acoustic phonetic analysis of syllable-initial /t/ in adolescent girls of Pakistani heritage in Glasgow. Speech data were drawn from a long-term ethnography in an inner-city secondary school. Several Communities of Practice were identified (cf. Eckert 2000), spanning a continuum from British/western to traditionally Pakistani and/or Muslim practices. Spectral analysis of the stop bursts of /t/ revealed not only clear patterning according to social practices but also gradience for individuals within Communities of Practice. This suggests the emergence of a local ethnic accent with subtle adaptation of heritage features reflecting new emerging identities (cf. Harris 2006).

Keywords: sociophonetics, identity, ethnicity, consonants, Scottish

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1. Introduction

In England, Wales, and Northern Ireland, 14% of the population were reported as belonging to a minority ethnic group (other than 'White') in the 2011 Census, with most resident in urban conurbations. The British Asian community – consisting of a range of intersecting diasporic communities from across the Indian subcontinent, many of whom speak major Modern Indo-Aryan languages (e.g. Punjabi, Urdu, Bengali) – represents the largest reported minority ethnic group at 6.8% of the total population in England and Wales. Studies on regional British Asian accents in England (e.g. Heselwood & McChrystal 2000; Hirson & Sohail 2007; cf. Kirkham 2011) have all shown links between ethnicity and accent, bar Evans et al. (2007), whose study of Gujarati was carried out in West London. English in the Indian diaspora in the UK also shows intriguing relationships with variation and change in mainstream Englishes (e.g. Kerswill et al. 2008). And closer investigation reveals some of the mechanisms by which phonological features may percolate within and through generations of speakers (Sharma & Sankaran 2011; see also Sharma, this volume).

In Scotland, the minority ethnic population is much smaller, reported at only just under 4% of the whole population in the 2011 Census, but the main ethnic group, largely located in the country's largest city, Glasgow, is also part of the Indian diaspora. 58% of the Glasgow South-Asian community is of Pakistani heritage, and Islam is the main religion. Ethnicity intersects in complex ways with identity for members of this community because not only are local Scottish, Asian, and Scottish-Asian identities involved, but religion is also a factor, particularly in the context of post-9/11 British society.

Previous auditory and acoustic analyses of Glasgow-Asian accents in second generation speakers have shown show clearer realizations of /l/ and closer allophones of the GOAT and FACE vowels than Glasgow non-Asian speakers (e.g. Lambert et al. 2007; Stuart-Smith et al. 2011). They also show that fine phonetic variation relates not just to ethnicity but specifically to local ethnic identities. Features of phonetic interference in the first generation appear with subtly different phonetic characteristics indexing specific identities in second and further generations (Stuart-Smith et al. 2011). These findings add to those of recent sociophonetic research, which shows that fine phonetic variation can be systematically related not only to macro-factors such as age, gender, and social class, but also to the construction of locally-salient social identities, including those which relate to ethnicity (e.g. Foulkes & Docherty 2006; Khan, e.g. 2009; Docherty & Mendoza-Denton 2012). Such studies are theoretically important because they point to the need for models of phonological knowledge that explicitly include social-indexical information (e.g. Foulkes 2010). However the empirical base for

their development is still rather thin, particularly with respect to speech and the construction of locally-salient ethnic identities.

In this paper we present the results of an acoustic phonetic analysis of syllable-initial /t/ in adolescent girls of Pakistani heritage in Glasgow. Speech data were drawn from a long-term ethnography of 97 Scottish-Asian adolescents in an inner-city secondary school. Several Communities of Practice were identified (cf. Eckert 2000), spanning a continuum from British/western to traditionally Pakistani and/or Muslim practices. A spectral analysis of the stop bursts of /t/ reveals not only clear patterning according to social practices but also gradience for individuals within Communities of Practice. This provides more evidence to suggest the emergence of a local ethnic accent with the subtle adaptation of heritage features reflecting local "Glasgow-Asian", or perhaps better new hybrid, "Glaswasian", identities (cf. Harris 2006).

1.1 The Glasgow Asian community

1.1.1 *Historical background*

The Indian diaspora to the UK began in the fifteenth century in the form of travelling seamen, servants, and peddlers, but the real expansion of a South-Asian presence took place in the 1950s and 1960s when colonial ties catalyzed migration with the need for industrial workers after WWII. Migration was also spurred on by the communal turmoil which continued after the independence of India and Pakistan in 1947, where poverty and high unemployment necessitated moving abroad for better life prospects. The primary settlements were in large industrial areas such as London, Birmingham, Manchester, and West Yorkshire, where migrants often took low-paid factory jobs.

After a scattering of settlers in the late nineteenth century and before (Maan 1992), migration of South-Asians to Scotland generally happened as a second wave, as workers in England were laid off and travelled north to seek new employment. Migrants formed dense multiplex social networks, especially in the major cities of the Central Belt, Glasgow, and Edinburgh. As relatively large numbers moved to the same area, small communities formed, located in areas such as Govanhill, Pollokshields, and Pollokshaws in Glasgow, with their own infrastructure catering for the specific needs of the community, offering halal meat shops and local media (e.g. Radio Awaz, Radio Ramadan) and newspapers (e.g. the Awaz newspaper, The Friday People community newspaper), as well as mosques, since the majority of the new community were Muslim, alongside smaller Sikh and Hindu Indian communities in Glasgow. The primary regions in South Asia that formed the source of the Scottish Asian community are in Pakistan, with the

Figure 3.1 Map of Pakistan showing main areas of provenance of the Scottish Asian community

majority from the Punjab area, surrounding the cities of Lahore and Faisalabad, but also some from the area around Mirpur, the largest city in Azad Kashmir towards the north of Pakistan (which is still under dispute in terms of rule) (see Figure 3.1).

The Scottish Pakistani community still exhibits strong transnational ties with communities in Pakistan. Many community members make frequent visits back to Pakistan, typically for marriage, assessing wealth and/or assets (e.g. collecting rental income from land or property owned in Pakistan), family weddings and funerals. Many first-generation parents (and grandparents) also take their

children back to their homeland during school holidays to learn more about their heritage and develop relationships with their Pakistani relatives. At the same time, the political turmoil in Pakistan, particularly since the military government was overthrown in 2008, has resulted in some decrease in visits to the country. Furthermore, in recent years it seems that fewer second and third generation Scottish Asians visit Pakistan for holidays and would rather go abroad elsewhere. Popular destinations are countries like Turkey, Morocco, and Egypt, where it is still possible to experience Islamic culture but without the cultural and familial responsibilities of visiting relatives in Pakistan (cf. Shaw 1994).

1.1.2 *Demography*

The demographics of the communities in the Indian diaspora are not evenly distributed across the UK. As noted at the outset, there is a large disparity in general in the size of the non-White minority ethnic populations in England and Wales (14% of the overall population in 2011) and Scotland (just under 4% in 2011). In England and Wales in 2011, around 6.8% of the non-White minority ethnic population are reported as originating from South Asia (Indian 2.5%, Pakistani 2%, Other Asian 1.5%, Bangladeshi 0.8%). However, in Scotland, the South-Asian diaspora formed only 2.7% of the total population with the predominantly Muslim Pakistani community forming the largest proportion (Pakistani 0.9%, Indian 0.6%, Other Asian 0.4%, Bangladeshi 0.07%). Even though the Pakistani community in Scotland is much smaller demographically, it is proportionately larger than its English counterparts.

1.1.3 *Sociopolitical situation*

It is difficult to talk about a unified British Pakistani Muslim community in terms of belief system, since there are sectarian and ideological divisions, e.g. Sunni, Shia, Salafi, Ahmadiyya. The majority of the Scottish Pakistani Muslim community are Sunni, though there are many offshoots (e.g. Barelvi and Deobandi). Despite these differences, all these communities have shared isolation from the mainstream caused by widespread Islamophobia and xenophobia, particularly in the media, since 9/11 and 7/7. The British Muslim community is experiencing heightened challenges to their identity, both outwardly from the perceived hostile environment, but also inwardly in the options they choose to project their identity, e.g. assimilation, integration or independence from mainstream British society. There has been a range of responses to national Islamophobic views among young British Muslim Pakistanis, from a degree of Islamic revival in younger generations to counteract gross categorization, to complete abandonment of heritage in order to distance oneself from any stereotypes; others appear to sit on the fence and pick and choose elements from both cultures and traditions as required.

More generally, Ballard (1994, 31) observes that identities and cultures, like languages, are codes, which are totally context-dependent. A new generation (or even members within a generation) can shift identities depending on domain. For example, they may adopt certain behaviours in some religio-cultural situations and other behaviours in Western situations – thus constantly reinterpreting and re-evaulating their daily lives – in a way unknown to their predecessors who were strongly linked to their single heritage background. This integration, or rather daily negotiation of coexisting identities, is captured in Harris' (2006) discussion of young British Asians in London. Drawing on Hall's (1992) notion of "cultures of hybridity", Harris (2006, 1–2) proposes: "*Brasian* … [suggesting] a continuous flow of everyday life and cultural practices in which, at any given moment, both British and particular South Asian derived elements are always co-present". Alam (2007) had made a similar, independent, observation for the linguistic and social practices of her Glasgow-Asian high school girls – more of whose data are presented here. Alam also preferred a blended term, "Glaswasian" as opposed to "Glaswegian Asian" to express the co-present identities of both being of the city of Glasgow and at the same time enjoying their Pakistani Muslim heritage.

1.1.4 *Linguistic context*

The Scottish-Pakistani community brought with it a complex and already diglossic language situation from Pakistan, with Urdu as the High variety and Punjabi, and some other local languages and/or dialects (such as Mirpuri) as Low varieties (see Masica 1993); classical Arabic functions as another, highly restricted, High variety, used for Islamic religious practices, such as reciting the Holy Qur'an or performing congregational prayers. The micro-economy created by the Scottish-Pakistani community has acted as a language maintenance mechanism by creating an environment where it is more natural to use the community languages. Despite this, language loss is apparent in 2nd, 3rd, and later generations, especially outside the home domain (Fishman, e.g. 1991). No formal statistics exist to document the progress of language loss, but an illustration is provided by reports on heritage language use by members of this sample. Nearly all of the 97 Asian high school children reported that they spoke English almost exclusively outside the home, using Punjabi or Urdu only for emphasis, mockery or mimicry outside the home domain. Their reports are confirmed by their usage during the interviews, with only very occasional instances of code-switching. Code-switching itself is used as a way of expressing humour in an "English" conversation, with some stereotyping of accents and mocking of older generations. In addition, Punjabi/Urdu words, phrases, or idioms may be used when an English equivalent does not exist (e.g. Urdu *mamu* for 'maternal uncle') or to refer to typical, culturally specific domestic activities (e.g. *roti* 'unleavened Asian bread' or *salan*

'curry'). During the interviews there was very limited use of code-switching, and only largely when the interviewer herself code-switched, which then allowed the students to speak the heritage language without embarrassment. In general they were reluctant to be deemed as "TeePees" (short for the phrase 'Typical Pakistanis' which has negative connotations associated with people born in Pakistan). Many thought they were too "cool" to speak the heritage language which might work against an urban/modern Scottish identity.

In general, Urdu and Punjabi are only used to speak to older relatives who perhaps cannot speak English and also to older family members as a sign of respect. Between peers, English is the dominant language. There is some attempt to retain the heritage language by younger generations through teaching their children, but this tends to be very limited and is not considered very important, in comparison with the aspirations to achieve well in the Scottish education system and other extra-curricular pursuits. As a result these 2nd+ generation members of the community exhibit transitional bilingualism and reduced proficiency in Punjabi and Urdu, accompanied by borrowing of English loanwords and reduction of the Punjabi and Urdu morphology system. Any attempts at formal language maintenance (e.g. Saturday morning classes, GCSEs and A-Levels) are focused on the High variety, Urdu, rather than Punjabi with erosion well underway.

Alongside usual community language use, both British Asians and the majority population recognize particular enregistered varieties (Agha 2003) such as the form of stylized Indian English represented in the TV comedy, *Goodness Gracious Me*, or the more recent TV family sitcom, *Citizen Khan* (cf. *Citizen Kane*), set in Birmingham and drawing on very stereotypical portrayals of the first generation. Such a style is usually relegated to first generation speakers and is a source of amusement for younger generations. In Scotland, enregistered Scottish-Asian, and even Glasgow-Asian, styles also exist, with typically more syllable-timed rhythm and exaggerated use of a retroflex articulatory setting. The shopkeeper "Navid", in the BBC Scotland comedy *Still Game*, played by a local Asian celebrity, Sanjeev Kohli, is a good example of a well-known local Asian stereotype. The perceptual salience of colloquial regional British-Asian accents is far less marked but is still present. Both Heselwood & McChrystal (2000) for Bradford, and Lambert et al. (2007) for Glasgow, found accurate discrimination of Asian versus non-Asian accents, even when the contributing phonetic features were rather subtle.

1.2 The realization of /t/ in Glasgow Asian

Using retroflex stops for the voiceless, and voiced, coronal plosives, /t/ and /d/, is stereotypical of stylized Indian-English accents and is also found in many first-

generation British-Asian speakers who were born outside the UK and who are also proficient speakers of a modern Indo-Aryan language such as Punjabi or Urdu, which have retroflex consonants (Bhatia 1993; Bhardwaj 1995; see also Sharma & Sankaran 2011). Second-generation British-Asian speakers may also show auditorily retracted realisations of /t/ (Heselwood & McChrystal 2000), though these usually sound more postalveolar than retroflex (e.g. Kirkham 2011).

In Glasgow, auditory analysis of /t/ in 2nd+ generation Asian speakers showed retracted, postalveolar stops (including some ejectives, Lambert et al. 2007). Glasgow-English typically shows fronted, denti-alveolar, or even dental allophones for this stop (Stuart-Smith 1999). Auditorily identified postalveolar stops also contributed 54% of the overall variation for /t/ in the speech of the Glasgow Asian girls examined by Alam (2007) with significant differences according to the social, cultural, and religious practices in which they were engaged.

In this paper we return to Glasgow Asian, and in particular to the extended ethnographic study of Pakistani Muslim heritage high school girls carried out by the first author. Here we increase our resolution of the phonetic detail by using an acoustic phonetic analysis to consider the realization of syllable-initial /t/.

Our main research questions are:

1. What are the acoustic characteristics of /t/ for these speakers?
2. Does fine phonetic variation pattern according to locally-salient ethnic identities?
3. How does such variation intersect with that related to phonetic constraints?

But before we try to answer these questions, we consider aspects of methodology. First we outline the data collection and speaker sample. Second we reflect briefly on the phonetic analysis itself.

2. Methodology

2.1 Data collection

The wider study from which these results are drawn is based in the sociolinguistic Communities of Practice (CoP) framework (e.g. Eckert 2000). This approach uses long-term ethnographic methods to access members of communities, observe their shared developing social practices, and gradually to discern the Communities of Practice to which members belong. It offers an excellent way of investigating the kind of subtle social differentiation which needs to be identified if we are to consider the development of specific patterns of speech variation in conjunction with local ethnic identities.

The first part of the study from which these data are drawn involved a long-term, ethnographic fieldwork in an inner-city high school in Glasgow. Riverburn High (pseudonym) has the highest proportion of ethnic minority pupils in the city (45%), with Asian Pakistani children making up 30% of this ("Ethnic Figures for Secondary Schools 2005–2006", Glasgow City Council Pupil Census). The first author, who is herself a female member of the Glasgow Pakistani Muslim community, carried out participant observation over three years, by hanging out with students during lunchtimes, breaks and free periods, and by attending school social events. She soon felt herself to be part of the school environment as she was often mistaken for a pupil and reprimanded by teachers in corridors, giving credence to the fact she was not a figure of institutional authority and someone the pupils could trust. Various pupil hangouts emerged, often highlighting key identity differences within the ethnic community, from Indian takeaways to deli sandwich shops. Extensive field-notes on the interactions were made allowing for general observations and the identification of a series of Communities of Practice existing for the Asian students, especially the girls, who are the focus of this study.

2.2 Communities of Practice in Riverburn High, Glasgow

Even before 9/11, young female British Asians encountered particular challenges of plural ethnic identities, neatly summarized in a line from the hit film, *Bend it like Beckham*: "Who wants to cook *aloo gobi* when you can bend a ball like Beckham?" In the aftermath of 9/11, the tensions between adhering to traditional cultural values, or moving to more westernized practices, gained the now heightened factor of religion.

The qualitative sociolinguistic analysis of the school-based ethnography revealed sharp (informal) social segregation between Asian and non-Asian students. A total number of 117 students/informants aged between 14 and 18 years old participated in the fieldwork, 97 Asians and 20 non-Asians. Digital recordings of speakers were made during informal interviews between the researcher and pairs or triads of speakers, using AT831b microphones and a flashcard Microtrack recorder with a sampling rate of 44,100 Hz/16 bit. Approximately 60 hours of recordings were made over the three years of ethnography.

Table 3.1 shows the distribution of the Asian students according to Community of Practice. Within the Asian girls the Communities of Practice that were salient are shown in Figure 3.2, which gives a schematic representation. The ovals represent the CoPs, with size reflecting the proportion of female participants in each. The overlapping areas represent some fluidity and similarity in social practices, and the vertical arrow shows the social space through which the Shifters moved. The grey-filled ovals indicate the three CoPs represented here.

Table 3.1 Numbers of Asian students who participated in the ethnography at Riverburn High, Glasgow, according to Community of Practice

Communities of Practice for Asian students	Girls	Boys
Wannabes	7	3
Messabouts	14	10
Moderns	10	3
Religionistas	6	0
Shifters	25	11
Conservatives	8	0
Totals	70	27

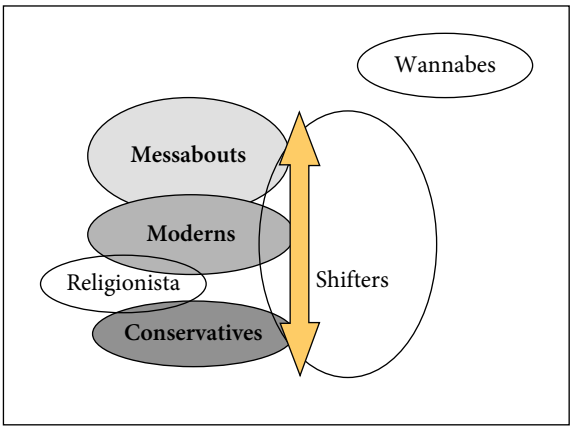

Figure 3.2 Schematic representation of relevant Communities of Practice for Glasgow Pakistani high school girls. The grey-filled ovals indicate the three CoPs represented in this study

Membership of the different Communities of Practice related to girls' affiliation to western ideologies as opposed to eastern ideologies, spanning a multidimensional continuum from very traditionally Pakistani and/or Muslim, to very British/western, values and practices.

In this paper we present results from six 17–18 year-old girls, selected on the basis of their participation as core members of three Communities of Practice (pseudonyms are given for the girls):

1. Conservatives (Inaya, Aneela): These girls strongly adhere to traditional Pakistani cultural values and practices, favouring earlier marriage without previous relationships and staying at home to raise children, though still seek

education. They wear plain clothes and the *hijab* (headscarf), with little or no make-up or jewellery.

2. Moderns (Zahida, Huma): The Modern girls wear trendy, fashionable clothing, with visible make-up and generally no headscarf. They express aspirations for continuing in further education and holding careers. They want to date and talk about boys – they are relatively daring but do not act outside of the bounds of accepted community norms.
3. Messabouts (Asma, Naazi): Visibly similar in many ways to the Moderns, the Messabouts are different in that some of their practices (e.g. drinking, smoking, drugs, swearing) are not acceptable to the community and could lead to serious consequences. Some even wear the headscarf but often this is imposed and not through personal choice, which may explain their rebellious practices in the school domain – often split personalities. Nevertheless their socializing is still restricted to within the Glasgow Asian community, making them different again to the Wannabes (who effectively align with White students).

Auditory impressions of the realization of /t/ in these speakers were of fine-grained, complex articulatory differences along a kind of continuum which can be rather coarsely captured in two parameters, front-/backness of the articulation, ranging from dental to postalveolar, and variation in the active articulator, or configuration of the tongue tip or blade. Conservatives sounded more apico-postalveolar (auditorily retracted but also more tip), whilst Messabouts' variants seemed more laminal-dental (auditorily fronted but also more blade). Genuine retroflex stops were only identified in the handful of Punjabi code-switches.

2.3 Phonetic analysis of sociophonetic variation

Trying to pin down precise articulations using even the finest grained traditional auditory phonetic transcription was very difficult for these highly subtle differences (very similar problems occurred when trying to deal with sociophonetic variation in /s/ in Glasgow, Stuart-Smith 2007). This was, on the one hand, a motivation for using an acoustic phonetic analysis. But it also led us to question more broadly how we might best describe and identify the patterns underlying this kind of sociophonetic variation, and more fundamentally what different kinds of phonetic analysis – auditory, acoustic and articulatory – are able to show.

Auditory phonetic analysis is typically used for sociolinguistic analysis of phonetic/phonological variation. This involves the representation of phonetic variation using the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), with more (narrow) or less (broad) detail represented as the analyst decides (Ogden

2009). Auditory transcription requires the analyst to categorize the auditory continuum of variation in "articulatory terms" (i.e. the analyst's kinaesthetic interpretation of the kinds of articulatory strategy that the speaker might be thought to be using; Catford 2001). The result of this kind of analysis, even at the fine level, is fairly gross, discrete categories which make strong assumptions about the articulatory gestures underlying auditory objects, for example voiceless retroflex plosive [ʈ], retracted voiceless alveolar plosive [t̠], and so on. Despite the IPA symbols and their labels, the result is auditory, not articulatory, objects. Furthermore, the fine-grained variation which is pertinent to the community may not be easily audible and/or discriminable, even to trained phoneticians (Docherty & Foulkes 1999). At the same time, numerous sociolinguistic studies have repeatedly shown statistically robust sociolinguistic patterning of auditorily-identified units with social factors, including ethnicity (e.g. Labov 2001; Mendoza-Denton 2008).

A stock response to the apparent shortcomings of auditory transcription is to invoke the scientific superiority of acoustic phonetic analysis. Acoustic representations of speech show chunks of speech in terms of amplitude and frequency over time, e.g. waveforms, spectrograms, and spectra. Acoustic analysis is persuasive because it allows the analyst to view speech in particular ways, and it facilitates the objective quantification of aspects of the speech signal, in terms of e.g. duration and/or frequency. The result is continuous acoustic measures for specific aspects of the signal specified by the analyst. The advantages are that such data permit robust statistical analysis, and the data are fine-grained and continuous – the output of the observed measures have not been placed into analytical categories. At the same time, acoustic analysis yields acoustic objects, whose relationship both to articulation and to perception must be inferred and/or extrapolated (e.g. Johnson 2011). Such relationships, particularly between acoustic and articulatory representations, are less straightforward than they might appear. Models such as source-filter theory make necessarily simplistic assumptions about cavities and their resonances, whereas actual articulations entail complex variable filters. Acoustic measures are also partial, taking only a few dimensions. So a form of categorization is imposed by the analyst's choice of which measure to use to represent a phenomenon, even when other characteristics may not be captured. For example, the classic representation of vowels using the first two formants cannot at the same time include information about lip-rounding, which is captured by the third formant. Acoustic analysis is also rather more subjective than it might appear, since it is strongly determined by the analyst's decisions about how and where to take measures (Ogden 2009).

Perhaps an answer is provided by articulatory phonetic analysis. Different techniques provide visual, dynamic representations of some aspect of speech articulation, e.g. tongue-palate contact (electropalatography) or tongue surface

configuration (Ultrasound Tongue Imaging). Despite anxieties regarding sociolinguistic naturalness, in fact such visible equipment has not been found to affect speech style (e.g. for UTI, see Lawson et al. 2008). Quantification of aspects of articulatory representations is possible for some techniques and under development for others. The result is dynamic and static representations of articulatory configurations that otherwise might be inferred (from auditory and/or acoustic analyses). At the same time, articulatory phonetic analysis does require some expertise to implement data capture and then to interpret the data; quantification for some techniques is not straightforward. But more importantly, whilst articulatory representations may appear "direct", they are in fact removed from actual articulation, being both partial and processed (e.g. most ultrasound films are very slow at 30 Hz, may not show all of the tongue, and/or tongue tip, and only present a "sketch" of tongue movement).

These three different kinds of representation of speech variation share the characteristics of each offering only partial sketches of the data and also of being connected to each other in complex ways. Ideally any sociophonetic description would be based on data drawn from all three points of the "speech data triangle". Take, for example, a recent analysis of derhoticisation of postvocalic /r/ in Scottish English, in e.g. *car, card* (Stuart-Smith et al. 2014). Auditory analysis is extremely difficult, yielding different categorization according to different analysts and fuzzy/inbetween categories. Acoustic analysis shows ambiguous patterns of weakened energy exactly where formant transitions are expected. And articulatory analysis shows how tongue gestures are present, but delayed so that they coincide with the end of voicing. It is clear that each kind of phonetic analysis yields complementary objects, each valid and yet distinct.

These reflections provide a backdrop to our choice of methodology, and especially the results and their interpretation. Here we chose to attempt to capture fine-grained phonetic variation in the realization of /t/ which might be carrying social meaning for these speakers by using acoustic (spectral) analysis of the stop burst because this: (a) yields continuous measures; (b) provides several acoustic indices to capture (a few) aspects of the spectrum (a slice taken at the stop burst); and (c) avoids having to assign variants to auditory (i.e. quasi-articulatory) categories when the auditory differences between "fronted" and "retracted" variants of /t/ are likely to relate as much to the overall shape of the constriction, captured grossly in terms of "apical" – tip or "laminal" – blade, as to any differences in "front-back" dimension of tongue tip/blade. At the same time, we note that using this form of analysis can only provide a partial sketch of this aspect of these girls' speech.

2.4 Acoustic phonetic analysis

The speech recordings were uploaded, with full orthographic transcripts, to the database/search engine ONZE Miner (now LaBB-CAT; Fromont & Hay 2008). All possible tokens of syllable-initial /t/ were extracted into Praat, and problematic tokens were removed. The sound files were high-pass filtered at 450 Hz and low-pass filtered at 12000 Hz to remove extraneous low-frequency energy and to prevent aliasing, or the appearance of false peaks in the spectrum. FFT spectra were taken using a 10 ms Hamming window manually centred on the stop burst.

We considered different aspects of the spectral energy of the stop bursts using a spectral moment or "centre of gravity" analysis (Forrest et al. 1988; cf. Harrington 2010), which models the spectrum as a "single normal distribution which may reflect the dominant front cavity formant" (Wrench 1995, 460); in other words, this is like thinking of a spectrum as having a main peak (area) of acoustic energy, with particular dimensions (a bit like a mountain rising out of a mountain range). Characteristics of the overall distribution of spectral energy are captured using four measures: the **mean** is the midpoint frequency at which the energy under the curve on either side of the point is equal; the **spread** is the "bandwidth" of the energy either side of the mean; the **skew** refers to the asymmetry of the energy surrounding the mean; and **kurtosis** to the peakiness of the distribution. The measures were taken using Praat algorithms to calculate: "centre of gravity", "standard deviation", "skew" and "kurtosis".

It is possible to make simple predictions about frequency of the **mean** and size of the front cavity immediately in front of the articulatory constriction, such that a longer front cavity will show a lower mean, and a shorter front cavity a higher one. But it is important to note that the measures are also determined by both the overall shape of the articulatory front cavity and also by the shape of the constriction itself. So, for example, what determines the patterning of spectral energy for different variants of /t/ will not only be the distance between the end of the constriction created by the tip or blade of the tongue and the lips (the fronting/dental or backing/alveolar of place of articulation), but also by the kind of front cavity that is created, and by the different dimensions and shape of the constriction formed by the tip or the blade of the tongue. Thus, whilst we might expect a shift from a postalveolar to an alveolar articulation to raise the mean as the distance between the tip/blade and teeth is reduced, further fronting and/or dentalisation of a /t/ does not simply shorten the front cavity and increase the mean even more. Rather it can result in the near-absence of the front cavity and substantial difference in the shape of the entire constriction. This leads to an overall shift in the shape of the acoustic spectrum – dental articulations typically show spectra which are rather flat and lack any kind of overall peak.

More generally, mapping these measures onto notions of particular articulations without instrumental phonetic articulatory data, such as electropalatography, is not straightforward (cf. Sundara 2005, 1035). At the same time, moment analysis has been shown to provide a good acoustic characterisation of obstruent articulations (Forrest et al. 1988; Ladefoged 2003) and even to be able to distinguish between relatively fine differences in place of articulation, e.g. between alveolar and dental stops in Canadian English/French bilingual speakers (Sundara 2005). It is also the case that different datasets analysed using different settings (e.g. frequency range for taking spectral moments) also introduces some variability into measures taken for the "same" sounds across different studies. This in turn leads to a more complex relationship between measures, auditory impressions, and predicted articulations.

Statistical analysis of the measures was carried out using 3-factor ANOVAs followed by Bonferroni post hoc tests, to test for effects of Preceding/Following Segment and Community of Practice, as well as their interactions. Given that each CoP is represented here by only two girls, we also ran the ANOVAs with Speaker in place of CoP. Only results significant with $p < .05$ are reported.

3. Results

3.1 Adjacent phonetic segment

Results for each adjacent segment were inspected and grouped into larger categories on the basis of similar results (which aligned with phonetic similarity, e.g. mid/low front vowels, back rounded vowels). Preceding segment showed no effect on any of the spectral moments, nor were there any interactions. Following segment showed significant effects for all four spectral moments (mean: [$F(4, 436) = 3.788$, $p = .005$], spread [$F(4, 436) = 9.259$, $p < .000$], skew [$F(4, 436) = 4.334$, $p = .001$] kurtosis [$F(4, 436) = 3.267$, $p = .012$]) though without any interactions with Community of Practice or Speaker; hence they are presented separately (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Average spectral moments for all speakers according to following segment

Following segment	Mean	Spread	Skew	Kurtosis	n
I	2338	1856	1.55	5.09	104
ɛ, a, ai	2329	1901	1.66	5.04	81
o, ɔ	2389	1658	1.37	4.67	72
ʉ	2761	1809	1.00	3.17	151
w, r	1802	1222	1.89	9.73	28

Post hoc tests showed the highest mean before /ʁ/, which also showed the lowest skew. The mean was lower before the rounded consonants /w/ and /r/, which also showed the lowest spread and highest kurtosis.

3.2 Community of Practice

A significant effect of Community of Practice was found for the Mean [$F(2, 436) = 5.050$, $p = .007$], Skew [$F(2,436) = 7.657$, $p = .001$], and Kurtosis [$F(2, 436) = 4.145$, $p = .044$]. Post hoc tests show that the Conservative girls have a higher Mean than both the Modern and Messabout girls, who are not different from each other (Figure 3.3). Skew and Kurtosis are different for each Community of Practice: the values for both Skew (Figure 3.4) and Kurtosis (Figure 3.5) rise from Conservative through to Messabouts. These results suggest an increasing positive tilt to the spectrum, and an increasingly peaked distribution, which at first sight seemed counterintuitive since auditorily it appears that the Messabouts show the most laminal dental stops, for which we would expect a rather flat spectrum. We explore a possible explanation in the discussion in Section 4.

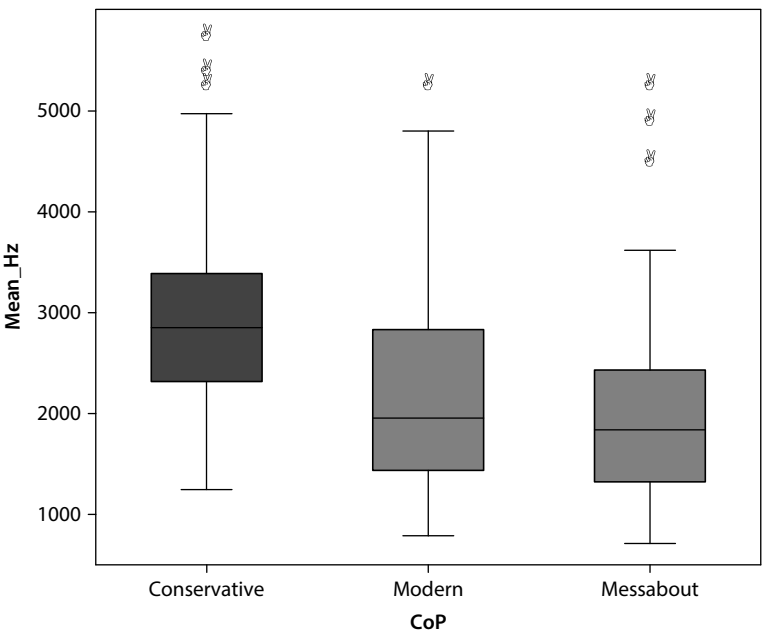

Figure 3.3 Box plots of Mean according to Community of Practice (n = 436)

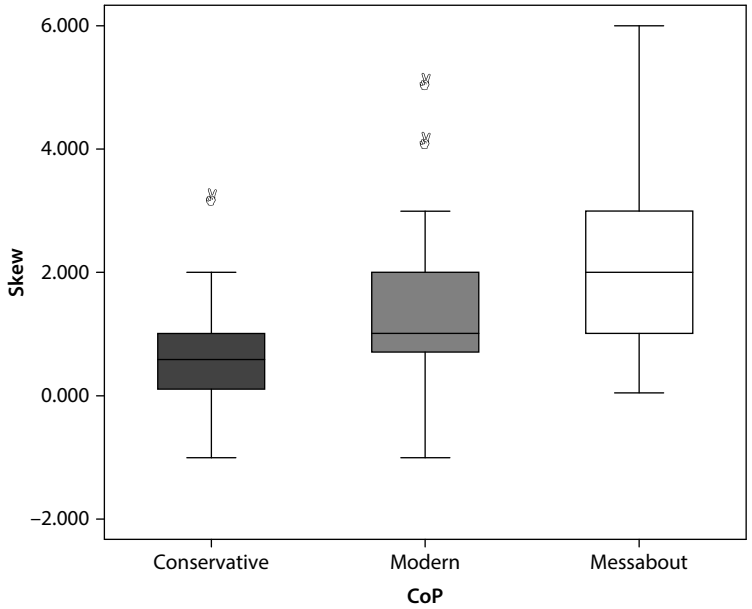

Figure 3.4 Box plots of Skew according to Community of Practice (n = 436)

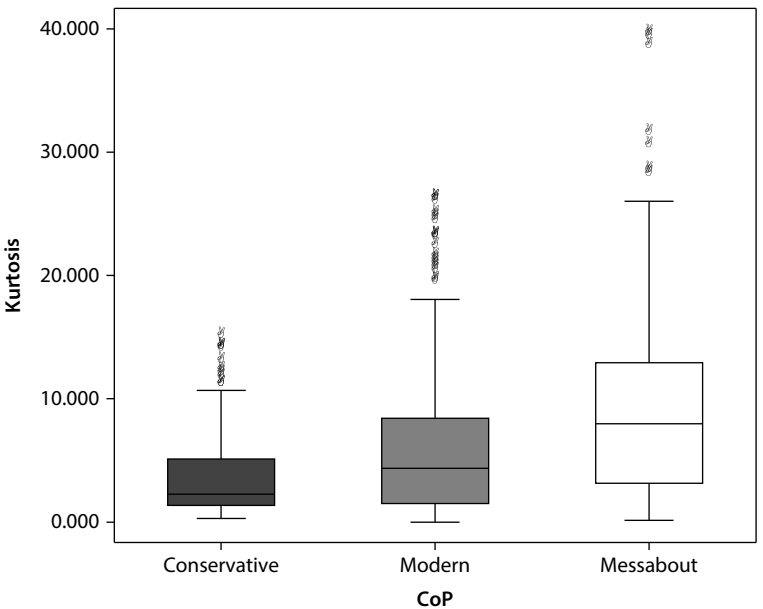

Figure 3.5 Box plots of Kurtosis according to Community of Practice (n = 436)

Table 3.3 Average spectral moments for each speaker

CoP	Speaker	Mean	Spread	Skew	Kurtosis	n
Messabouts	Asma	1901	1402	2.04	9.04	30
	Naazi	2024	2037	2.31	8.29	55
Moderns	Zahida	2588	2057	1.26	2.51	105
	Huma	1778	1466	2.14	9.23	71
Conservatives	Aneela	2782	1870	0.75	1.48	94
	Inaya	3004	1528	0.68	2.96	81

3.3 Individual speakers

We also wanted to investigate the extent to which the individual speaker variation aligned with Community of Practice membership, and so we ran all the ANOVAs again, substituting Speaker for CoP. This improved the explanation of variance as indicated by the R^2 by about 10% to almost 50% for all measures. An effect of Speaker was found for all four measures: Mean [$F(5, 436) = 3.410$, $p = .005$], Spread [$F(5, 436) = 9.158$, $p < .000$], Skew [$F(5, 436) = 4.334$, $p = .001$], and Kurtosis [$F(5, 436) = 5.074$, $p < .000$]. The results are summarised in Table 3.3.

Post hoc tests for Mean, Skew, and Kurtosis measures confirmed the grouping of Aneela and Inaya as "Conservative" and Asma and Naazi as "Messabouts". But for the same measures, the "Modern" girls were split: Zahida consistently patterned with the Conservatives and Huma with the Messabouts. Spread showed a completely different pattern, cutting across CoP, with Aneela, Zahida and Naazi showing higher values and Inaya, Huma and Asma showing lower ones.

4. Discussion

The spectral moment analysis of the stop burst of /t/ showed a consistent effect of Community of Practice for three measures (Mean, Skew, Kurtosis), which were supported and informed by subsequent analysis of the individual speaker variation. Specifically, these measures show systematic variation with membership of the Conservative and the Messabout CoPs, which capture shared engagement in more traditional Pakistani culture and Islamic religious practices on the one hand and bold ventures into forbidden western social practices on the other. The Modern group is split: acoustic variation groups one girl with the Conservatives and the other with the Messabouts. Interestingly, the same two girls show the opposite split patterning for the realization of the lateral (Stuart-Smith et al. 2011). This suggests that the social-indexical value of phonetic variation for the Modern

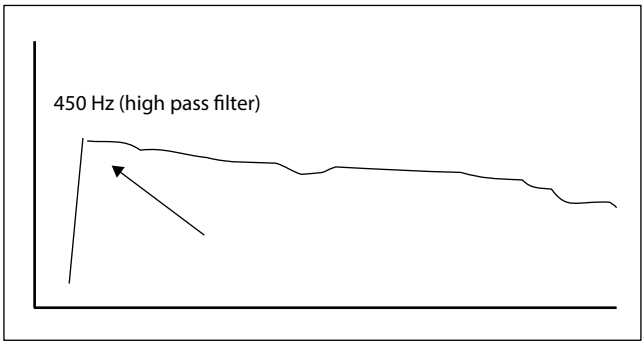

Figure 3.6 Schematic representation of a flattish spectrum cut off by a high-pass filter. The arrow points to the apparent 'peak', and positive tilt/skew that emerges as the moment analysis attempts to model this shape as a normal distribution. A low concentration of the Mean would also be predicted

Community of Practice may lie in variation across clusters of features, as opposed to any single feature (cf. Eckert 2008).

As noted in 2.3, it is difficult to relate the spectral measures exactly to specific (auditorily identified) articulatory configurations, but we can make some suggestions. The lower Mean in the Messabout girls is consistent with the flatter spectrum which is typical of dentals, where the longer constriction can also damp the spectrum (see Sundara's 2005 discussion of Canadian French data). If the spectrum is flat, there is no appreciable overall peak and the mean will be low, especially given the overall drop in acoustic energy at higher frequencies, leaving the main concentration of energy at the low end of the spectrum. This would align with these girls sounding as if they were producing more laminal dental plosives.

The boxplots of the Mean, and Skew, and Kurtosis show a clear inverse association, and these measures are also significantly correlated with each other ($p < .000$). This also presumes a rather flat energy distribution, with a lower Mean the flatter the distribution. We suspect that the positive tilt and increased peakiness probably reflect an artifact of modeling a flatter distribution cut off at low frequencies with high-pass filter (cf. Flipsen et al. 1999; see Figure 3.6). It seems likely that future analysis may well benefit from using psychoacoustic transformation of the linear Hertz spectra into non-linear auditory spectra, which approximates better what listeners hear, and which may thus also be important for uncovering the social meanings carried by this aspect of speech production.

We also found that, as might be expected, variation in spectral energy was consistently affected by the following segment, (cf. Harrington 2010, 302ff.). Before /w/ and /r/, both of which show lip-rounding and hence an appreciable lengthening of the front cavity, /t/ showed the lowest Mean. The highest Mean

occurred before the BOOT vowel (corresponding to English GOOSE and FOOT), which in Scottish English is /ʉ/, typically a central or front vowel. The raised Mean may indicate a degree of unrounding of this vowel, though further acoustic analysis of the Glasgow-Asian vowel system is needed in order to understand better the coarticulatory effects of this vowel on /t/ release.

It is difficult to compare absolute values of moment analyses across different studies because they are sensitive to recording condition and analytical procedure, and this is particularly so for Skew and Kurtosis (Sundara 2005). Nevertheless we do notice a correspondence between the patterning of the Mean with ethnic and social identity in these Glasgow-Pakistani girls, and with ethnicity in Glasgow male speakers. The Mean values of the Messabouts (and Huma), heard as laminal dental stops, are lower than those for the Conservatives (and Zahida), thought to be apico-postalveolars. This is very similar to the pattern found in a small-scale study of Glaswegian males, where a lower Mean in Glasgow non-Asian males (laminal dental) was found compared to a higher Mean in Glasgow Asian males (postalveolar), see Figure 3.7 (Stuart-Smith 2009).[1] This suggests that

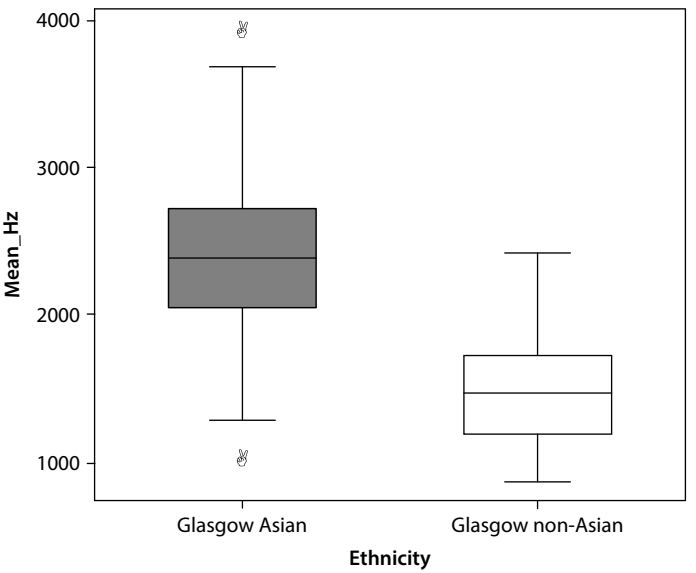

Figure 3.7 Box plots of Mean in 5 Glasgow Asian speakers and 2 Glasgow non-Asian speakers (n = 88); from Stuart-Smith (2009)

1. The absolute values of the female speakers are about 400 Hz higher than those of the male speakers, cf. Sundara (2005).

the Messabout girls may be accommodating to Glasgow non-Asian norms in the realization of this feature. It will be extremely interesting to see how the Wannabe CoP patterns for /t/ in later analysis.

The absolute Mean values for the auditory postalveolars heard in the Glasgow Asians (Conservative girls and Glasgow Asian males) are somewhat lower than those found recently in Sheffield Asian speakers (Kirkham 2011). However we note that the range of variation in the two studies is rather different. Kirkham (2011) has a range of 4000–6000 Hz for the analysis of the fine-grained differences in (auditory) alveolar/postalveolar variants of Sheffield Asian /t/. Here the range is between around 700–5000 Hz, reflecting a larger range of auditory variants, including dentals which we predict to show a much lower mean given the flat spectrum. The difference may also relate to differences in data collection and in the realization of a different linguistic phonetic contrast, given that the Sheffield non-Asian realization of syllable-initial /t/ is typically alveolar. A comprehensive, co-ordinated sociophonetic study of regional British Asian accents would be extremely enlightening.

Most of our discussion has focused on the Messabouts and their dental-sounding variants. What are we to make of the Conservative girls and their more retracted, postalveolar realizations? Our auditory impressions do not support direct phonetic interference from Punjabi/Urdu retroflexion as an explanation for postalveolar /t/ in these 2nd+ generation Glasgow-Pakistani girls since their stops never sound retroflex. Models of language contact do not necessarily predict identical phonetic qualities in cases of language transfer. However, the speculation here is also supported by both Kirkham (2011) and Sharma and Sankaran (2011). Sharma and Sankaran did a detailed measure of bilingual language use and found it to be only weakly significant. Kirkham also suggests based on ethnographic observation, that bilingual use is not likely to be a factor. Direct acoustic comparison in this study is tricky given the scarcity of relevant code-switched items in the interviews. Figure 3.8 shows spectrograms of the only phonetically comparable pair of tokens, Punjabi retroflex /ʈ/ and Glasgow Asian auditorily retracted /t/, both preceding /i/ and following /o/ (with greater or lesser degree of nasalization).

The spectral characteristics of the two stops show some differences. The burst is more intense and compact for the retroflex than the postalveolar, but more notable is the release phase. The retroflex stop shows very little aspiration and swift resumption of modal voicing for the vowel, whereas the postalveolar stop is followed by a substantial period of noisy aspiration. This is only a small indication, but it supports our auditory impressions. The "retracted" variants which are surfacing in young Glasgow-Asian 2nd+ generation speakers, indexing locally specific ethnic identities, including those with strong affiliations to Pakistani

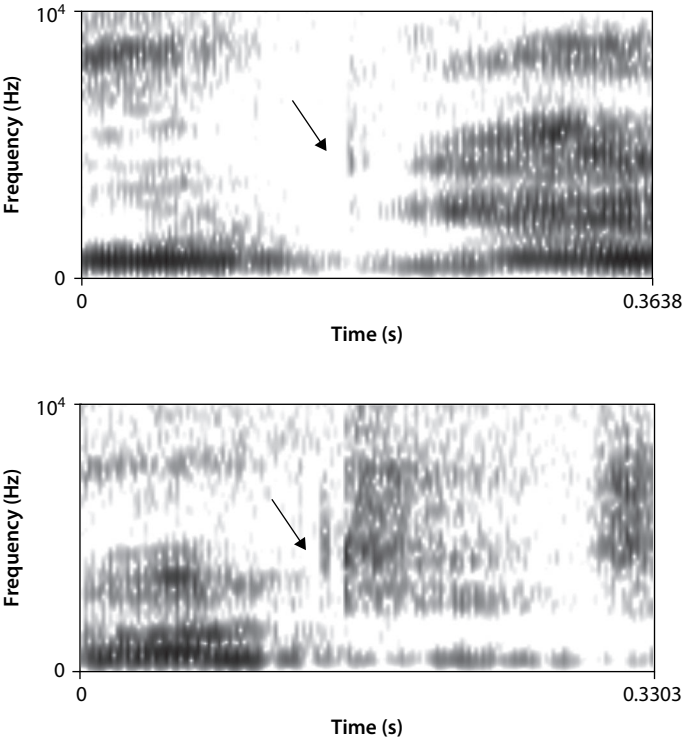

Figure 3.8 Spectrograms of the same Glasgow Asian girl producing retroflex /ʈ/ in Punjabi *motiyan* 'fat' (top), and retracted /t/ in *don' teach* (bottom); frequency location of the bursts is marked with arrows

heritage and culture, are not instances of phonetic transfer from the heritage language. Rather, they appear to be phonetically hybrid entities (cf. Harris 2006), reflecting and encoding Glaswegian and (traces of) Punjabi/Urdu phonetics to greater or lesser degrees. Here postalveolar /t/ is more like Glaswegian in showing a longer burst and some noisy aspiration (especially before /i/). But at the same time, the main frequency location of the burst energy is rather similar across the two stops. Such hybridity at the fine phonetic level is also clearly evident in the realization of clearer dark laterals by Glasgow Asians as opposed to Glasgow non-Asians and again patterning with Community of Practice in some of the same girls (Stuart-Smith et al. 2011). New social-indexical variation is emerging to express new – locally salient – hybrid identities.

Finally, the close alignment of ethnic and social identity with fine-grained phonetic patterning, alongside phonetically-governed variation, suggests both that – at some level, probably subconscious – speakers may exercise a high degree

of control over speech production, and that listeners may be sensitive to very subtle differences. This in turn provides further motivation for the development of models of phonological knowledge which are phonetically and socially rich (e.g. Johnson 1997).

5. Conclusions

This small-scale sociophonetic study of /t/ in Pakistani Muslim girls at a Glasgow High School suggests that ethnicity is integrally linked with locally-salient identity, and hence that fine phonetic variation which indexes ethnicity is in fact indexical of local ethnic identity. These are, however, only preliminary results from a larger study underway by the first author. The next steps involve analyzing /t/ for more speakers for each Community of Practice and for more Communities of Practice. Other variables will also be considered, including FACE and GOAT, which also appear to index local ethnic identities for this community. We also intend to consider the data using auditorily transformed spectra.

More generally, our results raise a number of questions for further research: To what extent are these differences in speech production available to listeners within and outside the community? What kinds of articulatory configurations underlie this kind of patterning? And to what extent are realizations like postalveolar /t/ in Glasgow Asian similar to those in regional Asian accents elsewhere in the UK and even further afield? Just how locally embedded has the former retroflex /t/ become as it has travelled – and continues to travel – through Englishes in the Indian diaspora?

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CHAPTER 4

East African Indian twice migrants in Britain

Phonological variation across generations*

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Recent years have seen a rapid increase of sociolinguistic interest in the use of English in the British Asian diaspora. The focus of this work has usually been on locally-born speakers (e.g. Heselwood & McChrystal 2000; Hirson & Sohail 2007; Cheshire et al. 2011; Sharma 2011; Stuart-Smith et al. 2011) with some studies also looking into cross-generational variation (Evans et al. 2007; McCarthy et al. 2011; Sharma & Sankaran 2011). The present paper contributes to this growing body of research by providing insight into patterns of dialect variation and change among East African Indians in Leicester, a community of South Asian twice migrants who settled in Britain via East Africa in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Like Fiji Indians in New Zealand (Hundt, this volume), East African Indians in Britain present an interesting case study for the linguistic outcomes of dialect contact in secondary diaspora situations, an under-researched type of contact setting. The aim of this paper is to determine how the complex migration pattern of East African Indians in Leicester has influenced their variety of English and, furthermore, whether and how linguistic patterns change across generations. To this end, I examine variation in the use of postvocalic /r/ in a group of first- and second-generation migrants. The results indicate that, despite a strong sense of affiliation with East Africa, first-generation speakers have predominantly maintained Indian English patterns in their use of this variable whereas second-generation subjects show accommodation to the local variety of British English. Evidence from the community's social history accounts for the findings.

Keywords: twice migrants, East African Indians, cross-generational variation, dialect contact, British Asian Englishes, postvocalic /r/, sociophonetics

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1. Introduction

In the years after the Second World War, Great Britain became one of the major destinations of migration from the Indian subcontinent. Today, the British Asian diaspora is the largest non-white ethnic minority group in the UK. In the 2011 Census, 2,984,670 residents of England and Wales (5.3 percent of the total population) identified as Indian, Pakistani, or Bangladeshi (ONS 2012, table KS201EW).[1] Since patterns of settlement were determined by the labour shortage created by the war, the majority of South Asians are concentrated in the country's main conurbations, with Indians accounting, for instance, for 28.3 percent of the local population in Leicester, Pakistanis for 20.4 percent of the local population in Bradford, and Bangladeshis for 32 percent of the local population in Tower Hamlets, London (ONS 2012, table KS201EW). Furthermore, British Asians show variation not only along ethno-national lines but also in terms of religious affiliation and regional-linguistic origins (see e.g. Brown 2006).

Due to the enormous impact of South Asian immigration on the country's ethnic profile, sociolinguistic interest in the British Asian diaspora has considerably increased in recent years. Much of this work has been concerned with the maintenance and transmission of features derived from the heritage languages or, more generally, the emergence of contact-induced innovations. The few studies that included first-generation South Asian migrants invariably found them to exhibit L1-influenced accent traits (Evans et al. 2007; McCarthy et al. 2011; Sharma & Sankaran 2011). With the exception of Evans et al. (2007) and McCarthy et al. (2011), research also demonstrated that L1-derived features such as retracted variants of /t/, clear variants of coda /l/, and monophthongal realisations of FACE and GOAT tend to be transmitted to second-generation speakers.[2] Among locally-born migrants, L1-derived accent traits were further shown to undergo "reallocation", a process of new dialect formation "where two or more variants in the dialect mix survive the levelling process but are refunctionalised, evolving new social or linguistic functions in the new dialect" (Britain & Trudgill 1999, 245). Moreover, some of the features generated within South Asian and other ethnic minority communities were found to spread beyond these groups and to be adopted by white British English (BrE) speakers (e.g. Khan 2006; Fox 2007;

1. The three terms refer to the modern nation states of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh here. Elsewhere in this study, however, the word "Indian" is used in a more general sense to denote persons who originate from the Indian subcontinent.

2. See e.g. Rampton (1995), Heselwood & McChrystal (2000), Harris (2006), Hirson & Sohail (2007), Stuart-Smith et al. (2011), Kirkham (2011), Sharma (2011) and Sharma & Sankaran (2011).

Kerswill et al. 2008; Cheshire et al. 2011). Crucially, these findings suggest that the varieties of English spoken by British Asians and other ethnic minority groups play an important role as a source of innovation and change in present-day BrE.

The present paper focuses on patterns of dialect variation and change in the East African Indian community in Leicester, the largest city in the East Midlands. East African Indians are distinctive among British Asians in that they represent a secondary or double diaspora situation. Their migration history involved two stages rather than one: a journey from South Asia to East Africa followed by a journey from East Africa to the UK. Except for Hundt's (this volume) research on Fiji Indians in New Zealand, twice-migrant communities have not, to the best of my knowledge, been an explicit concern in sociolinguistic work on English in the Indian diaspora. Nonetheless, such complex migration patterns raise a number of questions that are of great interest to the study of the linguistic consequences of migration and contact. For example, how are the varieties of English spoken by immigrant groups influenced by contact with the dialects, languages, and cultures of three societies, and does this lead to linguistic outcomes that are different from those found in direct migrant communities? Do twice migrants retain traits derived from the languages of their original homeland, do they adopt features of the variety of English spoken in their first host community, or do they show accommodation to the dialect of their second (current) host community? Moreover, how do patterns of linguistic variation change across generations?

In this study, I explore these questions by examining the extent to which the patterns of linguistic variation displayed by members of the East African Indian community in Leicester parallel those attested in Indian English (IndE), East African English (EAfE), and East Midlands English (EMidE). More specifically, I investigate variation in the use of postvocalic /r/, one of the most widely researched variables in sociolinguistics since Labov's (1966; 1972) ground-breaking work on New York City, across two generations of migrants. My aim is to answer the following two research questions:

1. Does the use of postvocalic /r/ by the first generation show any parallels to IndE, EAfE, or EMidE?
2. Does the production of postvocalic /r/ change from the first generation to the second generation and if so, how?

First-generation migrants are defined as speakers who grew up in East Africa and undertook migration to Leicester in adulthood whereas second-generation migrants are speakers who were raised in Leicester. The motivation behind this approach is that IndE, EAfE, and EMidE are the dialects of English most closely related to the community's migration history. "Indian English" is used in the broader of the two senses of the word found in the literature to denote the

second-language varieties of English spoken on the Indian subcontinent (Wells 1982, 624), the original homeland of East African Indians in Leicester. "East African English" refers to English spoken as a second language in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania (Schmied 2008, 150), their first host community, and "East Midlands English" is the native variety of English spoken in Leicester (Hughes et al. 2005, 68–71), their current host community.

In the following sections, I first provide an overview of the migration history of the East African Indian community in Leicester followed by a discussion of postvocalic /r/ in IndE, EAfE, and EMidE as well as a description of the method of the present study. I then present and discuss the findings. I first analyse variation at group level, looking at the overall frequency of occurrence of postvocalic /r/ in prepausal and preconsonantal position (rhoticity) and at the phonetic realisation of rhotic tokens. This is complemented by considerations on linking /r/ and intrusive /r/. Furthermore, I explore some of the factors that constrain variation in the use of postvocalic /r/ within the first generation and conclude by examining the findings in the light of the community's social history.

2. Socio-historical background

2.1 Indians in East Africa

Merchants from the Indian subcontinent had been trading along the East African coast for at least 2,000 years (Gregory 1993). However, large-scale settlement of the region only began in the 1890s, when Germany and Britain gained possession of the territories corresponding to present-day Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania and the European expansion into the interior created new employment opportunities for migrants from South Asia. In the early years of colonial rule, some 32,000 indentured labourers, mostly Sikhs from the Punjab, were imported by the British for the construction of the Uganda Railway, around one fifth of whom settled permanently after the end of their contracts (Gregory 1993, 160–162). The overwhelming majority of arrivals were, however, free migrants who were attracted to East Africa by the potential for economic improvement offered by the retail trade, other areas of commerce, and the artisan sector, as well as the possibilities of employment as civil servants, policemen, and soldiers in the colonial administration, or as clerks in private companies. While some of the free migrants, especially civil servants, arrived from Goa, most came from the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent, particularly Kutch, Kathiawar, inland Gujarat, Sindh and, to a lesser extent, Maharashtra (Gregory 1993, 14, 37; Oonk 2006, 255; see Figure 4.1). The East African context thus differed from other major destinations of South Asian

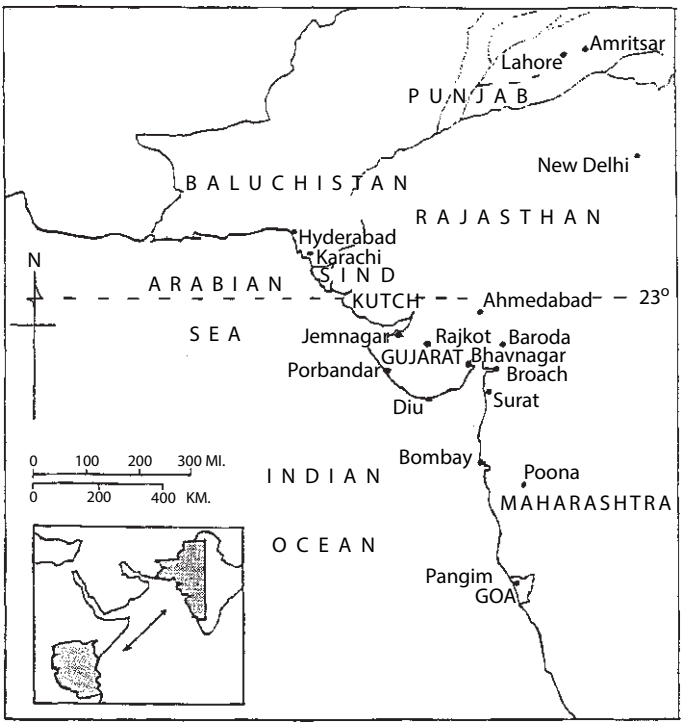

Figure 4.1 Map of North-western India (1890–1947), regions of origins of East African Indians (Gregory 1992; reprinted in Gregory 1993, 11)

movement during the colonial period, e.g. Natal, Fiji, and Trinidad, where indentured migration from North and South India often prevailed (see the respective contributions in this volume).

By the time the East African territories gained Independence in the early 1960s, Indians numbered about 175,000 in Kenya, 77,500 in Uganda, 92,000 in Tanganyika, and 20,000 in Zanzibar (Oonk 2006, 256). They always remained a small community, never exceeding 2 percent of the total population. Their linguistic heritage included several Indo-Aryan languages (mainly Gujarati and Kutchi, followed by Punjabi, Sindhi, Marathi, and Konkani), but they often also acquired Kiswahili and English as second languages (Gregory 1993; Oonk 2006). With regard to religion, East African Indians belonged to five major faith groups, divided into a variety of sects: Hindus, Muslims and, in smaller numbers, Jains, Sikhs, and Christians. Crucially, they were an extremely successful community in economic terms, coming to predominate at the lower and middle levels of the colonial administration and in the many business areas to which they had turned (see the extensive discussion in Gregory 1993).

The financial achievements of East African Indians stood in stark contrast to the lack of opportunities from which the African population suffered. After Independence, the new governments adopted a policy of Africanisation of the economy in an attempt to improve the situation, which included a series of measures restricting work permits and trading licenses for non-citizens and, in Tanzania, the nationalisation of the main industries, banks, and insurances (Gregory 1993). These measures prompted a mass exodus of Indians from East Africa. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, about half of the Kenyan Indian population and 40 percent of Tanzanian Indians emigrated (Oonk 2006, 256). In Uganda, General Idi Amin took the even more drastic decision of expelling non-citizen Indians in August 1972, giving them 90 days to leave the country (see Marett 1989 for a detailed account of the expulsion). After this period was over, the overwhelming majority of Ugandan Indians had gone. They had been allowed to bring only £50 per head of family and their personal belongings with them so that the assets they left behind amounted to an estimated £100–150 million.

During the exodus, East African Indians scattered around the world. While relatively few returned to the Indian subcontinent, many migrated to Canada or the US, and some went to places like Malawi, Australia, and New Zealand or to cities in continental Europe (Brown 2006; Oonk 2006). Due to the former colonial connections, however, Britain was by far the preferred destination of East African Indians, with most resettling in London or Leicester.

2.2 East African Indians in Leicester

According to an estimate of the Leicester Council for Community Relations, some 19,500 East African Indians were living in Leicester by 1978, accounting for about half of the city's South Asian population; 10,500 had come from Uganda, 7,000 from Kenya, and 2,000 from Tanzania (Phillips 1981, 104).

It is commonly acknowledged that East African Indians differed markedly from the direct South Asian migrants who had preceded them (see e.g. Brown 2006). The latter were often unskilled male workers from rural areas who had primarily migrated for economic reasons. Many of them had reached the UK via chain migration and were only later joined by their families. In contrast, East African Indians were political refugees. They tended to come from urban areas, had pursued a variety of occupations in East Africa and migrated to Britain as family units. Moreover, it was common for them to have formal qualifications and good, or fairly good, levels of spoken English (Robinson 1993, 234–235).

For many East African Indians, resettlement in the UK initially involved a drop in social status (Marett 1989, 8). They frequently had to move into highly overcrowded, privately rented accommodations and take up factory jobs or

other types of low-status work. As shown in Marett (1993) and Robinson (1993), however, the history of the community is characterised by remarkable upward social mobility. Thus, within a few years the socioeconomic situation of many East African Indians improved considerably as they quickly moved into the owner-occupier sector, re-qualified, took up white-collar occupations, and/or became self-employed.

2.2.1 *Transnational ties, identity and language*

The evidence from the present study indicates that, for East African Indians, resettlement in Britain generally involved a rather clean break with their lives in the first host community, with many retaining only weak (if any) "real" ties with East Africa (see also Robinson 1993). By contrast, many first-generation East African Indians have maintained strong links with the Indian subcontinent to this day. Most interviewees reported that they returned to India regularly to visit relatives or for travelling purposes. Moreover, Indian cultural and religious traditions still form an important part of their heritage. It is therefore particularly striking that first-generation informants tend to express strong affiliation with East Africa and a clear sense of distinctiveness vis-à-vis direct migrants from South Asia. This sense of separateness has, however, largely vanished among second-generation participants, who mostly describe themselves in terms of a more general British Asian identity.

With regard to language use, the complex multilingual situation that characterised the Indian diaspora in East Africa is still reflected among first-generation East African Indians in Leicester today, even though the general use of English has increased at the same time. The research conducted for this study suggests that, while there are older members of the community who still have no or only very limited proficiency in English, the linguistic repertoire of many first-generation migrants includes two or more Indian languages, English, and often (some) Kiswahili. Within the first generation, the use of Indian languages continues to be very widespread, especially in personal contexts, and intriguingly, Kiswahili is still occasionally used as well, mostly as a means of reinforcing the sense of bonding among community members. In the case of Gujarati at least, the influence of Kiswahili is also visible in the use of lexical borrowings, especially for food and household items, e.g. *fagio* 'broom' and *kijiko* 'spoon'. Great importance is generally attached to Indian heritage languages as carriers of the community's cultural identity, which is also reflected in the common practice of sending children to mother tongue classes organised by temples and community centres. Nonetheless, informant reports indicate that among British-born speakers, proficiency levels and the amount of daily use of Indian languages vary greatly. In the present study, for instance, some second-generation informants claimed almost categorical use

of Gujarati with family members, including siblings, whereas others stated that they had only very limited knowledge of the language and mostly used English at home. The extent to which Indian heritage languages will be maintained in subsequent generations is therefore difficult to predict.

3. Postvocalic /r/

3.1 Rhoticity, linking /r/ and intrusive /r/

The present study investigates the variable presence of /r/ in syllable coda position, an environment commonly referred to as "postvocalic /r/" or "non-prevocalic /r/". Whereas in "rhotic" varieties of English /r/ is pronounced in all positions, "non-rhotic" dialects permit an overt phonetic realisation of /r/ only when it precedes a vowel, as in *brat* or *carry*, but not when it occurs before a consonant or pause, as in *bark* or *star* ‖ (Wells 1982, 75–76, 218). Most non-rhotic native varieties of English are also characterised by a phenomenon known as "linking /r/" in which historical /r/ is articulated in word-final position when followed by a word or morpheme beginning with a vowel as in "fear anything" and "fearing" (Wells 1982, 219). In many non-rhotic accents, this pattern has been extended to lexical items without etymological word-final /r/, leading to the appearance of an "intrusive /r/" in phrases like "the idea isn't" /ðiː aɪdɪəɹ ɪznt/ and "drawing" /dɹɔːɹɪŋ/ (Wells 1982, 223–227).

3.2 Postvocalic /r/ in IndE, EAfE, EMidE

Research on IndE reveals a continuum from non-rhoticity to rhoticity. According to Bansal (1990) and Pingali (2009), there is a highly prestigious non-rhotic form of IndE, labelled Standard Indian English Pronunciation (SIEP) by the latter, which is spoken by a small minority of the population only. In contrast, the majority of IndE speakers, including educated ones, are reported to have (variably) rhotic accents (e.g. Bansal 1990; Nihalani et al. 2004; Gargesh 2008). Variable rhoticity is also attested among first-generation Indian immigrants in the San Francisco Bay area (Sharma 2005), whereas South African Indian English and Indo-Fijian English are non-rhotic (Mesthrie 2008; Tent & Mugler 2008). Little is known about the occurrence of linking /r/ and intrusive /r/ in IndE. Pingali (2009, 20) claims that SIEP displays the former but not the latter, but it is not clear whether this also holds for other forms of IndE. It may be noted, however, that according to Schneider (2004, 1125), intrusive /r/ "occurs hardly at all in Africa and

Asia". Phonetically, IndE /r/ is most commonly described as a tap or trill, although approximants are also attested (CIEFL 1972; Wiltshire & Harnsberger 2006; Gargesh 2008). Variation between taps, trills, and approximants is also found in diasporic varieties (e.g. Sharma 2005; Mesthrie 2008). Furthermore, quantitative studies of IndE on the subcontinent and in the diaspora demonstrated that, as in other English dialects, both the occurrence of coda /r/ and the phonetic quality of /r/ are constrained by a number of factors (see Section 6).

As Simo Bobda (2001, 269) points out, EAfE is still an under-researched variety, particularly with regard to phonology. However, the existing evidence indicates that, like most African Englishes, the varieties of English spoken in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania are non-rhotic (Simo Bobda 2001; Schmied 2008). No information appears to be available on the occurrence of linking /r/ and intrusive /r/ in EAfE. With regard to the phonetic quality of /r/ in prevocalic position, EAfE shows variation between tapped, trilled, and approximant realisations (Simo Bobda 2001; Schmied 2008).

Like most other dialects of England, EMidE has lost postvocalic /r/ (Hughes et al. 2005). While there are no descriptions of linking /r/ and intrusive /r/ in this variety, it is noteworthy that the presence of both phenomena is well attested in non-rhotic BrE dialects, including those of the North (e.g. Broadbent 1991; Foulkes 1997; Barras 2010). It is thus likely that the production of both etymological and unetymological word-final /r/ before vowels is permitted in EMidE as well. Before vowels, northern English /r/ is predominantly realised as a post-alveolar approximant, but alveolar taps also occur, particularly in intervocalic position (Wells 1982; Hughes et al. 2005).

4. Method

4.1 Data collection and participants

The present study is based on data from 25 first- and second-generation speakers who were interviewed in 2007 and 2009. The first-generation group included six female and five male participants aged between 42 and 80, who had been born and raised in Kenya or Uganda and had migrated to Leicester in adulthood (at the age of 18 or later). Eight spoke Gujarati as L1, two Punjabi, and one Kutchi, although, like many first-generation East African Indians, most were in fact multilingual. All had acquired English as a second language before arriving in the UK, mainly through English-medium education in East Africa. The second generation comprised seven female and seven male subjects, aged from 17 to 41. All had been born and bred in Leicester, apart from two participants who had arrived

in England at the age of 2 and 4, respectively.[3] In contrast to the first generation, second-generation speakers exclusively had Gujarati backgrounds. Most had completed university-level education or were (in two cases) doing their A-levels with the aim of attending university. Informants from both generations mainly had middle-class occupations, with some holding positions at managerial level.

Interviews lasted from 20 minutes to two hours, with an average length of an hour. They consisted of a relatively open-ended conversation in which I elicited information about the speakers' biographical background, language proficiency, use and attitudes, as well as cultural and ethnic affiliations, while also taking up whichever topics they enjoyed talking about.

4.2 Auditory analysis

50 tokens of postvocalic /r/ in prepausal and preconsonantal environments were extracted for every speaker, generally starting after the first 15 minutes of the interview. Following Wells (1982, 219–220), the prepausal category comprised instances of word-final coda /r/ occurring at "the end of an utterance, [before] a pause, or a major syntactic boundary" (*when I was younger*‖), whereas the preconsonantal category included tokens of coda /r/ followed by a consonant across "an optional morpheme or word boundary" (*force, scared*, *my father came*). Instances of linking /r/ across word boundaries (*a poor area*) were coded but not included in the main rhoticity analysis. The reason is that both rhotic and non-rhotic speakers may pronounce postvocalic /r/ in these contexts, so that they are indistinguishable on the surface. Tokens of linking /r/ within words (*fearing*) were excluded, as they were very infrequent and no variation was noticed in their realisation. Lastly, overt phonetic realisations of intrusive /r/ (*idea(r) of my mother*) were noted but not analysed quantitatively, since in spontaneous conversations the environments in which this phenomenon may surface are very rare.

Token extraction was limited to content words and restricted to three tokens per lexical item. To facilitate comparison with existing quantitative work on postvocalic /r/, a binary classification of the dependent variable was used for the main analysis. Tokens with any kind of audible consonantal constriction, ranging from r-coloured vowels to vowels followed by approximant, trilled, or tapped realisations of /r/, were categorised as "rhotic" while tokens with no audible consonantal constriction (including tokens in which a vowel was followed by a glottal stop;

3. While in the families of most second-generation speakers both parents came from East Africa, in three cases the speaker's mother came from India. Though not ideal for comparative purposes, this is representative of the community in that it reflects a common tendency among East African Asian men, who often married women from the Indian subcontinent.

Foulkes 1997) were classified as "non-rhotic". In order to gain further insight into possible parallels with IndE, EAfE, and EMidE, rhotic tokens were further subdivided into "approximants" vs. "taps/trills". Although each variety shows some variation in the phonetic quality of /r/ (see Section 3.2), the two categories can be generally regarded as representative of English English and non-English English variants, respectively.

4.3 Statistical analysis

A generalised linear (logistic) mixed-effects regression analysis was carried out to shed further light on variation in the overall frequency of postvocalic /r/ among first-generation speakers.[4] This type of statistical technique is an extension of traditional logistic regression, as performed, for instance, by Goldvarb (e.g. Sankoff et al. 2012). Both linear and logistic mixed-effects models are a relatively recent development in statistics (Baayen 2008; Johnson 2009). Unlike ordinary regression analysis, they do not require independence of observations. Their assumptions therefore provide a better match to datasets consisting of natural language samples in which tokens tend to be grouped by speaker and lexical item (see Johnson 2009 for a full discussion). The distinction between two types of predictors, fixed effects and random effects, enables mixed models to evaluate the influence of independent variables such as social class or syllable stress (the fixed effects) while simultaneously taking into account variation across individual speakers and lexical items (the random effects).

The logistic mixed-effects regression analysis estimated the influence of three fixed effects and their interactions: following phonological environment (coded as a factor with the levels prepausal and preconsonantal), gender (coded as a factor with the levels female and male), and age (coded as a continuous predictor).[5] These independent variables were chosen because of their attested effect on postvocalic /r/ in IndE and/or other English dialects (see Section 6.1). Speaker and lexical item were included in the model as random effects in order to control for imbalances in the dataset as well as inter-speaker and inter-word variability.

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4. The statistical analysis was restricted to the first generation because, as shown in Section 5.1, second-generation speakers exhibited almost categorical non-rhoticity.

5. The analysis was run in R (R Development Core Team 2011), using the glmer function from the lme4 package (Bates et al. 2011). Note that there is an important difference between the terminology used by Goldvarb and that of lme4 (as well as most other statistical packages): Goldvarb's "factor groups" are usually referred to as "factors" in other programs, and Goldvarb's "factors" as "factor levels" (Johnson 2009, 361). In the present study, I use the terms "factor" and "factor levels".

Following Johnson (2009), the overall significance of fixed effects and their interactions was evaluated via likelihood ratio chi-squared tests.

5. Results

5.1 Variation across generations

In total, 1,250 tokens of postvocalic /r/ in prepausal and preconsonantal position were coded across the 25 speakers.[6] Table 4.1 and Figure 4.2 show the proportions of rhotic and non-rhotic tokens for each generation. First-generation speakers pronounced coda /r/ 19.3 percent of the time. With zero realisations appearing in roughly four tokens out of five, the group as a whole clearly exhibits a tendency towards non-rhoticity. At the same time, though, the frequency of rhotic variants is high enough as to deserve consideration, particularly when compared to the pattern displayed by second-generation informants. Among the latter, only five tokens of postvocalic /r/ out of 700 (0.7 percent) are rhotic. The difference between the generations is remarkable not only because it is rather large, amounting

Table 4.1 Production of postvocalic /r/ by generation (R = rhotic realisation, zero = null realisation)

Generation	Postvocalic /r/		
	R %	zero %	N
First	19.3	80.7	550
Second	0.7	99.3	700

Table 4.2 Percentage of rhotic tokens by following phonological environment and generation (pc = preconsonantal, pp = prepausal, pv = prevocalic)

Generation	Following phonological environment					
	pc		pp		pv	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
First	14.9	444	37.7	106	70.3	37
Second	0.3	576	2.4	124	77.6	85

6. As mentioned in Section 4.2, both linking /r/ and intrusive /r/ were excluded from the main analysis and are discussed separately here. Unless stated otherwise, they are therefore not included in the overall figures for postvocalic /r/ presented in this study.

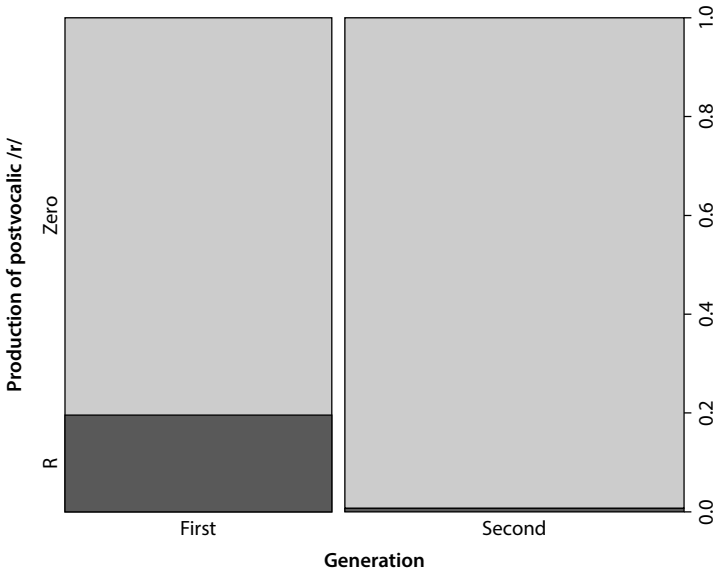

Figure 4.2 Production of postvocalic /r/ by generation (R = rhotic realisation, zero = null realisation)

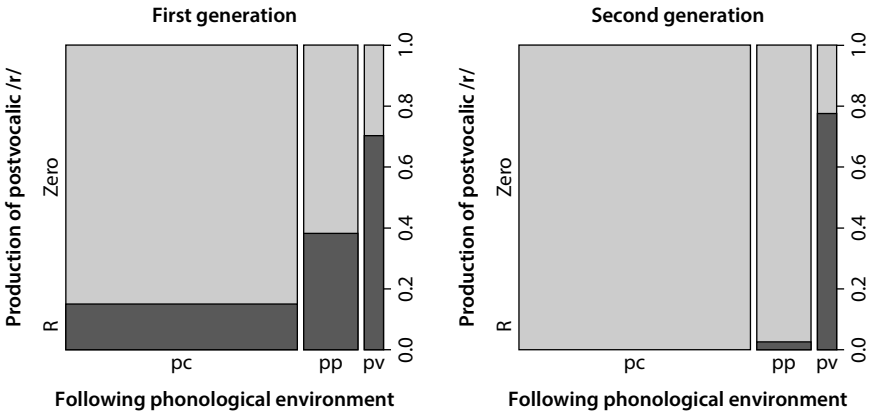

Figure 4.3 Production of postvocalic /r/ by following phonological environment and generation (pc = preconsonantal, pp = prepausal, pv = prevocalic)

to almost 20 percent, but also because it is likely to be qualitative rather than quantitative, with the first generation displaying variable rhoticity and the second generation near-categorical non-rhoticity. The contrast is even more evident when considering variation across individual speakers within each group.

In addition to prepausal and preconsonantal coda /r/, 122 tokens of word-final prevocalic (linking) /r/ were extracted during the analysis. Both first- and second-generation speakers exhibited a strong tendency to pronounce coda /r/ in this context. As shown in Table 4.2 and Figure 4.3, the frequency of rhotic tokens in this position surpasses 70 percent for both groups. At first sight, first- and second-generation participants also display the same constraint hierarchy for following phonological environment, with coda /r/ being articulated most commonly in word-final prevocalic contexts and least commonly in preconsonantal ones. However, since for second-generation informants the number of rhotic tokens in prepausal and preconsonantal position is very low (3 and 2, respectively), the apparent pattern of prepausal environments favouring rhoticity over preconsonantal ones may be a chance effect for this group. A more plausible interpretation may therefore be that the two groups are characterised by two fundamentally different patterns: while the first generation exhibits variable presence of postvocalic /r/ in all three environments, the second generation shows near-categorical absence of coda /r/ in preconsonantal and prepausal contexts and variable but frequent occurrence of rhotic variants in linking /r/ contexts. Rhotic variants are more common in linking /r/ contexts for the second generation (77.6 percent) than for the first (70.3 percent), but the difference is rather small. Furthermore, 12 instances of unetymological word-final prevocalic /r/ occurred in the sections of the interviews that were analysed. Even if no more than a few tentative speculations can be made about intrusive /r/ here, it is noteworthy that they were all produced by second-generation speakers.

Due to the low number of overt realisations of prepausal and preconsonantal coda /r/ produced by the second generation, word-final prevocalic contexts were included in the analysis of the phonetic quality of rhotic tokens. Once again, Table 4.3 and Figure 4.4 reveal a sharp contrast between the generations: whereas the first generation displays an overwhelming tendency towards the use of taps and trills (93.9 percent), the second generation exhibits a diametrically opposed, almost exclusive, preference for approximants (93 percent).

Finally, an inspection of the rhoticity levels of individual subjects shows that the two generations also clearly differ in terms of the amount of variation found

Table 4.3 Phonetic realisation of rhotic tokens by generation (including linking /r/ tokens)

Generation	**Rhotic tokens**		
	taps and trills %	**approximants %**	**N**
First	93.9	6.1	132
Second	7.0	93.0	71

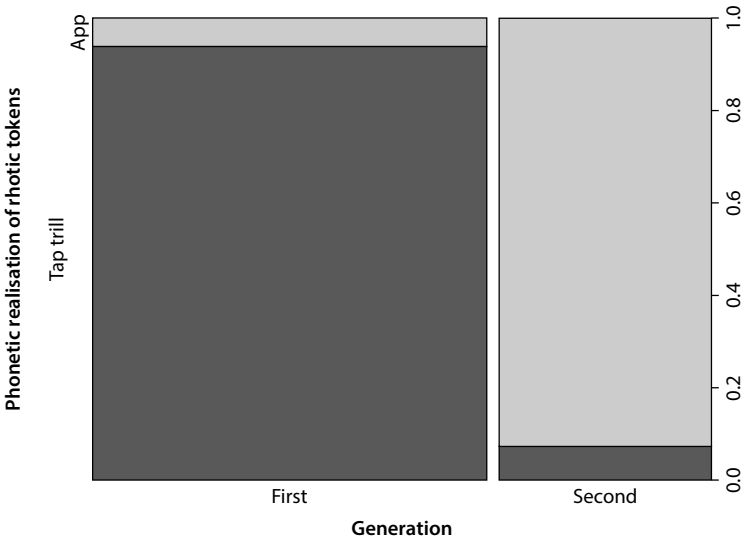

Figure 4.4 Phonetic realisation of rhotic tokens by generation (including linking /r/ tokens; tapTrill = taps and trills, app = approximants)

within each group (see Table 4.4 and Figure 4.5). Considering that the second generation displays an average frequency of rhotic tokens of 0.7 percent, it is not

Table 4.4 Percentage of rhotic tokens by speaker (R = rhotic token; N = 50 tokens per speaker)

First generation		**Second generation**	
speaker	**R %**	**speaker**	**R %**
S	0	C	0
G	2	H	0
T	6	L	0
W	8	M	0
K	12	Q	0
J	14	R	0
X	14	U	0
I	26	V	0
N	26	Y	0
E	52	A	2
F	52	B	2
		D	2
		O	2
		P	2

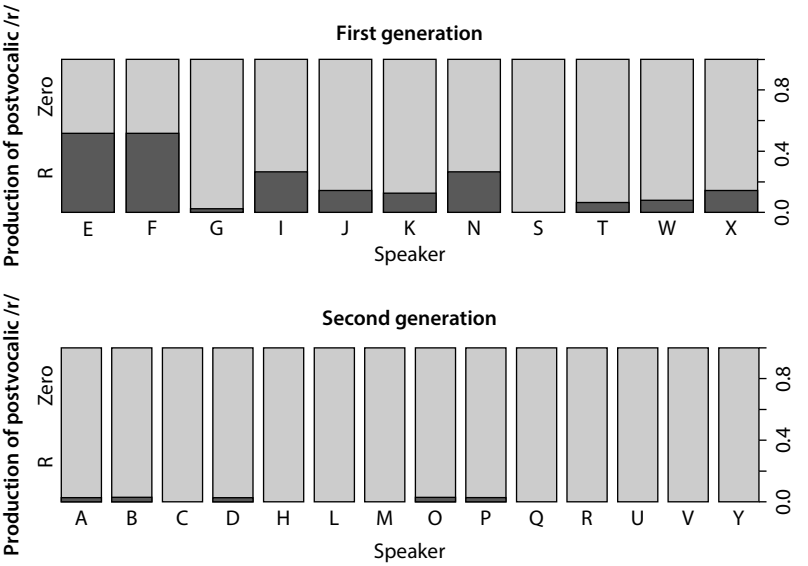

Figure 4.5 Production of postvocalic /r/ by speaker (R = rhotic realisation, zero = null realisation; N = 50 tokens per speaker)

surprising that inter-speaker variability is close to zero for this group, with scores of individual participants ranging from 0 percent to 2 percent. In contrast, the rhoticity levels of first-generation informants vary from 0% to 52%. Such a high degree of inter-speaker variability raises the question of which sources of influence constrain the use of postvocalic /r/ within this group. This issue is addressed in Section 5.2.

5.2 Variation within the first generation

Section 5.1 demonstrated that, for the first generation, rhoticity is clearly related to the phonological environment, with coda /r/ being articulated considerably more often in prepausal contexts (37.7 percent) than in preconsonantal ones (14.9 percent). Table 4.5 and Figure 4.6 suggest that gender, the second of the independent variables examined here, only shows a weak correlation with the frequency of postvocalic /r/. Female participants exhibit a somewhat higher rhoticity level than male speakers (21 percent and 17.2 percent, respectively), but the difference is small (3.8 percent).

In contrast, the first generation's production of postvocalic /r/ displays a clear correlation with age, the third predictor included in the analysis. As Figure 4.7

Table 4.5 First-generation speakers' production of postvocalic /r/ by gender (R = rhotic realisation, zero = null realisation)

Gender	Postvocalic /r/		
	R %	**zero %**	**N**
female	21	79	300
male	17.2	82.8	250

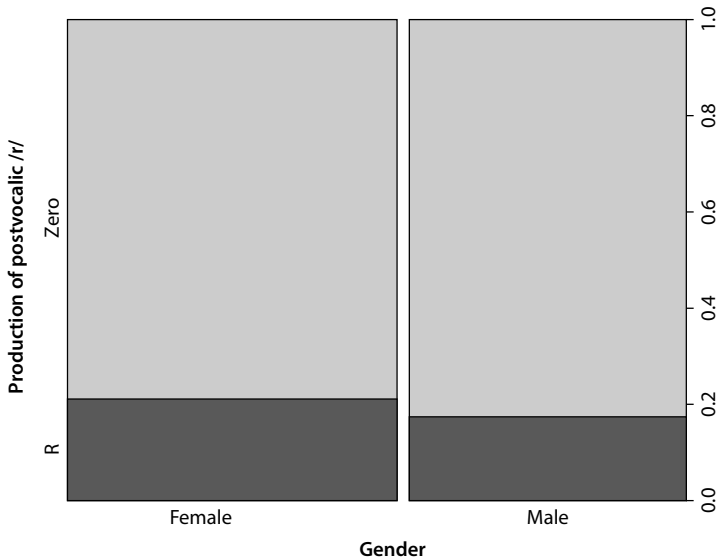

Figure 4.6 First-generation speakers' production of postvocalic /r/ by gender (R = rhotic realisation, zero = null realisation)

shows, older participants tend to use rhotic variants much more frequently than their younger counterparts.

Table 4.6 shows the results of the logistic mixed-effects regression analysis which assessed the effect of following phonological environment, gender, and age and their interactions on the occurrence of postvocalic /r/ among first-generation speakers. Since none of the interactions turned out to be significant, they were removed from the model. The output of the glmer function differs from that of Goldvarb in several ways (see Johnson 2009). Two of these differences are briefly explained here in order to facilitate the interpretation of the table. The first one is that, while Goldvarb expresses coefficient units as factor weights or probabilities, glmer returns coefficient estimates in log-odds, "the natural (base *e*) logarithm

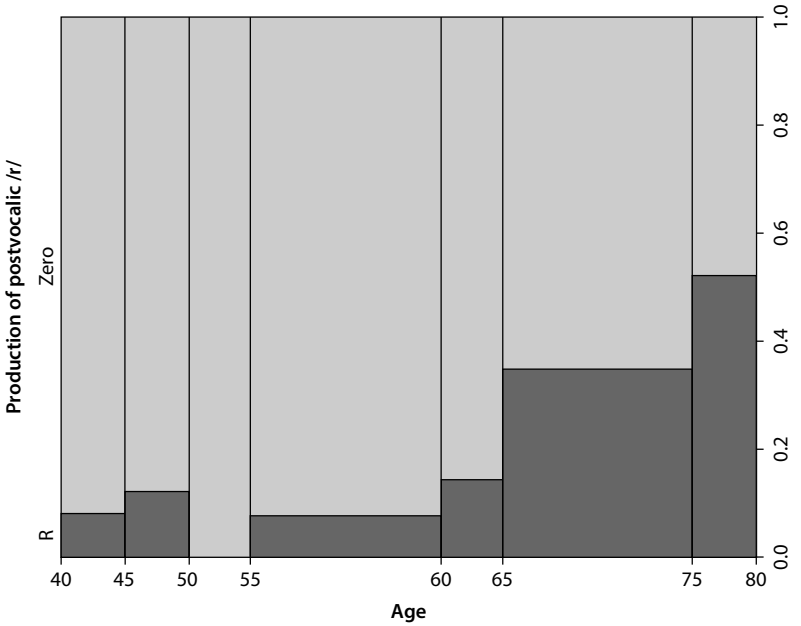

Figure 4.7 First-generation speakers' production of postvocalic /r/ by age (R = rhotic realisation, zero = null realisation)

of the odds, where the odds are the probability of an event occurring, divided by the probability of it not occurring" (Johnson 2009, 361). Log-odds are used here because the model includes a continuous predictor, age, for which coefficient estimates cannot be converted into factor weights. The second difference is that the effects of factors are represented in terms of treatment contrasts. In this method, one level of each factor (here: preconsonantal, female) is selected as the default level. Default levels are combined in the model's intercept and assigned a coefficient value of 0, while the other levels (prepausal, male) are assigned coefficient values which represent the difference of each level from the default level (Baayen 2008, 102–103).

As shown in the second part of Table 4.6, the three independent variables are clearly ranked in terms of statistical significance. Following phonological environment and age emerge as very significant predictors of rhotic variants ($p < 0.001$ and $p = 0.001$, respectively). In contrast, gender has no significant effect on the production of rhotic tokens ($p = 0.964$). The log-odds coefficient estimates reported in the first part of the table reveal that the effect size (relative strength) of following phonological environment (1.776) is considerably larger than that of gender (0.029), which is close to zero. As Johnson (2009, 362) observes, for continuous predictors glmer estimates the probability of rule application for a

Table 4.6 Results of the logistic mixed-effects regression analysis estimating the effects of following phonological environment, gender and age on the production of postvocalic /r/ by first-generation participants

Generalised linear mixed model fit by the Laplace approximation				
Model fit statistics				
deviance				414.517
log likelihood				–207.258
df				6
Total N				550
Random effects	**Variance**	**Std. dev.**	**N**	
lexical item	1.961	1.400	215	
speaker	0.738	0.859	11	
Fixed effects	**Estimate**	**Std. error**	**z value**	**p**
intercept	–10.145	1.924	–5.274	< 0.001
follow. phon. environment: prepausal	1.776	0.399	4.450	< 0.001
age: +1	0.119	0.028	4.174	< 0.001
gender: male	–0.029	0.631	–0.046	0.964
Overall significance of fixed effects*	**Chisq**	**Chi df**	**p**	
follow. phon. environment	18.413	1	< 0.001	
age	10.334	1	0.001	
gender	0.002	1	0.964	

* Assessed via likelihood ratio chi-squared tests.

one-unit increase of the independent variable (here: one year). If one considers that a yearly increase of 0.119 log-odds corresponds to a difference of 1.19 log-odds between, say, 50- and 60-year-old speakers, the effect size of age appears to be rather large too.

The coefficient estimates also provide insight into the internal constraint hierarchy or direction of correlation of the three predictors. For following phonological environment, the positive coefficient value for prepausal contexts (1.776) indicates that coda /r/ is more likely to be pronounced in this position than in preconsonantal environments. For gender, the negative value for males (–0.029) suggests that male speakers are slightly less rhotic than female speakers (even though, as seen above, the difference is not statistically significant). Lastly, the positive coefficient estimate for age (0.119) points to a positive correlation with rhoticity: the older the participants are, the greater the probability of their pronouncing postvocalic /r/. The mixed-effects regression analysis thus confirms the trends which emerged from the distributional analysis of the data.

6. Discussion

6.1 First generation

The first research question of this paper was whether the production of postvocalic /r/ by the first generation resembles IndE, EAfE, or EMidE. The analysis in Section 5 showed that, with an average rhoticity level of 19.3 percent and considerable variation across individual speakers, the first generation can be regarded as variably rhotic. Though comparably low, the use of rhotic variants clearly sets the variety of English spoken by this group apart from EAfE and EMidE, which both lack postvocalic /r/. Parallels therefore have to be sought in IndE, which is also variably rhotic (except for South African Indian English and Indo-Fijian English). There is great variation in the rhoticity levels reported in previous quantitative work on IndE, with some groups, e.g. the Tibeto-Burman L1 subjects of Wiltshire (2005) and the New Delhi informants of Chand (2010), displaying a high usage of rhotic variants. Although frequencies clearly have to be compared with caution across studies, it is striking that the overall percentage of rhotic tokens produced by the first generation is very similar to the casual speech score of 20.5 percent reported by Sahgal and Agnihotri (1988) for Delhi IndE speakers who attended prestigious English-medium schools. Moreover, it closely resembles the average frequency of 17 percent displayed by the Gujarati English speakers of Wiltshire & Harnsberger (2006). This is particularly intriguing, considering the preponderance of informants from a Gujarati background in the present study.

It is hard to draw any inferences about parallels with IndE, EAfE, and EMidE from the first generation's strong tendency to articulate /r/ in linking /r/ contexts (70.3 percent), since little is known about the occurrence of this phenomenon in the three varieties and overt realisations of /r/ in this position are found in both rhotic and non-rhotic accents. Further insights may be gained, however, from the phonetic quality of rhotic tokens. The overwhelming preference for tapped and trilled realisations (93.9 percent) displayed by the first generation clearly diverges from EMidE, which predominantly shows approximant realisations of /r/. While alternation between taps, trills, and approximants is attested in both IndE (including diasporic varieties) and EAfE, taps and trills are the variants most commonly reported for the former. Moreover, there is once again a striking parallel with the results of Wiltshire and Harnsberger (2006), whose Gujarati English speakers used taps most often, followed by trilled and approximant realisations.

As regards inter-speaker variability within the first generation, the tendency of this group to pronounce postvocalic /r/ more frequently in prepausal than preconsonantal position confirms a pattern well attested in sociolinguistic research on coda /r/ (e.g. Labov 1966; 1972; Barras 2010; Nagy & Irwin 2010). Chand

(2010) reported that phonetic environment (coded as a combination of preceding vowel and following segment) significantly constrained /r/-deletion among her Delhi IndE speakers. Although differences in categorisation make a comparison of the ranking of factor levels difficult, it is noteworthy that in her study preconsonantal coda contexts, either with a full vowel (*fourth*) or a schwa nucleus (*bird*), favoured zero realisations of coda /r/ the most, thus pointing to a similar pattern.

In contrast, the absence of a clear gender difference in rhoticity levels seems to diverge from the patterns reported for postvocalic /r/ in IndE. Both Sahgal and Agnihotri (1988) and Chand (2010) found gender to be an important predictor of the occurrence of coda /r/ among their informants, with female speakers showing a greater preference for zero realisations, the prestige variants, than male speakers. It may very well be, however, that in the present study the apparent lack of gender-related variation is simply due to the different age distributions of female and male speakers: whereas four women out of six are older than 60, only one man out of five is. Since rhoticity strongly correlates with age, the predominance of older female speakers is therefore likely to have contributed to a higher overall rhoticity level for women. Due to the small number of speakers, it is not possible to distinguish a "true" gender effect from individual variation here, but it is worth mentioning that if one compares female and male speakers of similar age, the constraint ranking for gender is actually reversed, with women using fewer rhotic variants than men (see Rathore 2013).

Lastly, age-related variation in the use of postvocalic /r/ is attested in research on IndE as well. In Sahgal and Agnihotri's (1988) investigation, younger speakers pronounced coda /r/ less frequently than older speakers, whereas the informants of Chand (2010) displayed a decrease in rhoticity from the oldest to the middle-aged generation, followed by an increase in rhotic variants in the youngest generation. In both studies, the differences across age groups were used as apparent-time evidence for changes in progress. It seems, however, likely that for first-generation East African Indians in Leicester the correlation between age and rhoticity is in fact a reflection of the effect of other constraints. In their investigation of the Southall Punjabi community in London, for instance, Sharma and Sankaran (2011) found that time spent in the UK was the most significant social factor predicting the use of retroflex /t/ among first-generation informants:

> India-born participants who have lived in the U.K. for 3–12 years show a sharp decline in use of /ʈ/. These individuals are often negotiating work situations with British English speakers and struggling to find a place in their new environment. (…) Intriguingly, /ʈ/ use increases again among the long-stay (> 12 years) group. These individuals have often settled with families in very Asian networks and may have less need to accommodate to British English or may have regained confidence in their original variety. (Sharma & Sankaran 2011, 417–418)

It is difficult to assess the influence of length of residence on the use of postvocalic /r/ among the first-generation participants of the present study because, with the exception of two speakers who had lived in Leicester for 11 and 24 years, respectively, they had all lived in the city for 30 years or more at the time of the interview and were well settled in their community. The similar dates of migration of East African Indians to the UK make it (potentially) possible, though, to investigate the influence of another factor related to age, namely age of arrival. Since in this study the majority of informants moved to Leicester in their early twenties, a larger speaker sample would be needed to evaluate the effect of this predictor systematically. Nevertheless, it is striking that the four participants who arrived at a later age (31–62) are also the ones who display the highest rhoticity levels (speakers I, N, E and F; see Table 4.4 and Figure 4.5).

It is also possible, however, that the correlation between age and rhoticity results from different amounts of contact with, as well as a changing need to accommodate to, the local variety of BrE in the course of individuals' lives. Within the first generation, speakers aged above 60 articulate postvocalic /r/ much more frequently (34 percent) than those who are aged 60 or younger (7 percent). This is remarkable in that this age division coincides with the distinction between informants who are part of the working population and those who are retired. As mentioned above, Sharma and Sankaran (2011) note that the Southall subjects who made least use of retroflex /t/ often had to deal with BrE speakers in the employment domain. Auer, Barden and Grosskopf (2000) report a case study of an eastern German migrant in western Germany who had adopted standard variants of several phonological variables (cited in Kerswill 2006, 2277). After losing his job, though, his social network and attitude to life in western Germany changed and he went back to using pronunciation features characteristic of his home province. Hence, it could be that retired first-generation informants increase their use of rhotic variants as the employment domain becomes irrelevant to them and they feel less need to accommodate to non-rhotic EMidE.

In sum, the variable rhoticity of first-generation participants thus points to the maintenance of IndE patterns. Of course, a certain degree of influence from non-rhotic EAfE and EMidE cannot be excluded on linguistic grounds alone, and some accommodation to the local variety of BrE is indeed likely for this group. As shown above, however, their relatively low average rhoticity level and strong preference for taps and trills are remarkably similar to the patterns reported for IndE speakers from comparable socioeconomic and/or regional-linguistic backgrounds (with the exception of Chand 2010). Both the apparent absence of a gender effect on the first generation's use of postvocalic /r/ and the strong correlation between age and rhoticity displayed by this group are intriguing and deserve further investigation with a larger, more balanced speaker sample.

6.2 Second generation

The second research question was whether and how the production of postvocalic /r/ changes across generations. The analysis in Section 5.1 revealed that both first- and second-generation speakers display a strong tendency towards pronouncing coda /r/ in linking /r/ environments (77.6 percent for the latter). Beyond this (superficial) similarity, however, second-generation participants clearly diverge from their parents' generation in showing near-categorical non-rhoticity (0.7 percent) and a strong preference for approximant realisations of rhotic tokens (93 percent). Moreover, they also produced 12 rhotic tokens of unetymological word-final /r/ in prevocalic environments. These differences suggest that this group has not adopted the patterns of postvocalic /r/ found among first-generation informants. Instead, the second generation's use of this variable is most plausibly accounted for in terms of accommodation to EMidE, since non-rhoticity and approximant realisations of /r/ are characteristic of this variety as well, and both linking /r/ and intrusive /r/ are widely found in non-rhotic native English dialects, including those of the North of England (see Section 3.2). As regards the frequency of linking /r/ in BrE, there seems to be considerable cross-dialectal variation. For instance, Foulkes (1997) found that, with the exception of working-class males, younger speakers in Derby exhibited levels of linking /r/ of around 90 percent whereas younger speakers in Newcastle upon Tyne produced much lower scores (30–40 percent for working-class speakers and around 55 percent for middle-class speakers). It is thus difficult to assess whether the second generation's use of this feature matches the patterns found in BrE in quantitative terms.

Non-rhoticity as a result of accommodation to the local variety of BrE is also attested among UK-born Punjabi-English bilinguals in London. Hirson and Sohail (2007) found that, while subjects who self-identified as Asian tended to articulate coda /r/, those who self-identified as British Asian displayed non-rhotic accents. The similarity is noteworthy in that, as mentioned in Section 2.2.1, the second-generation participants of the present study almost invariably described themselves as British Asian too. Moreover, the British Asian-identified group of Hirson and Sohail (2007) showed less variation in the phonetic realisation of /r/ than Asian-identified informants. A clear preference for approximant /r/ was also reported for second-generation subjects from the London Bangladeshi community, who showed similar accommodation to local BrE patterns (McCarthy et al. 2011).

6.3 The role of socio-historical factors

The first generation's retention of IndE patterns of postvocalic /r/ confirms the maintenance of L1-derived features reported for other first-generation South Asian migrants in Britain (Evans et al. 2007; McCarthy et al. 2011; Sharma & Sankaran 2011) and elsewhere (Sharma 2005). As noted in Section 2.2.1, however, first-generation participants expressed strong emotional affinity with East Africa and a clear sense of distinctiveness from direct South Asian migrants. Why, then, is this not reflected in their use of postvocalic /r/?

The social history of the community accounts for this pattern. Both the research on the history of East African Indians (e.g. Gregory 1993) and the evidence from the interviews indicate that Indians tended to live in ethnically segregated areas in East Africa and to display a strong orientation towards their own communities. Intermarriages were rare and the limited contact that occurred with the African population was generally of a relatively superficial type, often in the form of dealings with customers or interaction with African employees. As knowledge of English was not widespread in the African population at the time (Schmied 2008, 153), communication mostly took place in Kiswahili. Furthermore, during the colonial period there was continuous input of English from the Indian subcontinent through incoming migrants. Indians who grew up in East Africa generally acquired English in school contexts and, crucially, the transmission of the language occurred mainly via teachers imported from South Asia. It was also quite common for migrants to return to their original homeland for further education. These factors are likely to have led to limited contact with, and influence from, EAfE, and to have favoured the retention of IndE forms. The maintenance of ties with the Indian subcontinent in Britain seems to have further supported this trend.

The second generation's adoption of EMidE patterns of postvocalic /r/ parallels the findings of Evans et al. (2007) and McCarthy et al. (2011), whose second-generation subjects accommodated to the local south-eastern English dialect for the features analysed. As discussed in Section 1, however, the retention (and reallocation) of L1-derived accent traits by locally-born speakers is widely attested in research on the British Asian diaspora. It seems likely that social factors, such as affiliation with a British Asian identity (see Section 6.2) or socioeconomic status, play an important role in the second generation's divergence from this trend. With regard to socioeconomic background, the university-level education and middle-class occupations of most second-generation participants clearly distinguish this group from the working-class communities that have often been investigated in previous research on British Asians (e.g. Heselwood & McChrystal 2000; Khan 2006; Cheshire et al. 2011). The parallels with the findings of Evans

et al. (2007) are particularly relevant in this respect, since the second-generation speakers of the present study resemble the London Gujarati informants not only in terms of regional-linguistic background but also in terms of socioeconomic status. According to Evans et al. (2007, 1744), their subjects' tendency to approximate SSBE results from their social mobility. It is plausible to assume that this factor has also led to accommodation to non-rhotic EMidE on the part of second-generation East African Indians in Leicester.

However, a word of caution is required here. As retention of L1-derived accent traits has also been reported for locally-born South Asians from lower middle-class backgrounds (e.g. Sharma & Sankaran 2011), social mobility cannot be the sole factor accounting for the second generation's adoption of EMidE patterns. Sharma's (2011) study of the Punjabi community in Southall demonstrated that British-born speakers may avoid L1-influenced features during a sociolinguistic interview but use them in more personal contexts. One possibility that therefore needs to be considered is that the second-generation participants of the present study have adjusted their speech to the formality of the interview setting. Another explanation concerns the linguistic variable chosen for analysis. It may well be that second-generation East African Indians in Leicester approximate EMidE patterns for postvocalic /r/ but diverge from this dialect along other dimensions, doing identity work through the use of L1-derived traits such as monophthongal FACE and GOAT, retracted realisations of /t/ or clear variants of coda /l/. All in all, it thus seems unlikely that a single factor accounts for the second generation's use of postvocalic /r/.

7. Conclusion

This paper explored the question whether the dynamics of dialect variation and change in double diaspora situations differ from those found in direct migrant communities. To this end, I investigated variation in the use of postvocalic /r/ across two generations of East African Indians in Leicester. The results indicate that the production of postvocalic /r/ by first-generation speakers closely parallels the patterns attested for this variable in IndE. These patterns have, however, not been acquired by second-generation participants, who have accommodated to EMidE usage instead. The maintenance of L1-derived features is well attested among other first-generation South Asian migrants and, although British-born speakers were often found to diverge from the local dialect, convergence towards the use of BrE forms is also attested for some second-generation British Asians, particularly those from socially mobile backgrounds. For postvocalic /r/ at least, the linguistic outcomes of the secondary diaspora situation experienced by East

African Indians in Leicester hence do not seem to differ substantially from the patterns reported for direct British Asian migrants. Intriguingly, the first generation's retention of IndE forms suggests that, even if previous migration to another country results in a strong sense of a separate identity among twice migrants, this does not necessarily lead to linguistic divergence. Since the patterns of variation exhibited by East African Indians in Leicester appear to have been determined by socio-historical factors, it could very well be, though, that other outcomes are found in double diaspora situations shaped by different conditions, e.g. Fiji Indians in New Zealand (Hundt, this volume) or Suriname Indians in the Netherlands.

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CHAPTER 5

Sociophonetics and the Indian diaspora

The NURSE vowel and other selected features in South African Indian English*

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This chapter explores the potential of phonetic and sociophonetic research in characterising varieties of English in the Indian diaspora, using South African Indian English (SAIE) as a focal point. We first identify key phonetic features that lend themselves to such comparative study. In this regard we note that retroflexes are recessive in SAIE, aspiration shows patterns that are intermediate between Indian English (IE) and varieties like White South African English (White SAE), and interdental fricatives /ð/ and /θ/ are closer to IE, while differing in respect of aspiration. In characterising the differences between IE as usually described in the literature and SAIE, three factors are crucial: (a) the give-and-take between the English of speakers of North Indian and South Indian origins in South Africa, (b) the influence of varieties of South African English, and (c) internal sociolinguistic developments within the SAIE community relating to age, gender and class. This last aspect is illustrated in detail in the second half of the chapter via a sociophonetic study of the NURSE vowel.

Keywords: age, aspiration, gender, NURSE vowel, retroflexion, social class, sociophonetics, South African Indian English, (th) variation

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1. Introduction

This paper focuses on an area in which there has been little research to date, viz. the comparative phonetics of the English of Indians in the diaspora (EID in short). The default assumption in contact sociolinguistics is that diasporic communities will pick up the dominant language of a new territory to varying degrees in the first (migrating) generation, and that the second generation will be fluent in that language, and approximate the sociophonetics of one of its local varieties, whilst possibly retaining substrate features (see Rayfield 1970 for the erstwhile USA melting pot). For EID this substrate influence could be directly from an ancestral Indian language, or via IE (i.e. the English of India) as matrilect. The robustness of an identifiable IE in the diaspora will depend on an array of social and demographic factors like age of arrival of individuals, size and cohesion of the community, degrees of social acceptance or seclusion in the wider society, access to education, contact with the Indian homeland, socio-economic mobility and degree of maintenance of an ancestral Indian language. In addition, language attitudes are important as Sharma (2005) shows in her detailed study of the relation between EID and the more dominant American English in the San Francisco area. There are further complexities like (a) the existence of other influential languages than English, and (b) the wide range of possible substrate Indian languages. Table 5.1 gives a sense of the differential linguistic influences on the English of Indians in five selected diaspora contexts.

Together with other social factors (like intense segregation in South Africa) these influences result in clearly differentiable varieties of EID. For example, the phonetics of English of Indians in Mauritius is noticeably influenced by French and French Creole, and in Trinidad by general Caribbean English and Creole. In the USA Indians of the second generation onwards are by and large fully assimilated to US English in a way that they are not to the local variety of White English in South Africa. In the UK, although a great deal of assimilation to the dominant local forms of English is apparent, there are also relatively robust forms of survival of South Asian English in its own right in various communities (see Fox 2007 for London's East End) or as a stylistic option within a repertoire that includes more dominant forms of British English (see Sharma 2011; Rampton 1995).

For a comparative global comparison of EID, two initial simplifying assumptions are necessary: firstly, that IE is a sort of matrilect for the diasporic varieties, or at least the most viable centre of comparison.[1]

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1. Even if many migrants in the nineteenth-century diasporas (see Mesthrie, this volume) did not speak English, the few who did would have been influential from the start as teachers, interpreters, translators and community leaders (see Badassy 2002 for South Africa).

Table 5.1 Linguistic influences on English amongst Indians in five selected diasporic communities

Territory	UK	USA	Trinidad	Mauritius	South Africa
Main substrates for Indians	Panjabi Gujarati Bengali	Various (Gujarati, Kannada) etc.	Bhojpuri	Bhojpuri	Tamil Telugu Bhojpuri Gujarati
Extent of Indian English as matrilect in migrating generation	Great (mid-20th C on)	Great (mid-20th C on)	Not great (19th C)	Not great (19th C)	Not great (19th C)
Dominant variety of English	UK varieties	US varieties	English Creole and British English	None (Some British English previously)	British-oriented South African English
Other influential languages	–	–	–	French Creole-French	Afrikaans
Other languages of lesser influence on EID	–	Spanish	–	Chinese etc.	Zulu Xhosa Tswana Sotho, etc.
English as L1 among 2nd or subsequent generations	+	+	+ [with Creole]	–	+

The second simplifying assumption is that IE is a single entity, despite differences according to Indic, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman and Austronesian substrates (see Gargesh 2004 on some regional differences within IE; Kachru 1983, 31) on Dravidian characteristics; Wiltshire 2005 on Tibeto-Burman influences). We can then assess similarities and differences from a broad template of well-known IE features. Using these descriptions we could make initial enquiries along the following lines for segmental phonological similarities and differences:

a. Consonants:
   - To what extent is retroflexion maintained as a prominent feature of an EID?
   - Is aspiration used differently from the local prestige variety?
   - What are the reflexes of /θ/ and /ð/?
   - Are /v/ and /w/ always differentiated?
   - Is /h/ usually breathy voiced?
   - Has postvocalic /r/ been maintained (in the Indian form of a partially devoiced trill)?

b. Vowels:
   - Are /eɪ/ and /oʊ/ diphthongal or long monophthongs?

We may ask what local features have been adopted by an EID that contribute to its distinctiveness not only from IE but from other EIDs: e.g. glottal stops in the UK; fronted BATH and *t*-tapping in the USA; short front-vowel raising in South Africa, Australia and New Zealand; and Canadian raising of diphthong onsets in HOUSE and PRICE.

Finally, we would need to pay attention to the internal dynamics of particular EIDs in relation to ongoing sociolinguistic differentiation not reported to be salient in traditional IE – e.g. gender, social class and age variation. We will illustrate this approach with reference to SAIE, relying on older descriptions in Bughwan (1970) and Mesthrie (1992), and more recently, Chevalier (2011) for the speech of younger people in a situation of rapid social change. Section 3 will deal with the broad phonetic questions raised above, making special reference to the case of South Africa, while Section 4 will offer a detailed socio-phonetic analysis of a single variable that characterises further differentiation among young people, the NURSE vowel. It is first necessary to give a brief overview of the development of SAIE.

2. Background to SAIE

South Africa is historically an important territory in the Indian diaspora. For much of the twentieth century it had the largest Indian community outside Asia (though it has since been overtaken by South Asian immigration into the UK and USA). Moreover, South Africa has been of special significance in Indian history and politics since Gandhi's 20-year sojourn in the country (1893–1913), which fostered his philosophy of passive resistance to British colonisation. The community today labelled 'Indian' in South Africa dates to 1860, with the large-scale movement of indentured workers from one British ruled territory (India) to another (the colony of Natal). In the period 1860–1911, over 150,000 men, women and children from villages and districts in what are now Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh were transported to Natal to establish the canefields that count amongst the most extensive in the world (in addition to smaller plantations of tea, coffee and tobacco). The main languages brought to Natal were, in descending order, Tamil, Bhojpuri-Hindi, Telugu and Urdu. Shortly afterwards smaller numbers of people from north-west and central-west India migrated as small-scale traders rather than semi-forced labour, speaking mainly Gujarati, but also Konkani and Meman (Sindhi). The diaspora in South Africa thus was different from many other territories outside Asia in having Tamil as the most spoken language (in the region of 40%, Mesthrie 1991, 16), and no communities speaking Panjabi, Marathi, Bengali, Malayalam or Kannada, i.e. languages which are well represented in later diaspora communities in the UK and USA, cited above. The Indian and South African governments put a halt to immigration in 1911 for different reasons, and only a trickle of immigrants subsequently entered South Africa via neighbouring African territories like Mozambique.[2] Nevertheless, a majority of immigrants chose to stay on in South Africa, where they were contractually entitled to a small plot of land for market gardening upon completion of their indenture.

Although Indian languages remain important for cultural purposes and are taught in some schools at an elementary level, a slow process of language shift has been in operation since the 1960s (Mesthrie 1992, 27–33), with a distinctive variety of English arising in the province of Natal. The distinctiveness of this variety was partly due to South Africa's rigid policy of segregation or apartheid, and the fact that not many Indians could afford to travel to India. In other provinces Indians were influenced by Afrikaans as well, and overlap between 'Coloured' and

2. Whereas India was concerned with the maltreatment of migrants, within South Africa there was growing Anti-Asiatic agitation once the plantation labour needs of the colony had been satisfied.

Indian English is strong outside the province of KwaZulu-Natal (Mesthrie 2012). It is the KwaZulu-Natal variety that has been best studied (Bughwan 1970; Mesthrie 1992; Pienaar 2007; Chevalier 2011) as the majority of Indians reside in this province. With the weakening and eventual collapse of apartheid in the 1990s, citizens of India speaking IE and a host of languages not previously well represented in South Africa (especially Bengali, Panjabi and Malayalam) have contributed to the enrichment of Indian culture and presence in the country. No study exists of the give-and-take that is presumably occurring between IE and SAIE, an opportunity awaiting future researchers.

3. Some salient features of SAIE phonetics in relation to IE

The 'language shift' version of South African Indian English spoken by a majority today in KwaZulu-Natal offers a clear window for EID studies. This section, which aims to give a broad overview of phonetic features, is based on Bughwan (1970), and Mesthrie (1992, 2004). For convenience we refer to consonants in capitals, especially P, T and K.

3.1 Retroflexion

The realisation of /t/ and /d/ in SAIE varies between alveolar and retroflex. Retroflexes are receding in several ways:

a. Not all speakers use them;
b. Speakers who used retroflexes as children may gradually use less and less of these in favour of alveolar (or post-alveolar) [t] and [d];
c. Retroflexion is not as strongly articulated as in IE in terms of degree of curl of the tongue tip and force with which it articulates against the palate.

Nevertheless, many speakers who do not exhibit much retroflexion retain it unconsciously as a stylistic device, for emphasis and reprimanding children (*I'm telling you*). Retroflexion is also evident if one wants to sound more Indian in certain contexts (e.g. a funeral speech in which an Indian way of speaking English is considered appropriate, in tandem with prayers in Sanskrit and/or another Indian language or Arabic). Retroflex /ɳ/ can be heard in SAIE, usually homorganically with a following [ʈ] and [ɖ] (e.g. in *want, wand*) or even in the neighbourhood of a retroflex [ʈ] or [ɖ] (e.g. in *ten, den*). It occurs saliently in children's articulation of the word *aunty* [aːnʈiː]. The same is true of /l/ and, to a much lesser extent, /s/, which may be variably alveolar, post alveolar or retroflex in words like *cold*, *tell*

and *past*. Thus SAIE takes the middle ground between IE, in which retroflexes are the norm, and White SAE, in which alveolar or even pre-alveolar pronunciations of /t d s z n l r/ occur.

3.2 Aspiration

In IE /p t k/ are unaspirated in all positions, with Indic speakers identifying these sounds with the unaspirated counterparts in their languages rather than the strongly aspirated series /p^h t^h k^h/ (Kachru 1983, 29). Of the two Dravidian languages spoken in South Africa, Tamil does not have a phonemic differentiation between aspirated and unaspirated consonants, though Telugu does. As with retroflexion there is variability amongst younger speakers with: (a) some having the distribution of mainstream varieties of English (aspiration with initial /p t k/, but not in other positions), (b) some occasionally having a stronger degree of aspiration than in standard speech, and (c) others having no aspiration. Mesthrie (2004, 962) notes an interesting intermediate system among some speakers in his circle of acquaintances. This subset of speakers show the following patterns:

> P is always unaspirated before /ɑː/, /ɔː/, /ʊ/, /eɪ/, /oʊ/ and /ɛə/. Thus *park, pork, put, pot, pay, poke, pair* all have unaspirated initial P. Likewise P is always unaspirated before /r/ and /l/, e.g. in *pray* and *play*. This means that /r/ and /l/ are voiced [in SAIE] in contrast to many varieties of English in which the aspiration on initial consonants causes /r/ and /l/ to become voiceless. In all other contexts whether P is aspirated or not, depends on the particular word. Taking P before /e/ as an example, the following words always have aspiration – *pen, pebble, pet*; whereas *penny, pepper, petal, peck* are always unaspirated. It has still to be researched whether there is intra-speaker variability (i.e. pronouncing the same word differently) or variation across speakers. Speakers who produce aspiration invariantly with initial P, T, K would be judged as putting on a 'Speech and Drama' accent. The dialect has minimal pairs like *p^hea* and *pee*; *p^hiece* and *piss* (pronounced [piːs]). It also has near-minimal pairs like *p^het* and *petal*, *p^hen* and *pencil*.
> (Mesthrie 2004, 962)

The social explanation for this pattern is that these speakers have struck a balance, a kind of sociolinguistic fudging in the sense of Chambers and Trudgill (1998, 110–113), between the North and South Indian patterns, with no aspiration before certain back vowels, certain diphthongs and both liquids, and with aspiration on P, T, K being word-dependent in all other contexts. Delbridge (2006) investigated patterns of aspiration from Mesthrie's (1992) data base, with a selection of 34 speakers, subject to analysis in the VARBRUL programme (Robinson et al. 2001). She found that P, T and K each patterned differently regarding aspiration.

For illustrative purposes we focus on just (initial) P. In the structural environment, the factor group of 'following segement' was significant. Weightings above 0.5 occurred for (in descending order): [uː], [ʊə] > [aʊ] > [ɪə] > [e] > [æ] > [aɪ] > [eɪ] > [ɑː] > [iː]. The following had weightings below 0.5 showing low levels of aspiration: [ɪ] > [ɜː], [ɛə] > [ɒ], [oʊ] > [ɔː], [ɔɪ] > [l], [r], [j] > [ʊ], [ʌ]. Gender, lectal level and ancestral language were also identified as significant. Females aspirated more than men (with VARBRUL weightings of 0.66 vs 0.41). Acrolectal speakers had higher levels of aspiration than mesolectal speakers, who themselves had higher levels than basilectal speakers (weightings of 0.68 vs 0.47 vs 0.07). For ancestral languages, speakers of Tamil, Urdu, Telugu and Bhojpuri-Hindi (0.56 vs 0.56 vs 0.52 vs 0.49) had considerably higher weightings than Gujarati speakers (0.21).[3] Not selected as significant were: preceding segment, age, education, social status, and urban-rural residence. A follow-up study with present-day younger speakers would be good: our impression is that younger middle-class speakers now have higher levels of aspiration; we are less certain about working-class speakers.

3.3 Interdental fricatives

It is well known that /θ/ and /ð/ are rare in languages of the world, and that many varieties of English replace them by some other close non-fricative realisation (see Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008, 126–127). In Tamil phonology [ð] is an allophone of /t̪/ in intervocalic position, except in clusters like /t̪t̪/ and /nt̪/ (which are realised as [t̪t̪] and [nd̪] respectively (Asher 1985, 212). Gargesh (2004, 998) notes that "the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are non-existent in Indian English. The aspirated voiceless stop [t̪^{h}] is realized for /θ/; the voiced stop [d] is realised for /ð/ – as in *thin* = [t̪^{h}in] and *then* = [d̪en]. In South India the alveolar stop /t/ is often used instead of /θ/." The option taken in SAIE is to use unaspirated dental stops [t̪] and [d̪]. There appears to be no influence of the Tamil allophonic [ð] in SAIE (or IE). Note that the SAIE [t̪] is unaspirated, in contrast to that of the IE matrilect. Although outsiders sometimes hear SAIE [t̪] and [d̪] as alveolars, there is no mistaking the dental stop quality which brings these sounds very much within the Indian (especially North Indian) phonological systems. In fact, alveolar /t/ in some words of standard English is pronounced with a [t̪] in SAIE and can be said to belong to the TH (i.e. /t̪/) class: *tooth, teeth, tonsils, tongue, trash, taught* all have an initial voiceless dental stop.

3. Since Gujarati has aspiration of P, T, K, this result might be relatable to their greater contact with India and IE, in which – as we have seen – P, T, K are unaspirated.

3.4 The treatment of /h/

In contrast to RP, general US English and White SAE, where /h/ is a voiceless fricative, /h/ is usually a breathy-voiced fricative [ɦ] in SAIE. This is especially true of speakers of North Indian ancestry. Working-class speakers of Tamil ancestry tend to drop /h/, in keeping with Tamil phonology in which /h/ is absent, except variably in some loanwords. A dropped /h/ is compensated for by a glottalised onset, giving rise to a discernible rise in pitch, contrasting with the pitch lowering effect of an initial [ɦ]. However, a dropped /h/ may also be replaced by the glides [j] or [w] as in [jɪl] for 'hill' and [laɪvliwʊd] for 'livelihood'. Hypercorrect forms are also common in this subgroup with forms like [haʊtaʊs] occasionally occurring for 'outhouse'. It is remarkable that differences in the treatment of /h/ should survive for 150 years in South Africa, and remain salient (especially in peoples' stereotypes) as a marker of Tamil versus other ancestry. We caution, however, that (a) not all people of Tamil ancestry 'drop their aitches'; (b) those who do so do it variably; (c) /h/ dropping leaves the phonetic trace of a glottalised onset, and (d) that linguistic differences between North and South Indian ancestry are slowly being levelled out.

3.5 The treatment of /v/ and /w/

Since these are not generally distinguished as phonemes in Indian languages, a striking characteristic of IE is an overlap in the use of [v] and [w], either of which may be found in words like *vet, wet, vine, wine* etc. Gargesh (2004, 998) gives the example of variation in medial position of [pɑːvər] ~ [pɑːwər] 'power'. *V/w* variation is reported for SAIE in the 1960s by Bughwan (1970). In our experience this is characteristic mainly of older speakers, even in the 1970s, especially those with some contacts with India. SAIE speakers born in South Africa generally differentiate /v/ and /w/, although /v/ is a weakly articulated fricative [ʋ] rather than [v].

3.6 Postvocalic /r/

Unlike IE, where postvocalic /r/ may be realised as a partially devoiced fricative or trill in *far, car* etc., SAIE is generally non-rhotic. A few exceptions occur with some first names (*Harshad, Kabir, Kirti*), surnames (*Varma, Parbhu*), retentions from Indian languages (*karma* 'fate', *arthi* 'prayer'), the letter '*r*' [ɑːr], and in *Ireland* [aɪrlənd].

3.7 Vowels

Trudgill and Hannah (1985, 106) note that in some varieties of IE /aː/ corresponds to RP /aː/ and /ɔː/. SAIE does not have this characteristic, with pairs like *Carl* and *call*, *car* and *core* always distinguishing /aː/ and /ɔː/. In one respect SAIE differs from general SAE and RP: like IE and some varieties of US English it consistently retains [aː] after *w*: hence *wall, war, wash, walk, warm, wharf* all have [aː], not [ɔː]. Only the word *water*, which in vernacular styles usually has [aː], is corrected to [ɔː] in formal speech. This word has the status of a social shibboleth, marking status differences between speakers who show the corrected from and those who do not. More recently, SAIE speakers attending non-racial high schools where, however, the norms of White SAE prevail in the classroom, have learnt with surprise that the word *award* has the prestige variant [ɔː], not the [aː] they were used to hearing from their teachers in the Indian primary (or junior) schools.

Another merger noted by Trudgill and Hannah (1985, 106) concerns RP /ɒ/ and /æ/ becoming IE /a/. These two phonemes are distinct in SAIE, with pairs like *hot* and *hat* clearly differentiable, usually occurring as [ɒ] and a slightly raised [a̝] respectively.

The often noted monophthongisation of [eɪ] and [oʊ] in IE was once characteristic of older bilinguals in South Africa, but a clear diphthongal quality is the norm for most SAIE speakers today. The SAIE pronunciations are in fact closer to RP than the general White SAE forms, which have lowered onsets, hence [ɛɪ] and [ɔʊ]. In the same vein, traditional SAIE does not show glide weakening in the PRICE and MOUTH diphthongs, unlike what passes as the prestige norm in White SAE.

The interplay between North and South Indian phonologies in SAIE merits investigation, since speakers were roughly equally divided in numbers. Although some differences persist and a trained ear can still make out whether speakers older than about 40 are of North or South Indian background, the give-and-take between phonologies is evident even for older speakers. One feature shows the influence of the Tamil majority within SAIE speakers: the realisation of final schwa as an open [ɛ]. Older speakers of Bhojpuri-Hindi-Urdu use an [e] for the final schwa of words like *sugar,* in contrast to [ɛ] among speakers of Dravidian background. Amongst young speakers the [ɛ] has won out, except in acrolectal varieties which use a more standard [ə].

4. A case study: Variation in the NURSE vowel among younger SAIE speakers

In this section, we examine in some detail a single vowel in SAIE with the intention of showing the complexities surrounding EID phonetics, if we factor in local social variation. Developments among second and third generation speakers with respect to the classic social variables of age, gender, status and class may increase variation in an EID. We report on a study by Chevalier (2011) of NURSE among younger SAIE speakers, using current approaches in sociophonetics.

As mid-central long vowels are not generally found in the Indian languages of relevance to South Africa (Masica 1991; Asher 1985), NURSE must have presented a potential source of difficulty to first generation learners. Gargesh gives the following variants for IE: [ɜː] > [ʌ] > [ɔː] > [a]. In South Africa older speakers recorded in the 1980s showed some variation, having [ɜː] or a front [eː]. Mesthrie (1992, 141) notes that [eː] occurs particularly among older speakers of Bhojpuri-Hindi-Urdu background in words like *servant, bird* etc. The difficulty of approximating the general SAE system can be seen in older speakers of the period showing a merger between NURSE and FAIR, with both frequently having [eː]. Other older speakers fluctuate between *fair* and *fur* (= [fɜː] ~ [feː]) and likewise *hair* and *her* (= [hɜː] ~ [heː]). These might be seen as internal EID variants arising from second language learners' attempts to match their interlanguage system with native vowel patterns.

At the same time other patterns enter the pool of variants. In the 1980s small-scale, part-time Speech and Drama schools tried to inculcate a 'posh' RP-oriented or Cultivated SAE accent to replace the more stigmatised SAIE among young children.[4] This resulted in the variants [ɛː], or possibly [aː], entering as a potential prestige pronunciation. These variants were perhaps also meant to avoid the local White SAE raising, fronting and rounding of NURSE, which Lass (1995) transcribes as [øː]. Gimson's discussion of RP in the 1980s (1989, 124) shows /ɜː/ to range considerably along a central line, as a sound 'in the half-close region or slightly above to the half open region or slightly below' (as in Figure 5.1). The SAIE variants include this range, but – as we shall see – also include realisations that are further back (in the mid back region) and in the low front region.

Chevalier (2011) studied younger SAIE speakers in order to ascertain the extent to which traditional SAIE was accommodating to the wider norms of South African society, given the collapse of apartheid in the 1990s, a few years after

4. White SAE is usually described in terms of a continuum comprising an RP-oriented 'Cultivated' variety, and more localised 'General' and 'Broad' varieties (Lass 1995), in ways parallel to Australian English.

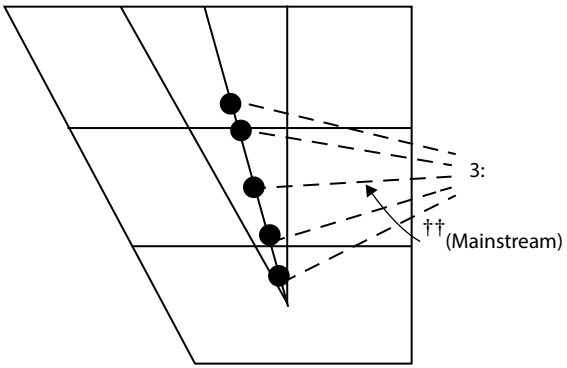

Figure 5.1 /ɜ:/ and its variants in RP (from Gimson 1989, 123)

Mesthrie's fieldwork of 1987–1988. She also sought to ascertain whether social class differences were increasing within SAIE as predicted by Mesthrie (1992, 221). In the period 2008 to 2009, Chevalier interviewed 22 SAIE speakers from the city of Durban. Working-class speakers were interviewed in Chatsworth and Merebank, while middle-class speakers came from various suburbs in Durban, and were interviewed either in their homes or on the campus of the University of Cape Town.[5] Interviews followed a fairly traditional Labovian format, with a word list at the end using an adaptation of Wells' (1982) lexical sets.

This was the first close study of variation in SAIE to capitalise on advances in sociophonetics, specifically the techniques of acoustic analysis (via PRAAT), normalization (via the BARK METHOD) and allied statistical analysis (via R). PRAAT measurements were undertaken manually of all clear tokens of NURSE, with segmentation at one third of the vowel duration. The number of formants tracked by PRAAT was manually changed, and varied between 4 and 6, depending on which setting provided the clearest tracking of the formants per token. We heeded acousticians' advice against including tokens preceded or followed by /l m n r/, since they affect readings of a preceding vowel. Note that since SAIE, like other varieties of SAE, is non-rhotic, words like *fur, cur, sir, herd* all count as valid tokens. (In fact they constitute the full set, since all NURSE words are spelt with a following 'r'.) A total of 813 tokens were available for analysis. Regarding speaker variation the original sample of 22 speakers was reduced to 21, on account of one outlier who did not sound as if he belonged to the SAIE community at all

5. Recording equipment was either a Marantz PMD661 *MKII* or an Olympus DS5000, relying on their internal microphones.

and whose NURSE tokens gave surprising readings in the region of FLEECE.[6] The sample was divided into 10 male and 11 female speakers. In terms of social class – determined by speakers' area of residence mainly, and confirmed by family and schooling details supplied during the interview – the sample consisted of 11 middle-class (MC) and 10 working-class (WC) informants. All the MC speakers had attended a formerly White school at some stage, none of the WC speakers had. However, for two of the latter multi-racial educational contacts became stronger at a tertiary institution.

Before speaker means could be compared they had to be subjected to a normalization procedure to factor out the effects of variation in vocal tract sizes. We tried out two methods (Watt & Fabricius and BARK) and came to the conclusion that the latter was the more convenient choice at this stage of analysis, since it relied only on NURSE tokens.[7] The BARK normalization has the disadvantage that the vowel space is warped so that it no longer corresponds with the traditional

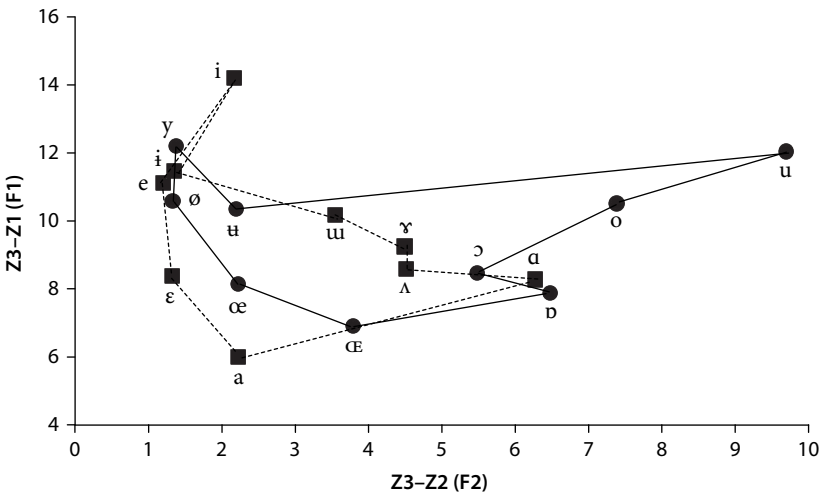

Figure 5.2 The cardinal vowels represented in the BARK scale (based on Thomas 2001, 146)

6. We hazard a guess that this might well be due to a minor speech defect not alluded to in the interview.

7. By contrast, Watt-Fabricius (Watt & Fabricius 2002) relies on three other reference vowels which were not easy to determine for SAIE. With more time and resources we hope to investigate SAIE – and other dialects of English in South Africa – via more comprehensive methods of automatic formant extraction via Forced Alignment and Vowel Extraction (FAVE; see Rosenfelder et al. 2011).

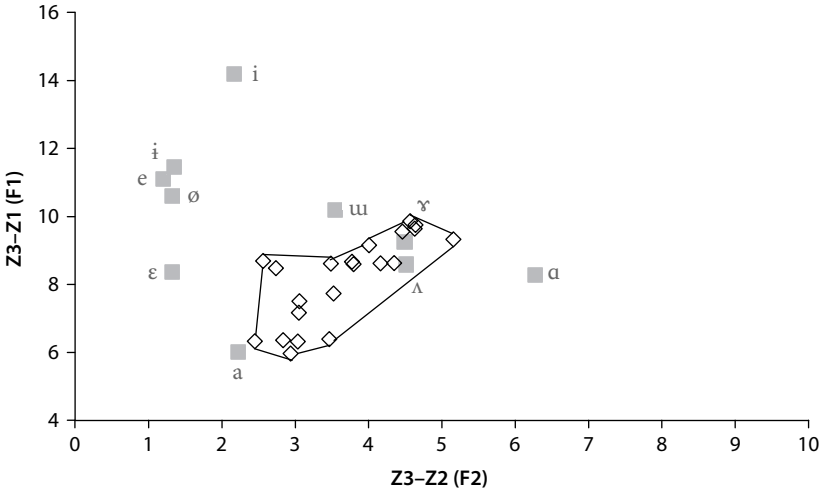

Figure 5.3 The range of variation for NURSE by speaker means in the SAIE sample (N = 21)

Table 5.2 Means and standard deviations for F1 and F2 or NURSE per speaker

Class	Sex	F1 Mean	SD	F2 Mean	SD
MC	F	9.085	0.605	3.972	0.796
MC	F	6.219	0.646	3.024	1.660
MC	F	6.321	1.011	2.839	1.377
MC	F	7.756	1.200	3.512	1.255
MC	F	8.725	0.782	2.536	0.827
MC	F	6.158	0.504	2.507	0.917
MC	M	9.333	0.804	5.174	1.820
MC	M	8.602	0.590	3.475	0.747
MC	M	9.575	0.482	4.432	0.523
MC	M	8.650	0.747	3.760	0.647
MC	M	6.030	0.793	2.962	1.567
WC	F	7.145	1.244	3.019	1.473
WC	F	8.669	0.807	4.335	0.821
WC	F	7.463	1.610	3.045	1.438
WC	F	6.411	1.557	3.461	1.486
WC	F	8.509	1.249	2.792	1.266
WC	M	9.644	0.378	4.628	0.886
WC	M	9.739	0.529	4.564	1.257
WC	M	9.870	0.588	4.586	1.012
WC	M	8.621	0.432	4.171	0.779
WC	M	8.663	0.499	3.784	0.749

vowel chart. Figure 5.2 shows how the traditional Cardinal Vowel chart would appear via a BARK normalization (based on Thomas 2011; Mesthrie, Chevalier & Dunne 2013).[8] Figure 5.3 shows the array of variants for NURSE speaker means in our sample. The means appear to cover the vowels usually transcribed as [äː], [ɜː], [ɔː], [ʌ], [ɤ̈] and [ɤ].[9]

Table 5.2 provides the means and standard deviations per social class and gender groups for each of F1 (which represents vowel height) and F2 (which represents vowel backness or 'advancement'). Degree of rounding cannot be measured acoustically with certainty, and fortunately for our study the SAIE speakers do not appear to use lip rounding as a salient aspect of NURSE articulation, unlike White SAE (see Section 4).

We used two methods of ascertaining the sociolinguistic distribution of the NURSE tokens. The first measured F1 and F2 independently, using a linear regression mixed-effects model (Bates 2005) in R, treating gender and class as fixed factors. The results are reported visually in terms of a boxplot (also known as a 'box and whiskers' plot) per class and gender group and summarised in terms of significant differences in Figure 5.4 below. Figure 5.4 gives the boxplot for F1 for NURSE. F1 correlates roughly with vowel height. As is customary in boxplots, the * denotes the mean value per social group, and the central box the mid-values (between 25th and 75th percentile), with the dark horizontal line within it showing the median. The broken line above the box represents the upper quartile, i.e the 25% of the data that have higher values than the upper limit of the box. Similarly, the broken line below the box indicates the lower quartile, i.e. the 25% of the data that have lower values than the lower limit of the box. Outlier tokens are signalled by small open circles. Figure 5.5 shows the boxplot for F2, thus giving an indication of NURSE realisations on a front-central-back vowel axis.

Table 5.3 gives the p-values for comparisons of the gender and class groups, with the significant values shaded in grey. It shows that there is a significant difference for gender overall for each of F1 and F2, with females having on average lower F1 (= lower NURSE vowels) and lower F2 (= fronter NURSE vowels). This difference in gender is stronger in the WC (for both F1 and F2) than in the MC (where it is significant for F2 but not F1).

The second method that we adopted considers F1 and F2 together, measures the Euclidean distance between any and all speaker means, and on this basis produces a cluster plot in R (see Figure 5.6).

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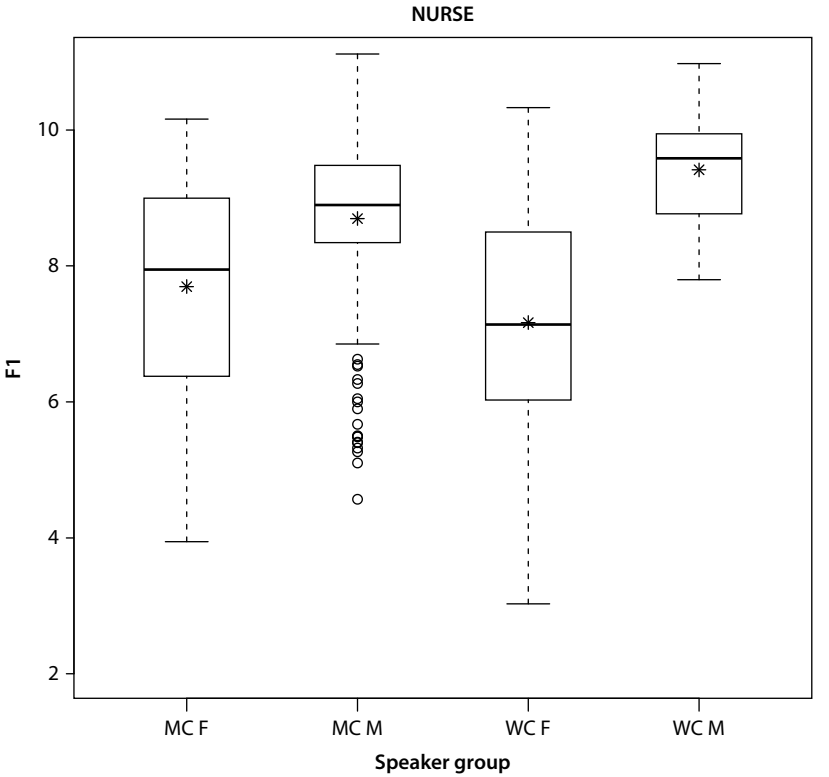
8. Note the empty space in the bottom right hand corner.

9. By way of comparison the traditional NURSE vowel in Black SAE is [e], and in Coloured varieties of SAE show [ɜː] for WC speakers and [øː] for MC speakers (Toefy 2014).



Key: M = Male, F = Female, MC = Middle-class, WC = Working-class

Figure 5.4 Boxplot showing means, median and distribution of F1 for NURSE tokens per class and gender group

Table 5.3 p-values in a linear regression mixed effects model for F1 and F2 by class and gender

	F1	F2
Males vs Females	0.0058	0.0005
Males by class	0.2151	0.3461
Females by class	0.8033	0.506
MC vs WC	0.3149	0.3151
MC by gender	0.2204	0.046
WC by gender	0.0008	0.0007

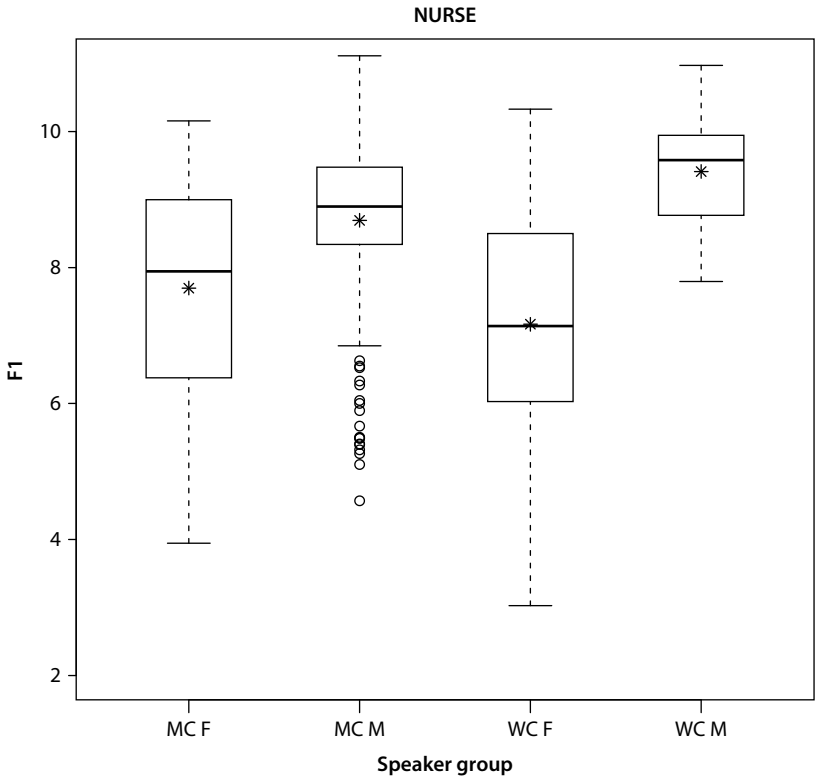


Figure 5.5 Boxplot showing means, median and distribution of F2 for NURSE tokens per class and gender group

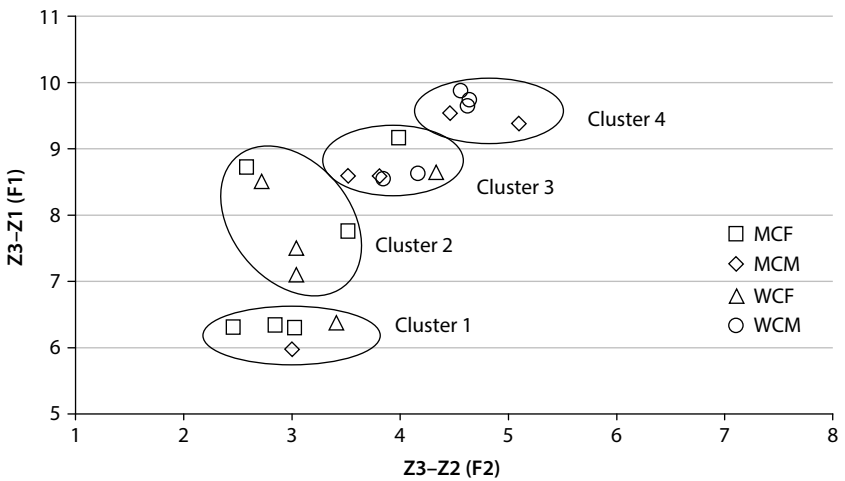


Figure 5.6 Cluster plot based on Euclidean distances between speakers

The four clusters in Figure 5.6 can be roughly correlated from bottom left to upper right with cluster 1 showing a relatively fronter and lower realisation of NURSE; cluster 2, a relatively fronter and mid realisation; cluster 3, a (standard) mid-central realisation; and cluster 4, a relatively backer and mid realisation. We then ascertain the social characteristics of these groupings. Females tend to fall into clusters 1 and 2 (9 of 11 speakers), males into clusters 3 and 4 (9 of 10 speakers). This is confirmation that the results are similar whether we take F1 and F2 together or independently (see Table 5.3). Again, the results are less clear-cut for class: no patterns are discernible for MC but WC speakers fall into clusters 2, 3 and 4 (9 of 10 speakers). WC males are the most cohesive with all 5 falling into clusters 3 and 4; middle-class females tend to fall into cluster 1 (3 of 5 speakers; and none in cluster 4). There is thus a dichotomy between MC females and WC males.[10] The remaining two groups are intermediate: WC females are closer to MC females (4 of 5 speakers in clusters 1 and 2; and none in cluster 4), while MC males are diffuse, not predominating in any cluster and spread over clusters 1 (n = 1), 3 (n = 2) and 4 (n = 2). It would appear then that younger SAIE speakers are beginning to show all the hallmarks of a Labovian system of variation, with the intersection of gender and class being crucial (Labov 2001; Eckert 1989).

To summarise, whereas older SAIE speakers vary between [eː] and [ɜː] realisations of NURSE, younger speakers in this study have a different range of variation. For them Cultivated SAE or RP-like realisations ([ɜː] or [əː]) are common, but so too are "adjacent" variants that carry gender and class connotations, but only within SAIE. Lowered and fronted NURSE in the region of [ɐ̟ː] or [ä] are more associated with middle-class and female affiliation. This variant appears to be based on attempts to inculcate an RP value in speech and drama classes, but which misses the target somewhat. In contrast young working-class males show a mid-vowel in the region of [ɜː] but often further back, i.e. towards [ɤ] or [ʌ]. None of the speakers in our sample approximate the general White SAE variant [øː], though it would not be surprising if a larger and closer study shows such a crossover effect for some speakers.

5. Conclusion

In this case study we have attempted to show the potential of a broad phonetic analysis in characterising SAIE (and by implication other varieties of EID) in terms of aspects of IE phonology (retroflexion, aspiration and other salient

10. There is only one exception: a MC female in cluster 3.

features). We give indications of levelling or fudging of certain variables like aspiration of P T K, and of the influence of particular Indian language phonologies as in [ɛ]-like realisations of final schwa, which is most likely to be the result of the specific influence from Tamil speakers. We also demonstrate social class and gender innovations that are less tied to IE developments, by a detailed analysis of NURSE realisations among younger SAIE speakers. Here, the picture is that of a movement away from the L2 norms of the previous generation, without necessarily adopting the variants found in White SAE. Gender differences appear to generate and sustain new variants.

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CHAPTER 6

Imperfectives in Singapore's Indian community*

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This chapter examines the sociolinguistics of the Indian community in Singapore, with a particular emphasis on the use of the *-ing* marker among Tamils. The Indian diaspora in Singapore is of interest because the community differs from others in many respects: although a minority of less than 10 percent, Indians enjoy constitutional recognition, primarily through the use of Tamil as one of the four official languages. Furthermore, they are a firmly established ethnic group within the country, both socially and economically, having been instrumental in early colonial times and during the foundation phase of present-day Singapore English. Our study, drawing on data collected from 96 informants coming in equal parts from the Tamil, Chinese, and Malay communities, investigates the over-extension of *-ing* as a marker of all imperfectives, including statives and non-delimited habituals. We found the Tamils rating *-ing* as acceptable significantly more frequently than the other two groups in the case of statives and non-delimited habituals. As this parallels the Tamil aspectual system, our findings strongly support a substratist explanation for the Indian Singapore English aspect system.

Keywords: Singapore English, ethnic variation, sociolinguistics of Indian Singaporeans, Indian diaspora in Singapore, Tamil

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1. Introduction

The Indian community of Singapore is the smaller of two officially recognised minorities in the city-state: at just over 9 percent, they are outnumbered by the indigenous Malays (13 percent) and the majority Chinese (74 percent). Despite their small number (348,000 out of a total resident population of 3.77 million), Indians are intimately tied to the history of Singapore and to its present-day population. This is due to three main reasons: firstly, ethnic Indians have been present in the city-state since its founding in 1819; secondly, Indians were significantly represented in the colonial civil service and the upper echelons of society (a situation that continues, somewhat, to this day, with a respectable number of Indian politicians); and thirdly, and perhaps relatedly, they are the ethnic group that boasts the highest rate of English as a home language.

Singapore's Indian community is different from some other communities of the Indian diaspora in several ways. For one, there is the high level of English use at home (Indians 42 percent, Chinese 33 percent, Malays 17 percent), which is, in part, a result of language policies in place in Singapore, which put a strong emphasis on English as the medium of education and generally the country's "working language", something also seen in Trinidad (Leung & Deuber). Another way in which Singapore differs is in its (at least statutory) high regard for the Indian community: the Indians are a recognised indigenous "race", and are assigned one of the country's four official languages, Tamil. This choice of Tamil was motivated by its status as the majority language in the community.

Given the high level of English use in the Indian community as compared to the other two, larger Chinese and Malay communities, the question arises as to how and to what extent the Englishes spoken by these three groups differ. Ethnolinguistic variation in Singapore having, thus far, largely been confined to phonetics and phonology, there is a need for more research on variation in grammar. The aspect system is of particular interest in the Singaporean case, since it has attracted some interest, particularly with respect to its origin in a putative Chinese substrate (Bao 2005). Coupled with the potential similarities with Indian English (Sharma 2009), this raises the question as to how the aspect system of Indian Singapore English behaves relative to the other two ethnic varieties.

2. Historical background

Singapore, one of the last few remaining city-states, is an island nation of some 700 km^2 located at the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula. This former British colony, founded in 1819, currently has a population of just over 5 million. The

location of the port city on the lucrative shipping route from Hong Kong to India and, eventually, via the Suez Canal, to Europe and Britain, made it a prime choice for settlement by the British, as well as for subsequent immigrants in search of work or business opportunities. While the indigenous, pre-British population was around 1,000 (Turnbull 1996, 5), immigration from various parts of the world soon boosted that number. The population of Singapore is traditionally divided into four "ethnic" groups: the 2010 census reports 74.1 percent of Chinese, 13.4 percent of Malays, 9.2 percent of Indians, and 3.3 percent of "Others" (Wong 2011a). These four groups are the present-day result of immigration, primarily from southern Chinese provinces, from colonial British territories on the Indian subcontinent, and from the Malay Archipelago.

While there was contact between India and pre-colonial Singapore and Malaya (Sandhu 1969, 21–22), the first substantial group of Indians in modern Singapore arrived with the British in 1819. There were, according to Sandhu (1993, 774), around 120 Indians on Stamford Raffles' landing party, mostly *sepoys* ('soldiers'), *lascars* ('sailors'), and servants, but also at least one trader. The sepoys were from the Bengal Native Infantry, and the servants from a Bazaar Contingent. This first group was "known locally as 'Bengalis'" and in all likelihood "came from what is now eastern Uttar Pradesh and northwest Bihar, then the principal recruiting ground for sepoys of the Bengal Native" (Lal 2006, 176). As the port of Singapore prospered and the settlement grew, it attracted more immigrants from the three main regions mentioned earlier. The Indians came either directly from India or from pre-existing British settlements in Malaya (primarily Malacca and Penang on the west coast of the Peninsula), and can be grouped, for convenience, into three categories. The first comprises convicts and soldiers and is a testimony to Singapore's early days as a penal colony. Convicts were brought in from all over British Southeast Asia as well as directly from India. Many were trained, by their guards, in useful trades and contributed extensively to the building and maintenance of the infrastructure of early Singapore: in the words of Sandhu (1993, 775), "for years the history of these convicts was the history of the Public Works Department". Upon release, they either returned to India, moved to neighbouring Malaya, or stayed on in Singapore. The soldiers were part of the British Indian Army, and largely stationed in their barracks with little contact with the local population. Their presence was also transitory in that they could be redeployed to other locations in case of military need. However, "while few […] remained in Singapore at the end of their tour, the persistence of a dhobi community from early times suggests that some members of the Bazaar Contingent left the garrison to assume the role of civilian immigrants in the new settlement" (Lal 2006, 176). Their linguistic make-up is hard to define with certainty; convicts "represented a cross-section of Indian society" (Lal 2006, 177) and came from a range of

ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. As for the soldiers, Turnbull (1996, 126) also mentions the Indian Army 5th Light Infantry, which consisted entirely of Panjabi Muslims.

The second group of early Indians includes traders and labourers. Indentured labourers were in high demand, initially for rubber plantations and tin mines, later for building and construction work. "The vast majority came from Tamil Nadu" (Lal 2006, 178). The Indians also had a near-monopoly in the laundry business. Traders and businessmen arrived both directly from India and from the Straits Settlements, attracted by the business opportunity offered by the tariff-free port of Singapore. These merchants were instrumental in building up the local economy, and in creating and maintaining economic ties with both the other Straits Settlements and the Subcontinent. Tamils were in a majority in this group, hailing from both Ceylon and the mainland, though a number of them would have come from further inland.

The third category consists of English-educated migrants, who were drawn in to help administer the colony as civil servants, teachers, interpreters, clerks, and lawyers. Many came from Sri Lanka and South India, with Malayalis and Sri Lankan Tamils in a majority (Lal 2006, 178). The police force (recruited from the 1870s) was also largely Indian, with many Sikhs (Mani 1993, 790–791) who were also "sought after as security personnel" (Lal 2006, 178). This group certainly had an impact on the English language in Singapore because, though comparatively small (see Table 6.1), they were strongly represented in the civil service and the education system. Their language would have been English, complemented with their ethnic languages (Tamil, Malayalam, Panjabi, Gujarati, etc.). In a classroom setting, the colonial standard of English would have been the target variety.

The demographic evolution of the Indian population of Singapore is given in Table 6.1, which shows data from the first census in 1821 to the most recent one in 2010. The census category "Indian" comprises a host of populations from the Indian sub-continent, including Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Self-reported membership of a particular sub-group in the "Indian" ethnic group, as given in the 2010 census, gives some indication of where in India the initial Indian migration to Singapore originated. The largest groups were the "Tamil" (54.2 percent), the "Malayalee" (7.6 percent), "Hindi" (3.8 percent), and "Sikh" (3.7 percent), with 6 other named groups and many more at less than 2 percent of the ethnically Indian population. These numbers include changes since the 2000 census: Tamil respondents have dropped by 4.1 percentage points, while Hindis increased by 2.2 points and "Others" by 5.2 points. Table 6.1 shows the percentage of Indians that are likely to have a Dravidian language as their (current or ancestral) mother tongue – "likely" because of the problematic equation between ethnic (sub-) group and language.

Table 6.1 Indian population in Singapore. Data 1821–1980 from Sandhu (1993, 775), 1990 from Shantakumar (1993, 867), and 2000–2010 from Wong (2011a)

Year	Number of Indians	% of total population	Dravidians as % of the Indian ethnic group[1]
1821	132	2.8	
1871	11,501	11.8	86.6 (1881)
1891	16,035	8.7	78.0
1911	28,454	9.2	84.3 (1921)
1931	50,860	9.4	79.3
1947	68,978	7.7	74.1
1957	124,084	9.0	79.9
1970	145,169	7.0	80.6
1980	154,632	6.4	71.9
1990	190,900	7.0	72.5
2000	257,866	7.8	66.7
2010	348,119	9.2	61.7

These sub-groups are frequently termed "dialect groups" in Singapore, a characterisation which, as pointed out elsewhere (Leimgruber 2013), is a misnomer, because language and ethnicity are blended beyond recognition. Assignment to a particular sub-group is based on self-reporting during census exercises. As a result, a largely English monolingual respondent can still identify as ethnically Tamil. Furthermore, the term *dialect* glosses over the massive linguistic differences among Indian languages, which belong to two entirely separate language families (Dravidian and Indo-Aryan).

Singapore's English-speaking population has grown rapidly in recent decades (see below). In colonial times, English was restricted to British rulers and European merchants in the city as well as to a small minority of educated subjects (predominantly Indians, but also others) working in the civil service and in the education sector. It was the Eurasian and the Peranakan (a wealthy mixed Malay-Chinese community, the "Straits-born Chinese") communities that were first to switch to English as a language of education and as a home language. Wealthy families in the Indian and Chinese community soon followed suit. The shift towards English is ongoing, with stratification along socio-economic, educational,

1. The naming of sub-groups within the 'Indian' category has changed several times over the various censuses. Thus, for instance, between 1931 and 1970 there was a group 'Ceylon Tamil' in addition to 'Indian Tamil'. 'Dravidians' in this table refers to those identifying as '(Indian/Ceylon) Tamil', 'Malayali', and 'Telugu', but does not include the 'Other Indian' category, which may well contain some speakers of Dravidian languages.

and generational dimensions. As a rule, the young are English-dominant, English having been the sole medium of education in all state schools since 1987.

3. Singapore's Indian community

A first broad way of defining the group 'Indians in Singapore' may be in terms of nationality and residency status. Indians can be divided into two groups: (1) Singapore citizens, known as 'Singaporean Indians', or 'local Indians', who are the locally born second, third, fourth or even fifth generation descendants of immigrants from South Asia and (2) more recent Indian immigrants or 'Indian Indians' who can be sub divided into (a) low-income unskilled workers and (b) high income professionals or entrepreneurs. Group (a) immigrants are only allowed work permits which allow them to reside in Singapore for a limited period of time. By contrast, group (b) immigrants are given employment passes which are renewable and which give them eligibility to apply for permanent residency or even Singapore citizenship. All Foreign Nationals or 'Indian Indians' have strong transnational ties with India, unlike local Singaporean Indians.

There is no real 'pan-Indian' identity in Singapore because of the diverse economic, language and cultural backgrounds. This heterogeneity is evident at several levels: The ethnic diversity in the population was mentioned above. Religious diversity also exists, the population consisting of 59 percent Hindus, 22 percent Muslims, and 13 percent Christians. In terms of linguistic diversity, it is unfortunate that the census only records Tamil and "other Indian languages", such that a closer analysis of the latter is less straightforward. One number that the census does report, however, is that of the "language most frequently spoken at home". The 2010 census (Wong 2011a) reports home language use to have changed somewhat since the previous (2000) census: the self-reported dominant home language has seen an increase of English and a decrease of both Tamil and Malay (see Table 6.2). The presence of Malay as an important minority language among the Indians will be discussed later; suffice it to say that it is associated with

Table 6.2 Self-reported dominant home language within the ethnically Indian population. Data from Leow (2001) and Wong (2011a)

Dominant home language	2000	2010
English	35.6	41.6
Tamil	42.9	36.7
Malay	11.6	7.9
'Other Indian languages'	9.3	13.2

Muslim Indians who share their religion with the Malays, the other major minority of Singapore. The shift towards English is a phenomenon observed across the whole population, the education policy of having English as the main medium of instruction having probably played an important role in this shift. It remains, however, that at 41.6 percent, the Indians are the ethnic group with the highest percentage of English as a home language: this number is at 32.6 percent for the Chinese and 17.0 percent for the Malays.

There are few other tangible ways in which the Indians are distinctly different from the rest of the Singaporean population. For instance, their socioeconomic distribution, as measured by gross monthly income, patterns almost exactly like that of the Chinese population (unlike the Malays, who have higher percentages in the lower income groups). Similarly, traditional settlement patterns, which used to follow a strongly segregational system under colonial rule, have broken down substantially, especially since the introduction of ethnic quotas in public housing new towns, where 87.7 percent of the population lives (Wong 2011b). What remains is the traditional area of Little India along Serangoon Road, which is still reputed as a prized tourist spot for its concentration of Indian restaurants and businesses. Notwithstanding Little India, it is fair to say that in the city-state, Indians are a minority in any neighbourhood.

It is perhaps in the domain of language policy that the Indian population is treated somewhat differently from the other two indigenous ethnic groups. A first difference resides in the governmental efforts aimed at engineering the populations' linguistic skills. There have been two major campaigns with two targets: the Speak Mandarin Campaign, launched in 1979 and aimed largely at the Chinese population, and the Speak Good English Movement, launched in 2000, which targeted the whole (English-speaking) population. The annual Speak Mandarin Campaign (SMC) has had different emphases in the past, but it is broadly concerned with promoting the use of Mandarin and demoting the use of other varieties of Chinese. The SMC has been the subject of much research (see, inter alia, Bokhorst-Heng 1999; Wee 2006) and has, if census data are to be trusted, been highly effective: whereas in 1980, 10 percent of Chinese spoke Mandarin as a home language and 60 percent used the "dialects", these numbers had changed, by 2010, to 48 percent and 19 percent, respectively (Pecotich & Shultz 2006; Wong 2011a). The Speak Good English Movement (SGEM), also subjected to scholarly research (see e.g. Rappa & Wee 2006), has been targeting English users and initially aimed to eradicate the use of "Singlish" (Colloquial Singapore English) in favour of Standard English. Its success is much more difficult to measure, since it is unclear what kind of English (Singlish or Standard) respondents to the census question on main home language actually use. In sum, Mandarin and Standard English benefit from enormous governmental attention, have their status and

airtime on public broadcasting promoted, and are being commented upon favourably year-round by ministers and officials, often with a rhetoric involving cultural heritage (Mandarin) and economic capital (English, but increasingly also Mandarin). In stark contrast, Malay and Tamil, the other two official languages, while usually acknowledged as being important "mother tongues"[2] (more on this term later) of the two minority ethnic groups, do not benefit from wide-ranging campaigns such as the SMC or the SGEM. Particularly when the discussion is framed in economic terms, Tamil is rarely mentioned, as business with India is overwhelmingly carried out in English. Given the status of Malay in Singapore's neighbouring countries (especially Malaysia), Malay enjoys a slightly more privileged position, cemented, in part, in its constitutional status as the national language (in addition to its official status, shared with English, Mandarin, and Tamil).

A second difference lies in the so-called "mother tongue" policy, which assigns a "mother tongue" to each of the three ethnic groups: Mandarin for the Chinese, Malay for the Malays, and Tamil for the Indians. The ethnic mother tongues are official languages, joined in this status by the ethnically-neutral English. The mother tongue policy has two main aspects: one of cultural policy and one of educational policy. The cultural policy is closely linked to the use of English as the main working language of the republic: being the dominant language in education, in politics, in public administration, and in the (white-collar) workplace, its spread was perceived to be a threat to the cultural heritage of the indigenous population, particularly because of its perceived association with potentially undesirable Western values. To counter this, English is presented, in public rhetoric, as being "dissociated from Western culture", and by being "referred to as a global rather than a Western language" (Alsagoff 2010, 342). While the utilitarian value of English is highlighted – being, as it is, the international lingua franca so important for the economic development of the country – it is denied, officially, native speaker status (Wee 2003). This is where the mother tongues come in, which are "presented as repositories and mediums of ethnic culture and identity" (Alsagoff 2010, 342). The mother tongues are therefore deemed important, worthy of study, and as being in need of protection in the face of the potential shift towards English, given the elevated position of English in the country. Mother tongues are, as a result, taught at a high level in school, under a policy of bilingual education (Pakir 1991; Pakir 2001; Dixon 2005).

The mother tongue of the Indian community, in this system, is designated as Tamil. However, the Indians are in the unusual situation that, since the 1990s, members of their ethnic group have the option of choosing from one of six mother

2. See following paragraph for a definition of this term in the Singaporean context.

tongues: Tamil, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Panjabi, or Urdu. Thus, arguably, the Indians have more choice than the other ethnic groups in what language they learn at school – not a small concern, since the mother tongue results make up 25 percent of the year's mark (in primary school) and since one might well be at an advantage if the "second language" (after English, the medium of instruction) learned at school is also a language actually spoken at home. It should be noted, however, that the mother tongue–ethnicity pairing is not mandatory, and that pupils (i.e. their parents) can choose to enrol for any mother tongue (e.g. an Indian taking Chinese, or a Chinese taking Malay). That said, it would appear, based on the census data for literacy, that the predicted ethnic mother tongues are most usually chosen by pupils/parents – except in the case of the Indians: 79.9 percent of Chinese respondents claimed literacy in Chinese, 88.9 percent of Malays claimed literacy in Malay, whereas only 49.6 percent of Indians claimed literacy in Tamil.[3] Among the Indians, too, literacy in non-official languages is highest at 19.6 percent (2.3 percent for the Chinese and 5.9 percent for the Malays), which is unsurprising, seeing as Tamil is the only official "Indian" language, whereas there were and are many other languages spoken in the community, both traditionally, and as a result of more recent immigration. Additionally, Mandarin and Malay are languages that play a certain role in the Indian community: Indian Muslims tend to be conversant to some extent in Malay for religious purposes (Malay ethnicity and Muslim religion are intimately connected in Singapore and Malaysia), and there is anecdotal evidence that Mandarin is being used informally as a tool for communication with the majority group, albeit in informal (e.g. school yard) settings.

Given the historical and contemporary linguistic background of Indians in Singapore, it is reasonable to assume that there are some differences to be expected between the English spoken by them and the other two major groups. Malay, and particularly Chinese languages are, after all, typologically rather different from Dravidian languages (e.g. Chinese/Malay SVO vs. Dravidian SOV, Chinese/Malay uninflected for tense vs. Dravidian tense inflection, isolating Chinese vs. agglutinative Dravidian/Malay). For it is indeed Dravidian languages that must have had an effect on a putative Indian Singapore English ethnic variety, particularly if the proportions given in Table 6.1 are indicative of a possible "founder effect" (Mufwene 1995).

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3. These data from Wong (2011a) take into account the resident population over 15 years of age. They are presented, in the census release, in terms of combinations of languages, e.g. 'Chinese only', 'English and Tamil only', 'English, Malay, and Tamil only', etc. Combinations not taken into account here are 'Non-official language only', 'Other two languages only', 'English and non-official language only', and 'Other three or more languages'.

4. Ethnic variation in Singapore English

Research on linguistic variation between ethnic groups in Singapore has been largely concerned with pronunciation differences at all phonetic levels (see e.g. Lim 1996; Tan 1999; Deterding & Poedjosoedarmo 2000; Lim 2000; Suzanna & Brown 2000; Huang 2003; Gut 2005; Deterding 2007; Tan 2012). Some (Gut 2005; Deterding 2007) are concerned with measurements of fine phonetic detail, while others (e.g. Lim 2000; Deterding & Poedjosoedarmo 2000; Tan 2012) are more interested in identification tasks: thus Lim (2000) reports that correct identification of the speaker's ethnicity correlates strongly with the level of formality in this speaker's language use (the more informal, the higher the correct identification). Further, Tan (2012) reports that informants in the 19–29 age range were less likely to correctly identify the ethnicity of recorded voices (what she calls "accent deafness") as well as a tendency for ethnic accents to be misidentified as Chinese. She explains this by the dominance of the Chinese population in Singapore, making their variety the perceived "default Singaporean accent" (Tan 2012, 14). A certain amount of convergence towards Chinese Singapore English would certainly be unsurprising, given the majority status of its speakers.

As far as grammatical differences go, out of the wealth of research done on Singapore English grammar, there has been very limited research involving ethnic variation. Many substratist accounts are based on Chinese varieties. While some focus on Hokkien and Cantonese (the majority varieties in the initial contact period), others (e.g. Bao 2005; Bao & Lye 2005; Bao 2009) prefer to use Mandarin, arguing for considerable similarities between dialects of Chinese (a point of contention, see Siegel 2012). Previous research by Leimgruber (2009, 194) involving all three ethnic groups in comparable sizes has shown some statistically significant differences in the use of discourse particles: Indians used significantly fewer particles than the Chinese and the Malays in informal settings but overtook the Chinese in informal settings. Other grammatical features investigated in that study (aspect markers and existential constructions) were used similarly by all three groups. These results notwithstanding, grammatical differences between the varieties of the three main ethnic groups are rarely discussed; this paper is an attempt to contribute towards filling this gap.

5. Aspect in English, Sinitic, and Dravidian

Comrie (1976) posits that there are two main aspectual perspectives in all languages: the perfective and the imperfective. The perfective aspect focuses on a situation from the outside, as a single unanalysable whole, where there is no attempt

to view the individual phases of the situation. The perfective is thus often said to denote a "complete" situation with the beginning, middle, and end presented in their entirety. In English, the simple past tense form (in regular and irregular verbs) convey perfective aspect as well as the past tense meaning. Imperfectivity presents a situation as one that is ongoing and focuses on its inside without specifying its initial or final endpoints. While many languages have a single category to express imperfectivity, there are others that use grammatical means to only partially express the imperfective meaning, and some where the imperfective notion is subdivided into a number of distinct categories. Imperfective aspect includes both the habitual and the durative (or continuous) notions, where durativity encompasses both non-progressiveness and progressiveness (Comrie 1976, 24–25). Progressive aspect has connotations of dynamism and continuous successive changing phases. In English it is marked with an auxiliary and the inflection *-ing*. It follows, therefore, that the progressive marker does not generally combine well with stative verbs, which may be continuous but are non-dynamic. In English, the sentence *She was know-ing him well* is regarded as being ungrammatical, because the stative verb *know* is incompatible with the progressive *-ing* marker. However, Comrie (1976, 25) additionally puts forth the suggestion that the English *-ing* marker could be "a kind of imperfective" because it can occur in a wide range of imperfective constructions, even sometimes in stative contexts such as when a state is temporary, e.g. *I'm loving this flower motif.*

In this paper we investigate whether the progressive marker *-ing* is over-extended in Singapore English. We will be replicating Sharma's (2009) study, which examined imperfectivity in Indian English and in Singapore English. Sharma (2009) specified four different imperfective categories which may or may not licence the use of *-ing*, namely progressives, statives, delimited habituals, and non-delimited habituals. An example of each sentence type is provided in (1), with sentences marked for ungrammaticality in Standard English. We used these categories in our study as well and, like Sharma, we also included some perfective sentences, which were combined with *-ing*. Note that the imperfective sentences specified below were used in the questionnaire as part of our main study.

(1) a. I'm writing a letter. [Progressive]
b. *This bottle is containing one litre of juice. [Stative]
c. I'm eating a lot these days. [Delimited habitual]
d. *Ahmed is brushing every morning and evening. [Non-delimited habitual]
e. *She was falling down suddenly. [Perfective]

In standard varieties of English, the progressive *-ing* marker is naturally acceptable with progressive sentences such as (1a), but it is also acceptable with

delimited habituals such as the sentence in (1c). A delimited habitual is a sub-type of habitual,[4] which consists of an adverbial that temporally binds the situation specified, giving the sentence a temporary and episodic reading. Thus, it cannot be seen as stative and is compatible with the progressive *-ing* marker. The same cannot be seen in the other sub-category of habituals, i.e. non-delimited habituals such as (1d). A non-delimited habitual is not time bound by a temporal adverbial and, accordingly, the habitual situation specified occurs repeatedly without there being a specified end point. It therefore has a stative interpretation. It has a similar reading to sentence (1b), which is unambiguously a stative sentence, where its stative predicate is not dynamic and thus incompatible with the *-ing* marker. Therefore, it cannot be combined felicitously with the progressive *-ing* marker in Standard English. Sentence (1e) consists of a perfective predicate, which is bound by the punctual time adverbial *suddenly.* This gives the sentence a non-continuous interpretation and therefore is incompatible with the progressive *-ing*. Thus, to summarise, of the four imperfective categories and the one perfective category, only the progressive and the delimited habitual environments licence the use of the progressive *-ing* marker in standard, metropolitan varieties of English.[5]

Table 6.3 shows how the above mentioned imperfective and perfective sentences are expressed in Singapore's main substrate languages, i.e. Mandarin, Cantonese, Hokkien, Malay and Tamil.

Given the success of the Speak Mandarin Campaign (SMC) and other forms of institutional promotion of the language since the 1980s, Mandarin has, in the last 30 years, been replacing many of the other Chinese languages such as Hokkien, Cantonese, Teochew, etc. This makes Mandarin the most relevant Chinese substrate language influencing Singapore English presently, which is why we have chosen it as the representative Chinese substrate in our current study. It is important, however, to distinguish between the Mandarin spoken in Mainland China and the Mandarin spoken in Singapore, as "the Singaporean variety of Mandarin, like Malay, has been affected by contact with other Chinese languages in Singapore" (Sharma 2009, 175–176).

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4. Interestingly, while English does have a separate 'habitual' aspect, it marks it only in the past tense, i.e. '*John used to work here*' (Comrie 1976, 25).

5. There is some indication that these textbook rules on the use of the progressive may be crumbling. Hundt and Vogel (2011), for instance, observe that progressives can mark perfect meanings in some ENL varieties. Pfaff et al. (2013) further note the 'new' function of the past progressive to mark recentness (as in *I was just reading this article*).

Table 6.3 Singapore's main substrate languages expressing imperfective and perfective categories

	Imperfective				**Perfective**
	Progressive	**Stative**	**Delimited habitual**	**Non-del. Habitual**	
English	I'm writ**ing** (PROG) a letter.	This bottle *[is contain**ing**] (PROG)/ contains juice.	I'm eat**ing** (PROG) a lot these days.	He *[is brush**ing**] (PROG)/ brushes his teeth every morning.	She *[was fall**ing**] (PROG)/fell down suddenly.
Mandarin	Wǒ **zài** (PROG) xiě yīfēng xìn.	Zhè píng (***zài**) (PROG) hányǒu guǒzhī.	Wǒ zùijìn (***zài**) (PROG) chī le hěn duō.	Tā (***zài**) (PROG) měitiān zǎoshang shuā yā.	Tā (***zài**) (PROG) túrán jiān diédǎo.
Cantonese	Ngo5 se2-**gan2** (PROG) soen3.	Ni1 zeon1seoi2 zong1zyu6 (***gan2**) gwo2zap1.	Ngo5 ni1 paai4 sik6 (***gan2**) hou2do1 je5.	Koei5 mui5 ziu1z dou1 caat3 (***gan2**) ngaa4.	Koei5 mou4dyun1dyun1 dit3dou2 (***gan2**).
Hokkien	Góa **ló** (PROG) siá sìn.	Chit-ê (***ló**) chun ū chiap.	Góa chit lēng-kang (***ló**) chiah chiâⁿ-chō͘e.	I tak chá-khí (***ló**) lù chhùi-khí.	I tông-thut-kan (***ló**) poah-tó.
Malay	Saya **sedang** (PROG) menulis surat.	Botol ini (***sedang**) (PROG) mengandungi jus.	Saya *[**sedang** (PROG) memakan]/makan banyak beberapa hari ini.	Dia *[**sedang** (PROG) memberus]/berus giginya setiap pagi.	Dia *[**sedang** (PROG) jatuh]/terjatuh tiba-tiba.
Tamil	Naan kadithathai ezruthi-**kondiru**-(IMPF)-kkiren.	Intha kuppi pazrarasam-**kondiru**-(IMPF)-kkirathu.	Naan ippo thellam niraiya saappittu-**kondiru**-(IMPF)-kkiren.	Avan thinamum kaalaiyil pal theythu-**kondiru**-(IMPF)-kkiraan.	Aval thidirendru vizrunthu-***kondiru** (IMPF)-nthaal.

Gloss: Imperfective: IMPF; Progressive: PROG.

5.1 A brief description of the various imperfective systems of Singapore's main substrate/adstrate languages

Chinese: Progressive aspect in Mandarin is expressed by the marker *zài,* which can only be used in dynamic, continuous contexts. Mandarin also possesses an imperfective marker *-zhe,* which has a relatively restricted use within certain imperfective contexts. It is primarily used to mark temporary result states (Sun 2006) and is actually not used in many imperfective constructions such as habituals, simultaneity, and persistence. There is also extensive optionality in the use of *-zhe* as it is conditioned by prosodic, semantic, and word order factors. In many cases, it is omitted altogether. Convergence across the various Chinese substrates seems to reinforce the lack of pressure to mark imperfectivity using *-zhe* (Sharma 2009, 187; Ansaldo 2004).

In Cantonese the progressive aspect is marked with a verbal suffix *-gan2*; there is also a continuous marker *-zyu3*, similar to Mandarin *-zhe*. Like Mandarin *zài*, *-gan2* appears not to be licenced for non-progressive imperfectives. The same can be said for Hokkien, where the preverbal marker *ló* expresses the progressive aspect, but no other imperfectives (Chappell 1992).

Malay: The progressive aspectual perspective is marked with the form *sedang* in standard Malay. The form *sedang* is used in fairly restricted contexts and cannot be used to express future reference or simultaneity. This Malay progressive marker operates very differently from the English progressive *-ing* in that it cannot occur in a wide range of imperfective contexts like *-ing* does. Another form that can also be analysed as a progressive marker is the prefix *meN-* (Soh & Nomoto 2009, 148). This marker, like *sedang,* is incompatible with stative verbs, indicating that in Malay there is no special motivation to mark imperfectivity in all contexts (Svalberg & Chuchu 1998).

Tamil: Tamil belongs to the southern branch of the Dravidian language family. Its morphology is agglutinating. Tense is obligatorily marked using overt suffixes whereas aspect is optionally marked using auxiliaries. In (2) we see the use of the finite form of a verb predicate that consists of an aspectual auxiliary and a tense suffix.

(2) Verb stem + Aspect + Tense + Person Number Gender (PNG)

The imperfective perspective in Tamil is expressed using the almost fully grammaticalised[6] *-kondiru* marker. Note that *-kondiru* is an imperfective marker,

6. Aspect markers in Tamil are each in various stages of grammaticalisation. The ones that are fully grammaticalised are primarily aspectual, whereas those that are in the early stages of grammaticalisation mainly express attitude. Since aspect is a category that is still in the process

rather than a progressive marker. It therefore combines with all verb type categories, either expressing continuity with statives or progressive aspect with dynamic verb types (Annamalai 1997, 57).

5.2 Motivations for our present study

In this paper we investigate whether the progressive marker *-ing* is over-extended in Singapore English, distinguishing between the three main Singapore English varieties, namely the Chinese, Malay, and Tamil varieties. We will be replicating Sharma's (2009) study, which examined imperfectivity in Indian English and in Singapore English.

Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi (2004) observe that over-extension of the progressive is found in bilingual postcolonial varieties. Sharma (2009) finds that its occurrence in Indian English is extremely frequent. In all the four imperfective categories, i.e. progressives, delimited habituals, statives, and non-delimited habituals, for instance, she found a robust over-extension of *-ing* to non-delimited habituals and statives. Figure 6.1 illustrates this clearly.

Sharma (2009) also investigated the use of the progressive *-ing* in Singapore English and concluded that while there is some evidence of the over-extension of *-ing*, it is nowhere near the extent to which it occurs in Indian English. Ho and Platt (1993, 189), in fact, claim that "in general, the state-process distinction holds for Singaporean Chinese learners of English". Sharma (2009) uses a substratist

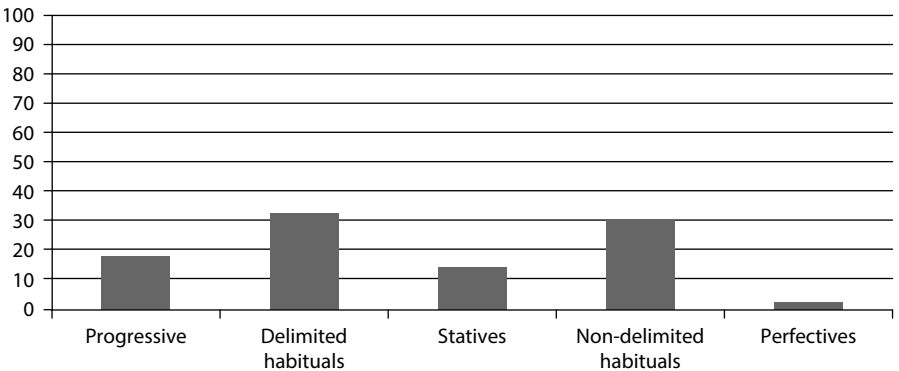

Figure 6.1 Percentage of the use of the progressive *-ing* in Indian English

of grammaticalisation, there is considerable variability in its usage across dialects and idiolects (Schiffman 1999, 81, 104).

explanation to justify this difference between the use of *-ing* in Indian English and in Singapore English. She argues that Chinese systems account for the few instances of the over-extension of the progressive in Singapore English whereas Hindi, the primary language spoken by her Indian subjects, obligatorily marks the imperfective. Indian English speakers, therefore, seem to be "recasting *-ing* as a general imperfective marker" (Sharma 2009, 183).

In this chapter, we investigate the use of the progressive *-ing* marker in Singapore English in more depth. The socio-historical summary given in Sections 1–3 raises several possibilities. Firstly, it is likely that the Indian ethnic group features a variety of English different from the other groups: Indian teachers were instrumental in the early education system, and presently exhibit the highest level of English use as a home language; a faster shift to English in the community (accompanied with more education-induced standardization) is to be expected. Secondly, it is, conversely, possible that differences between ethnic groups are less than obvious, given the numerical predominance of the Chinese population and the absence of segregationist measures (in fact, the presence of integrationist policies plays a significant role); convergence is thus not to be excluded in what remains, after all, a rather small national speech community.

Nonetheless, we stipulate there being at least three varieties of Singapore English, distinguishing between the varieties spoken by the Mandarin speaking Chinese, the Malays, and the Tamils. We explore whether there are differences in the progressive *-ing* marker used by the Chinese, Malays, and Tamils in Singapore English and verify whether a substratist explanation can account for any differences if they exist. Specifically, we investigate (a) whether the progressive is over-extended in all varieties of Singapore English to the same extent and (b) whether the substrate languages, i.e. Singapore Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil can account for any of the differences, if they do exist.

6. Methodology

The present study draws on data collected from the three main ethnic groups via administration of an online questionnaire. The subjects ranged from ages 16 years to 30 years.[7] This age group was chosen because of the Speak Mandarin Campaign (SMC), launched in 1979, which would have unanimously affected the Chinese participants in this study. We thus involved only a younger generation of Singaporeans to be assured that all the Chinese subjects' variety of Singapore English

7. Only one subject was 40 years old and she was Tamil.

would be affected mainly/solely by Singapore Mandarin, given that we are testing whether there is a substrate influence on the participants' use of the progressive *-ing*. We were thus selective in terms of our age group because it was important that all the ethnic groups in our study had the same mother tongue language experience at school.

Only Mandarin speaking Chinese have been chosen to represent the Singapore ethnic Chinese for this study, not only because of the effects of the SMC (which led to Mandarin becoming the dialect spoken by the newer generation of Chinese Singaporeans), but also because it is one of Singapore's official languages and features prominently in the education system. The group chosen for the study would thus be representative of the younger Chinese Singaporeans who study/studied Mandarin at school and who speak it at home with their families. The Malay subjects participating in this study all study/studied Malay at school and also speak it at home. The Tamil Singaporeans represent the Indian subjects in this study. The socio-cultural history outlined in the previous sections makes a strong argument for Dravidian languages having had the most profound influence on a putative Indian Singapore English ethnic variety. For ease of comparison, we have chosen the Tamil ethnic group to represent the Indians because their mother tongue Tamil, besides being one of the official languages in Singapore, is also one of the oldest members of the Dravidian language family in Singapore. Tamil can therefore be reasonably expected to represent the other Dravidian languages that may have had a strong influence on the Indian Singapore English variety. The Tamil speaking subjects in this study all learn/learned Tamil at school and also sometimes speak it at home. This group is ideally positioned to compare against the Hindi speaking Indian subjects in Sharma's (2009) study in order to investigate the substratist explanation in more detail.

There were 32 subjects from each ethnic group. An almost equal number of males and females from each group participated, reducing the possibility of gender bias. All subjects were asked what mother tongue they learnt at school and what language they spoke most of the time at home. Based on their answers, they were placed in one of the three main ethnic groups, i.e. Chinese, Malay, or Tamil. Note that all subjects were either students or working adults who spoke English as an L1.

The questionnaire comprised of four different types of imperfective sentences, i.e. progressives, statives, delimited habituals, and non-delimited habituals as well perfective sentences, which were all combined with the *-ing* marker (see (1) in Section 5 for more detail).

The subjects were given five sentences from each imperfective category, three perfective sentences as well as a few filler sentences. The online survey system automatically mixed them into a random order. The subjects' task was to mark

a given sentence as being either "correct" or "incorrect". If they marked a sentence as being "incorrect", they were asked to provide what they felt was a correct version of the sentence. They were also asked whether the given sentence in the questionnaire was one that they would use in their everyday speech. The subjects were told that there were no right or wrong answers and that the questionnaire was employed to elicit people's opinions, not to test their English language ability. There was evidence that the subjects corrected sentences based on their everyday language use and not on the perceived norms of correctness. One example of this is when given the sentence, 'My knee is paining', one of the informants wrote 'My knee is pain' as the alternative. Note that if a subject marked a given sentence as being incorrect, but then provided an alternative sentence of the same aspectual construction as the given sentence, it was coded as being correct. Also, if the subject marked the given sentence as being incorrect but then claimed that he would still use it in his speech, it was coded as being correct.

7. Results

The results, summarised in Figure 6.2, indicate that all three ethnic groups find progressive predicates combined with the *-ing* marker acceptable almost 100 percent of the time. More than 50 percent of the time, they also mark delimited habituals combined with *-ing* as being correct, with no significant difference amongst the three ethnic groups (χ^2-test, 4 d.f., $p > 0.25$ for all combinations). With regards to non-delimited habituals, however, the Chinese and Malays find them acceptable with *-ing* only 15 percent and 18 percent of the time, respectively. The Tamils, on the other hand, find them acceptable 26 percent of the time. Here the difference is statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) between the Tamils on the one hand and the Chinese and Malays on the other (the difference between the latter two groups being non-significant at $p > 0.125$). In the case of statives, the percentage of acceptability is even lower. The Chinese and Malays find statives with *-ing* acceptable at a rate of only 7 percent and 8 percent, respectively, while the Tamils find them acceptable 15 percent of the time. This difference in the acceptance rates of *-ing* with statives, between the Chinese and Malays versus the Tamils is, again, statistically significant ($p < 0.025$), whereas it is not significant between the Chinese and the Malays ($p > 0.124$).

The percentage of perfective predicates found acceptable with *-ing* is low amongst all three ethnic groups, which is to be expected. This is because the perfective sentences in the questionnaire consisted of punctual verbs (e.g. *fall*) modified by punctual adverbs (e.g. *suddenly),* which created an environment that did

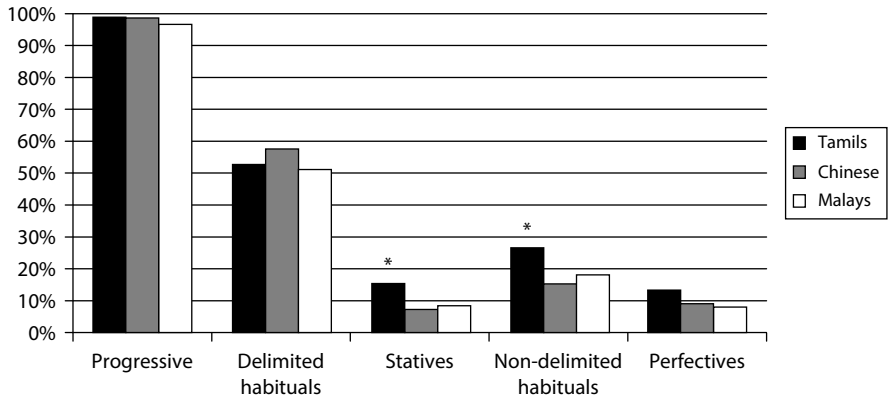

Figure 6.2 Percentage of sentences scored as being correct by the three ethnic groups

not licence the use of the progressive *-ing* marker in either Standard English or basilectal ethnic varieties of SgE. Thus the verbs in the given perfective sentences are only compatible with a perfective aspectual marker and not a progressive one. Interestingly, the results show that even with regard to these perfective sentences, among the three ethnic groups, the Tamils show the highest rate of acceptance of the *-ing* progressive marker. The Tamils mark perfectives combined with *-ing* as being correct 13 percent of the time as opposed to the Chinese and Malays who mark them as being correct only 9 percent and 8 percent of the time respectively. However, these differences are not significant ($p > 0.09$ in all cases).

To summarise, with regard to the predicates that are not acceptable with *-ing* in standard metropolitan varieties of English, namely statives, non-delimited habituals, and perfectives, Tamils show a significantly higher acceptability rate when compared to the Chinese and Malays. Their acceptance of *-ing* with progressive predicates is also one of the highest in comparison with the other ethnic groups.

Interestingly, the rate of the Tamils' acceptability of *-ing* with delimited habituals is low in comparison with the Chinese and almost on a par with the Malays. This is unusual given that the Tamil group consistently outperforms the other two ethnic groups with regard to the acceptability rate of *-ing* with all the other sentence type categories. We would, in fact, expect the Tamil group to rate the acceptability of *-ing* with delimited habituals very high, higher than even the Chinese group, especially since in Standard English, delimited habituals are acceptable with the progressive *-ing* marker. This discrepancy in the results will be addressed in the next section.

8. Discussion

This study is closely modelled on Sharma's (2009) corpus-based study of the over-extension of the progressive *-ing* marker in imperfective and perfective contexts. Sharma investigated this phenomenon in Indian English and in Singapore English, looking at substrate influences from Hindi and Singapore Mandarin to account for her results. She found that in the Singapore component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-Sing), there is a very slight over-extension of *-ing,* which is nowhere near the extent to which *-ing* is over-extended in Indian English (based on ICE-India).

In our study we first propose that there is no single variety of Singapore English and that there are differences in the varieties spoken by the Chinese, Malays, and Tamils, at least in their use of the progressive *-ing* marker. We look at Singapore Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil as being the three main substrate languages that could influence the use of *-ing* in Singapore English and suggest that the grammatical differences in these languages account for the differences in our results.

Like Sharma's (2009) study, our results show that there is indeed evidence of over-extension of the progressive *-ing* marker in all varieties of Singapore English. Our results, however, highlight that the Tamil group shows a significantly higher rate of *-ing* over-extension when compared to the Chinese and Malay groups. This is not surprising if we compare the Singapore Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil aspectual systems, which we claim influence the different varieties of Singapore English, as spoken by the three ethnic groups.

To recall, in Singapore Mandarin the progressive marker *zài* is only used in strictly progressive contexts, while the imperfective marker *-zhe* has a highly variable usage and is in many cases omitted in stative and in many other imperfective contexts. Malay's progressive markers, *sedang* and *meN-,* like *zài* in Mandarin, can only be used in strictly progressive contexts. Note that Malay does not even possess an imperfective marker that can be used in stative contexts. An examination of the Chinese and Malay results suggests, therefore, that both the Chinese and Malay imperfective systems reduce the pressure to mark imperfectivity overtly in the Singapore English spoken by the Chinese and Malays, respectively, in non-progressive contexts. There is a very slight over-extension of the *-ing* marker evidenced in the Chinese and Malay groups, but it is not as pronounced as the over-extension of the *-ing* marker evidenced in the Tamil group.

The substratist explanation proposed by Sharma (2009) for differences between Indic- and Sinitic-influenced English varieties seems, on the surface, to also account for the Tamil's higher rate of acceptance of *-ing* across all the imperfective categories. The Tamil results suggest that the *-ing* marker is possibly a relexified form of the Tamil imperfective marker *kondiru*. This is particularly plausible if we

bear in mind that Tamil uses the same marker, *kondiru*, to denote imperfectivity and it is acceptable with all verb types including progressives and statives.

But while we can trace effects from the Tamil substrate in our study, we find that the overall robustness of the pattern of the over-extension of the *-ing* marker is much higher in Sharma's (2009) study of Indian English (where Hindi is the substrate language in question) when compared to our study of Singapore English, in which Tamil is the substrate language in question. Sharma (2009, 185) states that "Hindi is a strict imperfectivity-marking system, such that all finite clauses must be marked as either perfective or imperfective". Hindi has an imperfective form (non progressive and/or habitual) *-ta,* which is never optional in habitual and stative contexts as well as a progressive form *rahna*, which performs a much stricter function than the broad scope of the English *-ing*. Sharma suggests that "due to its extended range, the form *-ing* appears to equally map to *rahna* and *-ta* and Indian English speakers interpret it as a global imperfectivity marker" (Sharma 2009, 185).

One of the reasons why the substrate effects in our Tamil Singapore English sample are much slighter than what is observed in Sharma's Indian English sample may be due to the differences between the aspectual systems of Tamil and Hindi. Unlike Hindi, where aspect is marked obligatorily, in Tamil it is often not explicitly marked due to pragmatic considerations that are related to politeness, shared perceptions, or the nature of truth propositions etc. (Schiffman 1999, 103). Thus, *-kondiru* does not necessarily occur in imperfective contexts in Tamil even though it is licensed to do so. In many instances where the imperfective is not overtly marked in Tamil, the verb is neutral where aspect is concerned. In some cases, the tense marker or a temporal adverbial in the sentence may convey an aspectual perspective rather than an overt aspectual marker itself.

To return to the case of delimited habituals, which were presented with overt time-bound adverbials in the questionnaire, the results show that Tamils are surprisingly less likely than the Chinese to accept the putative imperfective marker *-ing*. This is the only context where the Tamils do not over-extend the *-ing* marker more than the Chinese and Malays. This result, however, could be explained by the fact that the time-bound adverbials used in the delimited habitual sentences dissuaded the Tamils from using an overt aspectual marker. Recall that in Tamil, aspect marking is optional and tense marking is obligatory. Our substrate account would therefore posit that the temporal adverbial and tense marker already present in the delimited habitual constructions conveyed the imperfective aspectual perspective, without the need for the Tamils to include the *-ing* marker. The higher (though statistically insignificant, $p > 0.25$ in all cases) acceptance rate of *-ing* with delimited habituals by the Chinese, observed in Figure 6.1, could, likewise,

be a result of the function of the Chinese progressive marker *zài* in marking delimited habituals in that language (Yang & Bateman 2002).

To summarise, our study highlights the fact that even within Singapore English varieties, there can be significant differences in how *-ing* is over-extended. The results of our short survey show that there is a significant difference in the grammaticality judgments of statives and non-delimited habituals marked with *-ing* between Tamil respondents on the one hand, and Chinese and Malay respondents on the other. For other imperfectives, however, the difference between the three groups did not prove to be significant. The explanation we offer to account for the differences in ethnic varieties with respect to the *-ing* marking of statives and non-delimited habituals draws on the grammatical means used in the substrate languages involved: the Tamil marker *kondiru* is used to mark all imperfectives, whereas the Chinese marker 在 *zài* and the Malay markers *meN-* and *sedang* are progressive markers that are restricted to "the typical 'action-in-progress' meaning" (Li & Shirai 2000, 24). The progressive markers in Chinese and Malay, in other words, cannot be used with stative (Soh & Nomoto 2009) or punctual/telic predicates which accounts for the low acceptance rate of *-ing* with statives, non-delimited habituals, and even perfectives by the Chinese and Malay subjects. The progressive markers in Chinese and Malay, however, can be combined with delimited habituals (Li & Shirai 2000, 211), which is one of the ways to account for the observation that *-ing* marking has high acceptance rates with delimited habituals in all three groups. However, since delimited habituals are also possible in ENL varieties, it is not necessary to fall back on an explanation involving substrate influence in this particular instance. Our study nonetheless shows that there is a significant difference between Tamils and non-Tamils, i.e. Chinese and Malays, where the latter much more clearly reject the inflection on statives and non-delimited habituals, following the model of standard varieties of native English. Thus, the progress/movement/tendency towards a unified, pan-ethnic Singapore English, while clearly underway, is by no means complete: even though the findings by Tan (2012), for instance, suggest that accent distinctions are eroding, we show that subtle and perhaps fairly stable (and certainly statistically significant) differences among groups can be identified with close analysis.

We have also drawn comparisons with Sharma's (2009) results and have highlighted the fact that, despite the parallels, our results show that the Tamils' over-extension of *-ing* in Singapore English is not at all at the same scale as Hindi speakers' over-extension of *-ing* in Indian English. The results therefore indicate an important difference between Tamil speakers' Singapore English and Hindi speakers' Indian English; in Indian English *-ing* is extended to all imperfective aspectual constructions, whereas this is not the case in Tamil speakers' Singapore

English. We have accounted for this by illustrating the aspectual differences in the respective substrate languages.[8]

In conclusion, it would appear that the aspectual systems of the various substrate languages, at least with respect to the categories explored here, show some evidence of ethnic differences in the grammar of Singapore English, differences which, thus far, have not been noted in the literature (with the possible exception of different rates of copula-deletion, see Sharma & Rickford 2009). We explain this difference by proposing that the grammatical systems of the substrate languages of the informant groups have a direct influence on the resulting varieties of Singapore English. Therefore, accounts that draw on a single substrate language (such as Bao 2005) need to be rethought as providing evidence only for a subset of speakers of Singapore English, namely that associated with said substrate language.

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8. Note that the two studies in question made use of different methodologies. Sharma's (2009) study drew examples from corpus data whereas the present study made use of acceptability ratings collected through a survey.

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CHAPTER 7

Zero articles in Indian Englishes

A comparison of primary and secondary diaspora situations*

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The omission of articles where British or American English require either a definite or indefinite article is a typical feature of Indian English (IndE). Sharma (2005b) found that substrate influence played a role for the use of indefinite *one* in IndE, whereas pragmatic functions (givenness and modification) played a role in the use of zero articles (see also Sedlatschek 2009, 227). Definite *the* and indefinte *a* are also omitted by Fiji Indians in Fiji (Mugler & Tent 2008) and those who have moved to a secondary diaspora in places like New Zealand or Australia. Sharma (2005a) investigated the use of articles by first-generation immigrants from India in the US. Her study shows that zero articles are a feature that is retained in the diaspora context, even by speakers who are otherwise close to using standard, native-like English. The data for this paper come from fieldwork in Fiji (spontaneous conversations) and sociolinguistic interviews conducted in the Fiji Indian Diaspora in Wellington, New Zealand. Recordings from the secondary diaspora include both first- and second-generation migrants, and the study thus investigates whether zero articles are retained in the speech even of people who acquired their English in a predominantly English-speaking environment. The study also aims to link the use of zero articles to informants' construction of identity in the secondary diaspora.

Keywords: variable article use, Fiji Indians, primary and secondary diaspora

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1. Introduction

In many contact varieties of English, definite and indefinite articles are omitted in contexts where they are required in first-language varieties of English (ENL). This holds both for institutionalized varieties of English as a second language (ESL) and for learner Englishes (EFL).[1] It is therefore not surprising that we find "zero" or "null" articles[2] in different varieties of Indian English (IndE), both on the sub-continent (see e.g. Agnihotri et al. 1994 or Sedlatschek 2009) and in diaspora contexts (see e.g. Mesthrie 1992; Mugler & Tent 2008).

Sharma (2005a; 2005b) investigated the use of articles by first-generation immigrants from India in the US. Her study shows that zero articles are a feature that is retained in the diaspora context, even by speakers who are otherwise close to using standard, native-like English. No previous study has compared variable article usage in primary and secondary diaspora situations. Such a comparative study could show whether first-generation migrants are likely to have adapted to the majority ENL speakers in the secondary diaspora. A study that also samples second-generation migrants would further enable us to investigate whether zero articles are retained in the speech even of people who acquired their English in a predominantly English-speaking environment. Taking such a comparative angle is the main aim of this paper. The focus will be on Indo-Fijians in Fiji and New Zealand.

The Indo-Fijian diaspora is of particular interest for several reasons. In the primary diaspora in Fiji, Indians at one point (the 1960s) outnumbered the indigenous population and thus constituted an ethnic majority rather than a minority. Large-scale migration of Indo-Fijians to Canada, the US, Australia and New Zealand started in the late 1980s (see Section 2.1). Of the possible secondary diaspora contexts, New Zealand is particularly interesting because of its relatively small and homogeneous host community and the resulting greater "visibility" of the Indian diaspora:

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1. See e.g. Platt et al. (1984), Williams (1987), Sand (2004) and Filppula et al. (2009). A critique of these and related studies can be found in Sharma (2012b). Williams (1987, 167) discusses variable article usage in the context of similarities across institutionalized second language varieties and second languages acquired in a native speaker context – as an example of "vulnerability" of English, i.e. constructions that are difficult to acquire for both types of learner (NSs mark definiteness, ESL speakers mark specificity). In addition to article omission, both ESL and EFL speakers insert articles where they are not typically used by ENL speakers.

2. Sharma (2005b, 545) argues that, since the term "zero article" has been used in reference to bare NPs in standard English, studies of article omission in nonstandard Englishes (including contact varieties such as Indian English) should use the term "null article". In this paper, "zero" is also used to refer to instances of article omission in Fiji Indian English.

> Although the Indian diaspora in New Zealand is small on a global scene, the issues of diversity and multiple identities are amply illustrated […]. Further, with New Zealand's relatively small population of just over 4 million, and a proactive immigration policy, the proportion of its population that identifies as Indian has increased rapidly over the last two decades. (Friesen & Kearns 2008, 212)[3]

The main reason for choosing zero articles as a case study is that they seem to be such a persistent feature of English in Indian diaspora contexts. Sharma (2005a, 194) found that they were a relatively "[…] stable, incipient non-standard system shared to some extent by all speakers". The fact that speakers self-correct occasionally and that hypercorrect use of articles is attested indicates that zero articles are above the level of speakers' awareness. At the same time, my informants do not mention them as a feature typical of Indian Englishes (unlike accent and aspects of para-verbal communication), so they are unlikely to be a candidate for a sociolinguistic marker or even stereotype. If they are found in the speech of second-generation migrants this is likely to be the result of either substrate influence or dialect contact with speakers from the first generation.

From a structural point of view, zero articles are interesting because they are not simply learner errors but arise from typological differences between languages that have articles and those that do not, as Platt, Weber and Ho (1984, 52–59) point out: languages like English mark the difference between definite and indefinite NPs whereas those like Chinese and Hindi mark the difference between specific and non-specific. Thus, article usage in speakers of Indian Englishes cannot simply be attributed to different degrees of proficiency. This finds corroborative evidence in Sharma's (2005a, 205) comparative study of article usage and other features:

> Even if Indian English article use derives from late stage SLA, at least two aspects of the new usage suggest that it may be a relatively stable system. First, the more proficient speakers in the continuum show little evidence of being at other intermediate learning stages, and so the contrast between their article absence rates and lack of other SLA features is quite stark; a couple of these individuals have grown up using English and consider it to be on an equal footing with their other native languages. Second, speakers share a strikingly similar system of principles for article use, deriving from an interaction between language transfer and discourse universals […].

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3. Friesen and Kearns (2008, 212) continue to point out that "the impacts of the Indian diaspora on the New Zealand 'mainstream' have been considerable, in cultural, economic, social and political terms." An example of this would be the fact that the national museum (Te Papa) organized various exhibitions that featured the Indian diaspora, among them one on Indian weddings (see http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/LEARNING/AAINAA/default.htm).

Furthermore, taking typological differences into account will explain not only the absence of indefinite articles in non-specific contexts but also the use of *one* and the demonstrative determiners *this/these* and *that/those* in specific contexts (for more examples, see Section 4.1.2).[4]

(1) <$B><#>mom got it from *one nurse* (ICE-FJ, S1A-014)

(2) but I come back to my- in *this country*- Ø new *country* where I belong to now. (NZ-Fji-1, female, MS)

Example (2) is interesting because it shows variation between a demonstrative and a zero article, but the zero article is used in an NP where the head noun is premodified by an adjective.

Previous studies (Agnihotri et al. 1994, 184f. and Sharma 2005b) have shown that articles are more likely to be used in NPs without premodification, while premodification increases the likelihood of article omission. According to Sharma's (2005b, 558) study, "bare nouns require overt articles, modified nouns are more likely to be associated with omission of the article, and quantified nouns actually favor null articles". Sharma (2005b, 551) has also shown that indefinite articles are more likely to be left out with non-specific NPs, something that she attributes to transfer and the typological difference between English and Hindi. The usage of definite and zero definite articles did not produce such an obvious pattern in the English of her informants: "Where a gap occurs in the L1 (i.e., no definite article), we do not find a matching absence of use in the L2 English grammar; instead, there appears to be a nearly even rate of overt and null use of the definite article" (Sharma 2005b, 552). Thus, while article usage in Sharma's study reflected degree of proficiency to some extent, it also showed signs of stabilizing new dialect formation as far as the distribution of indefinite null articles was concerned.

4. Examples from the Fiji component of the *International Corpus of English* (ICE-FJ) are identified by their file names. Examples from the New Zealand diaspora project are referred to by generation (NZ-Fiji-1 vs. NZ-Fiji-2), gender and the speaker code. Emphasis has been added throughout. According to Sharma (2012a, 2087), language contact with different first languages has resulted in regional stratification of this variable: "[…] *this*, *that*, and *some* are used more frequently by South Indian speakers in place of English articles *a* and *the* as Dravidian languages permit the use of demonstrative and quantifier forms in these contexts." Mugler & Tent (2008, 551) refer to indefinite *one* as "perhaps the most distinctive characteristic of the Pure Fiji English determiner system […]" pointing out that this is something typical of creoloid and L2 Englishes.

The hypotheses to be tested in this paper are that:[5]

1. Variable article usage will exhibit a growing closeness to ENL usage in the following way:
   a. speakers in the secondary diaspora will omit fewer articles than speakers in the primary diaspora;
   b. within the secondary diaspora, second-generation Indo-Fijians will omit fewer articles than first-generation Indo-Fijians;
   c. within the first generation, those speakers that migrated to New Zealand before the onset of puberty will omit fewer articles than speakers who migrated as adults.
2. With respect to different types of articles and NPs it can be expected that, overall,
   a. indefinite articles will be more commonly omitted in non-specific NPs whereas the absence of a definite article in the L1 is less likely to show a direct influence;
   b. article omission is more likely to occur in NPs that show premodification whereas article retention is more likely to occur in otherwise bare NPs.

Sharma (2005a, 196) points out that it is important to link results on language use to evidence on attitudes towards in-group and out-group language use in the diaspora. I will therefore discuss the quantitative results against speaker attitudes in the secondary diaspora, taking into account the maintenance of transnational ties (see Sharma, this volume).

In Section 2 of my paper, I will give some background on the Indian diaspora in Fiji and the secondary Fiji Indian Diaspora in New Zealand. For the secondary diaspora, qualitative data from the interviews will be used to evaluate the different degrees to which transnational ties are being maintained. In Section 3, I will describe the subset of recordings on which this paper is based, define the variable context investigated, discuss problems of categorization, and detail data retrieval and analysis. The results will be presented and discussed in Section 4.

5. Note that these hypotheses abstract away from possible differences amongst informants caused by their educational background. Where available, this factor will be considered in the evaluation of the results.

2. The Indian diaspora in Fiji and the secondary Fiji Indian Diaspora

2.1 Indians in Fiji

Indians who migrated to Fiji are largely part of the second[6] or colonial diaspora, when large numbers of Indians where recruited as indentured labourers to work on the tea, cotton, and sugar cane plantations of the British empire. The "recruitment" did not always happen on a voluntary basis and working conditions on the plantations were very close to slavery. The contract or "agreement" that the labourers signed came to be referred to as *girmit* and the indentured labourers referred to themselves as *girmitiyas*. Migration of indentured labourers to the Fiji Islands started relatively late, namely in 1879.[7] In the thirty years of *girmit* migration, almost 61,000 people arrived from India to work on the sugar cane plantations of the newly established British colony; the majority (45,000) came from modern-day Uttar Pradesh and Bihar in the north and the remainder from the South of India; they were from different casts and represented a cross-section, socially, of Indian agricultural society (Lal 2006, 46ff. and Srebnik 2008). From 1900 onwards, free Indian settlers arrived in Fiji who were mainly of Punjabi and Gujerati origin (the former mostly agriculturalists, the latter merchants).

Ethnically, Fijians and Indians stayed compartmentalised, as Srebrnik (2008, 91) points out:

> There has been little in the way of cultural borrowing or adaptation and virtually no inter-marriage between the groups. As a result, and in contrast to more integrated countries such as Mauritius or Trinidad, no "creolised" culture has developed.[8]

Consequently, a complex political situation and ethnic tensions in Fiji have led to a series of military coups (see e.g. Srebrnik 2008).[9] The first one in 1987 directly opened the sluices of Indian emigration from Fiji. The Indian population, which at one point constituted a little more than 50 per cent, has dropped to under

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6. Historians (e.g. Lal 2006) distinguish three phases, the first diaspora, which refers to the trading movements of Indian merchants up to the beginning of the nineteenth century; the second diaspora set in after the abolition of slavery in the first half of the nineteenth century; the third diaspora is the post-war migration of professionals that is still in full swing.

7. The first colony to receive labourers from India was Mauritius in 1834.

8. For Indian English in Trinidad and Tobago, see the paper by Leung & Deuber (this volume).

9. Since the constitutional crisis in 2009, Fiji has been administered by an interim government and, at the time of writing, is still awaiting democratic elections.

38 per cent.[10] In the *Encyclopedia of the Indian Diaspora*, the current situation is summed up as follows (Lal 2006, 382):

> After more than a century, Indo-Fijians still struggle for political equality in the land of their birth. The deeply felt but often unacknowledged need of the human soul to belong, to have a place of one's own, to be rooted, is denied them. How long, they ask, should a people live in a place before they are allowed to call it home? 'From Immigration to Emigration': that may in time come to be the epitaph of Fiji's Indo-Fijian community.

2.2 Indo-Fijians in New Zealand

2.2.1 *Migration and demographics*

The 1987 coup coincided with a significant change in migration policy in New Zealand, making migration to the South Pacific neighbour a lot easier than it had previously been (see Friesen & Kearns 2008, 213). Since that coup, more than 120,000 Indians have left Fiji for Australia, New Zealand, the US, and Canada (Lal 2006, 282; Srebrnik 2008, 90). Obtaining accurate statistics on the size of the Fiji Indian Diaspora in New Zealand is difficult, however, as the census data tend to list people as "Fiji-born" and do not give additional information on the ethnic background of those who emigrated from Fiji; in addition, the second-generation Fiji Indians do not appear in the statistics at all.[11] In the self-identification part of the census in New Zealand, "Fiji Indian" or "Indo-Fijian" are not provided as labels.[12] The 2006 census gives 37,746[13] as the figure for people of Fiji origin, but this figure must comprise ethnic Fijians and Indians, some people of mixed ethnicity and even, possibly, people of other ethnic backgrounds from Fiji. A much more conservative figure is therefore based on the information of the birthplace of Indian residents in New Zealand from the *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings*.[14]

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10. See http://www.statsfiji.gov.fj [last accessed 05.07.2013].

11. See, for instance, the New Zealand census homepage at http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/2006-census-data/quickstats-about-culture-identity/quickstats-about-culture-and-identity [last visited 09.22.2008].

12. Similar problems of obtaining accurate statistics on the Fiji Indian Diaspora also apply to Australia (Jan Ten, p.c.).

13. http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/2006-census-data [last accessed 09.22.2008].

14. http://www.stats.govt.nz/datasets/population/census-of-population-and-dwellings.htm [last accessed 09.22.2008].

Table 7.1 Birthplace of Indian residents in New Zealand (1981, 2001)

	NZ	Fiji	India	Other	Total
1981	5,160 (44.5%)	1,617 (14.0%)	3,615 (31.2%)	1,185 (10.2%)	11,577
2001	17,946 (28.65%)	19,593 (31.3%)	19,053 (30.4%)	6,054 (9.7%)	62,646

2.2.2 *Transnationalism*

In this section, I will briefly outline the notion of the term "transnationalism" and illustrate the degree to which it plays a role in the Fiji Indian Diaspora in New Zealand. Friesen & Kearns (2008, 225) define transnationalism as "a set of ongoing linkages". These can either be seen as consisting of actual social networks spanning across national borders (social morphology), as a "diaspora consciousness" that involves dual or even multiple identities, or as social reproduction (Friesen & Kearns 2008, 220, based on Vertovec 1999). By "diaspora consciousness" they mean that, depending on the circumstances, "a person may be a Bengali, an Indian and/or a New Zealander of Indian, Fijian or other origin" (Friesen & Kearns 2008, 225). On an everyday basis of cultural practice and thus social reproduction, transnationalism may involve "hybrid forms of fashion, music and other art forms […]" (Friesen & Kearns 2008, 220) "[…] through festivals like Diwali […] as well as through websites, media attention, the increasing profile of Bollywood and even languages regularly heard on the street" (Friesen & Kearns 2008, 226).

In my fieldwork I discussed all three aspects of transnationalism with informants. They maintained social networks with their family and friends in Fiji to varying degrees, drew on the various options available to them for their identity construction in different contexts, and commented on cultural and religious practice that linked them to their Fiji Indian origin, but also showed aspects of hybridisation. It is clearly beyond the scope of this paper to give detailed background information on these three dimensions of transnationalism for every informant in the sample. In this section, I will briefly discuss the question whether, with large-scale migration from Fiji since the late 1980s and a recent increase in migration from India, a pan-Indian identity is emerging in the New Zealand context. According to Friesen & Kearns (2008, 222), diaspora consciousness as an aspect of transnationalism is evidenced in the Indian diaspora in New Zealand:

> The duality of being Indian and New Zealander is one aspect of this consciousness, but the multiple identities of many Indian New Zealanders is also apparent. Many ethnic associations have been formed to facilitate the maintenance of a specific Indian regional culture. […] At the same time, there is a strong imperative to establishing a pan-Indian identity and political presence in New Zealand.

The subjects that Friesen & Kearns interviewed did not all agree on the last aspect, i.e. whether a pan-Indian identity existed in New Zealand (2008, 222f.). Interestingly, they found a difference of opinion between the Indians from India and those from Fiji:

> Even these [Indo-Fijian community, M.H.] have a sense of 'Indianness', stemming from the acquisition by most Indo-Fijians of Fiji Hindi, from a sense of solidarity arising from the binary polarisation of the Fijian political system and from their love of Bollywood. The last of these was referred to by others as a pan-Indian phenomenon, since even many of those whose first language is not Hindi are passionate about Bollywood. (Friesen & Kearns 2008, 223)

My informants commented on the experience of being "othered" by Indians from India at times, and some of this seems to be based on the history of the Fiji Indian Diaspora:

> yeah/ the- the experiences that I've had with people from India is they don't consider you/ people from Fiji as one of them as- as being full-- fully Indian// um// and that's because of the whole indenture process of what happened there um// they think that// it's hard to- they don't think that you're one of them/ so I find that they have sort of negative attitudes towards people from- uh Indians from Fiji and especially in- in New Zealand like there's- there's quite a lot from both- both countries and when you like they don't really interming – there's not really much intermingling like the- you know the sort of Fiji Indians all have their own little community and their own little thing going on their own little associations and things whereas um/ the India Indians will have the same/ there's not a lot of intermingling going on because of that sort of negative connotations// (34:50) (NZ-Fji-2, female, DV)

The awareness of boundaries may also be reinforced linguistically, i.e. by the fact that Fiji Indians speak a markedly different variety of Hindi (see Section 2.3):

> yeah yeah um/ yeah/ but um/ it's <laughs>/ cause you know our Hindi is broken from India so when you talk to India Indians they um/ think that you can't talk it properly so/ it's quite interesting having conversations with them about that <laughs>/
> […]
> Indians from Fiji obviously we speak the same type of Hindi/ the broken Hindi <laughs>/ so um it does make you feel a bit conscious though of how you're sounding and how you'e saying/ … (NZ-Fji-2, female, DV)

Informants are conscious of a trend towards using English amongst Fiji Indians:

> […] I guess the reason I talk so much in English is because/ like I- I just have such a diverse group of friends and it's just easier and the same with my brother/ like the people that we've interacted with are mo- mostly uh raised here as well even if they were born in Fiji like family friends and what not they were all raised here the ones we have known so my parents have known them for quite a while so/ everyone converses in English like it's just easier just you know/ mm/ (NZ-Fji-2, female, DV)

In the long run, this may actually foster the development of a pan-Indian identity in New Zealand, something that appears to have become possible for the second-generation immigrants (despite a strong sense of boundaries between different groups):

> […] with my parents' generation/ they're all pretty much <laughs> sticking with their own// I'd- I can't really imagine them all being in one/ like just in one Indian group// uhm/ even though at uni/ like you're friends with different types of Indians/ but I don't really know whether/ uhm/ whether it'll all one day eventually become one// like I don't really see it happening/ just I don't know I guess 'cause we just see like our parents/ like they just socialise within their own// like my my parents are uhm friends with a lot of like different types of Indians/ but uhm it is always like a division and I think that probably does have quite a bit of an influence on my generation as well/ even though you do socialise with different Indians but/ I don't know if that would one day eventually become a whole/ as such because like the different Indian cultures always have uhm like different social like social events// uhm like there'd be like/ like a Punjabi/ they have like a social every now and then/ same with Fijian Indians/ same with Gujeratis/ but they have their own different social events// but then there's also times uhm/ have you ever heard of Asia 2000// ah// uhm it started quite a while ago/ but uhm every year around Diwali time/ in like the civic centre and uhm in the town hall there'd be just like a weekend where it's just celebrating uhm Ø Indian New Year/ and so they have like dance competitions and they have just like different performances/ different stalls/ they'd like have a bit of outdoor and indoor/ just like everyone/ like even non-Indians/ like go to it as well 'cause they're just interested in that and everything// and that brings everyone together 'cause like all the different Indian cultures go as well as non-Indians/ but that's uhm yeah kind of showing like a bit of a development/ that it's not so like segregated so much/ like people are uhm coming together with different Indian cultures […] (NZ-Fji-2, female, SiN)

Most of my informants maintained close contact with relatives and friends both in the Fiji Islands and secondary diaspora contexts through regular visits.[15] Some (but obviously not all) had also visited India. A factor that fosters the maintenance of transnational ties for the Fiji Indian secondary diaspora is the continued migration from Fiji. SN, a second-generation female informant, mentioned the recent arrival of relatives who brought with them their baby son and thus provided her with an opportunity to use Hindi rather than English with this relative. Continued migration from Fiji might thus, to some extent, counteract the on-going language shift from Hindi to English in this community (see Section 2.3).

2.3 Sociolinguistics of language contact in the primary and secondary diaspora

As in other contexts of the colonial diaspora, a special, local variety of Hindi developed in Fiji through language and dialect contact but it also has characteristics of a former pidgin variety. Fiji Hindi, according to Siegel (1987, 187) is "a nativized immigrant koiné of second generation Indians, a stable linguistic variety which results from contact between varieties which are subsystems of the same linguistic system". Fiji Hindi is the mother tongue of the majority of Fiji Indians in Fiji today, but it remains primarily a spoken variety;[16] in school (if it is taught), standard Hindi is used alongside English. In addition, English is favoured over Hindi as a school subject and medium of instruction by the Indian community:

> The Indians are conscious of the privileged position of the Fijians especially with regard to land and see in the acquisition of English, a means of advancement, at least a secure job and possibly employment overseas. (Geraghty 1984, 70)

As a result, a lot of Fiji Indians, while growing up with a variety of Hindi as their mother tongue, are literate in English but not in standard Hindi, where the Devanagari script may pose an additional obstacle to obtaining literacy skills, especially in the absence of formal schooling. English is the first language of a small minority of people in Fiji, but mostly those of a mixed Fijian and European background (Tent & Mugler 2008, 235). English is the language that dominates the media and it was used for Parliamentary debates until the constitutional crisis in

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15. At the time that I was revising this article, for instance, one of my informants told me that she and her older daughter were about to attend the wedding of one of her nieces in Canada while her husband was due to fly out to Hamburg to attend the wedding of one of his nephews.

16. Prasad (in preparation) describes the standardizing grammar of Fiji Hindi, which is written using the Latin alphabet, e.g. in text messages.

2009. It is the lingua franca of Fiji and the second language of most native Fijians and Fiji Indians. It is spoken with varying degrees of proficiency; but as detailed in Section 3.1, the data used for this study come from acrolectal speakers of Fiji English (FE) with Hindi as their first language.[17] There is both overlap and variation between the English spoken by Fijians in Fiji and those of Indian background.[18]

Shameem's (1995) study of the secondary diaspora in Wellington, New Zealand, found relatively high (but declining) proficiency levels in Fiji Hindi among Fiji-born teenagers in the community; more importantly still, she found evidence of a declining use of Fiji Hindi (FH) in the home and predicted the imminent loss of both Fiji and standard Hindi in the community:

> At present the situation seems to be that, unless the individual or the community as a whole makes a conscious decision to maintain their language, FH proficiency will continue to decline and almost certainly the language will not be spoken at all by the next NZ-born generation of Indo-Fijians in Wellington.
>
> (Shameem 1995, 298)

Shameem collected her data in 1991 and 1993. Even though my fieldwork did not attempt to validate her results, it was obvious that the youngest children at Hindi school in Wellington, while probably maintaining a good level of passive knowledge, were struggling even with simple utterances like the Hindi equivalent of *I am a boy* or *My name is…* In other words, the Fiji Indian community in Wellington appears to be one undergoing language shift from Fiji Hindi to English.

To sum up, while the Fiji Indians in Fiji are speakers of English as an institutionalized second language in a country where two vernacular languages – Fijian and Fiji Hindi – are in widespread daily use, those who have migrated to New Zealand are surrounded by a majority of ENL speakers. Like a lot of minority

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17. Even though other Indian languages (e.g. Punjabi and Gujerati) are spoken by some Fiji Indians, the language most widely understood and spoken is Fiji Hindi. (On Indian languages other than Hindi, see e.g. Mugler (1998).)We did not sample any speakers with another Indian language for the spoken conversations of ICE-Fiji. Only four Fiji Indians in our sample of spontaneous conversations claimed to having had English as their first language, two of these from a mixed family background (Fijian and Indian). Native Fijians claim English as their first language more often in the spontaneous conversations sampled for ICE-Fiji.

18. For a detailed study of similarities and differences between the two Englishes as regards the use of prepositions, see Zipp (2014). She also provides a more detailed account of the sociolinguistic background of English in Fiji. For the status of Fiji Indian English along the stages of Schneider's (2007) developmental model of new Englishes, see Zipp (this volume). For a recent study of Fijian-Fiji English, see Biewer (forthcoming).

language communities, they have to invest into keeping their community language alive, e.g. in the local Hindi school.[19]

3. Data and data retrieval

3.1 Recordings

The data for this study come from fieldwork conducted in New Zealand (2007/08) and Fiji (2010). The former were obtained in sociolinguistic interviews with the fieldworker, mostly with one informant at a time, but occasionally also with groups of informants. A subset of interviews (six first-generation informants and three second-generation informants; see Table 7.2) were selected for this study. All speakers in the secondary diaspora are fluent speakers of English with at least secondary if not tertiary education (adults). To a certain extent, this reflects the immigration policies of New Zealand, which favour skilled and highly educated immigrants over those with minimal education (see Friesen & Kearns 2008, 217). As indicated in the introduction, the data within the first generation is further sub-divided into those speakers that migrated to New Zealand as adults (MS, SaS, SN, PM) and those who migrated shortly before puberty (SS, NK).

Table 7.2a First-generation speakers in the NZ secondary diaspora

Speaker initials	Gender	Age	Occupation	Migration (year)	Background
MS	female	50s	school teacher/care-giver	1988	married to a NZer
SaS	male	60s	journalist	1987	spent time in GB and NZ before migration
SN	female	50s	school-teacher/consultant	1988	actively involved in Hindi School
PM	male	60s	diplomat/manager	1987	studied in NZ
SS	female	20s	social worker	1988	was younger than ten when family came to NZ
NK	female	20s	single mother, went to polytech	1987	was younger than ten when family came to NZ

19. See http://www.hindischool.wellington.net.nz/ [last accessed 20.06.2012]. The Hindi School in Wellington is run by volunteers, who invest a substantial amount of their free time in trying to keep the community language alive.

Table 7.2b Second-generation speakers in the NZ secondary diaspora

Speaker initials	Gender	Age	Occupation	Residence in NZ since	Background
NL	male	10s	student	NZ-born	spent extended periods in Fiji
SiN	female	20s	student	1988	was less than a year old when family migrated
DV	female	20s	student	1988	was four when family migrated

Table 7.3 Fiji Indians from Fiji (spontaneous conversations from ICE-FJ)

ICE-FJ file name	Speaker 1	Speaker 2
S1A-014	female, 35–39	female, 20–24
S1A-020	male, 20–24	male, 20–24
S1A-021	male, 20–24	male, 20–24
S1A-030	female, 16–19	female, 16–19
S1A-031	male, 30–34	male, 45–49
S1A-044	female, 25–29	male, 25–29

The comparative data from Fiji are taken from the spontaneous conversations sampled for the Fiji component of the *International Corpus of English* (ICE-FJ).[20] These were recorded on the campus of the University of the South Pacific (USP) during a field trip to Suva in August/September 2010. To meet the requirements of the ICE sampling frame, only acrolectal speakers of FE were sampled, and all the Indian informants from Fiji can thus be considered fluent users of English as a second language. Six files (each approximately 2,000 words) and a total of twelve speakers were selected (for details, see Table 7.3). The first language of all informants included in this study as well as the first language of their parents is Fiji Hindi.

As far as the two diaspora contexts are concerned, the study is based on slightly different kinds of data: spontaneous conversations from the primary and sociolinguistic interview data from the secondary diaspora. The question is whether the interview situation – i.e. interaction with a speaker from outside the community (on several levels) – is likely to have had a significant impact on the use of articles. In general, speakers are likely to have adapted to the relatively formal situation and will be monitoring their speech more carefully than in interaction

20. See http://www.research-projects.uzh.ch/p14682.htm for further information.

with peers. The following exchange shows that this does not necessarily influence the use (or non-use) of articles:

(3) Interviewer: Did you have *a traditional Indian wedding*?
Informant: No no just Ø *registry marriage*. Yeah. (NZ-Fji-1, female, MS)

In the interview situation, informants might at best be omitting slightly fewer articles than they would be in a spontaneous conversation. Some passages in the conversations recorded in Fiji, on the other hand, show that informants are often very aware of the "outsider" collecting the data, even if (as was the case) the field-worker is not present during the recording. This can be illustrated with the following example where speaker A explains what *grog* is (a highly unlikely speech act with a local):

(4) <$A><#>grog is <}><->a</-><,><=>a</=></}> Fijian drink and we <}><->use</-><,><=>drink</=></}> a lot of grog it's a <,>traditional Fijian drink <„> and <„> we are continuing <}><->with the</-><=>with our</=></}> tradition <{><[><,></[> every time we <?>come into our home</?> (ICE-FJ, S1A-021)

In other words, even in the spontaneous conversations recorded in Fiji, a lot of the informants are probably using their most standard-like variety. Again, this does not mean that informants are not omitting articles. The following example from the same conversation illustrates this:

(5) <$B><#>ok right now I don't have any <„> but I had in Ø *past* <„> <}> <->she</-> uh <=>she</=></}> a hot girl so I had *a good luck*

Note that this utterance also contains a hypercorrect indefinite article, probably triggered by the relative formality of the situation (and a zero copula, another feature found in many contact varieties of English).

On the whole, my data are likely to be more homogeneous than Sharma's (2005a; 2005b) data because all informants use English on a regular basis, i.e. it is a strong or even dominant language for them. In Sharma's study, the degree of bilingualism amongst her first generation migrants was an important factor. In my study, the Indians in Fiji constitute a relatively homogenous group of acrolectal ESL speakers. In the secondary diaspora, the degree of assimilation to the host country is likely to play a more important role than degrees of bilingualism.

3.2 Definition of the linguistic variable

As pointed out in the introduction, the focus in this paper is on variable article usage in contexts where ENL varieties require either a definite or an indefinite article. I will briefly define these contexts in this section and then move on to discuss some problematic cases. Problems concern variability in ENL varieties, patterns typical of (Fiji) Indian English, and the fact that the data derive from unscripted speech.

One aim of this study is to enable comparability with Sharma's (2005a; 2005b) findings. I therefore tried to follow her definition of the variable as closely as possible. The following are the examples of definite (6) and indefinite (7) null articles that she gives (Sharma 2005a, 200f.):

(6) I asked Ø bus driver which way to go.

(7) a. I'm looking for Ø job. (*non-specific*)
b. I met Ø friend of yours. (*specific*)

Contexts in which articles are optional in ENL Englishes were excluded from the counts. This is the case with plural NPs ((*The*) *students were late for class*), proper names, in particular names of countries (e.g. *Gambia* vs. *the Gambia*),[21] and therefore the following instances of zero articles and a hypercorrect article were excluded from the analysis:

(8) a. <$B><#>well I <{><-><?>was</?></-><=>managed</=></}> to watch some of the games <,> semifinal final and some of the <?>full</?> matches <,,> well my team did not actually win <,> <?>it was Ø *Netherlands*</?> (ICE-FJ, S1A-021)
b. <$A><#><[>uh</[><{> <,>yeah <,,> my team was also <,> Ø *Netherlands* (ICE-FJ, S1A-021)

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21. Since Kjellmer's (2002) study on article use with names of countries has revealed some surprising results, I decided to exclude this variable context altogether, despite the fact that an article might be obligatory with country names that have a plural form (Jan Tent, p.c.). In spoken commentary or news writing, however, the article is occasionally omitted even in ENL varieties, as the following examples from COCA illustrates:

(i) Ambulances and fire trucks rushed to deal with what is one of the worst disasters in *Netherlands* history. (COCA, 1992, SPOK)

(ii) Was identified by scouts of Dutch power Ajax (Amsterdam) in 1996 and brought to *Netherlands*. (COCA, 2000, NEWS)

(iii) Not just because of *Netherlands* and Mexico, whose enthusiastic fans are expected to flock to the central Florida city. (COCA, 1994, NEWS)

c. <$B><#>though it managed to beat *the* <{><[>*Brazil* <,> no?</[>
(ICE-FJ, S1A-021)

Even though plural NPs allow for optional article usage in standard English, instances with quantifiers often require an article as part of the quantifier phrase. Sharma coded for modification and quantification[22] and therefore included plural nouns in her analysis (2005b, 547, 548), giving the following as an examples: *It's a problem for a lot of families* and *In fact you find Ø lot of Andhra guys here rather than Bangalorians*.

3.2.1 *Optional article use in standard English*

One problem for article use in different Englishes is that there are a host of exceptional instances of optionality. Not all can be discussed here in great detail. The example that Sharma (2005a, 201) gives is *(the) taxation of income;* further examples given in Sharma (2005b, 563) are fixed constructions such as *most of the N*, *all of the N*, *such a N* and adverbial uses of phrases like *a little* and *a lot.* Additional contexts would be nouns with single role referents (e.g. *queen, president, professor, manager*), which show variable article usage when they are used as subject complements in ENL varieties (see Hundt fc.-a). Thus, in the following example, only *sugar mill* (but not *manager*) was counted as an example of a null definite article:

(9) But she is still there cos her husband is *manager* of Ø *sugar mill*.
(NZ-Fji-1, female, MS)

By extension, this also includes contexts like the following one where *MC (master of ceremonies*) is a single-role referent on a particular occasion:

(10) Um I just was *a MC* to a wedding last weekend. (NZ-Fji-1, male, PM)

The definition of the variable is further confounded by the fact that there is both ongoing change (see e.g. Rastall 1995; Ilson 1995) and regional variation. A possible candidate for ongoing change is the following example from Friesen and Kearns (2008, 212):

22. As Sharma (2005b, 547) points out, "[t]he category of "quantified" […] was fairly broadly interpreted and included ranking adjectives (e.g., *the first N, the last N, the best N*), quantifying phrases (e.g., *a lot of N, a few of N, the whole N*), and numeral modifiers (e.g., *the eleventh N*).

(11) The significance of Auckland as *migrant destination* is again illustrated in the fact that 71 per cent of the Indian population added to the New Zealand total between 1986 and 2001 was based in Auckland […].[23]

Article use is also variable in ENL varieties with institutional nouns, especially if insiders refer to the senate of a university or experts discussing politics refer to the government or the cabinet. It is therefore difficult to decide whether the following instances of a bare NP uses of *cabinet* and *government* would have to be included among the null articles or not (the example is part of the spoken ICE-FJ component but from a file not included in this study):

(12) A: good evening/ welcome to have your say// it's been a dramatic past eight hours starting with *cabinet* this morning/ and the consequent rejection of a draft memorandum of agreement with the fiji islands council of trade unions by *government*// (S1B-026)

A shibboleth of regional variation between British and American English, for instance, are phrases such as *be in/go to (the) hospital* (see e.g. Bolinger 1996; Algeo 2006; Hundt fc.-b).

On this problem, Sharma (2005b, 563) remarks in a footnote:

> For the purposes of this study, standard British and American English are treated as generally equivalent systems. This is not always the case, as in dialectal variants such as *in (the) hospital*. Such cases would have been omitted from the dataset, but none were encountered during coding.

They did occur in my data (see example (13)) but were excluded from the analysis.

(13) <$B><#>my dad my dad is good <,,> recovered really well after <,,> being in *the hospital* for four days (ICE-FJ, S1A-014)

All instances where article usage is variable in L1 English were omitted, even though they are at times difficult to group under a particular heading, as the following instance:

(14) I've got *a* great *affection* for India and um I'm always proud of India's achievements because um there's a part of us which will always be rooted in India. (NZ-Fji-1, male, SaS)

23. In the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA), there is only one example in a set of 17 occurrences retrieved with the search string *significance of N as* without an article preceding the following noun.

The problem with optional article usage in ENL varieties is that it makes for a certain amount of inter-annotator disagreement and thus comparisons between different studies on zero articles have to be taken with a grain of salt.

3.2.2 *Features of Fiji Indian English and (Fiji) Indian expressions*

In Fiji (Indian) English, some plural nouns are not marked for number. Grammatically, they should be treated like plural nouns, however, and they were therefore excluded from the statistics like all other plural nouns. An example would be the following use of the set phrase *back in the days*:

(15) <$B><#><[>yeah exactly <,> *back in the day*</[><{> when the mobiles <{><[><,> first started (ICE-FJ, S1A-044)

Some phrasal expressions have indigenized variants in IndE. One example are light verb constructions, which are also attested without indefinite articles in IndE (see Hoffmann et al. 2011). The patterns with the indefinite article were therefore extracted from the transcripts despite the fact that no instances with a null article are attested in my data.

(16) And he said "Oh everybody says 'Oh can I *have a bite* can I *have a bite*?'" (NZ-Fji-1, female, SN)

More problematic are instances where a definite article is used instead of an indefinite article (or vice versa). Sharma (2005a; 2005b) does not comment on them. Example (17) illustrates the problem:

(17) Peter Ustinov spoke with *the* Austrian um German-Russian *accent* (NZ-Fji-1, male, SaS)[24]

I decided to categorize them as instances of hypercorrect in-/definite articles even though they are, strictly speaking, not the same as a(n) in/definite article used in the context where L1-varieties of English have a bare NP. But they could not be counted as an instance of a(n) in-/definite article nor as an instance of a bare NP, either.

Another regionalism is the use of specialized, technical vocabulary with different articles than in ENL varieties. In the ICE-FJ data, *Moodle* (the name of an e-learning platform) is fairly consistently attested with a definite article, so the question arises whether they ought to be classified as instances of hyperdefinite

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24. Alternatively, this could also be an instance of a hypercorrect definite article instead of a demonstrative *that* if the speaker (a journalist) was aware of the tendency for speakers of Indian Englishes to use demonstratives instead of definite articles.

articles (when compared with ENL varieties) or whether instances without the article need to be considered as null article contexts (locally).

(18) <$A><#>oh there are questions put on *the moodle* (ICE-FJ, S1A-014)

In the end, taking ENL varieties as the yardstick of comparison, I decided to classify them as cases of hyperdefinite article use. By the same token, some lexical items typical of (Fiji) IndE such as *girmit* or *Ramayan* were assumed to require an article in ENL varieties even though they are loanwords or might even be considered proper names. Sometimes intuition on whether a noun is likely to require an article in ENL varieties is supported by analogy, i.e. *the Ramayan* or *the Bhagavad Gita* and *the Bible*. Instances of these nouns without an article would thus be counted as null article contexts (even though none were attested in my spoken data; example (20b) is from the written component of ICE-FJ):

(19) It was part of *the Girmit-*. (NZ-Fji-1, male, SaS)

(20) a. … and the men would read out of *the Ramayan/* or *the Bhagavad*
b. *Gita/* all the Sanskrit t-- Vedas and texts (NZ-Fji-1a, female, NK)
c. According to Panchanga the events in *Ø Ramayana* are said to have taken place about one million and three hundred years ago. (ICE-Fiji, W2F-016)

Because plural NPs do not usually allow for articles, number can be an additional problem in the classification of loanwords. A case in point would be *salwar kameez*. It is a count noun, but can be both singular and plural (even though *salwar kameezes* is also attested). Because of its indeterminate status I did not count the example in (21) as an instance of a null article and would, if they had been attested, have also excluded cases with a definite article from the statistics.

(21) with woman [NZE plural of 'women', MH] it's quite easy to tell cause um in India they'd wear like *salwar kameez* or a sari or something whereas Fijian Indians they'd wear like a/ a dress or like actual pants or something (NZ-Fiji-2, male, NL)

3.2.3 *Dealing with spoken data*

Spoken data also pose special problems to the analyst that, to my knowledge, have not been discussed in previous studies on variable article use. One example would be self-corrections. The question is whether both NPs in such contexts should be counted separately or not. In my opinion, this depends to some extent on the kind of self-correction. In the following instances, where the speakers self-correct from a definite to an indefinite article, only the NP with the indefinite article was counted as a relevant variable context:

(22) a. And I always say that Brigadier-General Major-General Rabuka deserves to be put in *the-* in *a* permanent … *hall of- of infamy* as a rogue
(NZ-Fji-1, male, SaS)

b. Sometimes the- the teacher would say "Copy a page of the dictionary" <laughs> and give us a penny to in *the-* in *a can*. (NZ-Fji-1, female, MS)

c. But I think there was *the-* there was *a* big *hole* somewhere.
(NZ-Fji-1, female, SN)

By the same rationale, the following was not included in the statistics because the speaker self-corrects to a bare NP, which would also be possible in ENL varieties:

(23) The um non-Muslims were given the right to pay tax for *the protecti--* for *protection* from Muslims. (NZ-Fji-1, male, SaS)

In the following instance, the speaker self-corrects from a definite article to a bare NP; this instance was counted as one attestation of a bare NP, despite the fact that in the immediate context the noun is repeated again with the definite article:

(24) And if you think a lot you always realize that *the establishment-* Ø establishment is always for the rich and those who are powerful. And that *the establishment* [context] will always um not stand up for the downtrodden.
(NZ-Fji-1, male, SaS)

Other contexts are more problematic, for instance if the modifier is changed and the indefinite article is not repeated, as in the following example:

(25) I was a Hindu so I went to a Hindu school-- Indian <u>school</u>.
(NZ-Fji-1, female, MS)

The example is further complicated by the fact that, as pointed out in Section 3.2.1, ENL varieties have variable article use in such constructions (i.e. *be* or *go* followed by an institutional noun), so I decided to exclude it from the dataset altogether. In example (26), finally, there seems to be a self-correction from a bare NP to an indefinite article, but the head of the NP is different. In this case, I decided to count both instances separately, the first as an instance of a zero article, the second as an instance of an indefinite article:

(26) And they recognize our language because I mean Ø *Fiji-Hindi dialect the Fiji-Hindi language* is uh similar to a dialect of Hindi spoken in uh Uttar Pradesh in India. (NZ-Fji-1, male, SaS)

Instances that change mid-construction are similar to self-corrections. They were excluded from the counts if the change was from article to a different kind of determiner, as in example (27):

(27) we are continuing <}><->with *the*</-><=>*with our*</=></}> *tradition* <{> <[><,></[> every time we <?>come into our home</?> (S1A-021)

Another methodological problem in the analysis of variable article usage arises from ellipsis. The following is likely to be an instance where the nominal head of the NP *phone* was ellipted from *a one GB* but could be inferred from the context:

(28) <$A><#><[>so he</[></{> said that it was *a one GB* [ellipsis] <,,> and I think the general one is <?>what</?> five <,,> something something <,,> (ICE-FJ, S1A-044)

Similarly, the noun *goalkeeper* is not used in the following utterance but retrievable from the context of the conversation:

(29) <$B><#>oh that goalkeeper
<$A><#>yeah <,,> <{1><[1>I mean</[1> he was *a good* [ellipsis] <{2> <[2><,,></[2> for his size <,> for his looks (ICE-FJ, S1A-020)

In example (30), the head noun *question* is also recoverable from the context:

(30) <$B><#><unclear>words</unclear> <,> oh <unclear> words </unclear> <,> yeah I <?>did it</?> <{><[><,,></[> but uh <,,> for two or three questions <,> I don't know the answer to *the second* [ellipsis] which …

Examples (28), (29), (30) and similar cases were treated as all other instances of ellipsis, though, i.e. excluded from the analysis despite the fact that the head nouns were recoverable from the context.

Another issue arising from the nature of spoken data is the question how to treat variable article usage that could be influenced by turn-taking and overlap. If subjects continue another speaker's turn, for instance, and that turn contains an article, then the NP is considered to contain an article too and is not counted as an instance of a bare NP, particularly if it is overlapping with a continuation of the first speaker's turn, as in the following example:

(31) <$A><#><[>it's not</[></{> a job job I know it's not like a grand job it's not a <*{1><[1><,></[1> respectable reputable job* but <,> it's a <{2><[2>job</[2> <$B><#><*[1>well paying job</[1></{1>* <,,> <[2>yeah</[2></{2 > (ICE-FJ, S1A-044)

In the following example, the article is omitted turn-initially, which is also a context where we find article omission in ENL varieties and which therefore was not included among the zero articles; the second instance of the same phrase (*funny thing*) occurs towards the end of the same turn and here the omission of the definite article is a lot less "natural" from the point of view of L1-varieties of English:

(32) <$A><#><[>*funny thing* was</[></{> <,> we <,> both different people did our assignment and *funny thing* is that we almost got a similar answer (ICE-FJ, S1A-020)

Finally, the phonetic environment sometimes makes it extremely difficult to decide whether speakers have used an article or not. This may be the case for indefinite articles between two liquids, for instance, as in the following example:

(33) woman [NZE plural variant for **women**] wear *?a? really Indian* top… (NZ-Fiji-2, male, NL)

If the word preceding a definite article ends in a dental fricative it is often difficult or even impossible to determine whether it is followed by a definite article or not, as in:

(34) in this world of uhm you know with *?the? whole Hindu thing* of getting married and obliging to what your husband says (NZ-Fji-1a, female, NK)

This also holds in the following example since the variant that is usually required before a word that starts in a vowel (i.e. [ði:] instead of [ðə]) is not necessarily used in FE:

(35) <$B><#><}><->no it's</-> <,> <=>no I</=></}> just finished off with *?the?* <?>*assignment*</?> (ICE-FJ, S1A-031)

All unclear instances that arose from the phonetic environment were excluded from the counts.

In my analysis, I did not code for the variant forms of the indefinite article, i.e. I did not distinguish between instances where the indefinite article was adjusted to the following word or where it was not, as in the following cases:[25]

(36) a. I call it Hindustani in Fiji because uh it is *a amalgam* of Hindi and Urdu. (NZ-Fji-1, male, SaS)

b. like if you're just calling someone like *a idiot* or something (NZ-Fji-2, female, SiN).

These instances proved somewhat problematic because we are dealing with spoken data and it is easy to transcribe them incorrectly as hesitation markers. This happened, for instance, with *a essay* which initially was erroneously transcribed as *uh essay*:

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25. Occasionally, the variant *an* is used preceding a noun that starts in a consonant, as in "[…] record your voice over bring it over match them together and do it like *an proper news presentation*" (ICE-FJ, S1A-014).

(37) She wrote … uh a presentation she did at school- *a essay* or she- whatever she had to do about … uh I forgot. (NZ-Fji-1, female, SN)

Thus, in the analysis of the transcripts, special attention was given to NPs preceded by hesitation markers, which were routinely checked against the recordings.

3.3 Data retrieval and post-editing

The interviews and conversations were orthographically transcribed. Relevant instances of variable article usage were manually retrieved by reading through the transcripts (referring back to the recordings whenever necessary.) All variable contexts were transferred into a FileMaker database and classified according to the type of (null) article and structure of the NP (bare vs. modified vs. quantified). A total of 1735 instances of variable article usage (definite/zero-definite and indefinite/zero-indefinite) were thus retrieved from the data, including instances of hypercorrect articles (or "article insertion" in the terminology of Sharma 2012b, 215). In a subset of my data, I also searched for article substitution separately, i.e. instances where *one* or the demonstrative determiners *this/these* or *that/those* were used in specific contexts instead of an article. If it is attested, this variable might be a slightly more subtle indication of continuing substrate influence in the second-generation migrants than article omission (see Section 4.1.2).

4. Results and discussion

4.1 Quantitative results

4.1.1 *Article omission*

The results for individual speakers are given in the tables in the Appendix. For each sub-group in the secondary diaspora, they are ranked in descending order of frequency of zero articles. (Hits for individual speakers in the primary Fiji diaspora were too small to rank the speakers.) The tables below summarize the data for the diaspora in Fiji (Table 7.4) and the secondary diaspora in New Zealand. The latter are divided into first-generation adult migrants (Table 7.5a) and those who arrived in New Zealand before the onset of puberty (Table 7.5b); the findings for the second-generation informants, including some who were very young (preschool age) when they migrated, are summarized in Table 7.6.

The results in Tables 7.4–7.6 confirm hypothesis 1, namely that there is a growing closeness to ENL usage as we move further away from the Fiji Indian Diaspora. In other words, the Indians in Fiji display the highest degree of article

Table 7.4 Variable article use in the primary diaspora (Fiji)

	Bare	Modified	Quantified	Total	% Zero
definite	148	53	13	214	
zero-definite	27	13	5	45	17.4
indefinite	54	42	6	102	
zero-indefinite	12	19	5	36	26.1
Total	241	127	28	396	
all articles	202	95	19	316	
all zero articles	39	32	10	81	20.5

Table 7.5a Variable article use in the secondary diaspora (New Zealand) – first generation (adult migration)

	Bare	Modified	Quantified	Total	% Zero
definite	268	126	30	424	
zero-definite	23	31	4	58	12.0
indefinite	203	147	46	396	
zero-indefinite	13	23	10	46	10.4
Total	507	327	90	924	
all articles	471	273	76	820	
all zero articles	36	54	14	104	11.3

Table 7.5b Variable article use in the secondary diaspora (New Zealand) – first generation (pre-adolescence migration)

	Bare	Modified	Quantified	Total	% Zero
definite	33	11	10	54	
zero-definite	1	2	1	4	6.9
indefinite	35	31	11	77	
zero-indefinite	2	8	0	10	11.5
Total	71	52	21	144	
all articles	68	42	21	131	
all zero articles	3	10	1	14	9.7

omission in variable contexts where ENL varieties require them (20.5 per cent overall), whereas the second-generation speakers in the New Zealand diaspora omit only very few articles (4.1 per cent overall), with first-generation migrants in the secondary diaspora in between (11.3 per cent and 9.7 per cent overall for the adult and pre-puberty migrants, respectively). As a mirror image of null articles, we might also briefly consider the use of hypercorrect articles in the three

Table 7.6 Variable article use in the secondary diaspora (New Zealand) – second generation

	Bare	Modified	Quantified	Total	% Zero
definite	29	11	5	45	
zero-definite	1	2	0	3	6.3
indefinite	79	89	44	212	
zero-indefinite	1	5	2	8	3.6
Total	110	107	51	268	
all articles	108	100	49	257	
all zero articles	2	7	2	11	4.1

contexts: Fiji Indians in the primary diaspora score highest at 5.5 per cent (23/419), the first-generation speakers in New Zealand reach 3.3 per cent (36/1104) and the second-generation speakers have the lowest score at 1.5 per cent (4/272).[26]

Returning to the use of null articles, a chi-square test reveals that the differences between the three main groups prove significant (at $p < 0.000$ and $df = 2$), whereas the difference between adult and pre-puberty migrants in the first-generation group does not (Yates chi-square = 0.18, $p < 0.67$ and $df = 1$). This may partly have to be attributed to the small sample size of the pre-puberty migrants (two speakers in one recording, but only part of the interview was analyzed, yielding a total of only 144 variable contexts). Adding to this sample would therefore give more robust results. But variation among first-generation speakers in the secondary diaspora is also quite marked. One speaker (MS) has rates of article omission (19 per cent and 18.6 per cent for definite and indefinite null articles, respectively) that are close to the rates found in the sample taken from ICE Fiji (16.4 per cent and 26.1 per cent) than to the average rate of the first-generation migrants. At the other end, another first-generation migrant (SaS) has rates (3.4 per cent and 3.1 per cent) that are even lower than the average rates found in the second-generation speakers in New Zealand (6.3 per cent and 3.6 per cent). This is confirmed by relating the mean scores of the sample (first generation Fiji Indians) to the standard deviation (see Table 7.7a).[27]

If the measure "standard deviation/mean" approaches or exceeds 100 per cent, then the fluctuation within the sample is greater for this value than any tendencies of the sample as a whole. It will be interesting to see whether these quantitative

26. The percentages are calculated against the total of relevant contexts, including definite and indefinite, zero-definite and zero-indefinite as well as hypercorrect definite and indefinite articles. Unclear cases were excluded from the statistics.

27. The mean values and standard deviations are given in a table in the Appendix.

Table 7.7a Variable article usage in first-generation Fiji Indians in New Zealand – testing for fluctuation within the sample (Standard Deviation/Mean) – adult migrants only

	Bare	Modified	Quantified
definite	28%	60%	59%
zero-definite	63%	37%	115%
indefinite	49%	56%	59%
zero-indefinite	53%	63%	200%

Table 7.7b Variable article usage in first-generation Fiji Indians in New Zealand – testing for fluctuation within the sample (Standard Deviation/Mean) – all first-generation informants

	Bare	Modified	Quantified
definite	10%	52%	11%
zero-definite	16%	13%	21%
indefinite	12%	12%	12%
zero-indefinite	12%	12%	41%

findings are in line with speakers' comments on self-identification and attitudes towards their host community as well as the degree to which transnational ties are maintained within the older first-generation informants. There is less fluctuation if the younger first-generation informants are included in the sample, as Table 7.7b indicates.

This means that the significant difference between the first- and second-generation informants found in the chi-square test more accurately describes the difference between all of the first-generation informants against the second-generation informants.

A closer look at the second-generation informants shows that the degree to which they omit articles does not match up with their biographies: DV, who was 4 years old when her parents moved to New Zealand, has the lowest proportion of zero articles whereas SiN, who was only a year old when she came to New Zealand, has the highest proportion of zero articles, with NL, a New Zealand-born male informant, ranging between those two. It will therefore be interesting to see whether we find any support in the qualitative analysis of the interview data when we look at these speakers' attitudes towards their own community and the host community as well as differences between speakers in the maintenance of transnational ties (see Section 4.2).

With respect to the second hypothesis, my study confirms Sharma's (2005a; 2005b) results of systematic use of null articles that reflects substrate influence

Table 7.8 Null articles according to specificity of the NP

	Indefinite specific[28] NPs		Indefinite non-specific NPs		Definite NPs	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
primary diaspora	5/81	6.3	29/55	52.7	45/259	17.4
secondary diaspora 1st generation	10/364	2.7	45/163	27.6	58/482	12.6
secondary diaspora 2nd generation	0/158	0	8/62	12.9	3/48	6.3
Total	15/602	2.5	81/280	18.9	106/789	13.4

Table 7.9 Type of NP – first generation Fiji Indians in New Zealand

	Bare	Modified	Yates chi-square (1df)	p-value
definite	301	177	12.49	0.0004
zero-definite	24	38		
indefinite	238	235	10.19	0.0014
zero-indefinite	15	41		

from Hindi (see Table 7.8): a chi-square test confirms that the likelihood of an indefinite article being omitted from a non-specific NP is significantly higher than it is to be omitted from a specific NP; this holds across the dataset as a whole as well as for the two diaspora settings separately. My findings also confirm Sharma's result in that substrate influence is far less noticeable with definite articles: even in the primary diaspora, zero definite articles are well below 50 per cent.

As far as differences between different types of NPs are concerned, only the figures obtained for the first-generation migrants to New Zealand were large enough to allow for statistical testing. Note that modification and quantification were collated in Table 7.9 under the heading "modified". The figures include both older and younger migrants.

Raw frequencies for article omission in the second generation are too low to test for statistical significance, but with only two zero articles in bare NPs and 9 in modified NPs they support the general trend exhibited by the first-generation

28. Following Sharma (2005b, 547), I included predicative NP constructions among the specific NPs.

migrants. My data thus confirm Sharma's (2005a; 2005b) finding that articles are more likely to be omitted from modified NPs than from bare NPs.[29]

4.1.2 *Article substitution*

Examples in (1) illustrate that Fiji Indians in Fiji and the secondary diaspora in New Zealand occasionally use *one* as a substitute for the indefinite article. The examples in (38) reveal that it is attested mostly in the primary and less often in the secondary diaspora. Interestingly, the secondary diaspora informant (example c.) self-corrects from *one* to an article when the noun is repeated (and then, characteristically, has a null article in the modified NP that follows):

(38) a. <$B><#><}><->he had</-><=>he got</=></}> *one accident* but it was not uh <,> no serious one (ICE-FJ, S1A-020)
b. he was just looking the other side <?>when</?> *one vehicle* came which was just <w>know</w>? <,> a minor one (ICE-FJ, S1A-020)
c. <$A><#>past girlfriend I had *one girlfriend* and she was not good with me <{><[><„> like</[> <„> she used me (ICE-FJ, S1A-021)
d. in Fiji we have *one* whole *class* we teach *the class- Ø whole class* the same subject (NZ-Fji-1, female, MS)

A search for this feature in the speech of second-generation migrants in New Zealand did not provide any evidence that article substitution persists in the language of speakers who, by and large, have assimilated to the host culture's variety of English. Similarly, examples of demonstrative *that* or *this* replacing a definite article are found in the language of first-generation migrants, only:

(39) a. oh this is all *these* precious foods that we grew up with (NZ-Fji-1a, female, NK)
b. and the fact that you have given us *this* honour of being with you and talking to you and sharing tea with you – it's great (NZ-Fji-1, female, SN)
c. she just- uh the tongue twisted right away *that* accent everything and more so much vocabulary. (NZ-Fji-1, female, SN)
d. the English colonialism of Fiji never ever accepted that Fiji Indians could one day run *that* country and the whole policy of Fiji of the English government was to compartmentalise races. (NZ-Fji-1, male, SaS)
e. The only reason why I left was that I was a journalist and when um Major-General Rabuka imposed uh censorship on our news I had there and then decided to leave *this* country. (NZ-Fiji-1, male, SaS)

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29. In the primary diaspora, 39/202 articles are omitted in bare NPs against 42/114 in modified NPs, a difference that still proves significant at $p = 0.014$ (if a little less so).

f. You will recall the first Indians to Fiji landed on *those-* the shores of *those/this*<?>[30] beautiful country on May fourteen<th?> eighteen seventy-nine. (NZ-Fiji-1, male, SaS)

In examples (38d–f), reference is to Fiji by someone speaking in New Zealand, making the substitution particularly obvious.

With respect to article substitution, my findings again substantiate the results that Sharma (2005b, 552) obtained: "The use of *one* might be more noticeable in Indian English and thus cited more often in nonquantitative studies, due to its greater salience rather than its actual quantitative frequency".

4.2 Qualitative results

In this section, I will come back to the question whether quantitative differences between speakers are also reflected in their attitudes towards their own speech community and the host community (see Sharma 2005a, 196). Data on this aspect were only collected from the secondary diaspora in New Zealand. I will focus on two individuals from the first generation and compare the two female informants from the second generation. Both sets of informants can be said to provide sociolinguistic puzzles of some kind because, at first glance, their article use seems to be at odds with their identity construction and, in the case of the second-generation migrants, the two female informants, the age when they started to learn English.

4.2.1 *First-generation immigrants (PM vs. SS)*

As pointed out in Section 4.1, first-generation Fiji Indians omit articles to varying degrees, with some coming closer to the rate of omission found in the sample from ICE-FJ, others approximating the rate of omission of the second-generation informants. PM is a male informant who studied in New Zealand and migrated when he was in his early forties. He worked as a diplomat for the Fijian government and held a well-paid job in New Zealand at the time of the interview. Furthermore, he is a member of the Rotary Club and was the president of the Fiji Indian Association when the fieldwork was conducted. He has come to identify strongly as a New Zealander, though:

30. Note that vowel length is often neutralized in FE, and it is therefore not altogether clear whether the change in this context is from plural *those* to singular *this* or plural *these*. The following head noun makes a self-correction from *those* to *this* somewhat more likely.

> I think I- I would- my own preference is I would be- I'm a New Zealander of Fiji Indian background. You know I'd be very comfortable with that. I- I hold a New Zealand passport I'm a New Zealand citizen I have contributed the last 20 years to this country so I'm a New Zealander in every respect of the word but I'm of Fiji Indian background and I'm very proud of that. Like everybody should be proud of their background because that's what we are we don't have any option to get to change or not to change. So you know I'm a Fiji- I'm an- Fiji Indian you know we are different from Indians from India both in terms of our language and our food and our culture to a degree you know. Although we can speak Hindi uh we also have Fiji Hindi which is different from Hindi from India. So yeah I'm a New Zealander now and um of Fiji Indian background. So if somebody asked me what you are I would say I'm a New Zealander and they want to know more I'll say I'm from Fiji I'm a Fiji Indian but I now am a New Zealander. (NZ-Fji-1, male, PM)

The other informant, (SaS), is of about the same age and migrated at the same time. He is a journalist who spent time both in Britain and New Zealand before he left Fiji. Moreover, as a journalist, he is probably very aware of the language he uses. He is actively involved in the Fiji Indian community in Wellington as a board member of the Fiji Indian Association. Unlike PM, however, he strongly identifies as an Indian from Fiji:

> I'm a first-generation um Fiji Indian in New Zealand and um I came here in nineteen eighty-seven to be chief sub-editor for National Radio at Wellington/ and I came with my then wife and two children/ and uh they actually- they took to New Zealand but my son to this day regards Fiji as home/ so does my daughter/ […] and so do I/ […] well home is where you're born/ the way I look at it is home is where you're born/ and uh while India is our ancestral home/ we were born in Fiji and uh we can't deny that/ so we grew up there/ we have very pleasant and fond memories of growing up/ of schooling/ of education/ of our parents uh thriving/ so how can we not have also good memories of that country/ we remember the rivers/ we remember where we swam/ we remember where we used to dive from the bridges/ we remember swinging from the trees into the rivers/ so Fiji is home/ and anyone who says that-/ uh any Fiji Indian who says New Zealand is their home I think is playing around with-/ uh playing around with words a bit (NZ-Fji-1, male, SaS)

In line with these remarks is the fact that SaS claims to have maintained his FE Indian accent. However, the different identity constructions by PM and SaS do not match up with the informants' use of articles: It is PM who has a high ratio of article omission whereas SaS comes close to informants from the second

generation. This suggests that zero articles are unlikely to be consciously employed for the purpose of linguistic identity construction.

4.2.2 *Second-generation immigrants (DV vs. SiN)*

DV's and SiN's opinions on relations amongst Indians in New Zealand were discussed in Section 2.2.2. Both came to New Zealand with their parents in 1988 when they were very young, but they omit articles in standard contexts to different degrees. Even though DV was older when her parents moved to New Zealand, she omits fewer articles than SiN. Examples of null articles the speakers used are given in (40) and (41):

(40) they- they've always said they did it for us and- and for themselves too I guess just better opportunities and- and um more science/ Ø more developed *country* than- than Fiji/ (NZ-Fji-2, female, DV)

(41) a. just like Ø *pronunciation* of some words (NZ-Fji-2, female, SiN)
b. every year around Diwali time/ in like the civic centre and uhm in the town hall there'd be just like a weekend where it's just celebrating uhm Ø *Indian New Year* (NZ-Fji-2, female, SiN)
c. I think like it's important to have Ø *good balance* if you're gonna be living in a country that's not like a main/ like Ø Indian country (NZ-Fji-2, female, SiN)

We might have expected DV to omit articles more often than SiN because she was older when her parents moved to New Zealand. A likely explanation why SiN omits articles more often is that she has been back to Fiji on a regular basis:

> it does// like not-- I probably would call New Zealand more home/ but it [Fiji] still is like a big part of me because I go there quite often 'cause my grandparents still live there/ so I go back like every two, three years/ so it's still Ø pretty big, important *part* [like home// […] usually like two three weeks each time we go there// sometimes we've been there for like six weeks/ like the whole of summer// but uhm/ yeah it's still a really big important part// I wouldn't say it's home/ but kind of as home/ but not as much as New Zealand/ but I don't know/ kind of hard to explain/ but yeah// I still think it's really important/ to me// (NZ-Fji-2, female, SiN)

SiN is also in touch with parts of her family who migrated to New Zealand more recently, including relatives with young children who arrived speaking only Fiji Hindi:[31]

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31. The positive attitude towards Hindi does not mean that SiN has negative attitudes towards the host country; on the contrary: "if you're living in a country that's not India and not Fiji that

> I've got a little cousin/ he's almost two now/ but uhm 'cause he was born in Fiji/ he probably came to New Zealand/I mean he was probably like eight, six months old/ seven months old/ uhm/ and he had like/ he's got two older brothers who're like four and nine when they came/ and so they didn't know English at all because they just spoke Hindi over in Fiji/ so I still do// or not so much now/ but uhm I used to always talk to them in Hindi// but now because the two older boys have uhm started school/ like they're – they're quite uhm good with English/ so I speak to them in English and Hindi// but uhm yeah like my little cousin/ the baby one/ I used to always talk to him in Hindi//<laughs>/ it'd be a bit of both/ but probably more Hindi// yeah so yeah didn't really feel weird// (NZ-Fji-2, female, SiN)

DV, on the other hand, even though she went back to Fiji with her parents when she was a child, seems to be more dominant in English (see her previous comment on using English with Fiji Indians). This might partly be due to the fact that she has memories of having her Hindi commented on when she went back to visit relatives in Fiji:[32]

> um/ when I was little/ um but yeah/ when I was little I remember going back um// talking about language um/ uh/ my accent like they found it very hard to comprehend when I was talking Hindi to my family/ yeah/ which is quite interesting like the first time I went back/ the first time after we moved/ yeah/ and it's- it's uh become worse <laughs>/ […] they couldn't really understand me my- my grandparents wanted me to talk slower <laughs> and// uh// it was just because now I had that accent when I talked in Hindi and it sounded different to what it did before/ so/ yeah/ um/ […] well I really felt a little bit out of place there <laughs>/ because I was like/ hey/ <laughs>/ I'm one of you <laughs>/ you should understand me <laughs>/ but um// yeah it did bug me for a little bit like oh you know a little bit out of place like/ yeah/ (NZ-Fji-2, female, DV)

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you shouldn't really isolate yourselves from like the New Zealanders and Kiwis/ so I wouldn't really want to send my children to like uhm a primary school where it's just Indian children because it kind of affects how they uhm socialise with non-Indian people in New Zealand/ like I thought then/ uhm because then like you may as well just be living in India or in Fiji if you kind of do that kind of thing/ like/ yeah" (NZ-Fji-2, female, SiN).

32. DV also comments on the ease with which she learnt English after the family had moved to New Zealand: "like I can speak Hindi really well but I found English quite easy to pick up/ and um/ I was just through I mean I like I started primary school here so/ that was a- an advantage I guess" (NZ-Fji-2, female, DV).

5. Conclusion

The quantitative results of my study have shown that article omission decreases with the growing "distance" from the original diaspora setting, thus confirming hypothesis 1. However, on closer inspection, there was considerable fluctuation within speaker groups, most likely reflecting different degrees of English language proficiency. This is more likely the outcome of the informants' educational background than the degree of contact with native speakers of English: the first-generation informant with the highest rate of article omission is married to a New Zealander.

With respect to language-internal constraints, my study confirms those found in Sharma's (2005a; 2005b) studies, namely that (a) indefinite articles show a strong tendency to be omitted in non-specific contexts and (b) both kinds of article are more likely to be omitted in modified NPs than in bare NPs. The results of my study thus also confirm hypothesis 2. Finally, substitution of definite articles with demonstrative pronouns or *one* for the indefinite article is not a feature found in the speech of second-generation migrants in New Zealand but only in language used by first-generation speakers where it is a more subtle (but infrequent) indication of substrate influence than article omission.

The qualitative analysis shows that variable article use in the secondary diaspora does not always meet the expected patterns with respect to identity construction or psycholinguistic theory. We saw that for the two first-generation speakers, self-identification is at odds with the ratio of article omission that the speakers exhibit. Article omission appears to correspond with different degrees of proficiency in English rather than identity construction as a New Zealander of Fiji Indian background vs. Fiji Indian. For the two second-generation informants, article omission did not correspond to differences in the age at which the speakers moved to an English-dominant speaking surrounding (recall that informants who moved to New Zealand at a very young age are also included among my second-generation sample). Instead, maintenance of transnational ties and attitudes towards their community language appear to be more important factors that will have to be taken into account in future research (see also Sharma, this volume).[33]

On the whole, article omission is extremely infrequent in the language of the second-generation migrants in New Zealand. My study on variable article use thus lends support to Hoffman and Walker's (2010, 59) results: investigating

33. We are aiming to operationalize measures for the degree of maintenance of transnational ties and thus make them amenable to statistical analyses that correlate the use of morphosyntactic features with identity construction in an ongoing project based on first- and second-generation Indians in London (see Hundt & Staicov, in preparation).

different features, they also found that substrate influence did not persist into the second-generation Italian- and Chinese-Canadians in Toronto. More detailed analyses of other features than article omission will have to show whether, nevertheless, a focused ethnic variety is emerging amongst the second-generation New Zealand Fiji Indians. This is a likely outcome in the light of research conducted by Trudgill (2004) and Sharma and Sankaran (2011).

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Appendix – Additional tables[34]

		Bare	Mod	Quant	Total	% Zero
MS: N = 133	definite	47	16	1	64	
	zero-def	5	8	2	15	19.0
	indefinite	19	11	4	34	
	zero-indef	5	4	0	9	18.6
	Total	76	39	7	122	18.9
PM: N = 223	definite	56	16	9	81	
	zero-def	9	8	0	17	17.3
	indefinite	54	39	9	102	
	zero-indef	4	5	10	19	17.0
	Total	123	68	28	219	16.4
SN: N = 328	definite	88	40	11	139	
	zero-def	8	11	2	21	13.1
	indefinite	80	36	20	136	
	zero-indef	3	11	0	14	8.7
	Total	179	98	33	310	11.0
SaS: N = 282	definite	77	54	9	140	
	zero-def	1	4	0	5	3.4
	indefinite	50	61	13	124	
	zero-indef	1	3	0	4	3.1
	Total	129	122	22	273	3.3

34. Note that the total number (N) of variable articles is sometimes higher than the one given in the tables because it includes instances of unclear contexts as well as hypercorrect use of articles.

		Bare	Mod	Quant	Total
NK: N = 99	definite	21	7	9	37
	zero-def	1	1	1	3
	indefinite	21	22	8	51
	zero-indef	2	6	0	8
	Total	45	36	17	99
SS: N = 46	definite	12	4	1	17
	zero-def	0	1	0	1
	indefinite	14	9	3	23
	zero-indef	0	2	0	2
	Total	26	16	4	46
SiN: N = 130	definite	28	9	1	38
	zero-def	1	1	0	2
	indefinite	23	38	24	85
	zero-indef	1	3	1	5
	Total	53	51	26	130
NL: N = 53	definite	0	1	1	2
	zero-def	0	1	0	1
	indefinite	21	17	6	44
	zero-indef	0	1	0	1
	Total	21	20	7	48
DV: N = 92	definite	1	1	3	5
	zero-def	0	0	0	0
	indefinite	35	34	14	83
	zero-indef	0	1	1	2
	Total	36	36	18	90
S1A-014 speaker A: N = 39	definite	12	4	2	18
	zero-def	2	1	2	5
	indefinite	2	3	0	5
	zero-indef	2	1	1	4
	Total	18	9	5	32
S1A-014 speaker B: N = 12	definite	4	2	1	7
	zero-def	0	0	1	1
	indefinite	1	0	0	1
	zero-indef	1	2	0	3
	Total	6	4	2	12
S1A-020 speaker A: N = 42	definite	14	5	1	20
	zero-def	2	6	2	10
	indefinite	3	5	2	10
	zero-indef	1	1	0	2
	Total	20	17	5	42

		Bare	Mod	Quant	Total
S1A-020 speaker B: N = 26	definite	6	3	1	10
	zero-def	0	4	0	4
	indefinite	2	3	1	6
	zero-indef	1	3	0	4
	Total	9	13	2	24
S1A-021 speaker A: N = 46	definite	12	1	1	14
	zero-def	8	0	0	8
	indefinite	8	6	2	16
	zero-indef	0	5	2	7
	Total	29	12	5	45
S1A-021 speaker B: N = 26	definite	5	2	1	8
	zero-def	5	0	0	5
	indefinite	2	2	0	4
	zero-indef	3	2	1	6
	Total	15	6	2	23
S1A-030 speaker A: N = 23	definite	9	2	0	11
	zero-def	1	1	0	2
	indefinite	6	0	0	6
	zero-indef	1	1	0	2
	Total	16	4	0	21
S1A-030 speaker B: N = 42	definite	11	4	0	15
	zero-def	3	1	0	4
	indefinite	10	5	0	15
	zero-indef	2	1	0	3
	Total	26	11	0	37
S1A-031 speaker A: N = 58	definite	33	7	2	42
	zero-def	3	0	0	3
	Indefinite	7	3	1	11
	zero-indef	0	1	0	1
	Total	43	11	3	57
S1A-031 speaker B: N = 29	definite	12	4	1	17
	zero-def	1	0	0	1
	indefinite	4	4	0	8
	zero-indef	0	2	0	2
	Total	17	10	1	28
S1A-044 speaker A: N = 50	definite	16	12	3	31
	zero-def	2	0	0	2
	indefinite	8	8	0	16
	zero-indef	1	0	0	1
	Total	27	20	3	50

		Bare	Mod	Quant	Total
S1A-044 speaker B: N = 25	definite	14	7	0	21
	zero-def	0	0	0	0
	indefinite	1	3	0	4
	zero-indef	0	0	0	0
	Total	15	10	0	25

Table A. Variable article usage in first-generation Fiji Indians in New Zealand sample mean and standard deviation – adult migrants only

	Bare	**Modified**	**Quantified**
	Mean		
definite	67	31.5	7.5
zero-definite	5.75	7.75	1
indefinite	50.75	36.75	11.5
zero-indefinite	3.25	5.75	2.5
	Standard Deviation		
definite	18.81488772	18.78829423	4.434711565
zero-definite	3.593976442	2.872281323	1.154700538
indefinite	24.99833328	20.46745384	6.757711644
zero-indefinite	1.707825128	3.593976442	5

Table B. Variable article usage in first-generation Fiji Indians in New Zealand sample mean and standard deviation – all first-generation migrants

	Bare	**Modified**	**Quantified**
	Mean		
definite	291	133.6666667	39.16666667
zero-definite	24	32.16666667	5
indefinite	226.3333333	170.5	54.5
zero-indefinite	15	29.33333333	10
	Standard Deviation		
definite	30.00944296	19.82338686	4.457203907
zero-definite	3.898717738	4.135214626	0.98319208
indefinite	25.97434632	19.71463078	6.284902545
zero-indefinite	1.870828693	3.188521078	4.082482905

CHAPTER 8

A lesser globalisation

A sociolexical study of Indian Englishes in diaspora, with a primary focus on South Africa

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This paper makes a case for the comparative study of Indian English vocabulary in diaspora. Comparing characteristic usage of Indian terms in their new environments reveals socio-cultural niceties that may not always be possible in studies of syntax and phonetics. The domains of food, music, kinship and clothing are particularly rich in showing cultural retentions as well as degrees of change, adaptation and hybridity. The change and adaptation is not only due to 'host community – diasporic community' contact dynamics, but to the relative proportions of migrants from different parts of India, their regiono-cultural differences and mutual influences in diaspora. The main examples come from selected food, music, kinship and clothing terms drawn from the *Dictionary of South African Indian English* (Mesthrie 2010), with some preliminary comparisons with Indian communities elsewhere. Attention is also paid to notions of scale now prominent in the globalisation literature (Blommaert 2010), as certain terms are upscaled or downscaled in a new social environment.

Keywords: borrowing, *Dictionary of South African Indian English*, hybridity, indenture, retentions, scaling, South African Indian English

1. Introduction

Given the increasing interest in transnationalism and diaspora, it is important that sociolinguists highlight the linguistic dimensions of the study of cultural change, adaptation, survival, retention and innovation in diaspora. At the same time the influence of migrants on the language practices of host societies is worthy of consideration. This paper focuses on the potential of comparative studies of the lexis

associated with India in such diasporic contexts.[1] Vocabulary studies have been largely neglected in sociolinguistic studies, except in the field of regional dialectology. Yet, as anthropologically-oriented linguists know, their importance in matters of culture and identity hardly needs emphasising. The Indian diaspora has contributed enormously to new cultural formations and cultural enrichment of territories on every inhabited continent. Their influence in matters of cuisine, dress, entertainment, literature and even politics is great, though perhaps more so in some territories than others. I would like to propose that a kind of modern lexicostatistics is possible, a measure of the differential survival of key Indian terms in different territories. Such a lexicostatistics will require careful preparatory groundwork. In this chapter I examine the background to such an enterprise, by focussing largely on the Indian diaspora in relation to English. My exemplification will come from South African Indian English, since detailed lexical studies exist for the Indian community there, culminating in *A Dictionary of South African English* (Mesthrie 2010). However, the main frame for this paper is an international one.

A prefatory note on spellings is necessary. Since the aim of this paper is to record English usage in diaspora, the spelling forms used are of a hybrid nature that follow certain desiderata: (a) a reasonably accurate indication of pronunciation, and (b) a reasonably reader-friendly system. Spellings show the main pronunciations in a particular part of the diaspora, in which vowel length is marked without the misleading diacritical use of 'r', 'w', or 'h' to indicate length. The use of a macron above the vowel is useful in showing length and – mostly as a by-product – stress. Since all final vowels of English are slightly lengthened, this convention will not be used with final vowels. Use of the macron avoids doubling vowels for length, another source of possible confusion. Thus 'ee' suggests long [e:] in the English transliteration of Indian languages, but in ordinary English suggests [i:] as in *keen*. However, where an established English spelling of an Indian word exists (e.g. *chutney*) it is desirable to keep that spelling. There is thus a trade-off between consistency and convention which seems the best way forward for English as a globalising language.

2. Historical considerations: Layers of diaspora history

In Mesthrie (2008) I proposed a tentative schema for characterising three identifiably different periods and types of diaspora. The *first diaspora* comprises movements out of India/ South Asia prior to the 17th century. This is admittedly a loose

1. I use the term 'India' in its modern demarcation, though for the purposes of the project proposed here it could just as well apply to greater India of the British period.

concept covering a wide period and is largely defined in terms of differences from the 2nd and 3rd diasporas. In the first diaspora migration followed upon trade and settlement by sailing ship in Southeast Asia and East Africa. There was at this time also a religious impulse that took Hinduism and Buddhism out of India to other parts of Asia.[2]

The second diaspora is more cohesively defined and mainly covers the forced migration of slaves and indentured workers from India during the period of European (mainly British) Imperialism. Places as far apart as Kabul, Cape Town and Port Louis (Mauritius) were the recipients of large numbers of Indian slaves in the 17th and 18th centuries. The movement of indentured workers in the 19th and early 20th centuries is perhaps better known for its Indian communities in the Caribbean, Mauritius, South Africa and Fiji. The term *indenture* refers to the system where an employee was bound by contract to work for a fixed period for a colonial employer who paid his (or her) passage to the colony. Similar migrations took Indians to Singapore, Malaysia and other parts within Asia. Allied to the movement of labourers in this period was the voluntary movement of traders, especially Gujaratis, to the colonies that had a large presence of Indian indentured labourers. The era of indenture is probably the best studied part of Indian diasporic studies, and much is known of the sociolinguistics of Indian languages taken to Fiji (Siegel 1987), Mauritius (Domingue 1971), South Africa (Mesthrie 1991, 1992), Guyana (Gambhir 1981), Suriname (Damsteegt 1988) and Trinidad (Mohan 1978). Prominent among indentured labourers were the following languages: Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Telugu and some Marathi (in e.g. Mauritius). This set contrasted with the languages of the trading class Indians: amongst which Gujarati was the most numerous, with smaller numbers of speakers of Kacchi, Marathi, Konkani, Panjabi etc.

The third diaspora is a consequence of post-colonialism and globalisation – see Sridhar's (2008) sociolinguistic account of migrants to the UK and USA, though other terrains like Australia, New Zealand, Canada would also apply). These included professionals, and reasonably well-educated urban dwellers in contrast to the second diaspora (see Sridhar 2008). Links with the home country were made stronger in an era of air travel and satellite communications. However, third diaspora migrants were not assured of building the close-knit communities characteristic of indenture in small coastal and island communities (see further Mesthrie 2008, 498–499). There are factors that complicate this simple schema – notably the existence of "double diasporas" as people of Indian origin moved in large groups from one terrain to another, often because of political uncertainties (see Hundt

2. One should not forget the Gypsy migrations out of India between the 9th and 12th centuries.

and Rathore in this volume). There are identifiable groups of East African Asians in Britain, Indo-Guyanese in Canada, and Indo-Fijians in Australia.

3. Themes in comparative studies of second diaspora lexis

By 'diaspora lexis' I refer to words and concepts emanating from the home country that have survived, perhaps with adaptation, in new terrains. This lexis is "from below", taken by migrants, rather than adopted by British or other European colonials from days of empire. The usage of the latter is, of course, of interest in its own right and follows an old tradition of dialect lexicography of the British Raj (starting with Yule & Burnell 1886). Moreover, a rigorous separation of British usage of Anglo-Indian terms versus that of their subjects is probably impossible. The first diaspora is too distant to warrant a sociolinguistic account of relevance to contemporary Indian English, even though some terms originating in this period eventually entered the English lexicon, and pass as normal usage today: *Buddha* and *Buddhist*, *nirvana, karma* etc. A sociolinguistic picture emerges in the second diaspora, with the coining of a large number of common terms pertaining to the experience of indenture. While this term is not of Indian origin by any means, the concept was bestowed with Indian overtones in a number of colonies. The word *girmit* first entered Bhojpuri and related languages of the indentured diaspora, before passing into the English of Indian communities in places like South Africa (Mesthrie 2010), Fiji (Siegel 1987), Guyana (Gambhir 1981), Trinidad (Mohan 1978), etc., where it is used with the same semantics. The word is based on the British term *agreement,* and today has historical rather than colloquial significance. It is kept alive by a historical sense that still celebrates the first arrival of Indians in the different colonies. South Africa had its burst of commemorations in 2010 of 150 years of the arrival of the first ship *Truro* (in 1860). This connectedness with history has spawned many volumes of tales, recollections and community histories in which the word was given a new lease of life. *Girrmit Tales* (Govender 2008) was the title of one collection of short stories exploring indenture and its aftermath in South Africa. The Bhojpuri agentive noun *girmitya* 'one who signs a *girmit*, indentured worker' also passed into English.[3] Thus *Girmitiyas* is a notable book by the Fijian/Australian historian Brij Lal (2004), with the subtitle 'The origins of the Fiji Indians'. The back cover blurb of Govender's book (2008, cited above) mentions *the girrmitya experience* (showing the use of this noun as adjective) and of the *Natal girrmityas* (showing its English status by

3. By contrast, the Tamil equivalent *girmit karan* 'agreement man, indentured worker' did not pass into English in this full form.

accepting a plural suffix). The term is so central to Indian identities and ideologies in the different terrains that it deserves a full lexicographical entry (slightly adapted from Mesthrie 2010):

> **GIRMIT** n.
> 1. A contract under **indenture** (q.v.).
> 2. Service under indenture.
> 3. Place of work under indenture. Older speakers. Historical. Also spelt **girrmet**, **girrmit**. [Bhojpuri *girmiṭ*, ultimately from English *agreement*].
>
> Indentured labourers, on the other hand, were just armed with a flimsy agreement (girrmit), 10 shillings and rice per month – P. Naidoo, Preface *Girrmit Tales*, xi.
> Murugan did not work that day, the first time ever since he had come to work under the girrmet to Mr Rutherford at Mount Edgecombe – P. Poovalingam *Anand*, 128.
>
> **GIRMITYA / GIRMITIYA** n.
> An indentured worker – Older speakers. Historical. Sometimes pejorative, denoting one from an impoverished background, as opposed to a **merchant Indian** (q.v.) [Bhojpuri *girmiṭ*, plus agent suffix *-yā*].
> The indentured labourers were those who went to Natal on an agreement for five years, and came to be known there as *girmityas* from *girmit*, which was a corrupt form of the English word 'agreement' – M.K. Gandhi *Autobiography*, 99.

Two more examples will be used to show the widespread use of terms from the era of indenture. Indentured workers in the colonies often originated from a vast array of villages, districts, provinces and castes, and hence speaking a variety of regional and social dialects and languages. However, new identities were forged from the outset in diaspora. In many colonies this realignment was expressed in terms of a new and basic distinction according to the port of embarkation, the place where one was held in a depot to await the next ship. The port thus determined the geographical provenance of the people one would be closely associated with for weeks on board ship and beyond. The terms *Calcuttia* and *Madrāsi* carried a symbolic significance for over a century in the colonies. Today these terms also have mainly historical significance, as the entries from South Africa (Mesthrie 2010) show:

> **MADRĀSI / MADRĀJI / MANDRĀJI** n.
> Person of South Indian extraction, usually **Tamil** (q.v.) or **Telugu**-speaking. So-called because they were transported from the port of **Madras** (q.v.) to Durban by the British government as **indentured** (q.v.) labourers. Sometimes

pejorative in the context of early rivalry between North and South Indians living together in Natal, especially the Bhojpuri-Hindi pronunciation **Mandrāji.** Older speakers. ¶ The number of people shipped from Madras to Durban between 1860 and 1911 was higher than those from Calcutta or Bombay. See **Calcuttia**, **indenture**, **passenger Indian**, **Truro**. [Gujarati, Hindi, Telugu, Urdu *Madrāsi*, Bhojpuri *Mandrājī*, from *Madras*, the port from which South Indian indentured workers were shipped out to the colonies, now known as *Chennai*].

… caste was beginning to mutate into two very broad regional identities, *Kalkatia* and *Madrasi*, which reflected origin from the Aryan North or Dravidian South India – A. Desai & G. Vahed *Inside Indenture*, 174.

Never mind worrying about caste, they're now busy chasing Tamils and Muslims and making fools of themselves. Which nice boy will want to marry a girl that's been with a Madraji? – K. Pillay *Looking for Muruga*, 30.

CALCUTTIA / KALKATHIA n.

A Hindi-speaking person of North Indian extraction, or descendant of such. Sometimes pejorative when used in connection with early minor rivalries between North and South Indians living together in Natal. Older speakers. ¶ The term indicates the importance of the port cities in forming a new identity among Indian migrants. It is a misnomer in terms of places of origins of the North Indian migrants, very few of whom came from the city of Calcutta. See **Madrāsi**. [Bhojpuri *kalkatyā* 'one who embarked ship at Calcutta' (for Natal or other colonies)].

Lurking in the shadows, though less pronounced than the *Kalkatia* and *Madrasi* distinction was the Tamil/ Telugu division – A. Desai & G. Vahed *Inside Indenture*, 177.

Nithin consoled himself with the thought that Tony's indifference towards him was nothing personal – Calcuttans were normally taciturn people and not given to long conversation – A. Hassim *Lotus People*, 297.

The above entries and the citations speak eloquently of new identity construction according to broadly regional origins in India. The difference between Indians form the north and south of India is perhaps exaggerated in the texts cited, since at certain levels there was unity among all people of Indian origin, partly because of their ascribed status within the South African political and social system. For the first hundred years since the initial migrations social relations were good among all Indians, though there was a strong tendency not to marry across (former) regional (Gujarati – Tamil – Bhojpuri) or religious (Hindu, Muslim, Christian) lines. A hundred and fifty years later this arrangement has changed, with less stigma attached to marriage across regional lines, and less stigma attached to Hindu-Christian marriages among Indians. The salient sub-identities

that gelled in South Africa a century ago are thus less strong today, but still in existence, as witnessed by cultural associations like the *Andhra Maha Sabha* (Telugu Cultural Association), the *Gujarati Parishad* (Gujarati Association) etc.

One term from the period of indenture that has achieved a (living) colloquial status, at least in South Africa is *lathās*, an adjective meaning 'shoddy, haphazard'. The term originated in Mauritian Creole, but was robust enough to pass into South African and Fijian usage, and evokes linkages between the different sugar colonies. Indians in the different sugar colonies were not entirely cut off from one another. Mauritian Indian workers were brought to Natal to start the first railway line in Africa (1875) and as forerunners in the establishment of Natal's sugar industry. The historical records also speak of indentured workers returning to India from one colony and later re-indenting to another. A small number of people in this way had experience of Mauritius, the Caribbean, and/or Fiji. The entry below is from South African Indian English (henceforth SAIE), as recorded in Mesthrie (2010):

> **LATHĀS** adj./n.
> A shoddy job, a job hastily and badly done. Hence **a lathās job**, **to make latās**, **do latās**. [South African Bhojpuri *latās mār* 'to do a shoddy job', from French *la tâche* 'the task', via Mauritian Creole which drew a distinction between *lathas* 'a job to be done properly' and *tap latas* 'do a piece of work quickly and shoddily', from *tap* v. 'to bang, knock, bump into' – P. Baker & V. Hookoomsing, *Dictionary of Mauritian Creole*].
> E.g. Take your time – don't make latās here.
> *Lathās* in our days referred to the task for the day in the sugar-cane fields, like planting, ploughing or weeding. Today the word means something different – Sezela resident, June 2010.

4. Cultural aspects of lexical retention and variation

In this section I discuss a selection of key terms that is of interest from a cultural point of view, and that of linguistic and regional origins. Some of these terms relate to notions of scaling and rescaling emphasised in current studies of linguistic globalisation. Blommaert (2010, 34–36) refers to scale as a notion that provides an understanding of the dynamics between local and translocal forces. In this he emphasises participants' experiences, perceptions and practices. Slembrouck (2011, 159) cites Baynham (2009) in showing how the use of scale and scaling can be 'extended to address a theoretical concern with the effect of de/reterritorialization and dis/re-location on the construal of place, time and situational reference

as they are interpretatively and interactionally 'pinned down' or exported to a new context of expression'.

The terms to be discussed below also call into question the pertinence of the conventional term *borrowing*: these are really *retentions* from Indian languages frequently under conditions of language shift. The discussion is of a preliminary nature and hopefully will spawn a more systematic larger-scale international investigation. The focus will be on the most obvious semantic fields relating to Indian culture in diaspora, viz. cuisine, kinship, dress, music and religion and applies to second and third diaspora communities. Emphasis falls on everyday usage, rather than the more formal terms found in dictionaries of Indian languages, restaurant menus etc., though the latter would no doubt make an interesting comparative study in its own right. Finally, the discussion should be based on the terms that have survived in the English of the generations born in diaspora, rather than the immigrating generation or the terms current in India (though again, these could be of comparative interest too).

4.1 Cuisine

The basics of Indian cooking vary enormously according to region in India, but may be said to include at least *dhāl* 'split lentil soup', *bhāt* 'rice', *shāk* 'vegetables' and *roti* 'unleavened bread'.[4] We may add a plethora of details regarding type of lentils, rice, vegetables, rotis, meat dishes, and accompaniments like *chutneys* (relishes), *pāpadums* (fried rice or lentil wafers), *achārs* (pickles), *miṭhai* (Indian sweets), drinks etc. The possibilities for a comparative international project are mouth-watering. But what is the linguistic interest of such work? A socio-lexical analysis would have to pay attention to structural, semantic, etymological and social issues like the following:

a. Existence of Indian vs. (local) English term
b. Changes in pronunciation
c. Changes in semantics (sense, reference, hyponomy)
d. Source language(s) and global networks
e. Hybridisation of terms
f. Variation and selection of variants

4. In a strictly linguistic transliteration of Indian languages like Hindi or Gujarati the spelling *dāl* is normal; in a more practical dictionary orthography, I use <dh> generally for dental stops of SAIE, and <d> for alveolar/post-alveolar/retroflex stops. The <h> is thus not intended to be taken as an aspirate, rather <dh> is a voiced dialect counterpart of <th> spellings of English.

Attention to these aspects will illuminate the nature of social contacts within specific diaspora settings: which subgroups were more influential than others in contributing to the new ethnolect of English; to what extent are the terms and cultures shared or distinctive; and are there ideologies that promote linguistic retention of terms as against hybridity or calquing (translating the Indian term into a dominant language like English)? In regard to (a) above, the persistence of an Indian term as opposed to replacement by an English equivalent or near- or even not-so-near equivalent, I focus on one linguistic item in detail and make reference to related items of comparative interest. The term *dhāl* [d̪a:l] is one that survives robustly in diaspora, and the closest English equivalent is a phrase ('split lentil soup') that hardly forms a viable colloquial alternative (since *dhāl* isn't generally drunk as a soup, but is an accompaniment to a rice dish). It therefore forms a useful diagnostic for lexical retention in diaspora. It is also a good candidate for spread beyond the Indian community, as is the case in South Africa. In most territories familiar to me the pronunciation has not changed, with a dental [d̪] at the beginning. However, it wouldn't be surprising to learn of the dental stop being alveolarised under pressure from mainstream English. In SAIE many speakers have adopted the pronunciation of colonial English speakers: [dɔ:l], with an alveolar [d] and a back rounded vowel instead of [a:].[5] (The alveolar pronunciation also occurs among non-Asian British people). The rounded vowel quality dates to 19th century British India, judging from a pamphlet from the Acting Protector of Immigrants in 1874 entitled *Notice to Coolies Intending to Emigrate to Natal*. The rations promised to emigrants are 'dholl, …salt fish… ghee or oil…' Under category (c) one could ask whether there are any changes in semantics and/or hyponymic relations. Prototypically *dhāl* is both a generic term (for a range of pulses or lentils including *mung*, *masūr* etc.) and a specific term (in the unmarked case it stands for either a yellow, split-lentil preparation whose closest English equivalent is *soup* or the split lentil as an ingredient). It is also a contrasting term to *curry* (*dhāl* typically uses little or no curry spice and is used to complement a spicy curry and rice dish). In SAIE there is variability here. In colloquial speech most speakers use the word as a superordinate term (hypernym), and hence may speak of *mūng dhāl* and *masūr dhāl.* They also use it colloquially as the specific prototypical preparation mentioned above (referred to simply as *dhāl*). But some usage suggests that the *dhāl* versus *curry* opposition doesn't always hold: in particular the colloquial witticism *to get dōl curry and rice* 'to experience lean times, to undergo a humdrum time'. Regarding networks, there is little to be said apart from the direct influence from India independently upon different overseas territories.

5. Occasionally SAIE speakers use a retroflex in place of alveolar [d] here.

An exception might be the hybrid term *dōl-curry* in SAIE, which isn't accepted in India (or by all SAIE speakers).[6] And finally under (f) 'selection of variants' one could ask whether the term *dhāl* or *dōl* prevails in different places.[7]

Rather than going through the same procedure for a variety of food terms, I mention a few salient items that raise interesting analytic issues or highlight questions of diversity and layers of diasporic usage. The term *roti* is a generic term for 'round, flat, Indian bread'. In South Africa it has become a specific term for one particular kind of roti, corresponding to what is known elsewhere, as *chapāti*. The latter term was known in South Africa, but is no longer part of colloquial usage. Likewise there are two kinds of *naans* in South Africa. One is a soft, fluffy, round leavened bread, the other the more usual thick unleavened Indian bread baked in a clay oven. The latter type was introduced from India in the more recent age of global Indian restaurants. To differentiate between the two the hybrid compound *naan-bread* is increasingly used in shops for the former, since it has similarities with western bread. The clay oven (n. *tandoor*, adj. *tandoori*) is also a late entry in South Africa, under global influence, possibly via the U.K. Likewise the term *tikka* (especially in *chicken tikka* 'pieces of chicken') is a late entry in South Africa, coming not from India or South Asia generally, but via the U.K. in the 1980s. The term refers in Hindi and related languages to 'pieces of meat'. In South Africa a related Bhojpuri-Hindi term with the same meaning, *boṭhi* has undergone semantic shift to refer specifically to 'tripe'. This might be a euphemism, as tripe was associated with meat for the poor.

Another food term relevant to international comparative work is *bhāji*. In India and territories like South Africa it refers to leafy vegetables which are lightly cooked in oil. More common in SAIE is the term *herbs* which refers specifically to 'herbs for the pot', rather than dried leaves used as flavouring or seasoning. Terms for different type of edible herbs are *sugar cane herbs* (growing as weeds between rows of cane), *red herbs* (having red or velvet leaves), *green herbs*, *mustard herbs*, *drumstick herbs* (growing on a tree, the *Moringa pterygosperma*), *sour herbs* and so forth. In India *bhāji* may be used for snack food, e.g. *pāū bhāji* famous in Mumbai. In the U.K. the term appears to refer to a spicy fried snack of flour and

6. The term *curry* can for synchronic analyses be taken as mainstream English, though its ultimate origins lie in India.

7. As an aside, under the topic of lentils, a useful global dialectological diagnostic item would be *mūng* versus *mag* [mʌg]; the former perhaps more widespread and based on Hindi, though *mag* is a competing form in SAIE, from Gujarati. The linguistic role of Gujaratis in the Indian English diaspora is worth monitoring, as the group that was frequently involved in importing goods from India into different territories.

vegetables: hence the title of the 1993 U.K. movie *Bhaji on the Beach*.[8] The equivalent term among Indians in South Africa is *bhajia*, and in the wider society, *chilli bites*. Particularly common in Gujarati households are special subtypes known by hybrid terms like *onion bhajia*, *potato bhajia*, *chilli bhajia* etc. The last item regarding food that illustrates differential regional effects in diaspora is *dhālpūri*. This is a regional specialty in India which is widely known in the second diaspora territories, via Bhojpuri and Awadhi. The Trinidadian author, Sam Selvon (1979) writes of the difficulties he had as a Trinidadian in London of the 1960s in finding this specialty in the Asian restaurants there. The term is well-known in South Africa, Mauritius, Guyana and Fiji. And thanks to the subsequent influence of the double diaspora (possibly from Mauritius) the dish is now a part of London's fare (Philip Baker p.c. c1992). There is some variation in the composition of the actual product: the Mauritian *dhālpūri* is a sweet (deep fried) *pūri* with *dhāl* stuffing; the South African variety is not sweet and more like a large *parātha* (a thicker type of roti) made on a griddle lightly stuffed with *dhāl* and *dhanya* (coriander) and *jeera/jīra* (cumin). But both senses are now known, thanks to recent Mauritian migrants selling food on the streets of Durban.

4.2 Kinship

This is a semantic field which is quite durable in diaspora, though more so in domestic rather than public contexts. Of particular interest are those terms that have managed to spread across Indian groups. This does not generally happen. Thus in South Africa terms for 'paternal uncle' (father's brother) still vary according to language group: *kāka* (Bhojpuri, Gujarati), *chācha* (Urdu), *chicha* (Konkani) and *perinaina* (Tamil).[9] But some terms show signs of gradual convergence and rescaling. The Gujarati practice of suffixing the respectful terms *bhai* 'brother' and *bēn* 'sister' to a proper name (e.g. *Rajend-bhai*) is spreading to the English of speakers of Bhojpuri and Tamil.[10] This upscaling (in terms of increase in users and the added prestige that goes with the term) contrasts with the downscaling (in terms of semantic derogation) of two similar terms from Tamil. The noun *thambi* is a neutral term for 'younger brother' and remains so in South African

8. The more usual term appears to be *pakora* in the U.K., and this use of *bhaji/bajji* may be South Indian in origin.

9. By contrast the term *māma* 'maternal uncle' (mother's brother) occurs in this from across a range of Indic and Dravidian languages.

10. Although the practice of using *bhai* in this way occurs in other languages like Hindi, in South Africa it was specifically the usage by Gujaratis that formed the model for wider usage.

Tamil. But in passing into colloquial English, especially of other Indian speakers, the term has acquired class connotations to denote a working-class, young male of indentured, especially Tamil, background. A similar change is evident for the term *naina* from Telugu, where it is a neutral or even respectful term for 'father' or (paradoxically) affectionate term for 'son'. In SAIE informal usage it has become a nickname, especially in the playfully hybrid term *Nine-boy*, which would be the affectionate term for a young boy with the nickname *Nain(a)*. Another interesting kinship usage is based on the Gujarati practice in South Africa of referring to elder neighbours or acquaintances as follows. The male is referred to by name plus the respectful title *kāka* 'paternal uncle'. However, his wife is referred to by her name plus the title *māsi* 'maternal aunt'. This is a subtle way of indicating that these respected acquaintances are not true kin, since a paternal uncle and his wife would be referred to as *kāka* and *kāki* respectively and a maternal aunt and her husband as *māsi* and *māsa* respectively. Finally, under kinship the extent to which the Indian English terms *cousin-brother* and *cousin-sister* are retained in diaspora are of interest. These terms are still robust in South Africa, even though they are avoided in formal, public, and educated speech. There is still uncertainty as to the exact referents. Informally asking people to state concretely who qualify as their *cousin-brothers* and *-sisters* and who do not has not yielded conclusive results. Some people use the terms for any male or female cousin. This usage would coincide with the explanation given by Nihalani et al. (2004, 58) for Indian English "most languages in India indicate sex in the word itself, and 'cousin brother' is an attempt to do this in English". An alternate explanation is that *cousin-brother* is an intermediate level between the Indian language system (where male cousins are simply labelled *bhai* – i.e. 'brother') and contemporary Standard English (where cousins are never labelled 'brothers'). In this instance the gender specification is not primary, but reflects the standard English distinction between *brother* and *sister*. The Indian English usage then emphasises the phenomenon of 'cousin as brother' or 'cousin as sister'. Some SAIE speakers appear to draw a distinction between first-cousins (who are *cousin-brothers* or *-sisters*) and more-distant cousins (who are not). This would indicate that kinship distance and gender play an equal role. For these few speakers there is thus the possibility of a three-way distinction between *brother, cousin-brother* and *cousin*. This kinship conundrum clearly deserves further scrutiny via an imaginative fieldwork procedure.

4.3 Dress, music, religion

For reasons of space I will again explore one term from each of these semantic fields which continue the theme of variability of terms in diaspora, and the need

for undertaking comparative work. Regarding dress a good diagnostic might be *salwār kameez*, the term for loose cotton trousers (*salwār*) and long shirt typically with slits on either side (*kamīz*) worn over it.[11] According to Hankin (1994, 183) this item of clothing originated in the Panjab among male or female artisans and similar classes in pre-independence India. There are phonetic variants like *shalwār kameez* and *sholwār kameez* based on different regions and languages in India. Whether diasporic communities have retained the term or evolved English equivalents would be interesting to monitor. In South Africa the term is widely used (with all the above variants used in advertisements, but the main term being *salwār kameez*). However, in colloquial speech as well as written advertisements the main term is the neologism, *Panjābi*. Visitors from India and departing consul-generals have been known to remark on the incongruity of the term in their farewell speeches reflecting on South African Indian customs. In India *Panjābi* on its own would refer unambiguously to a person from Panjāb, while in adjectival function before a noun it would mean 'pertaining to the Panjab'. Hence the dress in question would at a pinch be expressed in Indian English as *Panjābi dress* or a *Panjābi set*.[12]

Regarding music in diaspora I choose the term *chutney* (literally 'spicy relish or sauce') for an upbeat, short folk-song in Bhojpuri or related dialect. The term gained international prominence via Trinidad, from where this form of music was popularised in the 1970s, based on Indo-Caribbean adaptations of traditional Bhojpuri and related language folk and religious songs from India. Diasporic chutney songs may include English lyrics as part of that adaptation. In South Africa the hybrid terms *chutney-song* and *chutney-number* exist and since the popularity of chutney music has passed into other languages, the term *Tamil-chutney* also exists. A parallel can be found in *bhangra* music and dance which gained prominence in the diaspora and in fact more broadly internationally 1990s via its UK fusion of traditional Panjabi *bhangra* music and dance with Western and Reggae influences. The hybrid term *bhangra bash* for a young peoples' party remains in vogue in South Africa and no doubt elsewhere.

Under religion it would be instructive to ascertain to what extent terms from the different religions have been retained or have had to adapt to an English environment (e.g. *temple* versus *mandir* (Hindi, Gujarati), *alayam* (Tamil), *kovil* (Tamil), *gurudwār* (Panjabi) etc., or *mosque* versus *masjid* (Urdu, Arabic). In South

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11. The term *kamījz* is related ultimately to the European term that gives rise to French *chemise,* as a borrowing into Hindi-Urdu via Perso-Arabic from Latin. The etymologically related term *simīj* also occurs in languages like Bhojpuri, as a borrowing from Portuguese.

12. However, since at least one visiting academic ventured to me that the South African usage of *Panjabi* has a parallel in Bengal, the matter is certainly worth investigating further.

Africa the term *gurudwār* was unknown until the recent (post 2000s) arrival of Sikh immigrants and computer-experts on short term contracts. The Cape Town community shows a refreshing pragmatism and tolerance in allowing its new *gurudwār* to be housed within the same building complex as its older Gujarati *mandir*. My illustration of a religious term comes from the term *puttu/pittu* used in the South African Tamil community.

> **PUTTU / PITTU** n.
> A mound of earth as in an anthill or snake's dwelling. Treated as a shrine, the cobra being sacred to followers of Shiva. Hence **puttu-house**. [Prob. Kannada *puṭṭu*, Telugu *puṭṭa* 'anthill, snake's hole, heap', Tamil *puṟṟu*, South African Tamil *puṭṭu*].
> According to legend, a *Puthu*, a mound similar to an anthill in appearance and which is regarded as home to the sacred Snake Goddess, materialized on the present temple site [in Mt. Edgecombe]. For believers this was a sure sign that the temple was located on an auspicious spot. The *Puthu* has been growing each year, and stands at over two metres – A. Desai & G. Vahed *Inside Indenture*, 234.

5. Conclusion

When people speak of linguistic globalisation it is often in terms of the West, especially the Anglophone West, flooding the planet with languages like English, Spanish and French. But important counter-flows exist: from Asia, e.g. the Indian and Chinese diasporas, as well as the African diaspora in the era of slavery and current post-colonial migrations. This paper has suggested that comparative lexical analysis has much to contribute to the study of the Indian diaspora. It gives a sense of social history from below, detailing the cultural retentions from different parts of India and the adaptation of some practices arising from culture contact in new environments, as well as the give-and-take between fellow Indians in diaspora with whom one might not have had much contact in the vast regions of India. This is another kind of geographical rescaling. There is also a layering of history according to early and later migratory flows to the same territories. The study of lexical retentions, semantic shifts, adaptations, borrowings and neologisms is of considerable importance in this approach. Such a study will not be without its problems. The focus I have presented is on retention of Indian words when speaking English, especially among the second generation. This of course would still be subject to immense variability, depending on factors like: (a) difficulties of separating languages in bilingual contexts, (b) influences from new immigrants and

of return trips to the Indian homeland; (c) separating knowledge of Indian terms from actual colloquial usage; and (d) obtaining reliable information about actual usage from interviewees. But these difficulties are not insurmountable as shown by the *Dictionary of South African Indian English*. Admittedly colonial and apartheid practice in South Africa, which prevented a continuous flow of Indians into the country after 1911 and an ensuing language shift, made it easier to demarcate which lexis was 'in' and which not. Despite the potential difficulties, a study of the vocabulary of Indian English in diaspora is crucial to diaspora cultural studies and studies of English in a global era.

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CHAPTER 9

Indo-Fijian English

Linguistic diaspora or endonormative stabilization?*

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This paper first traces the history and sociolinguistic situation of Fiji's well-established and influential Indian diaspora. It then weighs support for the development of endocentric norms in the national second language variety of English, Fiji English, against diasporic influence by combining linguistic evidence from previous studies with data from an attitude survey conducted among Fiji students in the country's capital. The status of Fiji English as a national variety is investigated by evaluating statements of language attitudes and reported usage based on a keyword analysis of responses to direct, open-ended survey questions. The results support the claim of progressing endonormative stabilization whereas indications for diasporic links to India in the use of English remain weak.

Keywords: Fiji English, attitudes, language use, variety status

1. Introduction

While Indian English spoken on the subcontinent itself has been well-researched for many years, the Indian diaspora is a more recent area of study in which a multitude of varied settings invites comparative views of language contact and the linguistic effects of transnational network maintenance. In any national context, however, a linguistic study of the Indian diaspora will have to determine whether and to what extent there are diasporic influences on the respective variety of

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English spoken in the country, or whether these influences are evened out by the country's development towards endonormative stabilization of a national second language variety of English (ESL). In order to address these issues with regard to the Indian part of the population of Fiji, this paper presents an informative review of linguistic findings in connection with Indo-Fijian English and links them to a current snapshot of attitudes towards the emerging local national variety, Fiji English.

One of the main defining characteristics of diasporic societies is the degree of their transnational network maintenance. This is especially true of the Indian diaspora, which is dispersed across over 70 countries. Sociologists have taken to making a distinction "between the older diaspora who migrated primarily in the nineteenth century (for instance to Fiji, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Mauritius) and the new diaspora who migrated primarily in the twentieth century (for instance to UK, United States of America […] and Canada)" (Barn 2008, 192). According to this distinction, the older diasporas are clearly linked to the legacy of British colonialism and the history of indentured labour, as in the case of Fiji. Subsequent decolonization marked a major change for each of these older diasporas, as influences of the local postcolonial governments grew stronger and questions of citizenship and belonging had to be redefined (Raghuram & Sahoo 2008, 8–9). As a consequence, the links that early migrants have with the Indian subcontinent are described as weak:

> Many of these people […] have tenuous links with India. When faced with racialised targeting they have migrated again, but often not to India […].
>
> (Raghuram & Sahoo 2008, 9)

The Fiji Indian community presents a prominent, if not prototypical, example of this kind of postcolonial diaspora. It has endured repeated political pressure (see Section 2.1) and has seen continuous emigration to countries like New Zealand, Australia, the USA, and Canada, rather than "back" to the mother country (see Hundt, this volume). When assessing the linguistic consequences of this volatile diaspora situation, it is therefore vital to weigh the current status of local variety formation against linguistic links to the place of origin, India. For both of these processes – the emergence of new varieties of English on the one hand and diaspora (re-)formation on the other – identity construction is one of the main agents, as the following two authors have claimed:

> […] I propose that to a considerable extent the emergence of PCEs [Postcolonial Englishes] is an identity-driven process of linguistic convergence […].
>
> (Schneider 2007, 30)

> The assumption of a shared identity that unites people living dispersed in transnational space thereby becomes the central defining feature of diasporas.
> (Sökefeld 2006, 280)

Schneider (2007), in particular, presents a powerful dynamic model that defines the process of variety evolution in postcolonial settings as a "sequence of characteristic stages of identity rewritings and associated linguistic changes" (Schneider 2007, 29). He suggests investigating a country's socio-political background and sociolinguistic conditions, and proposes that identity constructions and linguistic effects indicate progression through a succession of stages that mark variety development. The model allows for more than the typical two agent groups in colonization settings, introducing the label of "adstrates" (ADS) for immigrants and contract labourers such as the Indian population of Fiji.[1] For these groups, Schneider (2007, 60) describes the following course of events:

> Depending on group sizes and their cultural distinctness and cohesiveness, such ADS strand groups may maintain a considerable degree of ethnic and linguistic distinctiveness for a long while, sometimes for many generations. In the long run, however, […] they are bound to take their share in the process of adopting and nativizing their target language, local English.

As a consequence, progressing linguistic homogenization in the course of national variety formation might entail the loss of cultural and linguistic distinctiveness for diasporic communities.

This paper will attempt to locate the Fiji Indian diaspora within the on-going "identity-driven process of linguistic convergence" (Schneider 2007, 30). On the one hand, it will examine whether there are systematic linguistic differences between the sub-varieties of English used by the Indo-Fijian and the Fijian part of the population and whether these differences are owed to linguistic influences from the mother country on the local Indian diaspora. On the other hand, the paper will shed light on characteristic identity constructions, which "manifest themselves in […] sociolinguistic determinants of the contact setting (conditions of language contact, language use, and language attitudes) […]" (Schneider 2007, 31). In particular, attitudes towards the emerging variety of English will be investigated in order to locate Fiji English in phase four of Schneider's 2007 model – two stages further along the cycle than previously acknowledged (Schneider 2007, 144–118). For it is in this stage that "[…] the acceptance of a new, indigenous identity result in the gradual adoption and acceptance of local forms of English as

1. The main two participant groups of the variety formation process are the colonizers or settlers (STL), and the colonized, or indigenous population (IDG, see Schneider 2007, 31–33).

a means of expression of that new identity, a new, locally rooted self-confidence" (Schneider 2007, 49). Two indicators of this linguistic self-confidence are firstly, that the new local norm is also "accepted as adequate in formal usage" (Schneider 2007, 50), and secondly, that references to "English in Fiji" are being replaced by the label "Fiji English", which signals a different conceptualization of the status of the variety (see Schneider 2007, 50).

In sum, the paper attempts to prove that Fiji English has moved farther along the developmental cycle of post-colonial Englishes by:

a. tracing the history and sociolinguistic setting of Indians in Fiji (Sections 2.1 and 2.2),
b. summarizing the status of research on the local variety of English in Fiji and potential linguistic links that the Indian diaspora has to the mother country (Section 2.3),
c. probing the attitudinal capital of the label *Fiji English* among a group of young English speakers of two ethnicities in Fiji tertiary education, and
d. assessing the reported usage of Fiji English by these speakers across registers (Section 4).

In the next part of this paper, I will give a short overview of the linguistic and socio-cultural situation in Fiji and present a summary of previous linguistic findings linked to Indo-Fijian English. In part three, I will introduce the data sample and summarize methodological support for the use of open questionnaire items in direct attitude studies. Part four of the paper will present and discuss the results of the attitude survey.

2. Indians in Fiji – socio-history and sociolinguistic situation

2.1 Socio-history

Most of Fiji's Indians came to the islands in the South Pacific between 1879 and 1916 as indentured labourers on five- to ten-year contracts. This indenture system for Fiji's new sugarcane plantations was initiated by Fiji's British governor, Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, following the examples set by Mauritius and Trinidad. Workers were primarily recruited from northern India, with 80 per cent stemming from Uttar Pradesh, another 13 per cent from Bihar and Bengal, and the rest from southern India (see Gillion 1962; Srebrnik 2008, 77). The indenture system

or *girmit*[2] has since been criticized for its dismal living and working conditions, high mortality rates, "excessive discipline and repressive legislation; and […] general unwillingness on the part of the government to guard the rights of the indentured workers" (Lal 2006, 372). After the end of their indenture contract, workers could choose between their right to free passage to India or staying in Fiji and, by 1920, about 61,000 Indians had permanently settled in Fiji. As neither civil and political rights nor educational or mission assistance were granted to them at first, Fiji's Indians took to political and educational self-organization in the early decades of the diaspora formation. Due to demographic factors, the Indian population grew from approximately 38 per cent after the end of indenture in 1920 to 51 per cent in 1966 (Srebrnik 2008, 93), outnumbering ethnic Fijians for many decades until the late 1980s (Lal 2006, 375, 379). In spite of the fact that most Indo-Fijians started out as workers in the agricultural sector, inalienable indigenous Fijian landownership rights restrict them to leased farmland to the present day and have ultimately lead to urbanisation, business entrepreneurship, and a new Indo-Fijian middle class with considerable economic power. Both the rising numbers of Indo-Fijians and their increasing economic and political influence can be seen as triggers for growing ethnic Fijian nationalist feelings in the second half of the 20th century, which culminated in political coups d'état in 1987, 2000, 2006, and a prolonged "constitutional crisis" in 2009.

Such recent developments have had their effect on the Indo-Fijians: Whereas at independence in 1970, 98 per cent of Indo-Fijians opted to become Fiji citizens in a movement for "a new emphasis on being fully Fijian" (Kelly 1995, 65, quoted from Srebrnik 2008, 79), the years 1987 to the present have seen continuous emigration of Fiji Indians to New Zealand, Australia, the United States, and Canada. Today, of Fiji's population of approximately 827,900, 57 per cent are ethnic Fijian, and 38 per cent are of Indian descent (2007 census).

The majority of Fiji's Indians are descendants of the *girmitiyas*, or indentured labourers, and form part of the older Indian diaspora who were transported to Fiji in the late 19th to early 20th century. However, a smaller group of Indo-Fijians consists of more recent immigrants, mostly Gujaratis and Sikhs from the Punjab, who have become extremely influential in the trade and transport sectors of Fiji's economy. Srebrnik (2008, 79) points out that "[t]hese two groups, who arrived later and retained closer cultural and personal ties with their communities of origin in India, some even owning property in their ancestral villages, formed separate segments within the Indo-Fijian community". For the older diaspora,

2. *Girmit* is coined after the word *agreement*, and the term *girmitiyas* denotes the contract labourers under the indenture system, which are held in high regards by the Indo-Fijian community.

however, most of the modes that have been recognized as means of self-identification of overseas Indians (Barn 2008, 192) have lost their importance: Firstly, the Indo-Fijian community is casteless; secondly, religion has not been instrumental as a structuring factor in Fiji's society;[3] and lastly, regions and languages of origin have lost their importance for Indo-Fijian self-identification since the koinéisation of the national lingua franca, Fiji Hindi, on the early sugarcane plantations. The next section will consider the sociolinguistic situation in Fiji and its influence on the construction of Indo-Fijian identity.

2.2 Sociolinguistic situation, language use and attitudes

Fiji's 1997 constitution recognizes English, Fijian, and Hindi as official languages with equal status (*Fiji Constitution (Amendment) Act 1997*), but English is spoken as a first language only by an estimated minority of 1–3 per cent of the population (see e.g. Mangubhai & Mugler 2003, 371). The two main native languages of about 95 per cent of Fiji Islanders are either Fijian, an Austronesian language, or Fiji Hindi, an immigrant koiné that developed mainly from the north-eastern Indian dialects Awadhi and Bhojpuri spoken by the indentured labourers (see Siegel 1987, 136–147).[4] Fiji Hindi also includes borrowings from Fijian and English, and written representation is usually in romanized form. However, Fiji Hindi remains an uncodified language in that is almost exclusively used in spoken registers, acting as the low variety in an in-diglossia in which Standard Hindi is the high variety used in writing, reading, and broadcasting, as well as for formal or religious registers.[5] Standard Hindi is also the official medium of instruction for the first three years in Fiji's Indian schools, as the Fiji education system follows

3. The majority of Indo-Fijians are Hindu, about a fifth are Muslim, and the rest are Sikhs or Christians. While local religious practices are an important part of identity construction e.g. for the Hindu majority, religious organisations are not involved in official functions other than in the educational sector.

4. Other contributors to the koiné are "Hindustani, the lingua franca of North India – particularly in its simplified form, Bazaar Hindustani – and Khariboli, […] Bihari sub-dialects such as Magahi and Maithili, and a few other Western Hindi dialects such as Braj" (Mangubhai & Mugler 2003, 377), besides Dravidian languages from Southern India.

5. Fiji's linguistic situation has also been described as 'out-diglossia', in which English is increasingly taking over the functions of the high variety (Siegel 1987; 2003). Moreover, ongoing research indicates that Fiji Hindi might be in the process of standardizing, thus developing towards a written variety (Prasad, in preparation).

an immersion bilingual education scheme.[6] This education system has been criticised for putting a considerable cognitive burden on Indo-Fijian students from different heritage backgrounds:

> The effect of using Hindi as the medium of instruction is that most, if not all, Indian children who arrive in Grade 1 are taught in a language that is either a second language […] or a second dialect for those who grow up with Fiji Hindi as their first language. All Indian children also have to learn an Indian script, and all the minority Indian languages have their own scripts (Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Gujarati, Panjabi and Urdu), which are different from the Devanagari of Standard Hindi. […] The learning of the Roman alphabet, for English, makes it three scripts […]. […]. Partly for this reason, Indian students generally do less well in vernacular than in English examinations […]. (Mangubhai & Mugler 2003, 398)

However, while it has been claimed that the bilingual education scheme has resulted in limited literacy in the students' first languages (Geraghty 2005), the vernaculars in Fiji have been shown in a number of studies to be in no danger of extinction (May 1990; Mugler & Tent 1998; Tent 2001; Siegel 2003). Moreover, the use of the vernaculars for inter-ethnic communication (also termed "vernacular bilingualism") has been reported to be "significant, although it is often overlooked because of the perception that English in Fiji is *the* lingua franca" (Mangubhai & Mugler 2003, 385–386; also see White 1971; Mugler & Tent 1998; Tent 2001).

From the very beginning of its introduction into the school system by colonial, later New Zealand, authorities in the 1920s, English was seen as the language of national unity, "a 'neutral' lingua franca [that] was needed to allow Fijians and Indo-Fijians to live together harmoniously, now that it was plain most *girmitiyas* would not be returning to India. English was seen as the appropriate, if not the only, language to fulfil that role" (Tent 2001, 246). It is the main language used in the typical ESL domains of education, media, administration, legislation, and economy but also provides the majority of loan vocabulary for local vernaculars and is extensively used in code-switching particularly in Fiji Hindi contexts (Siegel 1987, 208–210). Several studies have investigated English in Fiji with regard to language use and attitudes (White 1971; May 1990; Mugler & Tent 1998; Tent 2001; Mugler 2002); most have reported a general trend towards English bi- or multilingualism but also increasing use of English in Indo-Fijian speech community interactions and "a steady shift from standard Hindi to English in the domains traditionally reserved for standard Hindi" (Tent 2001, 261; also see Siegel

6. The transitional bilingual programme entails basic literacy instruction in the local languages (Fijian and Standard Hindi) for years one to three, and English-medium instruction from grade 4 onwards for all students. However, it has been noted that local vernaculars are used throughout classrooms in Fiji, particularly in the early years of English-medium instruction.

1987; 2003). Across ethnicities, the importance of English for education and employment is recognized (White 1971; Mugler & Tent 1998; Tent 2001), and a number of studies document the perceived bridging function of English as language for wider communication and intergroup interaction (White 1971; Tent 2001). However, attitudes towards English tend to be more positive among Indo-Fijians, particularly at "an affective/aesthetic level" (Tent 2001, 261; also see Mugler & Tent 1998, 132). Attitudes towards exonormative model accents (e.g. North American, English English, Australian, or New Zealand accents) showed a shift away from English English as the traditional prestige accent in Fiji when tested on a student focus group; instead, North American and Australian accents were ranked highest (Mugler 2002, 83). Mugler also notes that "the local variety of English is not considered standard and […] [t]he local accent is downgraded by its own speakers in comparison with British, American, and Australian varieties even on solidarity dimensions" (Mugler 2002, 83), thus alluding to the "cultural cringe" observed across post-colonial societies world-wide (e.g. Bayard 2000).

2.3 Previous research on Fiji English

While recognition of the local variety of English in the population itself might be slow, it is one of the best-studied ESL varieties in the South Pacific. It is generally acknowledged that Fiji English constitutes a continuum ranging from basilectal varieties at the lower end of the proficiency scale to acrolectal varieties spoken by educated speakers and local native speakers of English. Most of the distinctive features of Fiji English are found in the basilect, which was described as "Pure Fiji English" in detail by Tent and Mugler (2008) and related sources. It is also in the basilect that ethnic sub-varieties are discernible, particularly with regard to the phonology of the variety. Nevertheless, Fijian and Indo-Fijian English share a considerable number of characteristic features such as unaspirated voiceless stops, fortis or devoiced realization of lenis sibilants, clear post-vocalic /l/, flapped or trilled variants of pre-vocalic /r/, deletion or reduction of final consonant clusters (Tent & Mugler 2008, 252–253), absence of {-ed} suffix and third pers. sing. pres. /-s/, and yod-dropping (Tent & Mugler 2008, 259–262; Tent 2001). Morphological and syntactic features have not been shown to differ across ethnic groups in the basilect, with two tentative exceptions:

> [A]bsence of definite articles and invariant tag *isn't it?* seem more prevalent among native speakers of Fiji Hindi, while the use of *us-two* and the *èh* tag are more common among native speakers of Fijian. Yet some features which can be traced to one of the substratum languages have spread to the general population.
> (Mugler & Tent 2008, 565)

For the acrolectal end of the Fiji English continuum, a lexico-grammatical study of prepositions and prepositional complementation patterns on the basis of the *International Corpus of English*, Fiji component, supports this finding with regard to prepositional collocations and prepositional *-ing* colligation patterns (Zipp 2014). There are striking similarities between the two ethnic sub-varieties of Fiji English, which "suggest that, at least to some extent, a national variety of English appears to be emerging in Fiji" (Zipp 2014, 189). On the other hand, parallels to prepositional verb phrase patterns in comparable registers of Indian English were shown to be rare, and are more likely to be attributable to first language interference from Hindi rather than language contact with Indian English. Along the same lines, Tent and Mugler (2008, 250, 259) list a number of phonological characteristics of the basilectal Fiji English spoken by Indo-Fijians that are not shared by the "typical" Indian English of the sub-continent: It is non-rhotic, it has monophthongised diphthongs, the intonation contours are very different, and "[t]he realisation of alveolars as retroflexes is much less common in Indo-Fijian English, though some speakers […] do exhibit this characteristic" (Tent & Mugler 2008, 250). In sum, there is conflicting evidence as to potential exonormative models across previous studies, and little to no information on how parallel structures developed diachronically. On the other hand, endonormative tendencies in empirical studies are but a first step towards observing emerging local norms, as "[…] corpus-based research only allows us to observe the frequency-based habit formation of a local linguistic norm. Attitudinal data are needed to test for the 'salience' of these linguistic 'habits'" (Hundt 2013, 195).

2.4 Interim discussion

The three subsections of Section 2 above shed light on the sociolinguistic situation of English in Fiji, its use and attitudes towards it by the different ethnic groups of Fiji's population, and its structural characteristics and relation to Indian English. There are a number of factors that challenge the notion of strong diasporic ties to India and according linguistic influences on the Indian diaspora in Fiji:

1. the historically tenuous nature of Fiji's links with India after the indenture system
2. the emigration pattern to English-speaking countries after political pressures on the Fiji Indian community
3. the fact that English in Fiji was introduced by colonial education authorities and not transported from India
4. weak structural ties between the two English varieties in India and Fiji, and

5. increasing evidence for structural nativization and a move towards endonormative stabilization of a national variety of standard Fiji English.

However, when weighing linguistic diaspora status against variety status, a set of criteria needs to be considered that goes beyond sociolinguistic setting and nativization of linguistic form. In particular, factors such as functional expansion and institutionalization of the local variety have been brought forward as requirements of an endonormative standard (Mollin 2006, 45–52). While English in Fiji has seen functional expansion through its use in the domains of education, administration, media, creative writing etc., this paper will add to the picture by locating Fiji English in the realm of private communication in the following analysis of statements of reported usage. Institutionalization, on the other hand, is an attitudinal criterion linked to acceptance and official recognition of the local variety. Beginning codification of Fiji English is clearly evident in the publication of the *Macquarie Dictionary of English for the Fiji Islands*, and in its foreword by then Prime Minister, Honourable Laisenia Qarase: "Like many countries, from Canada to South Africa, from Jamaica to India, Fiji now has its own variety of Standard English" (Geraghty et al. 2006, vii). The following attitudinal analysis will investigate whether acceptance of the local variety and its label *Fiji English* has gained ground in the young and educated part of the population since this major step in the institutionalization of the local variety (Section 4).

3. Data and methodology

The original data for this study was collected during a field work trip to the University of the South Pacific in Suva, the capital of Fiji, in 2010. A written questionnaire was distributed to university students both in and outside of classroom contexts. The questionnaire bore the header "Questionnaire on the use of English. What is your opinion?" and contained items asking for personal and linguistic background information as well as open questions about language attitude and use, followed by a general comment section. The total number of returns was 149, of which two ethnic sub-samples of 67 Indo-Fijians and 63 Fijians were selected on the basis of a questionnaire item that asked for self-identification with an ethnicity label.

In the questionnaire, a written response mode to open, direct attitude questions was employed. The advantages of direct attitude measures, if questions are asked carefully – avoiding hypothetical, strongly slanted or multiple questions – are that there are no skewing factors in the stimulus material (such as speaker idiosyncrasies, prosodic or paralinguistic features in language stimuli, see Edwards 1999). Moreover, written response procedures allow for "more anonymity and

uniformity, the avoidance of interviewer effects, and the possibility of collecting data from a greater number of respondents in a shorter time" (Garrett 2004, 1255). The focus of the present paper lies on the evaluation of one questionnaire item and the immediately adjoining comment section. The questionnaire item read, "In which contexts do you prefer to use Fiji English?", and was originally designed in order to elicit reactions to the label *Fiji English*, as well as to tap reported usage of the local ESL variety of English. Open-ended questions such as these invite the respondent to answer in the form of a few words, sentences or a paragraph of free writing, thus eliciting idiosyncratic responses. Respondents find these questions relatively easy to answer (Geer 1988; Haddock & Zanna 1998, 134–135; Esses & Maio 2002, 78), but they are more time-consuming to evaluate. However, this less restrictive mode allows for unexpected components to emerge and might also give an indication of the salience of the three components that attitudes are traditionally understood to consist of: the cognitive, the affective, and the conative component (Lasagabaster 2004, 400). The emerging picture of language attitudes is accordingly more complex:

> Open-ended items […] rest on a more discursive model of attitudes, in which attitudes are considered to be best accessed in a more contextualized form, allowing the explicit weighing up of contrasting viewpoints, and the expression of modality. (Garrett et al. 2003, 37)

It has been shown that all three attitude components can successfully be elicited by open-ended measures (Haddock & Zanna 1998); in particular, they are well-suited to assess the cognitive and affective components separately (Esses & Maio 2002, 80–82). It has also been suggested that open-ended items are less likely to produce on-line judgements, i.e. "non-attitudes" (see Haddock & Zanna 1998, 135). However, wording strongly influences the set of components that is elicited in open-ended questions (Sutton et al. 2003). While open-ended items are claimed to be more prone to elicit socially desirable responses, the open answering format can also provide clues as to this bias in the wording of the answers (Garrett et al. 2003, 36, 38; see e.g. examples (18) and (19) below). While the questionnaire item "In which contexts do you prefer to use Fiji English?" is certainly unconventional in terms of traditional open attitude questions (as it contains implications such as that there is a variety of Fiji English and that the respondent can or does use it), its content analysis proved to shed light on domains of usage as well as attitudes towards this emerging variety in a multilingual society. After all, the way that direct, open-ended questions lend themselves to cross-cultural studies is another methodological advantage: "[…] open-ended measures are not sample- or culture-specific […], because participants themselves provide their own list of relevant dimensions for evaluation" (Esses & Maio 2002, 79). Evaluation of

the responses usually follows a bottom-up approach known as content analysis, "a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (Hsieh & Shannon 2005, 1278), i.e. inductive category development. Very few previous studies of attitudes towards non-standard varieties of English have employed direct, open-ended questions and qualitative content analysis. Winford (1976), Romaine (1999), Mühleisen (2001), and Akande and Salami (2010) administered open-ended questions in their studies of English-based Creoles; however, responses were used impressionistically to support evidence from quantitative parts of the attitude studies rather than analysed in a structured, qualitative manner. A comparatively dated study by Hofman (1975) and a more recent one by Smit (1996), both on multilingual African settings, serve as examples of a direct, open-ended, interview-based approach; both employ a coding procedure and present a number of examples to support classification decisions.

In the particular case of the present study, a number of key concepts were identified from existing theory and research about language attitudes in the data, such as well-established domains, modes of use, or functions. New categories were created for responses that did not fit previous theories (see Hsieh & Shannon 2005), as the method of "directed content analysis" allows to define codes both before and during data analysis. Answers to the above mentioned question and the immediately following comment section of the questionnaire were combined as one item per person for the bottom-up text-based coding procedure. Categories were established on the basis of keywords and semantic fields, and each item was assigned to at least one category (see Carley 1993). Code-based content analysis has been criticised amongst others for reliance on researcher-driven classification and non-exhaustive coding schemes (Jackson & Trochim 2002, 311); in this study, great care was taken with regard to the actual wordings: all keyword lists contain the full set of keywords that each code is based on, and potential sub-classifications within and across codes are being taken into account in the discussion of data. This renders the analysis comparable to word-based methods. The results are presented according to analytical category with examples, and also shown as a comparison of rank order of frequency according to code in the following section (see Hsieh & Shannon 2005, 1282–1283).

4. Analysis and results

The open-ended questionnaire item used in this study produced answers on a number of relevant levels to the question of acceptance of the variety label. They

were grouped into reports of usage overall, mode of usage, domains of use, functions, and a more general discussion of attitudinal data from the comment section of the questionnaire, as discussed in the subsections below.

4.1 Reported usage

One of the main objectives of this study was to probe the attitudinal capital of the label *Fiji English*, as the acceptance of the new variety label is believed to indicate progression towards endocentric norms in variety formation. The first results are thus concerned with purely positive or negative usage self-reports (see Table 9.1).

Table 9.1 shows that a generally positive answer to the question *In which contexts do you use Fiji English* – indicated by keywords such as *all, normal, any, everyday, everywhere* – was given by 15 out of 130 respondents, i.e. 12 per cent of the sample. While the positive responses are divided equally across the two ethnic subsamples, the 7 per cent negative responses were given mainly by Indo-Fijian respondents, indicated by keywords such as *none, no idea* or open rejection of the variety label (see examples (1)–(3)[7]):

(1) I don't think Fiji English exists

(2) I don't think there is anything like Fiji English

(3) Fiji does not have its own English […]

It has to be noted, though, that this category of negative attitudes groups together two different beliefs about Fiji English: on the one hand, the belief that Fiji English exists but is not used by the respondent; and on the other hand, the belief that Fiji English does not exist (which was stated by three Indo-Fijians and one Fijian). The answers of two Indo-Fijians clearly show that reported usage does not have to entail acceptance of the variety label; the respondent who answered "Fiji does not have its own English" claimed to use Fiji English "in informal talks, in

Table 9.1 Reported usage of Fiji English: positive versus negative

Code (keywords)	Indo-Fijian (N = 67)	Fijian (N = 63)	Total (N = 130)
All (*all, normal, any, everyday, everywhere*)	8 (12%)	7 (11%)	15 (12%)
None (*none, hardly anywhere, no idea, no Fiji English*)	8 (12%)	1 (2%)	9 (7%)
Other (*American, British,* no answer)	4 (3%)	3 (5%)	7 (5%)

7. All examples are quoted from the questionnaires as they appear; omissions are indicated by […].

chatting or texting". Another respondent stated that he or she uses Fiji English in "conversations, but I don't really think Fiji English exists". The mostly Indo-Fijian respondents who rejected the variety label thus exhibit awareness of standardization processes, language status, and prestige; the fact that Fijians tend to have less negative attitudes towards label and usage could indicate greater loyalty to the national variety.[8]

4.2 Modes of usage

The most frequently named mode for Fiji English in both ethnicities is that of spoken language (see Table 9.2). Both the realm of spoken language and informality seem to be salient and closely associated with the use of Fiji English, which ties in with previous research that sees Fiji English as "the variety spoken colloquially" (Mangubhai & Mugler 2003, 384). Interestingly enough, almost all responses that were coded as "written mode" go into two particular directions: the domain of mobile or computer-mediated communication, and writing in private domains (see examples (4) and (5)).

(4) Emails to friends, chatting on facebook, txting

(5) spoken and informal writing

As to computer-mediated communication, there are nine mentions of *chatting* (in connection with modern media), seven mentions of *email*, and three mentions of *texting*, which indicates that the global trend of linking electronic means of communication with the English language continues in Fiji. However, there is

Table 9.2 Modes of usage: spoken versus written; register: informal

Code (keywords)	**Indo-Fijian (N = 67)**	**Fijian (N = 63)**	**Total (N = 130)**
Mode: Spoken (*spoken, conversation, talking, speech, communicating, discussions, verbal, orally*)	32	39	71
Mode: Written (*emails, letters, texting, chatting, on facebook, writing, reading, on the internet, essays*)	10	3	13
Register: Informal (*informal, casual, except formal*)	7	10	17

8. Note though that this could also be an issue of labeling; while the label *Fiji English* is well-established in linguistic theory, Indo-Fijians might have responded more positively to a more ethnically aware (but made-up) label such as 'Fiji Indian English'.

a clear disparity between the ethnic sub-samples with regard to the more informal registers of written communication: of the ten Indo-Fijian respondents who comment on "mode", eight state that they use English for emails, chatting, texting, and writing letters to friends, whereas none of the three Fijian respondents mention either letters or emails. This is likely due to the sociolinguistic situation in Fiji (see Section 2.2) and the fact that the Fiji education system introduces vernacular literacy in Standard Hindi and the Devanagari script (or Urdu and the Arabic script) for Indo-Fijian children, because there is no standardized spelling system for the local koiné, Fiji Hindi. The figures above support the claim that English replaces Hindi particularly in informal written contexts, a trend that was observed already by May in 1990. He reported that the language of (presumably private) letter-writing in Fiji was 48 per cent English, 16 per cent Fijian, but only 3.7 per cent Hindi, and that Indians "would probably prefer to do most writing in English" (May 1990).

4.3 Domains of use

A number of the responses given to the questionnaire of this study include domains known from previous research on multilingual societies (see Table 9.3). The comparatively frequent mention of private domains for the use of Fiji English is first and foremost proof of the fact that the question was correctly understood to evaluate usage of the non-standard variety, and not just of "English in Fiji" as opposed to indigenous languages – in which case public domains from the typical ESL categories such as education, administration, or economy would have probably featured more prominently than they did (see Table 9.3). The private domain of "friends" is the second most frequent code overall, and this pattern seems to be salient across ethnicities, supporting previous research by Mugler and Tent (1998, 118), which also recorded highest use of English in the domain "with friends". A trend observable in both private domains is that Indo-Fijians do not report equally high usage of Fiji English as Fijians in this study. This is on the

Table 9.3 Domains of use

Code (keywords)	Indo-Fijian (N = 67)	Fijian (N = 63)	Total (N = 130)
Private: Family (*family, home, relatives*)	3 (5%)	18 (29%)	21 (16%)
Private: Friends (*friends, peers, socialising, mates, people of the same age, sport gatherings*)	21 (31%)	35 (52%)	56 (43%)
Public (*school, lecturer, university, teacher, essays, academics, at work, public*)	6 (9%)	7 (11%)	13 (10%)

one hand proof of the fact that Fiji Hindi is a vibrant language in no danger of extinction. On the other hand, reluctance to use the local variety could also hint at the more international orientation of Indo-Fijians brought about by emigration after the military coups of the past and continuing political instability. The Indo-Fijian community is known to maintain close links to family members that have migrated mostly to English-speaking countries like Australia or New Zealand (see Hundt, this volume), which might result in greater awareness of different varieties of English. However, the high reported use of English in Fijian homes is consistent with the questionnaire biodata, in which only five Indo-Fijians entered English as their first language as opposed to nine Fijians. Moreover, eight Fijian mothers and six Fijian fathers reputedly had English as their first language, but no Indo-Fijian parents, a fact that reflects societal changes in the Fijian parts of the urban population of Fiji. Higher figures for Fijians' English language use in the home were noted before by Mugler and Tent (1998, 118), with 8.1 per cent versus 4.4 per cent Indo-Fijian usage. However, the authors advise to view the reported figures in their study with caution: "[…] speaking English at home is commonly viewed as a sign of sophistication and education. The relatively high incidence of reported English use would be more likely then to be a reflection of this attitude than an accurate picture of behaviour" (Mugler & Tent 1998, 118). On the other hand, increasing multilingualism at home is indicative of phase 4, endonormative stabilization, of Schneider's (2007) dynamic model, and implies that "the role of ethnicity, and ethnic boundaries themselves, will tend to be redefined and regarded as increasingly less important" (Schneider 2007, 49). Tent and Mugler (2008) observed the phenomenon of collapsing ethnic boundaries between Fijians and part-Europeans from a linguistic point of view:

> The Pure Fiji English spoken by part-Europeans and Fijians is essentially a single variety. This is not surprising, since part-Europeans usually identify socially, culturally and ethnically with the Fijian community. Since Independence, part-Europeans have shifted away from their historical identification with colonial European heritage and have moved towards reclaiming their Fijian roots.
>
> (Tent & Mugler 2008, 237)

Multicultural heritage thus seems to be a societal phenomenon more representative of urban Fijians and part-Europeans than of Indo-Fijians;[9] it could also be

9. Mixed marriages between Indo-Fijians and Fijians are rare, and ethnic boundaries between Indo-Fijians and Fijians are largely impenetrable; this is apparent from data collected for the 2007 census, in which the following ethnic categories were used: iTaukei [Fijian], Indian, European, Part-European, Chinese, All Others (Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics, June 2012). In the ethnic self-categorization item of the questionnaire to the present study, part-Europeans were

argued that a great number of those Indo-Fijians who could be the equivalent urban, modern part of the population have left the country in the last decades of brain-drain emigration ensuing from the situation of political unrest.

The list of domains discussed in this section shows that self-reported language use of the local variety Fiji English is to be located in the private realm of family and friends. However, on a methodological level, the response data can also be seen as indicative of the salience of various domains in the minds of the respondents – the more often a domain is named in connection with English, the stronger the psychological association between variety and domain (also see Geer 1991). The list of salient domains derived from data-driven analysis in this study can thus also complement any set of domains developed for a particular multilingual setting. According to Fishman (1972, 441), there is no invariant set of domains that is suitable to be applied to all settings, because sociocultural patterns change across speech communities. Fishman points to the fact that domains can be defined on the level of sociopsychological analysis (with domains like *informal*), on the societal-institutional level (e.g. *family, friendship, academics*), or in connection with locales (*home, school, workplace*). In all cases, as Fishman emphasizes, domains are extrapolated from original speech data, by the "integrative intuition of the investigator" (Fishman 1972, 451). This study shows that it is also possible to infer domains from meta-data, namely from language use reports, by conducting qualitative content analyses based on inductive category development.

4.4 Functions of Fiji English

Two notions have traditionally been associated with English in Fiji in the course of its history. The first is related to debates about the status of official language. This issue was first addressed in the 1997 Constitution, which states that all three languages – Fijian, Hindi and English – have equal status. In the present study, five Fijian respondents state that the use of Fiji English is a particularly local affair (see Table 9.4). Indo-Fijian respondents, on the other hand, do not mention the local variety of English in connection with Fiji, which might again be indicative of a reluctance to adopt a less internationally accepted variety (or a potentially non-inclusive ethnic variety label). Moving on to the second focus of Table 9.4, both ethnic sub-samples refer to the classic function of English in Fiji, i.e. the reason why English was originally promoted by the colonial authorities: the bridging

classified together with Europeans, which might have resulted in part-European respondents with strong Fijian identification and English as a first language to select the Fijian ethnicity label.

Table 9.4 Functions of Fiji English

Code (keywords)	Indo-Fijian (N = 67)	Fijian (N = 63)	Total (N = 130)
National language (*Fiji, Fijian, local*)	–	5 (8%)	5 (4%)
Wider communication (*someone who doesn't understand my language, all religions, other people, other races, when we meet new people, communication with people, different ethnicity*)	8 (12%)	4 (6%)	12 (9%)

function, according to which English is used for wider communication.[10] A number of scenarios are mentioned in the responses (see examples (6)–(10)).

(6) while having conversation with friends or someone who doesn't understand my language

(7) conversation with other people of different ethnicity

(8) […] communicate with other races eg. Chinese, Islanders

(9) usually to communicate with the pacific people of other races

(10) English as a language is compulsory for all religions and race because it helps in communicating with each other

The scenarios range from quite generic ("someone who doesn't understand my language") to addressing ethnicities and religious background. Examples (8) and (9) specifically name other nationalities, Pacific Islanders, which is clearly influenced by the fact that the questionnaire was conducted at the University of the South Pacific, a regional university jointly owned by the governments of 12 member countries (Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Samoa); the university's main campus in Suva, Fiji, is characterised by its mix of international and Pacific Islander students and staff. It is striking that comparatively few respondents mention this bridging function and that no-one addresses communication between the two major ethnic groups in Fiji, whereas the ethnic minority of Chinese is named in example (8). This finding questions the motivation to enforce English as single lingua franca and supports previous studies that report the use of Fiji Hindi and Fijian as lingua francas in situations of inter-ethnic communication (White 1971; Mugler & Tent 1998; Tent 2001; Mangubhai & Mugler 2003).

10. It has to be noted that the function that has been termed 'wider communication' here is not the same as the language function described for multilingual settings by Stewart (1968, 540–542), in which a language of wider communication is not the same as an official or provincial language.

4.5 Attitudes towards Fiji English

After probing the self-reported usage of Fiji English in a directed content analysis with results ranging from modes to domains and functions, I will now focus on more attitudinal data mostly collected from the last section of the questionnaire. This open-ended item, entitled "Comments", provided space for a short paragraph of writing; the opportunity of adding comments was seized by 27 out of 63 Fijian respondents and 30 out of 67 Indo-Fijian respondents. The comments allow a glimpse into attitudes towards and stereotypes of Fiji English, ranging from negativist to positivist attitudes and beliefs, with an unexpected instrumental dimension uncovered in the course of the investigation.

Starting with negativist views of Fiji English, only five respondents provided one-dimensionally negative comments (examples (11)–(15)).

(11) If you referring to broken English which to me is mixture of English + Fijian

(12) Fiji English would mean "broken" English where Fijian words are substituted, as well as, Fijian grammar is substituted for English grammar

(13) In Fiji English, we use a lot of slangs and a mixture of American and UK English

(14) English has been widely used and I feel that if people in Fiji use the correct terms and structure of English then it could improve

(15) English is the well known language in the world and we still need good teachers to help us to speak English in a proper way

Comments (11) to (13) pick up on the controversial nature of the label *Fiji English* that was pointed out by previous studies, namely that "[…] the label 'Fiji English' is normally used only for the basilectal end of the speech continuum and considered sub-standard […]" (Mugler 2002, 83); also see Lynch and Mugler (1999, 11): "It is worth noting that within Fiji, the term "Fiji English" tends to refer only to the basilectal end of the continuum, perhaps because only that lect is recognised as distinctive". However, notions about a local variety like the ones in examples (11) to (15) have been summarized under the label of "complaint tradition", and were linked by Schneider to phase 3, nativization, of variety development. It is in this phase that "an awareness of the deviance of some local linguistic usage from old norms of correctness grows" (Schneider 2007, 43), which is even more evident in examples (16) to (19).

(16) I prefer to use the proper English language when in class at school but when among my friends, I prefer the Fijian English language

(17) Fiji English is informal so I use it for informal contexts. However, English proper/formal in Formal English

(18) We learn proper English in school and I can speak proper English but during conversations I automatically speak Fiji English because I do not know some words in Fijian – unfortunately

(19) Although I think I use British English during teaching and writing I am aware of lapses that occur due to the influence of my mother tongue and "movie language"

These responses reveal a considerable awareness of stylistic variation and the existence of conflicting linguistic norms, as Schneider (2007, 43) notes: "[…] is the old, metropolitan norm still the only 'correct' one, as conservative circles tend to hold, or can local usage really be accepted as correct simply on account of being used by a significant proportion of the population, including educated speakers?". The use of Fiji English might be, but is not necessarily negatively connoted in the opposition of "proper/formal" and "informal" in examples (16) and (17), maybe more so in the words "unfortunately" in example (18) and "lapses" in example (19). However, awareness of differing norms necessarily spreads gradually, as one respondent who claimed to prefer using Fiji English "among my local friends and my family members (older family members)" stated:

(20) Wow, I have never thought about English from this perspective before. It really makes me consider my influences and I've realised that I speak different "versions" of English depending on who I'm speaking to.

Quite typically for meta-level discussions in countries with emerging national varieties of English, former or existing exonormative prestige models are called upon for authorization (examples (21)–(26)).

(21) I like American english the most but I mostly use Fiji english

(22) while speaking we use Fiji english i.e. British english because we learnt these english since our primary school

(23) British English is the best English because I find it pure and it is pleasant to hear

(24) well, i would say that British Eng. are better and sounds good in nature

(25) Most of the time I use british language. But I am quiet intrested to listen to the U.S. English

(26) I think American English is quite popular, or should I say used more in Fiji

While all of these six comments could be classified as exhibiting "(post-) colonial cringe", examples (21) and (22) still do not deny the existence of a local variety.

Examples (23) and (24) show a strong belief in the superiority of the historically established colonial prestige model, British English, whereas examples (21), (24) and (26) betray the growing global influence of American English. As opposed to this influence, there are three Indo-Fijian respondents who claim to be "not familiar with English used outside Fiji/English spoken all over the world", because they "have never been out of Fiji". Only one respondent chooses to express their preference of a local vernacular over English in English-dominated domains (example (27)), but significantly, the answer takes the form of (rhetorical) questions:

(27) Possible to communicate in Fijian in universities? Speak, read and write? Instead of applying a second language?

Moving from negative to positive attitudes, there are a number of comments that more or less explicitly approve of the local variety of English (examples (28)–(33)).

(28) English spoken in different countries is unique so we should have Fiji English as well.

(29) I reckon the usage of English in our country is a very good means of communication. And so that's how we communicate here more often. We all have different means of speaking this language.

(30) No english is perfect. Every country have different pronunciation of english therefore I find Fiji English much better because it is quite clear.

(31) Due to a highly diversified society, we tend to speak in a sort of english which includes jargons and vernacular languages.

(32) I believe there is not many slangs and fancy jargons.

(33) Even though it is a second language, it is interesting to study.

While examples (28), (29) and (30) are openly in favour of the local variety of Fiji, examples (31), (32), and (33) are generally positive and more concerned with the structure and status of Fiji English in a linguistically informed manner. All these examples fall in the realm of endonormative stabilization in which "[t]he existence of a new language form is recognized, and this form has lost its former stigma and is positively evaluated" (Schneider 2007, 50). It has to be noted that both examples (13) and (32) above contain the word *slangs*, a very distinctly Fiji English count noun that was found to be one of the most pervasive and distinctive morpho-syntactic features of Pure Fiji English by Mugler and Tent (2008, 546): "There are a number of distinctive count nouns, preceded by an article in the singular and with a suffixed {-s} in the plural, […]. Two of the most noticeable such nouns are *slang* 'a slang expression/word', and *swear* 'a swearword' […]". It is very revealing of the degree of endonormative stabilization to see these instances

of morpho-syntactic and lexico-grammatical nativization being used in meta-linguistic comments.

In the course of the investigation, one unanticipated dimension to the attitudes and beliefs surrounding Fiji English came to the fore in the comment section. It was pointed out before that question-wording in open questions might elicit instrumental rather than affective dimensions of attitudes and beliefs, if affective dimensions are not explicitly addressed (Sutton et al. 2003). The same effect was apparently achieved by the "comment" section in the present study. There is a surprisingly unanimous instrumental topos running through 24 out of the 57 total comments given by the respondents, as shown selectively in examples (34) to (42) (Indo-Fijian respondents) and (43) to (50) (Fijian respondents).

(34) The difference in the English language would not be of much importance to Fiji situation. More emphasis and interest is on how words are pronounced.

(35) English should be spoken in a manner that is grammatically correct and easily understood by all concerned.

(36) something which has 0 [zero]standard and which could be understandable

(37) it is simple

(38) normal conversation does not need perfection, so it is easy to talk and understand

(39) prefer using informal speeches because people can easily understand

(40) the reason because we will be able to understand others point of view clearly and what they understand about particular situations

(41) easily understood by all since we are taught from the school how to speak english

(42) because it is understand by us and people around us well

(43) Fiji English is best because it is easy to understand

(44) It will be easier to use Fiji English in academics because it will be easier to understand

(45) Easier to get our message to be understood

(46) I find the Fijian English and American English easy to understand in both conversation

(47) the pronunciation is fine

(48) Pronunciation used is very clear and also easy for audience to understand

(49) Because Fijian people will understand the basis of Fiji English

(50) Fiji English is more understandable esp. if one want to know exactly, or understand what another, is trying to say. This is considering second language speakers.

This list of examples shows the pervasiveness of the dimension of "ease of understanding", an instrumental rather than affective component of language attitudes, indicated in the data by the following three recurring keywords: *pronunciation, understand,* and *easy*. Moreover, the general evaluation of local pronunciation patterns is positive throughout and clearly points towards acceptance of the local variety of English across both ethnic subsamples. Pronunciation, as Schneider notes, is an obvious case in point of linguistic nativization: "[…] speakers will consistently show a marked local accent, which frequently can be identified as transfer phenomena from the phonology of indigenous languages" (2007, 44). However, the reasons for adopting local accents are multidimensional:

> Communicative effectiveness, the greater likelihood of being understood, may be one factor promoting the use of such features, but certainly that is not all. Localisms are unavoidably also a display of an increasingly locally based identity […].
> (Schneider 2007, 42–43)

5. Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to weigh diasporic (i.e. exonormative) effects against endonormative stabilization of a local variety of Fiji English for Fiji citizens of Indian descent. In order to do so, I traced the socio-history and sociolinguistic situation of Indians in Fiji and their diasporic relation to the country of origin. When summarizing the status of research on the local variety of English in Fiji, it was shown that there are only few potential linguistic links between the Indo-Fijian sub-variety of English and Indian English. Moreover, it is nearly impossible to distinguish between similarity of forms caused by either diachronic evolution, language contact, or parallel first-language influence. On the other hand, there is strong evidence for an emerging national standard common to both major ethnic groups in Fiji, suggesting that Fiji English has moved farther along the developmental cycle of post-colonial Englishes than hitherto acknowledged (but already hinted at in Schneider's (2007, 118) comment that "[c]learly, the potential for progress toward phase 3 is visible […]" in Fiji). In the analytical part of the paper, the usage of the local variety was assessed based on open-ended self-reports from a sample group of young Fiji citizens in tertiary education. The general trend across ethnicities was one of acceptance of the variety label *Fiji English*, which presents a strong argument for endonormative stabilization according to Schneider's

(2007, 50) model and disproves his claim that the use of English for intra-national communication in Fiji "does not appear to have affected identity constructions, which […] are still predominantly ethnicity- rather than nation-based" (Schneider 2007, 116). Usage patterns clustered around the mode of spoken language; the domains of friendship, family and education/work were shown to be salient, as well as the traditional bridging function of English in a multilingual country. Indo-Fijian respondents reported overall lower usage of the local variety of English than Fijian respondents, but it cannot be concluded whether or not this might be linked to different values attached to varieties of English with regard to international acceptance in the face of emigration and political pressures. Attitudes towards Fiji English comprised instrumental rather than affective components, and ranged from negative ("colonial cringe") to explicitly positive. None of the Indo-Fijian respondents' statements concerned diasporic connections, and none of the responses showed any kind of "enregisterment", or recognition of an Indian style of English in Fiji, which again questions the notion of an Indian diaspora in the minds of the Fiji Indian population. In sum, endonormative variety stabilization appears to be a stronger influence on the English spoken by Fiji's Indians than diasporic influence.

There are certain shortcomings to this study, among them certainly the unorthodox question design and the limited number of respondents. A further loophole is the fact that it cannot be ruled out that some participants might have understood "in which contexts do you prefer to use English in Fiji, in contrast to the vernacular languages?", instead of "in which contexts do you prefer to use Fiji English?". Two comments seem to betray this misconception (examples (51) and (52)).

(51) I prefer speaking in english because it our best language

(52) The English language has become a big part of my life and most of the time I forget to speak my own mother tongue.

Apart from the shortcomings that the questionnaire design presented, all attitude studies are prone to social desirability bias and acquiescence bias (although less so when conducted in written form). The latter, however, could be a serious skewing factor in this investigation in the following way: By presenting the respondents with the term *Fiji English* in print on the questionnaire sheet, more respondents might have adopted it in their answers, and might have shown greater tendencies to admit using this variety. This is an issue of the present study that could not be resolved. However, research on language attitudes towards ESL varieties is a very recent topic (see e.g. Tan & Tan 2008; Sand 2011) and is well worth investigating in future studies on Fiji English on a greater scale – either using indirect methods

such as the matched-guise technique or larger-scale open-ended methods that could be evaluated for example in a multi-rater cluster analysis ("concept mapping", see Jackson & Trochim 2002).

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CHAPTER 10

Transnational flows, language variation, and ideology

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Migrant groups maintain ties to their region of origin to different degrees, but this variable factor has not been consistently integrated into sociolinguistic studies of diaspora communities. A balanced consideration of transnational interaction, as well as the social valuation of such ties, is needed in order to understand the development of diasporic varieties. This article examines the role of 'material' and 'ideological' conduits of transnational influence: Does a person's transnational activity influence their language use? And can their ideologies of distant varieties, in particular Indian English (IndE), influence their language use as well? Focusing on the use of an IndE accent feature among second generation members of a British Punjabi community, I first develop an exploratory metric to track the impact of transnational activity on language behaviour. The analysis finds decreasing transnational activity over time as well as, independently, decreasing correlation with transnational factors. A qualitative consideration of the participants' interviews points to positive alignment with educated IndE as a relatively prestigious variety, supporting not just a material but also an ideological basis for maintaining selected IndE accent features.

Keywords: transnationalism, ideology, British Asian diaspora, Indian English

1. Introduction

Communities that have arisen as a result of migration are often described in terms such as 'immigrant', 'diasporic', and 'transnational'. Although often used interchangeably, these terms tend to correspond to differences in how much ties are maintained with the region of origin. In an age of unprecedented international travel and long-distance communication, these social practices may play an important role in how the linguistic and cultural systems of migrant communities develop. In particular, they may affect whether a distinctive variety in the new

group emerges and whether a heritage language is maintained. Yet these factors are still relatively new and under-theorized in sociolinguistic research.

Sustained transnational ties might directly influence the direction and rate of development of a new variety, and might counteract assimilation into the majority variety. Alternatively, they might show no influence at all, for instance if the local peer environment in early language acquisition is a stronger factor. An analysis of transnational activity can thus clarify the relative balance of local acquisitional and global social forces in the process of dialect change. The first part of this study examines the degree of influence over time that an individual's transnational ties exert on the variety of English they use.

If transnational activity does influence language variation, are actual 'physical' network links the only conduit for this influence? Or can ideology, independent of the presence or absence of actual ties, be strong enough to influence usage as well? Transnational ties connect not just individuals but speech varieties too, so in principle transnational dynamics could give rise to new language ideologies and changing valuations of, and thus relative influence of, varieties (Heller 2007).

The second part of this study therefore turns from 'face-to-face' transmission effects to ideological effects. In particular, it assesses whether British Asians associate Indian English (IndE) with low status, deriving from a perceived non-native status or regional stereotyping, or higher status, deriving from an increasingly stable and prestigious pan-Anglophone status for Standard IndE (Hoffmann, Hundt & Mukherjee 2011), and whether these valuations seem to relate to linguistic practices.

The diasporic social effects to be explored can thus be framed as two questions:

> Question 1 (*Transnational ties*):
> Does a person's transnational activity influence their language use?
>
> Question 2 (*Language ideology*):
> What ideologies are ascribed to distant varieties, in particular IndE, and can these influence language use as well?

These questions will be examined in relation to a Punjabi community in West London. Members of this community vary significantly in whether and how they maintain transnational ties, depending on social, historical, and economic factors.

So *who* in the community should we study? I focus here on second-generation members of the community, following Vertovec (2009, 75–76):

> High among questions and criticisms regarding the transnational lens on migration are issues as to how members of second and subsequent generations are affected by transnationalism. There is one common view that transnational

> practices among second-generation youth are currently minimal and likely to dwindle further in the course of time. However, another view – and one in line with an understanding of how a transnational habitus is shaped and acted upon – suggests that there exist 'strong influences in 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 & Waters 2002, 4).

Vertovec goes on to note that intensive transnational exchange can occur at particular life-stages among the second generation and considerable variety can exist across different second-generation groups. This diversity derives not only from social diversity within communities, but from the fact that migration history does not stop once a local generation is born. Members of the second generation are born at different points of the community's continuing development, a point obscured by the focus in many studies on younger local-born individuals (note this blurring in the phrase "second-generation youth" in the quote above).

Focusing on second-generation people of different ages, this study will show that being born earlier or later in the history of the migrant community has a profound impact on social activity, language variation, and ideology (see Sharma 2011 and Sharma & Sankaran 2011 for further evidence of age differences).

In responding to Question 1, the analysis first notes some methodological obstacles in quantifying and interpreting the relative strength of transnational factors. Despite these, an exploratory correlational analysis of transnational activity and language use does suggest that a person's level of transnational social activity influences their use of an Asian-derived dialect feature in English. However, these effects are strongest in the earliest second generation. Later stages show continued use of Asian dialect style, but with new local meanings that are much less clearly tied to personal transnational activity.

In relation to Question 2, a qualitative analysis of meta-linguistic commentaries indicates that the urban middle class variety of Standard IndE has emerged from being a stigmatized variety to being a stable and valued reference point in the diaspora, even accruing prestige associations and possibly influencing the choice of variables maintained in diasporic varieties.

These transnational effects, both linguistic and ideological, may account in part for the lasting presence of Asian speech styles among later generations of British Asians.

2. Transnational communities

A vast literature has arisen around the themes of transnationalism and diaspora. Not all descriptions of these states and processes can be applied straightforwardly to the narrower sociolinguistic processes of language acquisition, variation, and change. This section identifies a few core themes from the wider literature on transnationalism that are relevant to sociolinguistics, and then briefly outlines social and historical details of the West London Punjabi community.

2.1 Transnationalism and sociolinguistics

Transnationalism has been described as "a set of sustained long-distance, border-crossing connections" (Vertovec 2004, 3). In wider social theory and social sciences, transnationalism has attracted interest for some decades now because it has forced analysts to rethink certain traditional notions of social structure. Of particular interest to sociolinguistics are notions of community, norms, acquisition, ideology, and transmission across generations. I focus more narrowly on these in this section. I address the more practical question of how transnational activity is measured later in Section 3.

Early on in theorizing transnationalism, Gupta and Ferguson (1992, 9) observed that "[s]omething like a transnational public sphere has certainly rendered any strictly bounded sense of community or locality obsolete. At the same time, it has enabled the creation of forms of solidarity and identity that do not rest on an appropriation of space where contiguity and face-to-face contact are paramount."

But linguists have long recognised the centrality of face-to-face interaction for language acquisition. How easily can Gupta and Ferguson's descriptions of fundamentally transformed social worlds apply to the minutiae of accent and dialect acquisition and use? How readily does their dismantling of 'community' apply to 'speech community'?

First, the expansion of communities beyond the 'local' need not render face-to-face interaction less relevant; as we will see in the discussion of Question 1 later, despite extraordinary distances, many forms of transnational activity act precisely to ensure regular face-to-face interaction with non-local groups.

Second, much sociolinguistic research has clarified that, beyond face-to-face interaction, an important role must be given to more agentive 'acts of identity' (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985) and 'initiative' design in speech (Bell 2001), such that language variation can be influenced by allegiance to more removed groups, even 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1991), in which a direct or local personal network may not be a core property. The notion of imagined communities has been invoked in sociolinguistics to account for the social dynamics of

numerous scenarios, including language learning (Pavlenko & Norton 2007), language contact (Omoniye 2004), regional dialects (Llamas 2006; Mendoza-Denton 2010), and, most relevant to the present work, diasporic Asian speech communities (Shankar 2008; Bhatt 2010). This ideological mediation of language variation, sustained through some transnational activity but also through ideologies that develop through those experiences, applies in particular to the later discussion of Question 2.

A number of ethnographic and sociolinguistic studies have reflected on the role of transnational flows and ties. I describe a sample here, first more qualitative and then more quantitative, to highlight shared concerns and concepts across the field.

An important qualitative study of a comparable South Asian diasporic community is Shankar's (2008) anthropological study of second-generation South Asian teenagers in California. She observes distinct migration and class histories within the South Asian community (e.g. differences in the realisation of an idealised American dream of upward mobility), which in turn correspond to distinct social and transnational dynamics.

In the context of Britain, Harris (1996) noted a gap in the study of ethnicity in British cultural studies, one that lies at the heart of the present research. He argues that, perhaps due to an inordinate focus on youth subcultural frameworks, insufficient attention has been paid to the older populations in ethnic minority communities, particularly in the context of British Caribbean groups (though this holds for most ethnic minority groups). He proposes that we turn our attention to older historical agents within these stories. The findings of the present study highlight the importance of doing so, as a binding force between South Asia and younger British Asians is revealed to be the earliest (oldest) British-born group, often overlooked in sociolinguistic studies of minority groups.

Rampton (2011; 2013) and Sharma (2012) indicate important interactions in the indexing of migration status and ethnicity in the community over time, such that British class structure increasingly intersects with originally migration-linked forms. Finally, Harris, Leung, and Rampton (2002) raise an important further point, namely that not all diasporic individuals present in the British scene are committed to permanent migration. I return to implications of this point in Section 5.

A number of studies have also attempted to estimate the influence of diasporic links in quantitative terms.

Meyerhoff and Walker (2007) investigated the effect on grammatical variation of periodic, sometimes extended, travel abroad from the island of Bequia, in the Grenadines, by groups they termed 'urban sojourners'. As with Harris et al.'s (2002) description above, these can be long-term but not permanent migrants.

Their importance for sociolinguistics lies in offering some insight into the question of lifespan change. Meyerhoff and Walker found that although these individuals may sound different, their underlying grammars are not substantially restructured through extended transnational contact, at least not for a variable with low social awareness. They note, importantly, that the real social networks of such sojourners must be measured, not simply the overall time spent away from the island. If the individual "taps into and embeds himself/herself in dense social networks of expatriate speakers" while away, the new contact situation might be expected to exert a weaker effect (Meyerhoff & Walker 2007, 360).

Li Wei (1994), investigating a comparable community in Britain, the Chinese community in Newcastle, used Milardo's (1988) tripartite distinction of active, passive, and exchange ties, where passive ties in particular can include affective bonds based on more irregular or infrequent interaction. His 'Chinese ethnic index' specifically measured, within each category, the proportion of Chinese pre-migration links within the network, and he showed that code-switching practices correspond to differences in network. Wong (2007) adapts this methodology in a study of Chinese-Americans, but includes a close quantification of cultural lifestyle choices as well, and finds that selected phonetic variables correlate with a combination of these factors. In related work, Matsumoto and Britain (2009) draw a parallel between migration and post-colonial scenarios, suggesting that whereas pre-migration links may be important in a migrant community, in a post-colonial context (in their study, Palau), pre-colonial links appear to serve a similar function, and they use a similar 'Japanese ethnic index' to measure such links.

Many of the articles in the present volume also address the question of transnational effects. Alam and Stuart-Smith (this volume) note dense networks and sustained transnational practices in the Pakistani community in Glasgow; it is conceivable that these might vary systematically with the communities of practice they describe. And Hundt (this volume) points to the interesting case of two younger women whose article use suggest a stronger influence of transnational and attitudinal factors than age of migration.

In sum, although transnational ties inevitably complicate the analysis of migrant groups, a balanced consideration of local and supralocal ties, as well as the ideological status ascribed to those ties, is certainly possible. Indeed, the inclusion of such considerations is increasingly desirable for a more complete understanding of change in diasporic varieties as well as in original 'source' varieties.

2.2 The present community[1]

South Asians, at 7.5% of the total population in 2011, are the largest ethnic minority in the UK. 35.9% of this ethnic group lives in London, and major concentrations of Asians reside in the West London boroughs of Ealing and Hounslow. The data for this study were collected from a small town in Ealing called Southall. Since the mid-20th century, Southall has attracted Punjabi speakers from India, Pakistan, and East Africa and it is still considered the historic heart of the Punjabi, and in particular Sikh, community.[2] Demographic estimates vary: The 2011 Census found that out a total population of 98,000, 69.5% were classified as non-White ethnicity, and 51% as Asian. Some neighbourhoods in the Borough have very high concentrations of Asians, even by official Census figures, e.g. 80.7% in the ward of Southall Broadway. Other sources (DMAG 2006; Ealing JSNA 2010) estimate higher statistics for minority ethnicities and Asians in Southall. Taking into account undocumented residents, it is reasonable to estimate that the Asian population exceeds 60% and the overall ethnic minority population may exceed 80%.

The population of Southall includes both India-born (Gen 1) and British-born (Gen 2 and Gen 3) residents. Members of the Gen 1 group were born in South Asia and migrated to the UK in adulthood; this group is continually renewed through ongoing migration. Due to their continuous arrival, the Gen 2 group – born in West London of India-born parents – has a very diverse age range. The earliest British-born are now in their 50s, even 60s, but children being born now to recent India-born migrants are also technically Gen 2 individuals.

This study focuses on the second generation but from a historical perspective, dividing this group into older and younger members. All the individuals in the present study were raised in West London and all have first-generation parents who grew up in South Asia.

The recent history of Southall is of central importance to an analysis of transnational activity and language use. Although transnational flows have been maintained for over half a century by a continually replenished Gen 1 presence, the

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1. Background descriptions of the community (Section 2.2) and of the coding of the phonetic feature (Section 3.2) are based on descriptions first presented in Sharma and Sankaran (2011).

2. Other South Asian languages are concentrated in different London neighborhoods, e.g. Gujarati in Wembley and Bengali in East London. The participants in this study are overwhelmingly of Indian Punjabi heritage; one family is of Pakistani Punjabi heritage, but the foreign-born members of this family were born before the creation of Pakistan. In terms of religion, the participants are also overwhelmingly Sikh, with a minority of Muslim and Hindu individuals. A strong shared Punjabi identification cross-cuts these differences.

wider history of the community can be divided into two broad phases, during which social practices have transformed gradually leading to incremental changes in transnational practices in Gen 2.

Phase I (*late 1940s-late 1980s*): In the post-war period, the UK faced severe labor shortages and encouraged labor migration from former colonies through the British Nationality Act of 1948, which permitted 'Commonwealth citizens' to enter the UK without restriction. The Asian population grew substantially between 1948 and 1971, before a series of immigration acts began to limit numbers. By the late 1970s, 30% of the population of Southall was Asian – still a minority but a large and highly visible one. The economic climate and British public opinion had shifted, and Southall became a lightning rod for racial tension (CARF 1981, 43; Oates 2002, 107). Far-right, anti-immigration parties held rallies in the town, leading to violent riots and racially motivated deaths (CARF 1981). These experiences were formative for older Gen 2 participants, all of whom repeatedly alluded to them in their interviews.

Our interview data indicate that early Asian migrants during this period maintained many traditional Asian practices with their Gen 2 children, including transnational arranged marriages (i.e. spouses from India), greater social restrictions on girls, and an expectation that boys would enter their fathers' businesses, which tended to be transnational in nature.

Phase II (*late 1980s-present*): Although racial tension persisted through the 1990s, the second phase of Asian history in Southall is characterized by a striking reduction of overt hostilities. It is no coincidence that this change in race relations corresponds to a shift in Southall demographics, such that the Commonwealth heritage population, mostly South Asians, became the majority and the white community the minority (Oates 2002, 107; Meads 1983). Southall schools became dramatically more multi-racial, with the proportion of minority ethnic origin students in Ealing schools now ranging from 40% to 99% (Ealing JSNA 2010, 18). Today, many public signs in Southall are in English and Punjabi (even at the local pub) and the town's lively Punjabi atmosphere – bhangra music, Indian restaurants, clothing and jewellery shops – is well-known in London.[3]

The content of our interview data reveals a stark difference in lived experience and social practices among the younger Gen 2 people raised during this phase. These children grew up in a climate in which wider British society accepted an increasingly visible, legitimated, even celebrated, middle class British Asian culture (Herbert 2009; Sharma 2011). These participants rarely volunteer narratives of

3. Several participants even suggested that the high point of Punjabi culture in Southall may have passed, with an upwardly mobile movement of South Asians out of the area and new, non-Asian migrants coming in.

racial tension. More importantly for the present study, a consistent shift emerges such that traditional Punjabi social practices are less unquestioned: arranged marriages are less common, transnational arranged marriages are extremely rare, it is unusual for a boy to go into his father's business, employment is overwhelmingly in British-based industries, and girls are far better educated, marry later, and have more professional employment than older Gen 2 women.

Sharma (2011) and Sharma and Sankaran (2011) found relatively sustained use of Punjabi-influenced dialect features as well as bilingual use of Punjabi; however, they also found that growing up during these very distinct historical phases corresponded to differences within the dialect grammars and style repertoires of these groups.

The quantitative segment of this study will explore: (i) whether the different social practices during different phases led to differences in degree of transnational activity (Section 4), (ii) whether transnational activity exerts an influence on language use, and (iii) whether this influence is steady or declining (Section 5).

Moffatt and Milroy (1992, 139), in a study of British Punjabi children's code-switching, offer the intriguing speculation that Punjabi and Bengali communities may not be experiencing "such a sharp inter-generational disjunction as the Chinese community", suggesting that the nature of interpersonal ties in these communities may differ. However, their comments overlook a potentially important feature that distinguishes South Asian diasporic communities from many others. This is the presence of IndE and stable, widespread English-Hindi and English-Punjabi code-switching registers in India (unlike China), which can form an important cultural and norm-setting reference point.

Such transnational sociolinguistic reference points must be taken into account. In the case of London, an additional reference point is the steady rise in upper middle class and upper class South Asian 'sojourners' (Cohen 1997), or temporary transnational residents, who count Standard IndE and code-switched English among their primary varieties. In Section 6 – the qualitative analysis of language ideologies circulating in the community – I elaborate on the potential influence of this group within the wider South Asian London social space.

3. Methodology: Measuring transnational activity and language variation

Semi-ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in the community over a period of nine months. Participants were approached through a number of points of entry into the community, including local establishments such as restaurants and shops, a local radio station, and friend-of-a-friend recommendations. In the wider project, a total of 75 participants were recorded twice for a total of approximately

120 hours.[4] The first recording was a sociolinguistic interview, lasting 1–2 hours; these recordings were the source of the phonetic data used here. The second recording had the explicit goal of collecting detailed information on biography, network, bilingualism, and cultural preferences (e.g. music, TV, cinema, leisure activities); these recordings were 0.5–2 hours long and were used to calculate the transnationalism index in the present study. A subset of participants conducted self-recordings in diverse speech situations in the absence of either researcher; these 38 recordings are not examined in detail in this article (see Sharma 2011), but do inform a wider understanding of individual social practices.

The present study reports on Gen 2 participants, and only on the subset of 23 for whom recordings are fully transcribed and coded. The older Gen 2 group are aged 36–55, while the younger group are aged 18–35. As noted, the older group grew up during Phase I, outlined earlier, and the younger group grew up during Phase II.

Methodological decisions for the quantitative analysis of Question 1 are outlined in this section. For the qualitative discussion of ideologies in Section 5, interview content that related to questions about India and IndE was extracted and analysed.

3.1 How should transnational activity be measured?

In addressing the practical challenge of measuring transnationalism, an immediate question that arises is whether we should measure only 'real' social interactions, virtual and physical, or also cultural practices that signal close identification with the country of origin. Vertovec (2005, 3–4) distinguishes between transnationalism and diaspora along these lines:

> When actual exchanges of resources or information, or marriages or visits, take place across borders between members of a diaspora themselves or with people in the homeland, we can say these are transnational activities; to be transnational means to belong to two or more societies at the same time. At that moment, the diaspora functions as a transnational community. When such exchanges do not take place (sometimes over many generations), but people maintain identification with the homeland and co-ethnics elsewhere, there is only a diaspora. In this way, not all diasporas are transnational communities, but transnational communities arise within diasporas.

4. Light-weight portable recorders (Sony MZ-RH1 and M-Audio Microtrack 24/96) were used with lapel microphones in interviews; Zoom H2 recorders with lapel microphones were used in self-recordings.

Thus, 'actual' or *direct* exchanges can be contrasted with more *indirect* forms of transnational contact. The circulation of more indirect cultural presences and practices are of great interest and may show some links with language use in ethnic minority communities (Hoffman & Walker 2010; Sharma & Sankaran 2011, fn. 7). However, as they involve more diffuse diasporic cultural flows, and our focus is on transnationalism, the analysis will focus on direct transnational exchange such as travel to India, long-distance communication, and marriage.

The three broad alternatives for classifying Gen 2 (or any) individuals according to transnational activity is to develop a continuous index, a set of ordinal (ranked) categories, or a set of nominal (qualitatively different and unranked) categories.

The four main categories that derive the index used in the present work are: an individual's self-reported frequency of travel to South Asia, their self-reported frequency of communication, the national origin and upbringing of their spouse, and whether their job requires direct engagement with India.[5] All four favour one of the first two options above, namely a continuous or ordinal measure of *degree* of activity rather than nominal categories.

A transnational index was derived from the four main measures listed above. Individuals could receive one of three values for their frequency of travel to India: '0' if they have travelled to India 0–5 times in their lifetime, '1' if they have travelled more frequently but still less than annually, and '2' if they travel annually or more.[6] Similarly, for frequency of communication, they receive values of '0' for describing their interaction as minimal to occasional, e.g. less than weekly, and '1' for describing it as regular to frequent. Individuals receive '1' if they have a spouse born and raised in India, and '0' for either a British Asian or a non-Asian spouse. And finally, they receive '0' for work that involves no particular involvement with India as opposed to '1' for work that requires business trips or main business partners in India.

Technically this constitutes a continuous index. However, because the total value possible is 5, and the values allocated are whole numbers, the resulting values only include whole numbers ranging from 0 to 5. So the index effectively consists of a 6-category ordinal scale.

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5. With only two exceptions involving Pakistan, all South Asian ties involve India, so I refer to India throughout.

6. A finer measure could build in length and type of stay as well, which can be a very important factor in the quality of interactions involved. Similarly, more ethnographic detail in the measure of work-related travel might factor in a measure of the balance of use of IndE and of other languages in interaction.

Network ties are an obvious element of transnational influence, as highlighted in earlier work (Li Wei 1994, Milroy & Li Wei 1995, Wong 2007). In particular, a further form of Asian contact takes the form of family and friends in the UK who belong to the first generation, i.e. who were raised in South Asia. This represents a type of connection to South Asia, but falls partly in the category of *indirect,* or what Vertovec classifies above as diasporic rather than transnational, influence. Furthermore, to some extent these ties are not as much a matter of choice as other types of transnational activity (e.g. all Gen 2 have India-raised parents). More optional South Asian (non-British Asian) network ties, in the form of marriage and work relationships, are incorporated into the four measures listed above. Complete network information, including full measures of kin and friendship ties as well as wider cultural practices, has been coded in detail for this dataset and is being assessed in ongoing research (Sharma 2013). Given the considerations above and space limitations, fine details of network distinctions are excluded from the present index, but broad network effects are captured.

Finally, as noted earlier, other related cultural choices and practices, such as taking language classes, participating in community activities, and taste in music, TV, and cinema, were also coded but not included in the transnational index, which more narrowly measures active interaction with India. (Sharma and Sankaran suggest that these cultural practices are so closely tied to linguistic practices, that they are effectively endogenous variables that should not be treated as independent factors.)

3.2 Coding postalveolar articulation of /t/

The phonetic feature examined in relation to the transnational index, as part of Question 1, is postalveolar articulation of /t/ in the English spoken by participants. Although the focus is on just one phonetic feature, other analyses from the wider project indicate strongly that both further English accent features (Sharma 2011) and maintenance of Punjabi use (Sharma 2013) show some correspondence to the patterns noted in the present analysis.

Postalveolar articulation of /t/ is one of the most salient properties of IndE. Retroflexion – a contrastive obstruent series in most Indic languages (Bhatia 1993) – is an articulation of consonants involving retraction of the tongue tip in the postalveolar region, with considerable variation in point of articulation and tongue shape (Masica 1993; Heselwood & McChrystal 2000). Punjabi and Hindi have a contrast between retroflex and dental stops absent in British English (BrE), which only has an alveolar stop. Conversely, Punjabi and Hindi do not have an alveolar stop, and alveolar /t/ and /d/ are commonly replaced by retroflex or retracted variants in IndE (Pingali 2009).

Sharma and Sankaran (2011) studied this feature in depth, but only from the point of view of broad social and linguistic factors. The study discovered systematic inter-generational changes in the use of the feature, but with no consideration of whether transnational activity correlated with its use.

As the 2330 tokens are subjected to auditory analysis only, I include all variants within the range of postalveolar retraction beyond British alveolar /t/.[7] The coding thus encompasses a range of retroflex and retracted forms. Heselwood and McChrystal (2000) also group 'retroflex/postalveolar' in their analysis, and the presence of a similar range within the source languages supports this grouping. However, recent research has shown that finer phonetic distinctions can be measured between retroflex and postalveolar stops among British Asians, and can have important social correlates (Alam & Stuart-Smith, this volume; Lambert et al. 2007; Alam 2007; Kirkham 2011). These distinct articulations are almost certainly distributed differently across the generations examined here, and so closer analysis at the phonetic level is very much warranted in future work on the present data. Nevertheless, the whole range is associated with South Asianness (Heselwood & McChrystal 2000; Lambert et al. 2007), and so for the present analysis we look at this entire range in relation to South Asian network ties.

Postalveolar /t/ was selected for several reasons. First, it does not occur as a variant of /t/ in indigenous BrE varieties and so is clearly an exogenous element in a British context, with a consistent indexical value linked to Asianness. Second, the feature is highly salient in the community (Rampton 1995; Alam 2007; Lambert et al. 2007; Chun 2007), and is cited by many participants as typical of Asian speech, so is above the level of consciousness to some degree. This not only facilitates reliable auditory coding, but can also make a feature more readily adopted or discarded (Trudgill 1986). Third, the feature has been studied in previous work on British Asian communities, but only with respect to younger UK-born speakers; the present work can help to contextualize those findings within change over time in the community.

Articulation of /t/ was coded in three positions: syllable-initial, word-medial, and word-final. A minimum of 50 instances (maximum 100, where possible) of /t/ were coded for each speaker in each of the 3 positions, so each speaker was coded for 150–300 tokens. No more than 5 tokens per type were coded. The variants for syllable-initial /t/ were [t] and [ʈ], where the latter IPA symbol includes a broad phonetic range. Five variants were coded word-medially and word-finally: [t], [ʈ], [ɾ], ø, [ʔ]. Internal (linguistic) factors were coded differently for each context, due to different potential conditioning factors in different positions. In

7. In order to check the reliability of our auditory coding, 5% of the data were coded blind by both coders, resulting in an inter-rater reliability of 90%.

the earlier study, these internal factors and a range of social factors (excluding transnational effects) were examined; see Sharma and Sankaran (2011) for details. Here, only overall rates of use of the Asian variant are considered.

4. Transnational activity in the present community

Let us first set aside language use and simply examine patterns of transnational activity among the four main demographic sub-groups of the second generation of British Asians in Southall: older men, older women, younger men, and younger women. It is important to remember that all groups are *second* generation: they were all raised in the UK by first-generation parents.

Tables 10.1–10.4 present the four dimensions of transnational activity outlined in Section 3 for each individual under analysis. The final column provides the cumulative transnational index value for each person.[8]

The patterns of transnational activity within Gen 2 in Tables 10.1–10.4 illustrate a number of systematic changes over time.

Table 10.1 Transnational activity among older Gen 2 men

Name	Visits to India	Communication with India	Spouse/ partner	India-linked work	Transnational index
Anwar	1x per year	regular for work	South Asian	yes	5
Naseem	1x per year	regular for work	South Asian	yes	5
Sharan	3x per year	regular for work	Non-Asian	yes	4
Satpal	3	little	British Asian	no	0

Table 10.2 Transnational activity among older Gen 2 women

Name	Visits to India	Communication with India	Spouse/ partner	India-linked work	Transnational index
Rani	every 1–2 years	little	South Asian	yes	4
Nimmi	1–4x per year	often	British Asian	yes	4
Amrita	1–2x per year	moderate	Unmarried	no	3
Jaipreet	every 2–3 yrs	little	South Asian	no	2
Isha	every year till 1995	little	British Asian	no	1
Simran	1 visit since 11	little	British Asian	no	0

8. All names are anonymised.

Table 10.3 Transnational activity among younger Gen 2 men

Name	Visits to India	Communication with India	Spouse/ partner	India-linked work	Transnational index
Ravinder	every 2 years (one 4-year stay)	moderate	None	no	1
Anand	every 2 years	little	None	no	1
Vikas	every 4–5 years	little	British Asian	no	1
Prashant	3	moderate	British Asian	no	0
Sameer	1	none	British Asian	no	0
Kirpal	1	little	None	no	0
Rohan	3	none	None	no	0

Table 10.4 Transnational activity among younger Gen 2 women

Name	Visits to India	Communication with India	Spouse/ partner	India-linked work	Transnational index
Deepti	4 (one 2-year stay)	none	Non-Asian	earlier yes, now no	2
Guddi	6	little	British Asian	no	1
Renu	6	none	None	no	1
Rita	5	little	British Asian	no	1
Preeti	1	little	Non-Asian	no	0
Namrita	0	little	Non-Asian	no	0

A decrease in transnational travel over time is noticeable. Older Gen 2 men and women favour annual or near-annual visits. By contrast, many younger Gen 2 men and women have only visited a couple of times in their life. Three younger Gen 2 individuals have visited only once and one has never visited. Even taking into account the difference in age between the older and younger groups, travel is less frequent in the younger group.

Transnational travel could be class-linked, as it is costly to travel between the UK and Asia. Sameer and Simran mention cost as a constraint. However, Amy, who is also working class and among the poorest of the participants in the project, spent much of her earnings on near-annual travel, in keeping with the typical practice of her generation. Furthermore, social mobility means that younger individuals such as Namrita and Preeti have greater financial resources than some others, yet rarely travel to India. So a generational shift in social practices is probably a stronger factor in the decline of transnational travel than income per se.

A preference for ethnically Asian partners is fairly consistent across all groups, although we see a clear shift from South Asian to British Asian partners with

age. We also see that younger Gen 2 women are the only group in which several individuals have non-Asian partners (this supports Sharma's 2011 discussion of gendered changes in community orientation and network types). A change that underlies these shifts is a moderate decrease in arranged marriage practices. All the younger Gen 2 individuals are in their twenties and unmarried, with the exception of Deepti, who was 35 and divorced. In all younger Gen 2 cases, arranged marriage was still a possibility, but almost certainly with a British Asian partner. By contrast, a common practice among parents of older Gen 2 individuals was to find a South Asian partner. This, combined with a shift to more nuclear family structures and practices, is another source of decreased transnational communication among the younger Gen 2 group.

Finally, systematic changes in employment patterns also influence transnational activity. Older Gen 2 men typically went into their father's businesses (in Table 10.1, all did; however, Satpal was unhappy and changed careers). This meant in all cases a high level of travel to Asia for work-related business and dense Asian ties. By the younger Gen 2, almost no individuals went into their parents' businesses, with correspondingly little work-related travel to Asia.

The transnational index in Tables 10.1 and 10.2 show that the older groups exhibit the greatest amount of diversity in transnational activity, including some of the highest rates. The index values in Tables 10.3 and 10.4, in contrast, show lower transnational activity and lower variation in the younger groups.

Recall that all four groups presented here are second-generation individuals, born to first-generation migrant parents. So the clear decline from high to low values does not correspond to migration stage in generational terms, but rather to changing social practices over time within the second generation in this community.

In the next section, I evaluate two aspects of this measure of transnational activity: Does an individual's level of transnational activity correlate with their use of postalveolar /t/? And if so, is this effect steady over time?

5. Transnational activity and language variation

Tables 10.5–10.8 repeat the transnational index value for each individual, alongside their rate of use of postalveolar /t/ variants.

I do not present statistical measures for the data for two reasons. First, space limitations prevent a full consideration of other social factors, most of which (aside from transnational activity) were examined in the detailed regression analysis presented in Sharma and Sankaran (2011). Second, even though Spearman's correlation coefficient is appropriate for small sample sizes of below 20 (Neave

Table 10.5 Transnational activity and language use (older Gen 2 men)

Name	Transnational index	% retracted /t/ in interview
Anwar	5	37.8
Naseem	5	14.9
Sharan	4	0.9
Satpal	0	1.1

Table 10.6 Transnational activity and language use (older Gen 2 women)

Name	Transnational index	% retracted /t/ in interview
Rani	4	27.6
Nimmi	4	13.7
Amrita	3	31.3
Jaipreet	2	6.0
Isha	1	9.4
Simran	0	10.5

Table 10.7 Transnational activity and language use (younger Gen 2 men)

Name	Transnational index	% retracted /t/ in interview
Ravinder	1	9.2
Anand	1	19.5
Vikas	1	0.0
Prashant	0	16.7
Sameer	0	20.8
Kirpal	0	22.0
Rohan	0	27.3

Table 10.8 Transnational activity and language use (younger Gen 2 women)

Name	Transnational index	% retracted /t/ in interview
Deepti	2	0.0
Guddi	1	2.1
Renu	1	1.3
Rita	1	1.0
Preeti	0	2.0
Namrita	0	1.0

& Worthington 1988), breaking the groups down by age as well as gender creates groups towards the lower bound of even correlation analysis. Fortunately, the groups are small enough to permit an informal visual examination of the predicted correlations in the vertical dimension, namely that numbers declining in the transnational index column will correlate with a similar decline in the phonetic variation column.

In Table 10.5 – older Gen 2 men – we see a close correspondence between /t/ retraction and individuals' degree of transnational activity. Older Gen 2 women (Table 10.6) similarly show an observable correlation between the two. Two apparent exceptions to the pattern are Sharan in Table 10.5 and Nimmi in Table 10.6, who both show low rates of /t/ retraction despite high transnational indices. In both cases, these individuals are less exceptional than they seem, as both in fact do show robust (nearly bidialectal) shifts to use of retracted /t/ and other Indian English variants in non-interview settings with certain kinds of Asian interlocutors.

When we turn to younger groups in Tables 10.7 and 10.8, we see two differences from the older groups. First, as we know, levels of transnational activity have dropped by this generation. The second difference is notable: Even taking this decline into account, we can see that the little range of transnational activity that remains does *not* correlate at all with use of retracted variants of /t/.

It would be conceivable that even with a decline in transnational activity, the remaining range of activity (e.g. ranging from '2' to '0' in Table 10.8) would still show a correlation with the accent feature, just corresponding to slightly lower levels of use. However, Table 10.8 shows no correlation with use of postalveolar variants of /t/, which are uniformly low in this group and so do not correlate with transnational flows. In Table 10.7, younger Gen 2 men show a similar, but more dramatic lack of correlation. Young men have, overall, a much higher average use of postalveolar /t/ than the women in Table 10.8, but the three highest users are the three men with the lowest transnational index values.

In sum, two *distinct* patterns of decline are found: (i) the level of transnational activity and (ii) the degree to which transnational activity, if present, influences language variation. Even when there is a strong correlation, it is important to remember that correlation need not imply causation. More likely, a linked cluster of social and linguistic practices weakens over time.

This may occur due to the generational changes in social practices described earlier. At least half of the older group exhibit or report bidialectal ability, arising from early and heavily transnational social practices, whereas none of the younger group do. This ability naturally makes a wider range of variables available, and subject to, finer control in the older group and, as noted elsewhere (Sharma & Rampton, forthcoming), this group engages continually in complex ethnopolitical

and bicultural positioning in discourse. By the time we reach the later phase of the community, i.e. the younger group, dialect use has focused further such that younger speakers, especially men, use their Asian-influenced variety as a 'default' and vary much less according to interlocutor and situational effects (Sharma & Sankaran 2011; Sharma 2011; Sharma & Rampton, forthcoming). By this stage, Asian-derived forms may have developed much more local, rather than transnational, meanings, causing the loss of correlation. This mirrors the findings of Alam and Stuart-Smith (this volume) and Mesthrie and Chevalier (this volume), both of which show the emergence of very local meanings for originally heritage forms. It may also be the case that when transnational activity drops below a certain threshold, it is no longer able to have as direct an impact on an individual's repertoire.

From the point of view of wider dynamics of diaspora and comparative analysis, it is worth noting that this new Asian style among young British Asians, frequently commented on in British public discourse, is not one that has necessarily developed across all Indian diaspora communities globally. For instance, second and third generation Asian Americans appear not to have developed as clearly distinctive an Asian speech style. These global divergences may point to deeper differences in how diaspora communities come to be embedded within systems of class, ethnicity, and social mobility in different receiving cultures.

A final question that arises from this analysis is whether we can generalise from just one accent feature to more general age differences in language use in the community. Sharma (2011) provides some support that the patterns presented here may not be restricted to postalveolar /t/ alone: that study shows that retracted /t/ clusters with other Asian phonetic features in the repertoires of these four age/gender groups in the second generation. Sharma (2013) indicates that Punjabi use may also parallel the English accent findings presented here to some extent, i.e. it corresponds more closely to transnational activity for older second-generation individuals.

So are 'real' face-to-face ties the only important mechanism for the transmission of language practices (e.g. Trudgill 2004; 2008)? Or is it possible that *ideologies about* speech variants and speech varieties influence language practices too, even at extraordinary distances? The final section turns to this question.

6. Transnational ideologies and language variation

In recent decades, India's status as a global presence has transformed. Although massive crises of development continue, the simple association of India with poverty in the West has shifted steadily with its economic growth, following market-based reforms and economic liberalisation after 1991. With its new place in

the global economy as part of the BRICS group of rapidly developing large economies, India has come to be equally associated with economic growth and competitive performance in numerous sectors, particularly information technology, telecommunications, industrial sectors, and services.

Nowhere has this transformation been more socially tangible than in the United Kingdom. Spectacular displays of wealth have become associated with Indians. Lakshmi Mittal, an Indian national and CEO of the largest steel company in the world, was ranked the richest man in the UK in 2007; his home in Central London was ranked the world's most expensive residence in 2004. Jaguar Land Rover, an iconic British automotive firm, was acquired and subsequently massively expanded by an Indian firm in 2008. In 2013, *The Economist* (July 27) reported on the substantial and visible presence of India's super-rich elite in London's most exclusive neighbourhood, Mayfair. This includes professionals, industrialists, film stars, and sports stars, all of whom have long favoured London as an overseas destination. And all of these groups are familiar with Southall, an established cultural reference point for the London South Asian diaspora.

This highly visible and influential group often does not involve permanent migration. They have second homes in London or live in London for limited periods of time, practicing what Harris, Leung and Rampton (2002) term 'sojourning', following Cohen (1997):

> new classes of people educated in a whole range of modern skills are now prepared to migrate or re-migrate and respond to the pull of centres of power and wealth and the new opportunities in trade and industry… these people are articulate, politically sensitive and choose their new homes carefully…
>
> (Cohen 1997, 164–165, cited by Harris et al. 2002, 36)

Harris et al. describe this as a prime example of "how globalisation encourages a reconceptualisation of ethnic relations, both in England and elsewhere" (p. 36).

Can we see evidence of such a reconceptualisation within language ideologies, even language practices, in diasporic groups? Has this increased presence in London of high status South Asians and their locally (in South Asia) high status variety of IndE, associated with wealth and transnational power, affected the perception and use of Indian forms among British Asians?

In this section, I examine related themes in the content of the recorded interviews with second-generation Southall community members: perceptions of the status of India, Indians, and IndE. In closing, I indicate briefly how these affiliations and orientations may affect real linguistic practices – in particular, inventories of variation – that we find in the group.

All participants were asked what they thought the perception of India was in the UK. Without exception, all second generation individuals reported either positive or improved perceptions of India, citing association such as information technology, becoming a global power, Lakshmi Mittal, and Bollywood. Prashant, one of the younger second-generation men, simply said: "*Gore* [white people] like India now."[9]

Participants did convey much more nuanced ideologies and assessments of attitudes to South Asians in other parts of their interviews, such as comments on the perception or behaviour of "freshies" (recent arrivals) or "pehndus" (villagers), both terms used widely with pejorative meaning. See, for instance, Rampton's (2011; 2013) discussion of complexities and tensions surrounding 'freshie' in the present data set. However, characterisations of these categories within the community were often not monolithic in their negative valuation, and tended to be informed by personal experiences and positionings. Among the second generation, we see surprisingly few seriously derogatory uses of these terms, with participants more often using the terms to address the experiences or perceptions of such groups. More than one participant expressed covert prestige affiliations with the category of "freshie", as in (1):

(1) *Rita, a 19-year-old second-generation woman, is commenting on what "freshie" means. Basma is a close friend, also a second-generation British Asian, present during the interview. Romi is Rita's boyfriend, also second generation; he was not present.*

Rita: He [her brother] probably is the- probably the most Indian Indian you can come across. He's under- he calls himself undercover freshie. I call Basma a freshie sometimes. Because um she's just very freshie. Hehe. She's freshie because she's fresh. No just because um Basma's very traditional, as in she will have her headscarf and all that freshiness. So she's very freshie compared to me. I can be freshie. For example Romi. HE's freshie. He's so freshie, it's

9. A playful element of the interviews included conducting the infamous 'Tebbit test' or 'cricket test'. In 1990, a Conservative politician, Norman Tebbit, suggested in an interview that Britons of South Asian heritage who do not express support for the England cricket team are not culturally integrated. Plenty of politicians and members of the British public have noted that this view reveals a worrying ignorance of identity, history, migration, even sport. Out of over 70 participants in the wider project, spanning three generations, only 5 (all younger second generation individuals) claimed that they would support England over India. Given that the sample of British Asians all expressed moderate and broadly integrationist attitudes (e.g. uniformly believing that immigrants should learn English), all identified with being British, and included upwardly mobile professionals and successful businesspeople, the results both support the positive perceptions of India in this group and the baselessness of simplistic cultural measures of integration such as Tebbit's.

> unbelievable. He- that boy sings Punjabi songs like no man's business. And he always, whenever he talks to me, he will talk to me in Punjabi. And um I'm like 'babe i understand English' he's like °no you don't°, right we're Indians, right, stick to it… What else does he do? Um when he's on the phone to his friends.. his- his er tone of his voice suddenly becomes so freshie it's unbelievable. his accent- it's just like- he's talking in English, but he's still like got that freshiness in him. like that accent… Like Basma over here walks in with her traditional *salwar kamiz,* that's why I call her a freshie. And she's proud of it. I on the other hand need [phone rings] need an occasion [answers phone].

Rita's description of the term 'freshie' here builds a cluster of associations with social practices and language choices. She links two language features – Asian English accent features and the use of Punjabi – with freshiness. Yet Rita and her friends and siblings exhibit a strong ideological affinity with Punjabi "freshiness", if to varying degrees. Rita uses Punjabi in teasing side-interactions with Basma elsewhere in the interview, supporting her assertion that these language forms still have positive social value within younger second-generation interactions, if of a more local type.

Deriving from these broadly positive associations with Indianness are more specific evaluations of IndE in particular. One set of individuals, from a single family, fondly describe the IndE spoken by first generation migrants with lower English ability as 'bud-bud', specifically enregistering retroflexion in the /d/.

(2) a. Naseem (older Gen 2 man): The younger generation, yeah, they say that to eh you know he came he had a bud bud accent you know (xx). I think it's nice I think it's very very attractive bud bud accent you know. It's a lovely warm accent.

b. Naseem: But then when I'm speaking to a person… you know he's not-English is not his first language, then you tend to, I mean (xxx) my my daughter was saying to me 'you spoke to that person like bud-bud' you know. You know, but I- because that's the response I was getting.

c. Anwar (older Gen 2 man): My son says 'Dad, why do you speak bud-bud English?' I said, 'yaar if I speak properly to this guy… I need to get closer to him.'[10]

These older second-generation men cast the younger generation as policing this boundary between 'bud-bud' and more acceptable Englishes – which complicates the rosy picture painted by Rita in (1) – but they themselves readily express fondness for this speech and both describe convergent accommodation in (2b) and (2c) (see Sharma 2011 for evidence of active use of this lectal range by older men).

10. *Yaar*: Hindi 'friend'; functions similarly to the English discourse marker 'man'.

Interestingly, participants seem very aware that 'bud-bud' is not the only kind of IndE, and implicitly or explicitly distinguish it from higher status IndE. Naseem in (2b) describes 'bud-bud' as the English of a second language speaker, in stark contrast to the educated IndE described, for instance, by Namrita in (3).

(3) Namrita (young Gen 2 woman): I think people who've been educated e- er- in English b-back- from back home, their English, their English is grammatically better. Umm but then it's their accent or their knowing of you know, like, obviously if you go to America certain things and culture, culturally speaking how you use words and language in- and obviously that differs. So you can't share a joke in the same way as you might share it here you know, that kind of difference.

Notice Namrita's ready comparison of educated IndE to stable varieties such as American English (AmE), fully accepting its independent norms and not casting this type of IndE as a learner variety. Indeed, Namrita articulates a widespread ideology among diasporic Indians of educated IndE as 'grammatically better' than British and American varieties (see Sharma 2005 for similar ideologies among Indians in the United States).

How does this awareness of an educated, 'high' variety of IndE correspond to usage? Descriptions of this variety are in several cases accompanied by acknowledgements of style-shifting to accommodate to it, as in (4).

(4) a. Nimmi (older Gen 2 woman): Yeah so when you're when you're in India you talk completely different to when you are here. You still speak English, and their command of the English language is far better than the command of the English language in this country [the UK]. Far better. But obviously they have an accent and they have a dialect, you know, which they use. And you and you pick that up when you are there.

b. Shilpa (younger Gen 2 woman): (Interviewer: when you speak to someone from like India do speak to them in English with an Indian accent maybe? Or do you think that you speak to them like you normally speak, like to me?) No it automatically changes. Like if you- when I was in India and my cousin-sister, she would speak English with me? Because she speaks respectful, you think 'Come on Shilpa, you know, don't speak the slang words because, you know, you have to be good you know show them you know, yeah, you learnt proper you know'! Because, yeah, because they know proper English, like from the book yeah. What they read yeah. And we would like change words? It's really bad English but I'll be like try to be decent respectful English you know. (Do you speak like with an Indian accent with her?) Yeah with a Indian accent you know, how they speak. Like American, when they speak English, they speak English like American American accent?

Note that both Nimmi and Shilpa repeat Namrita's view that educated IndE is "better", in a prescriptive sense, than BrE, and Shilpa repeats Namrita's comparison to AmE, rather than to learner varieties, to explain the nature of differences between the two varieties. The overt prestige and stable norms accorded to educated IndE seem very clear.

From the point of view of the impact of this ideology on actual use, (4a) and (4b) show both older and younger women suggesting that they accommodate to this variety. Sharma (2011) showed substantial style-shifting among older men towards this variety in interactions as well.

Most strikingly, older middle-class transnational British Asians, e.g. Anwar, Naseem, Nimmi, and Sharan, who have had sustained transnational exposure and ties to educated IndE, show evidence of this influence in the *kinds* of Asian traits they themselves choose to use. In their own British Asian styles, these individuals show an absence or very selective use of marked Punjabi and typically learner traits and a clear retention of more 'high status' IndE features. Sharma and Tusha (2012) show that low stigma IndE forms such as quotative choice or absence of definite article allophony, an established feature of educated IndE, are much more common in second generation usage than typical learner forms such as absence of indefinite article allomorphy or variable subject agreement.

7. Conclusions

In this study, the impact of transnational relationships in a diasporic Punjabi community in West London has been examined from the perspective of language use and language ideology, using quantitative and qualitative analysis respectively.

A pattern of decreasing transnational ties was observed from older to younger second generation British Asians. Importantly, an independent pattern showed that the correlation between transnational activity and the use of retracted /t/ disappeared in the younger group, with the Asian English phonetic trait being retained but losing its clear link to transnational ties as was found among older individuals.

This may suggest either that below a certain threshold (as younger individuals all have less dense and multiplex ties to India), transnational ties lose their impact, or that with the passage of time, more local meanings come to be associated with forms, and so their use is driven by local rather than transnational indexical potential. This would likely correlate with shifts in phonetic quality as well (Alam & Stuart-Smith, this volume; Kirkham 2011).

In the analysis of ideological orientations, evidence of overt prestige for educated or Standard IndE emerged in both age groups, with some indication that

these ideological alignments have an active effect on selective use of certain Asian traits more than others, particularly among those (mainly older individuals) who have sufficient contact with and command of IndE to draw such fine distinctions.

These ideologies and imaginings of Indians and their speech are notable for the ways in which participants, even younger British Asians, find myriad points of positive affiliation. Even with diminishing personal ties to South Asia, second-generation discourses, ideologies, and activities are infused with positive affiliations, and the variety is not simply reserved for voicing cultural distance or mocking 'parent' or outsider positions. The findings also support claims of the emergence of IndE as an increasingly stable global, or at least 'epicentre', variety (Hoffmann, Hundt & Mukherjee 2011).

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Index