Language Choices of Pakistani Canadians in the Peel Region

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
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Master of Arts 2016

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Abstract

This qualitative study explores the home language experiences, language choices and use of the Canadian families of Pakistani origin living in the Region of Peel. Language loss among migrants in Canada has been pointed out in a number of studies. The study investigates whether families of Pakistani origin, who are known for their societal bi/multilingualism, are able to maintain their home/heritage language(s) (HLs) after moving to Canada. The results indicate that their language choices and patterns of use are changing. The first generation Pakistani Canadians who arrived in Canada at the age of 14 or older are bi/plurilingual, whereas those who arrived below that age seem to be on their way to becoming monolingual English speakers, despite parental interest in the intergenerational transmission of their HL(s). The thesis broaches youth attitudes towards parental heritage language maintenance strategies and French as a second language schooling.
Acknowledgements

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I express my gratitude to Dr. Jim Cummins, whose works have inspired me to cultivate interest in home/heritage language maintenance and develop better understanding around the heritage language programs in Ontario. Thank you, Danae Florou: it is you who introduced me to the heritage language programs in Ontario and laid down the foundations of the present enterprise. Formal and informal discussions with peers like Alison Altidor-Brooks, Angelica Galante, Amir Kalan, Bapujee Biswabandan, Max Antony-Newman and Yecid Ortega Páez have always been insightful and provided me with abundant opportunities for learning and reflecting.
Thanks are due to my sister, Dr. Afroze Anjum and my brother-in-law, Dr. Tayyab Rashid who encouraged me to embark on this journey.

This thesis (and my master’s program) would not have been possible without the understanding and accommodation of my children, husband and immediate family who shared my domestic responsibilities and allowed me to focus on this work to the best of their abilities. Gratitude is also due to my sons Nabeel and Waleed who brought me loads of books from Robarts and OISE library whenever I needed to issue or renew those.
This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Prof. Mohammad Yaseen & Shahnaz Anjum, who have germinated in me the quest for knowledge, inspired me to learn for the joys of learning and have been a source of life-long support in the pursuit of my dreams.
“And, the term *first language loss* describes, appropriately,
the loss of something too deep for words” (Kouritzin, 1999, p. 205).
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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

BICS: Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills
CALP: Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
CEFR: Council of Europe Framework of Reference for Languages
D-PCDSB: Dufferin-Peel Catholic District School Board
DL: Dominant Language
EGIDS: Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale
FAMED: Function, Acquisition, Motivation, Environment and Distinct Niche
FIS: French Immersion School
FLP: Family Language Policy
GIDS: Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale
GTA: Greater Toronto Area
HL: Home/Heritage Language
HLP: Heritage Language Program
ILP: International Language Program
KSA: Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
LAP: Linguistically Appropriate Practices
L1: First Language
L2: Second Language
LVE: Language Vitality and Endangerment
mL: Minority Language
ML: Majority Language
mL@H: Mother Language at Home
OPOL: One Parent One Language
PDSB: Peel District School Board
PMC: Pakistani Moms in Canada
SUM: Sustainability Use Model
Chapter 1: Introduction

In the preface to *The sociolinguistics of globalization*, Jan Blommaert presents the concept of “language as something intrinsically and perpetually mobile, through space as well as time” (Blommaert, 2010, p. xiv) and asserts that it is actually “made for mobility” (Blommaert, 2010, p. xiv, emphasis in original). This is all the truer in the age of globalization when languages do not need the aid of a physical journey to travel in space and time (Blommaert, 2010). Through travels and migration to other lands, people have also transported and transplanted languages (Pennycook, 2012); however, with advancement in the fields of electronic communication by means of cellular phones and their applications, networks of satellites and internet, the notion of language tied down to physical space is being redefined (Blommaert, 2010, pp. 6-7). Human language has changed so much in our global village of a world that we need to revise our understanding of human communication (Blommaert, 2010; Pennycook, 2012). Morgan describes that the mobility of language(s) in space is also linked to the power that language users gain by acquiring a language in power (as cited in Pennycook, 2012, p. xiv).

Given that geographical mobility is now a common phenomenon, and that the dominant languages such as English, French, Spanish, and Arabic may be associated with political, social, economic and religious power (Spolsky, 2004; Spolsky, 2009a; Spolsky, 2009b), communities articulated to and by mobility raise ever more urgent questions of the implications of mobility in space (Baker & Jones, 1998; Block, 2010; Block & Cameron, 2002; Clyne, 2001; Garland, 2006; Harris, Leung & Rampton, 2002). Mobility in the form of displacement from one’s geographical location to a culturally and linguistically diverse region, whether voluntary or involuntary,
develops circumstances that may lead to change or loss of language and identity in this process of dynamism (Crawford, 1995; Fillmore, 2000; Fillmore, 1991; Fishman, 1966; Hinton, 1999; Kouritzin, 1999; Lambert, 1973; Nettle & Romaine 2000). Such questions bear critical importance for contexts of language, culture and identity minoritized by prevailing patterns of mobility. In their home countries, people may have a better chance of making somewhat independent choices of the language(s) they wish to speak; the culture they wish to associate with and the identity they want to assume. Immigrant children in diasporic situations, on the other hand, experience involuntary language loss (Hinton, 1999) and subtractive bilingualism (Cummins, 1989, 1991; Lambert 1973) which has been a cause of anxiety among scholars (Alba, Logan, Lutz, & Stults, 2002; Cummins, 2000, 2001a; Fillmore, 1991, 2000; Fishman, 1966, 1991, 2000, 2008; Schmid, 2011a, 2013; Tse, 2001). Parents and families have also voiced their concerns over this negative phenomenon in different ways (Fogle & King, 2012; Guardado, 2002, 2006, 2013; Oketani, 1997; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Rohani et al, 2006; Shoukri, 2010; Subhan, 2007; Turcotte, 2006; Wei, 1994).

The mobility of people and languages is interconnected; when people move, they take their language along with them (Pennycook, 2012). In order for their survival and integration, it is also integrally important for migrants to learn and acquire the ‘national’/dominant language in the country within which they move (Esser, 2006), which often results in immigrants becoming bilingual and gradually losing their language in the subsequent generations (Grosjean, 1982; Montrul, 2005, 2012; Pfaff, 1991; Portes & Lingxin, 1997; Schmid, 2002; Weinreich, 1979). Besides, due to changing migration patterns (IOFM, 2010) a growing number of migrants, both temporary and settled, increasingly identify themselves as transnational (Duff, 2015; Fogle & King, 2012; Goulbourne et al., 2010) as they tend to possess multiple identities and allegiances
(Leitner & Ehrkamp, 2006). As a natural consequence of globalization, some of these may be identified as Third Culture Kids (TCK) who have had lived experiences of three cultures: that of their parents’ origin, a place where they lived as expatriates and the country where they are currently living (Useem, Donoghue, & Useem, 1963, as cited in Tannenbaum & Tseng, 2015, p. 276). Their association with several cross territorial and communal boundaries has resulted in parents developing family language policies that support the maintenance of Home/Heritage\(^1\) Language (HL) (Guardado, 2002; Park & Sarkar, 2007), and the promotion of bilingualism\(^2\) (King & Fogle, 2013), or plurilingualism (Prasad, 2015). In some families, on the other hand, the desire to integrate (Esser, 2006) or the interplay between parents’ and children’ varied language histories has left room for children to assert their agency and to resist family language policies (Fogle & King, 2012). Such resistance on the part of children disrupts the intergenerational transmission of languages and leads to gradual language loss among such families.

Pakistanis in Canada have been one group among such travelers who have moved in space and are now settled in Canada. Keeping in view the ever-evolving migration patterns (IOFM, 2010), a greater incidence of transnational families (Duff, 2015; Fogle & King, 2012; Goulbourne et al., 2010), TCK (Tannenbaum & Tseng, 2015) and the theory of language mobility (Blommaert, 2010; Pennycook, 2012), it has been worthwhile to explore the chances of survival that languages moving into Canada with immigrants have.

\(^1\) HL is used to denote both home and heritage language(s) as opposed to the dominant language (DL) of the province/region. It is a home language if both the family and children identify with it as their home language; it is a heritage language if the child/children does/do not identify with the language as their home language and consider it to be their parents’ home language. Valdés (2000) defined a heritage language speaker as an individual who is raised in a family where a minority language is spoken and possesses some level of proficiency in that language.

\(^2\) Beyond the terms of bilingualism, multilingualism, multiculturalism and plurilingualism, the concept of metrolingualism describes the ways in which people from different cultures and mixed backgrounds communicate in urban centers like Kerala & London (Pennycook, 2012, emphasis in original) or perhaps in Toronto & Vancouver. It has been argued that a unique kind of multilingualism is emerging in migrant societies in which people use various languages according to their linguistic abilities, needs and choices (Blommaert, 2010, p. 9). It is through their choices that people in migrant societies indicate their association to a certain identity (p. 19).
1.1 Purpose of the Study

Canadians of Pakistani origin\(^3\) started immigrating to Canada in late 1950s and early 1960s; most of them decided to call the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) their home (Awan, 1976, 1989; Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981). The purpose of this study is to explore whether Pakistani Canadians\(^4\) who are settled in the Region of Peel\(^5\) are able to maintain their societal bi/multilingualism\(^6\) (Baig, July 7, 2009; Weinreich, April 8, 2011) or not.

An abundance of theoretical work on the benefits of bi/multilingualism has been done in Ontario (Bialystok, 2001, 2011; Cummins, 1979, 1981), but little or no work has focused on Pakistani Canadians’ experiences; in the present study, I listen to the families of Pakistani origin in the Region of Peel, my own community, and discover the factors that contribute to HL maintenance among their children or otherwise.

Keeping in view Cummins’ work on children’s language acquisition, bilingual education and his theory surrounding Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) and Cognitive

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\(^3\) Titles including ‘Canadians of Pakistani Origin’ and ‘Pakistani Canadians’ refer to Canadians who (themselves and/or their parents/ancestors) have immigrated from Pakistan. ‘Canadians of Pakistani Origin’ is used for three reasons: 1) to reflect the identity of second or third generation people who may identify with being Canadians alone; 2) they remain to be people of Pakistani origin whether they identify as being Pakistani or not; 3) as a general title that maintains their citizenship status as Canadian. ‘Pakistani Canadian’, on the other hand, refers to those who identify with both as being Pakistani and Canadian at the same time.

\(^4\) The identifying term ‘Pakistani Canadian’ is used without a hyphen as a hyphen is often considered reductive and alienating (Mahtani, 2002).

\(^5\) Region of Peel (https://www.peelregion.ca/) is also known as Peel and is referred to as Peel in this thesis in the interest of space.

\(^6\) The distinction between individual and societal bilingualism has evolved over time. Initially Fishman (1976) identified conditions of bilingualism & diglossia and suggested that bilingualism may exist in a society with or without diglossia (later substituted with and identified as ‘societal bilingualism’ in Fishman (1980). When an individual chooses to learn and speak two or more languages the term ‘individual bilingualism’ is used; whereas it is classified as ‘societal bilingualism’ when two (or more) languages are used “for internal (intrasociety) communication” (Fishman, 1980, p. 29). Srithar (1996) modified the term to ‘societal multilingualism’ on the pretext that ‘bilingualism and multilingualism’ have often been used in literature “to refer to the knowledge or use of more than one language by an individual or a community” (p. 47). Bhatia & Ritchie also agreed with this notion and modified the title of their earlier book “The Handbook of Bilingualism (2008) to “The Handbook of Bilingualism and Multilingualism” in its second edition in 2013.
Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) (Cummins, 1980, 1999), the study also explores whether immigrant parents are aware of the importance of the maintenance of their children’s mother tongue/first language in their children’s cognitive development or are trapped in the passport to success syndrome offered by the English language being a dominant language (Crystal, 2000, 2003; Rahman, 1995, 1996). Though the percentage of Canadians of Pakistani origin across Canada speaking English as their home language is quite low (7.3%), (with a retention rate of 92.7%) these figures suggest that a number of Canadians of Pakistani origin may not be cognizant of the benefits of bi/multiculturalism and are subsequently letting their children go with the flow, allowing their children to become monolingual English-speakers. Alternatively, it is also possible that the Canadians of Pakistani origin represented in such statistics are from among the early immigrants when it must have been harder to maintain their HL due to a lack of social network, media, access to television in ethnic languages (Hinton, 1999). A lack of affirmation of minority languages in the educational institutions also creates identity issues among the school going children (Cummins, 2006), which contributes to waning skills in minority languages in Canada (Cummins, 2000, 2005, 2013, 2014).

1.2 Why Region of Peel?

There is a sizeable population of Pakistani Canadians in the GTA with a thicker concentration in Peel. Urdu has appeared as an emergent language in the GTA, ranks number 12 among the top 22 languages with the most speakers in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2011b, p. 4) and third highest in its retention rate of 92.7% (p. 6). Urdu is fourth among the top five immigrant languages of the CMA of Toronto (Statistics Canada, 2012, p. 7) and has consistently

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   b) http://goo.gl/0JR3tA
been the second most widely spoken language in Brampton and the top-most census language in Mississauga from 2006 to 2011 (Region of Peel, 2012). Mississauga, Brampton and Caledon are the three cities in Peel; some of the data specific to the first two cities is shared here because these are the cities with migrants from Pakistan (See Table 1). Peel was one of the fastest growing regions in Canada, with the majority of immigrants being from Pakistan and India in 2006 (Mohanty & DeCoito, 2009). At 50.5%, of the newly landed immigrants having arrived between 2006 and 2011, Peel had the highest proportion of recent immigration in the GTA; a total of 57.6% of the Mississauga population is newly immigrated, having arrived during the 2000s, according to the 2011 Census (Region of Peel, 2013). A little over 54% percent of migrants in Mississauga are first generation immigrants; only 27% percent of them are second generation. Similarly, in Brampton, 51.6 % of immigrants are first generation and only 31.3% are second generation (ibid). 90 % of Peel residents have knowledge of English compared to 88.2 % in the GTA (Region of Peel, 2012), thus making them bilingual.

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8 Defining bilingual and bilingualism can be complicated (Baker, 2011, pp. 2-4; Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013); more so in Canada, because of the particular meaning that has been attached to both these terms. In its simplest meaning elsewhere in the world bilingualism may mean “knowledge of/ability to use/speak two languages” (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2014; Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2014), whereas in Canada it means “the ability to communicate (or the practice of communicating) in both of Canada's official languages, English and French” (Wilson-Smith, 2013). With two official languages, and the discourse of “multiculturalism within a bilingual framework”, the main focus in Ontario is on English-French bilingual education; other minority languages are often neglected (Haque, 2012).
## Table 1

**Population of Canadians of Pakistani Origin**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Detailed language spoken most often at home</th>
<th>Canada Age groups (17A)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total - Age groups</td>
<td>Under 5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>113,780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjabi</td>
<td>317,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td>8,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>4,870</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Toronto Age groups</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>72,220</th>
<th>7,900</th>
<th>6,215</th>
<th>4,860</th>
<th>4,275</th>
<th>4,670</th>
<th>5,405</th>
<th>5,485</th>
<th>6,405</th>
<th>6,355</th>
<th>5,540</th>
<th>4,505</th>
<th>3,635</th>
<th>2,505</th>
<th>1,875</th>
<th>1,270</th>
<th>1,320</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>111,160</td>
<td>8,945</td>
<td>6,865</td>
<td>5,715</td>
<td>4,645</td>
<td>5,645</td>
<td>8,650</td>
<td>9,810</td>
<td>9,930</td>
<td>8,490</td>
<td>7,065</td>
<td>6,395</td>
<td>6,770</td>
<td>6,960</td>
<td>5,680</td>
<td>4,205</td>
<td>5,375</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td>4,155</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>340</td>
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<td>245</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>2,525</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>365</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand, OMNI-2, a GTA television channel devoted to programs in the ethnic languages of Canada, presented a documentary entitled “Urdu: A Beleaguered Language” (OMNI 2, 2009) that portrays a disturbing picture of the state of Urdu in Canada and records an intergenerational cessation of language transmission to the forthcoming generations of the Canadians of Pakistani origin. One may wonder what to trust: the figures of Statistics Canada or the documentary.

Urdu is reported to rank as the third highest in total retention rate in Canada perhaps because most of the speakers are first and second generation Pakistani Canadians. The high retention rate may also be due to the fact that it is normal for Pakistanis born in Pakistan to speak several languages: any one of the regional languages - Punjabi, Pashto, Sindhi, Balochi - plus the national language, i.e., Urdu and for the educated - any one of the regional + Urdu + English (Weinreich, 2011). A minority of the educated people is also familiar with Arabic because reading and understanding the Qura’an is considered important (Rahman, 2006). One may wonder how realistic the figures presented by Statistics Canada (2011b) are, and how the linguistic skills of the children were interpreted by the parents who might have filled out the demographic forms. It may be possible that the parents indicated knowledge of HL(s) among the children without differentiating between communicative and literacy skills. It is interesting to consider how that rate of retention will fare among subsequent generations, especially keeping in view the earlier studies documenting language loss in the second and the third generations of immigrant populations (Fishman & Hoffman, 1966; Fillmore, 1991, 2000; Hinton, 1991; Portes & Rumbault, 1990). Language loss among immigrants in Canada has been documented in a number of studies (Duff, 2008; Guardado, 2002, 2006, 2013; Ng, 2011; Oketani, 1997; Shoukri,

9 http://www.rogersmediatv.ca/pr_detail.php?id=36
To my knowledge, this is the first study in which Pakistanis in Canada (or elsewhere) discuss their language choices.

### 1.3 Research Questions

Considering the theories around mobility (Blommaert, 2010; Pennycook, 2012) and the choices that people make for the language(s) they use (King & Fogle, 2013; Guardado, 2002; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Wei, 1994), the present study is interested in investigating how Pakistani Canadians in Peel approach their children’s heritage language(s) and Urdu. My overarching question is:

1. What are the experiences of "home" language(s) maintenance of 5 to 8 diverse immigrant families originally from Pakistan?

The following sub-set of questions helps to discover and understand their experiences:

a) What strategies have the more "senior" members of the household used to maintain the "home" language(s)?

b) Which language(s) do family members use for which purposes at home?

c) To what degree do the various family members value the language(s) used by some or all in their home?

d) What are the perceptions of the various family members regarding the challenges / issues associated with language maintenance?
1.4 Background of the Researcher

I was introduced to the Heritage Language Program (HLP)\textsuperscript{10}, (known as International Language Program (ILP) in various school boards across Ontario) by a peer for an assignment in a course in ‘Educational Sociolinguistics’ at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (Ahmed, & Florou, 2012). I found that it was difficult to gather information about the ILP because it was not a part of the school curriculum, but rather organized under the auspices of the school of Continuing Education and hence not promoted on the school boards’ websites. I developed interest in the topic for two reasons. First, with more knowledge about the ILP, I could send my youngest daughter in middle school to an Urdu class. Second, the ILP was directly related to language maintenance and I had been interested in this topic as a language learner. I explored the ILP further for another assignment for another graduate course entitled ‘Critical Pedagogy, Language and Cultural Diversity’. I realized that the ILP was common knowledge at OISE; however, when I talked to people outside class, especially in my neighborhood, and tried to gather more information about the ILP in Peel, a wide majority of people did not seem to have heard about it. I contacted the schools that my children went to and asked them about it; they told me that all the information was posted on their website. As I looked through the websites, I tried to calculate the enrollments in the ILP according to the numbers of programs offered in the Region of Peel and found that it was below 4 \% of the total numbers of students in Peel District School Board (PDSB) and Peel-Dufferin Catholic School Board (PDCSB) (Ahmed, 2012).


Both HLP and ILP are used in this thesis for three reasons: 1) HLP is widely used and understood in literature around heritage language instruction; 2) ILP is used in the Canadian perspective especially in and around the Greater Toronto Area and the Region of Peel; 3) some participants have used the title as they are only aware of ILP.
I hypothesized that the enrollment was low because people did not know about it. Intrigued by the whole situation, the next year, for an assignment for my graduate ‘Research Colloquium’ course, I wrote another paper on the ILP in Peel (Ahmed, 2013). In order to find out why very few people knew about the ILP, I scrutinized all possible media that could inform new immigrants about it. I studied information regarding the ILP on PDSB and PDCSB websites, various documents published by the Region of Peel, the City of Mississauga and the City of Brampton. Two publications published by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, and one each produced by the Ontario Ministry of Education, Canadian Foundation for Economic Education and the Region of Peel were also examined to see if new immigrants are informed about the ILP. Often included in the information package handed to the new arrivals at the ports of entry and ‘Welcome Centers’ was information about the ILP for the explicit purpose of informing new immigrants about various settlement services and to help new immigrants integrate better. Except for the section regarding the Continuing and Adult Education on the websites of the various school boards, none of the publications had any mention of the ILP (Ahmed, 2013). The same year, Kerekes, Connelly, Ahmed and Florou (2013) surveyed newly immigrated parents of children of elementary and middle school ages and asked them if they knew about the ILP and whether they would like to enroll their children in the ILP so they might acquire literacy skills in their HL(s). The findings supported the hypothesis: more than 80% of the respondents were not aware of the ILP in Peel (Kerekes et al., 2013). The findings of the study were shared at the ‘Multidisciplinary Approaches in Language Policy and Planning Conference, 2013’ held at the University of Calgary.

Concurrently, another course entitled ‘Foundations of Bilingual and Multicultural Education’ provided me with an opportunity to be introduced to the significance of bilingual and
biliterate education in the academic lives of newly immigrated school children. Besides academic interests, I have been a proponent of first language maintenance and bi/multilingualism; my commitment was further strengthened by joining classes conducted by scholars like Jim Cummins from whom I had an opportunity to develop a deeper understanding of the advantages of bi/multilingualism.

Aside from academic pursuits, having originated in South Asia (Pakistan), and always taking pride in being a member of a multilingual family, it is natural to desire at least bilingualism in my progeny as well. Despite my strong belief in language retention, my consistent efforts towards HL retention at home and my prior success ensuring my three older children learned their HL in a non-Urdu speaking country (in the Middle East), in the last five years I have come to foresee that my two younger children may not retain their HL while being educated in middle schools in Ontario. My second youngest child who came to Canada at the age of thirteen had studied Urdu up to grade 6 and can still read and write in it, whereas my youngest daughter who had studied Urdu only for two years up to Grade One, has basic skills in reading and writing and has faint chances of improving upon them. Prior to our arrival in Canada all of the children went to an International School in the Middle East, their school language was the same as in Canada - English - with one major difference from the public schools in Canada: the three older children were given a chance to study their HL, as a part of their school curriculum, for around 8 years, from Kindergarten to Grade 7. From Grade 8 to 12, the three older children also studied French, which enabled them to develop both literacy and communicative skills in all three languages. In Canada, the two options available to the youngest two were English and French languages and no Urdu.
The findings of Kerekes et al. (2013) led me to make efforts in a personal capacity to engage with the Pakistani community based in the Peel through the Facebook pages that were used later to recruit participants for the study (See Appendix E). A Facebook page entitled ‘Enroll in Urdu Classes’ is managed by the researcher with the explicit purpose of creating more awareness and to recruit students for Urdu language classes held under the ILP by the PDSB. Information and links about the ILP offered by most of the district school boards in the GTA are posted on the page. Material for teaching Urdu language at home, various articles on the benefits of raising bilingual and biliterate children to increase the awareness among parents and tips on HL maintenance are shared periodically. I have been a Chair and a Secretary for two school councils in 2013-14 and for one school council in 2014-15 in Peel to engage with the school administrators and community to create awareness of the importance of HL maintenance.

Despite my concerted efforts and strict discipline to incorporate communication in Urdu at home, these two youngest siblings mentioned above speak to each other in English and resist using their HL with each other. When spoken to in Urdu, a number of times they may respond in English and would reply in Urdu only when requested. I have sought in this work to find out what circumstances contribute to this language use among the younger lot of the first generation immigrants. The study, based in the Peel, explores factors that have contributed to this negative phenomenon.

1.5 Overview

From time immemorial, human beings have learned and used languages according to their needs and choices (Coulmas, 2013). Children often learn the language spoken at home and acquire

11 https://www.facebook.com/urduinpeel?ref=aymt_homepage_panel
communicative skills from the family members; however, in immigrant families, the process of language learning has been found to be asymmetrical, with more children shifting to the dominant language at the expense of home language(s) (Alba et al., 2002; Anderson, 2004; Fillmore, 1991; Hinton, 1999; Krauss, 1992, 2007; Portes & Hao, 2002). Often the senior family members such as parents, grandparents and the primary caregivers, have employed certain strategies to maintain and pass on their home/heritage language to the younger members of the family (Spolsky, 2004). Language acquisition is a process, not academic knowledge that can be passed on through didactic instruction; a process that can be accomplished with practice and polished with further use. Above all, the survival of a language rests upon one factor: its use; The ability to communicate in a language improves with use and daily practice and declines due to disuse and lack of practice. It has been worthwhile to find out how often families use their home/heritage language in various settings to estimate its prevalence in the lives of immigrant families because that helped me determine whether it is used adequately for intergenerational transmission of language or not. Last but not least, understanding the perceptions of the challenges faced by the Canadians of Pakistani origin may help its community members, parents, educationists and policy makers devise a strategy to overcome those obstacles so that the linguistic capital of the new Canadians can be retained to maintain diversity in Canada. Diversity is often extolled as “an engine of invention”12, promised as a distinctly Canadian feature13 asserting that Canada is “strong not in spite of our differences, but because of them”14 (Trudeau, 2015, emphasis in original). In order to understand the experiences of home/heritage language (HL) maintenance of the Canadians of Pakistani origin residing in Peel, the literature around language loss and maintenance has been reviewed. In the wake of globalization, people’s

12 http://goo.gl/rqUeBa
13 http://goo.gl/sztkH2
14 http://goo.gl/WSY5hI
mobility from one geographic location to another often results in language loss. Since family is considered to be an important domain for language maintenance, family language policy (FLP) emerges as an important area of exploration.

I begin this endeavor in Chapter 1 with a statement of the purpose of the study, then I describe the background of the researcher, review the over-arching question and their sub-set and present a brief overview of the study.

The literature review in Chapter 2 uses the theoretical framework of Language Vitality and Endangerment (LVE) developed by Brenzinger et al. (2003), the Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) (Lewis & Simons, 2010) and the Sustainable Use Model (SUM) for language development (Lewis & Simons, 2011, 2016), which are based on Fishman’s Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) (1991). Factors of language loss among the immigrant children and the subsequent impact on the identity of those children are explored. The strategies that some parents have used successfully to pass on their HL to their children in diasporic cultures are also reviewed. Next, the connection between social, cultural, ethnic and linguistic identity is studied to see the impact of language loss on the identity of children of Pakistani origin and vice versa. An important component of the study is family language policy (FLP). In the absence of a national policy that ensures multilingual language development among its people, family is the only domain where the home language is transferred to the children; the prevalence of a FLP warrants successful intergenerational transmission. Also, because the SUM envisages that the linguistic community that is threatened with the termination of intergenerational transmission evolves strategies and applies best practices to maintain the language it identifies with to avert a gradual language shift.
Chapter 3 describes the methodology of this qualitative study with details of the instruments of data collection, participants, and the processes of data analysis. Children from different age groups undergo unique sets of challenges in adapting to the cultural and linguistic atmosphere of the society at large and that of their homes. In order to understand those distinctive challenges, the second generation children are divided into four age groups so their linguistic skills in their HL can be analysed appropriately to determine whether the intergenerational transmission of HL is successful or is being disrupted. The data analysis reveals that the children who are closer to the age range of the first generation immigrants use and identify with their home language more often than the ones that are closer to the second generation.

Findings are listed according to the themes of literature review in the fourth chapter: a) generation-wide language skills and language use b) the desire to integrate while retaining their multicultural and plurilingual identities; c) their experiences, challenges they faced and the strategies they used for their home language maintenance; d) lack of awareness about ILP; e) influence of their colonial past and f) post-adolescents’ search for their ethnic and linguistic identity. A general consensus that surfaced among the participants is that the status of Urdu language is ‘definitely threatened’ as the young children do not use their home language. Children from the first generation alone (50 % of the participating children) speak to their parents and grandparents/extended family members in their home language. A majority of the children from the second generation either do not associate with the language their parents speak and respond to their parents in English or do not even have a proper command of their home language to be able to speak it. Absence of a FLP, the lack of facilities in which to acquire the HL and other complex factors enumerated in the literature review contribute to this language
loss. Some of the participants in their twenties and thirties, who immigrated to Canada at a young age and grew up here, are unable to communicate in their HL. As young children, they were influenced by the dominant culture and the dominant language and avoided being identified with their home culture and home language; after reaching the age of majority, they seem to have undergone a process of identity negotiation that propels them for a comeback and they are eager to embrace their ethnic and linguistic identity. They wish to retain their multicultural and plurilingual identities and are looking for opportunities to learn and use their heritage language.

The discussion in Chapter 5 focuses around the lens of Language Vitality and Endangerment framework (Brenzinger et al., 2003), Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Lewis & Simons, 2010), the Sustainability Use Model (Lewis & Simons, 2011, 2016) and the themes of family language policy and strategies of successful language transmission. It is observed that in the absence of official status and without institutional and community support, it is parents alone who are making efforts to maintain their home languages based upon their knowledge of the strategies of language transmission and their language ideologies. Though they wish that their children were able to speak their home languages, at least 50% of the participating parents are not aware of the concept of family language policy and the strategies of raising children bi/multi/plurilingually which contributes to their family language loss. The parents tend to focus on raising their children to be good human beings, good Canadians and developing friendly and loving relationship with their children on the pattern of democratic families as suggested in Ting-Toomey (2005, p. 212). There is a need for increased awareness of the concept of family language policy and strategies for raising bi/multi/plurilingual children so that such families are able to maintain their cultural and linguistic capital.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

Language choice and attitudes are inseparable from political arrangements, relations of power, language ideologies, and interlocutors’ views of their own and others’ identities. Ongoing social, economic, and political changes affect these constellations, modifying identity options offered to individuals at a given moment in history and ideologies that legitimize and value particular identities more than others (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, pp. 1-2).

Language is a “social fact” (Saussure, 1959, p.6 as cited in Coulmas, 2013, p. 4), “a medium […] of interaction” (Fishman, 1968, p. 6 as cited in Garcia, Schiffman & Zacharia, 2006, p. 7) and “a system adapted to communication” (Labov, 1994 p. 9 as cited in Coulmas, 2013, p. 4). Every society teaches its language to its new members, whether newborns or new immigrants; ideally, the HL is transmitted from one generation to another and each learner has to learn it and conform with the established conventions of the linguistic group they wish to associate with (Coulmas, 2013, pp. 4-5). Since social factors affect the choices people make, the notion of choices is central to the field of sociolinguistics (Coulmas, 2013; Nettle & Romaine, 2000).

In minority language situations, often the loyalties of minority groups are affected negatively (de Bot, Gommans & Rossing, 1991; Dweik, & Qawar, 2015; Fillmore, 1991, 2000; Fishman 1966; Garcia, 2012; Montrul, 2005) and their linguistic choices gradually lead to a subtractive bilingualism (Lambert, 1974). Subtractive bilingualism is defined as the weakening of linguistic skills in their first language (L1) or HL, and the culture/identity associated with it, while learning the L2 at an age when the learner does not have fully developed skills in their L1.
Additive bilingualism, on the other hand, is one in which the strong skills in HL/L1 of the learner not only support L2 learning, they also improve chances of greater academic success (Lambert, 1974, p. 26) and the ability to learn more languages (Cenoz, 2003).

The gradual waning of skills in HL results in a language shift when the child feels more comfortable using the dominant/majority language and abandons learning and using home/first language (Alba et al., 2002; Anderson, 2004; Fillmore, 1991; Hinton, 1999; Krauss, 1992, 2007; Portes & Hao, 2002).

### 2.1 Language loss/death/endangerment

Ninety-five percent of the world population speaks one of the hundred most popular languages of the estimated 7,000 living languages so far (Trudgill, 1991); 97 % of the people speak only 4 % of the world languages (Brenzinger et al., 2003). The world’s languages are in crisis (Krauss, 1992); they are becoming extinct rapidly. Voices are vanishing (Nettle & Romaine, 2000) and the world’s ecosystem and linguistic and cultural biodiversity are on the verge of collapse (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). All of the above is mostly found through empirical studies on the Native American, First Nation Canadian and Aboriginal Australian languages. However, almost in every part of the world, minority languages are also losing their ground or are dying due to the power and influence of majority languages such as English (Crystal, 2003; Fishman, 1966, 1991; Krauss, 1992; Park, 2013; Phillipson, 2008, 2013; Subhan, 2007; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000a; Wei, 1994, 2000), Spanish, Russian, Chinese and Japanese (Trudgill, 1991; Tsunoda, 2006, p. 28) and others in their respective contact situations that take place due to migration (Park, 2013; Potowski, 2013; Borbley, 2000, 2005). In fact, “[a]ny language … has the capacity to be a killer language” simply because of its social, economic or religious status at
a given time (Trudgill, 1991, p. 64). Giles et al. (1977) suggest that the vitality of a language is connected to the prestige and status a linguistic community has. Aside from the economic and social power, and the shared cultural history of a linguistic community, the status of a language within and outside its community increases its vitality score (Giles et al., 1977).

The first step to language loss, death, extinction, and endangerment is either language shift (Baker & Jones, 1998, pp. 153-54; Fishman, 1991) or bilingualism (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2008; Coulmas, 2013; Fishman 1972) in a situation of linguistic contact with a majority language. Fishman (1991) benchmarked various levels of endangerment and vitality that are discussed below.

2.2 Language Vitality and Endangerment framework

The evolution of the concept of endangerment of minority/migrant languages to vitality is often linked to Fishman (1991) and Krauss (1992); it may be traced back to Fishman (1966) which documented the waning language loyalties among the U.S. indigenous and immigrant communities. As linguists, scholars and researchers realized the immensity of language loss (Crawford, 1996, 2007; Fillmore, 1991, 2000; Krauss, 1992, 2007; Nettle & Romaine, 2000), and the associated loss of culture (Fillmore, 2000; Fishman, 1996, 2007; Wei, 1994), identity (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001; Dastgoshadeh & Jalilzadeh, 2011; Fillmore, 2000; Schmidt, 2008) and biodiversity (Brenzinger et al, 2003; Skutnabb-Kanagas, 2000), a number of them have attempted to explore the issue in two broad different ways.

One group of linguists has attempted to learn more about the endangered languages (Brenzinger et al., 2003; Ethnologue15 1951; SIL International16 (SIL), 1934), the factors of

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15 http://www.ethnologue.com/
16 http://www.sil.org/
language loss (Crawford, 1996, 2007; Fishman, 1966, 1991; Hayden, 1966), ways these endangered languages can be documented and recorded (Lewis, 2005, 2008; The Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP), 2015), ways these can be revitalized (Hinton, 2001; Fishman, 1991, 2001; Lewis & Simons, 2010; Lewis & Simons, 2011, 2016), and ways the loss can be controlled by maintaining those languages through nurture (Lewis & Simons, 2010, 2011, 2016; Brenzinger, et al, 2003; Fishman, 1991, 1999). A subset of these linguists have attempted to explore an intermediary stage of language decline and subsequent loss, namely language change in contact situations; these linguists have developed a paradigm of ‘linguistic ecology’ (Mühlhäusler, 1996, 2002, 2003) based on Haugen (1972).

On the other hand, leading the discussion on language change through the paradigm of ‘linguistic ecology’, Mufwene (2001) has envisaged the whole process in terms of language evolution. Mufwene (2004) explores whether the natural processes of language birth, growth, loss and death can be managed or are best left to nature. Despite recent attempts at language preservation from the aforementioned linguists, Mufwene (2002) opines that due to natural processes of competition and selection, subsequent elimination of some languages is nothing but an ecological fact, and presents the birth and death of languages as but a part of the process of language evolution rather than being a cause of concern. Mufwene (2002) further argues that both terms -- language transmission and language acquisition -- are “inaccurate” in that the genotype of a human may be transmitted without any activity on the part of the offspring (p. 47), whereas the acquisition of a language is a “creative” process (Meillet, 1929; Hagège, 1993 as cited in Mufwene, 2002) and no two individuals acquire language in the same way (p. 48).
Languages are ‘parasitic’ in nature, not biological; they thrive in a speech community\textsuperscript{17} that identifies with it and cannot bloom on their own (p. 48).

Due to imminent language loss, Crystal (2000) suggested that languages should be maintained because a) their multiplicity adds to the diversity, languages are b) repositories of the history, c) an expression of identity, d) an essential part of the total of human knowledge and e) interesting in their own right being a part of the whole of human knowledge.

This thesis is not about an endangered language; it is about how an otherwise influential language (Urdu is one of the ten biggest languages of the world) becomes minoritized due to its status as a migrant language and may be at the risk of becoming endangered in Canada. The focus of the thesis is to evaluate the vitality of Urdu in Peel and to suggest a strategy to parents so that they are able to maintain it within the family domain enabling their children to espouse a strong, multifarious and plurilingual identity.

\textbf{2.2.1 Fishman’s Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale.}

The concept of language shift and maintenance was founded by Fishman, in consequence of the findings in his seminal work “Language Loyalty in the United States” (Fishman, 1966). Language shift is defined as the decreasing numbers of “speakers, readers, writers, and even

\textsuperscript{17} Gumperz (1971) uses two titles to describe a group that conforms to similar cultural norms: ‘speech community’ and ‘linguistic community’, in almost similar meanings. Speech community is defined as:
“any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage” (Gumperz, 1971, p. 114);
whereas the ‘linguistic community’ is defined as:
"a social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weaknesses in the lines of communication. Linguistic communities may consist of small groups bound together by face-to-face contact or may cover large regions, depending on the level of abstraction we wish to achieve (Gumperz, 1971, p. 101).
Thus a ‘linguistic community’ is neither restricted by the number of languages it speaks, nor by its geographical region; a linguistic community is one that shares a ‘certain social cohesiveness’ in ways different from other communities (Wardraugh, 2006, p. 122).
Both ‘speech community’ and ‘linguistic community’ are used in this thesis in similar meanings as Gumperz (1971).
understanders” that is the outcome of an interruption of intergenerational transmission in a speech community (Fishman, 1991, p.1). If a language is not transmitted to the next generation there is a greater likelihood that the language would not survive to the succeeding generations (Clyne, 2003; Fishman, 1991). It may also be understood in terms of “change from the habitual use of one language to that of another” (Weinreich, 1953, p. 68); a shift towards the majority language of the region (Appel & Muysken, 2006) due in part to “social, cultural, political, economic and/or military pressure” (Romaine, 2007, p. 117; Trudgrill, 1991, p. 63). Therefore, efforts should be made to reverse language shift because a) language and culture are interconnected (Fillmore, 2000; Fishman, 1996, 2007; Wei, 1994); b) language is a part of one’s identity (Dastgoshadeh & Jalilzadeh, 2011; Fillmore, 2000; Fishman, 1991, pp. 4-5 & 11; Schmidt, 2008) and c) some success is evident in some languages (Baker & Jones 1998; Garcia, 2012; Fishman, 2001).

Reversal of language shift is possible through family and community (Brenzinger et al., 2003; Fishman, 1991). Language shift can only be reversed by the same language community that is suffering from it and never from any of the outsiders however well-meaning and skilled they may be (Crawford, 2007; Krauss, 1992; Romaine, 2007). Reversal of language shift may well be possible by first assessing the harm that has been done by the time efforts start and then maintained through a collective strategy by the whole community (Brenzinger et al., 2003; Fishman, 1991) or a social movement “that speaks directly to long-suppressed needs and aspirations” of the community (Crawford, 2007, p. 56), especially in a diasporic situation.

An eight level Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) (Fishman, 1991, pp. 81-110), intended to identify the stage at which a minority language is used to assess the damage so a strategy may have devised for the reversal of language loss (Fishman, 1991, pp. 10-38). In
2003, UNESCO’s “Intangible Cultural Heritage Section’s Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages” recognized the gravity and the pervasiveness of language loss/extinction and emphasized the significance of linguistic diversity: “Language diversity is essential to the human heritage. Each and every language embodies the unique cultural wisdom of a people. The loss of any language is thus a loss for all humanity” (Brenzinger et al., 2003, p. 1).

Various individuals, scholars and organizations have responded to the threat to minority languages and are working on various revitalization projects (Grenoble & Whaley 2006; Hinton & Hale 2001; McIvor 1998; Romaine, 2007). Fishman (2001) reviewed the complications in a decade long of revitalization attempts and reasserted his stance on the reclamation of endangered languages, though at the time he appeared less hopeful than he has been in Fishman (1991). By the end of the decade, Krauss’s fears of the possible demise of a number of languages seemed to be coming true, in spite of the efforts of revitalization (Simons, & Lewis 2010). Focusing their attention on repair, Brenzinger et al. (2003) advanced a concrete plan to help maintain/revitalize/document endangered languages in UNESCO’s document Language Vitality and Endangerment (LVE) which was first created by an Ad Hoc Group of Experts on Endangered Languages in 2001. This LVE framework has helped linguists determine the signs of vitality in a given language to project the prospects of its survival (Brenzinger, et al., 2003; Lewis & Simons, 2013, 2011, 2010, 2009; Minasyan & Shafe, 2011; Obiero, 2010; Simons, & Lewis, 2016; Tsunoda, 2006).

Based upon Fishman’s GIDS, I have used the Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) (Lewis & Simons, 2010) and the Sustainable Use Model for Language Development (SUM) (Lewis & Simons, 2011, 2016) as the lens to evaluate the vitality of Urdu language in Peel.
2.2.2 Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale & Language Vitality and Endangerment.

Using Fishman (1991) as a theoretical framework, UNESCO, Ethnologue and SIL have revisited evaluative guidelines – GIDS - to decide whether a language is endangered and what measures should be taken for its revitalization. Though GIDS were recognized to be extremely useful in evaluating language vitality/loss and determining required measures for language maintenance in case of its loss; some of the levels were also found to be overlapping in descriptions (Baker & Jones, 1998, p. 192-4). In 2001, UNESCO’s *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* recognized a relationship between biodiversity, cultural diversity and linguistic diversity and the need to develop a “methodological guideline”; Brenzinger et al. compiled those guidelines entitled it as LVE in 2003 (Minasyan & Shafe, 2011, Lewis & Simons, 2010).

The LVE document, created as a tool for researchers, government officials and community activists involved in language maintenance and revitalization projects so they could evaluate the vitality of a language (Brenzinger et al., 2003), had great potential for language development projects. A major contribution of Brenzinger et al. (2003) is that, as compared with Fishman (1999), they used verbal expressions for the various numeric levels of endangerment and vitality, such as safe/5, unsafe/4, definitely endangered/3, severely endangered/2, critically endangered/1 and extinct/0, and made it easier to understand what the numbers stood for in Fishman’s model. They also listed the factors that help evaluate language vitality; these are: 1) Intergenerational language transmission; 2) Community member’s attitude towards their own language; 3) Shift in domains of language use; 4) Absolute number of speakers; 5) Proportion of speakers within the total population; 6) Availability of materials for language education and literacy; 7) Response to new domains and media; 8) Types and quality of documentation; 9)
Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use (pp. 7-16).

Continuing to focus upon the other side of the coin - vitality as opposed to endangerment, Lewis (2005, 2008, 2009) continued to build more upon the aspects of vitality and revitalization and refined it further to encapsulate the finer differences between the various levels of disruption and vitality. Lewis and Simons (2010) collated the various models for evaluation by incorporating all three: GIDS (Fishman, 1991), Brenzinger et al (2003) and Lewis (2009). While UNESCO’s model established a six level endangerment & vitality index, Lewis & Simons (2010) developed a 13 level Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) to eliminate overlaps in levels and define the subtle differences between the stages when a language can be considered vigorous and when it would be considered threatened. EGIDS continues to use terminology that Fishman and Brenzinger et al. (2003) had used; the models may still have overlaps at the middle levels because each speech community is different in unpredictable ways.

A language is marked as ‘safe’ as long as its status may be defined as any of the numbers from 1 to 6a: “0. international, 1. national, 2. regional, 3. trade, 4. educational, 5. written and 6a. vigorous. This means that the language is being used in all of the aforementioned areas of life. The status of a language starts to be delineated in terms of language loss from number eight to 13: 6b. threatened is ‘vulnerable’; 7. shifting is ‘definitely endangered’; 8a. moribund is ‘severely endangered’; 8b. nearly extinct is ‘clinically endangered’; dormant is ‘extinct’; and extinct is also ‘extinct’ (Lewis & Simons, 2010, p. 110)

The vitality of a language is further measured in response to five questions encompassing the identity function, vehicularity, state of intergenerational language transmission, literacy acquisition status, and a societal profile of generational language use.
Here are the questions and their implications:

Question 1: What is the current identity function of the language?
The four options for this question are: a) Historical = EGIDS Level 10 (Extinct); b) Heritage = EGIDS Level 9 (Dormant). c) Home = used by at least some members of the family for daily communication and d) Vehicular = lingua franca.

Question 2: What is the level of official use?
a) International = EGIDS Level 0; b) National = EGIDS Level 1; c) Regional = EGIDS Level 2; Not Official = EGID Level 3

Question 3: Are all parents transmitting the language to their children? a) Yes; b) No

Question 4: What is the literacy status?
a) Institutional = EGIDS Level 4 (Educational); b) Incipient = EGIDS Level 5 (Written); c) None = EGIDS Level 6a (Vigorous). At this stage, the intergenerational transmission and use for oral communication are stable, especially if the speech community is residing in societies known for stable bilingualism and at risk in a minority situation.

Question 5: What is the youngest generation of proficient speakers?
a) Great Grandparents = EGIDS Level 8b (Nearly Extinct); b) Grandparents = EGIDS Level 8a (Moribund); c) Parents = EGIDS Level 7 (Shifting), Language shift has begun and is clearly in progress; d) Children = EGIDS Level 6b (Threatened), intergenerational transmission is partial and is becoming weak; the youngest proficient speakers of the language are children whose numbers may decrease with each new generation (Lewis & Simons, 2010, pp. 113-6).

Building on their evaluative criteria of EGIDS, Lewis and Simons, (2011) attempted to propose a solution through the theoretical framework of the Sustainable Use Model (SUM) and the Functions, Acquisition, Motivation, Environment and Distinct Niche (FAMED conditions
SUM uses EGIDS to evaluate the vitality of a language and proposes to choose from one of the four levels of hierarchy of sustainable use: a) Sustainable Literacy; b) Sustainable Orality; c) Sustainable Identity and d) Sustainable History (Lewis and Simons, 2011). The evaluation of the present status of a language, using the EGIDS, leads to developing a strategy of Sustainable Use Model (SUM) devised by Lewis and Simons to work towards the maintenance/revitalization of the said language which is expected to help communities develop a plan for language maintenance/revitalization (Lewis & Simons, 2011, 2016).

SUM is expected to:

- Understand the present conditions
- Understand the ‘best practices’ in language development
- Discover ways to move forward and
- Provide ongoing support

FAMED is another evaluative criterion that may help community determine which section of the sustainable use needs to be strengthened to ensure that the remedial work enhances language vitality (Lewis & Simons, 2011, pp. 12-18; Lewis & Simons, 2016). While EGIDS determines the vitality of a language in a given speech community, FAMED, (endorsed by

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18 Sustainable History, the lowest level of sustainability in which though there is a permanent written/oral record of the language but no living person identifies with it. At the level of Sustainable Identity, the language is not used for day to day communication; it is used for ceremonial and symbolic functions. There is a community that associates their identity to the language, there are no fully proficient speakers (Slide 11).

At the third level - Sustainable Orality - its speech community has a strong identity rooted in the language; all generations use it for daily oral communication and fully functional language transmission takes place in the family or local community. The level at which the language use is fully functional in all skill sets complete with literacy skills and is supported and transmitted by institutions such as schools and other organizations is called Sustainable Literacy (Lewis and Simons, 2011, Slide 12).
Fasold, 1984), focuses on rebuilding strategies that can be used by the said speech community on a self-help basis (Lewis & Simons, 2011; 2016 p. 20).

The three components of the SUM are: a) observing language use, b) assessing the sustainability of the language and c) achieving sustainable use (Simons & Lewis, 2011, p. 11; Lewis & Simons, 2016). Language use can be observed by understanding the context, identifying the speech community and representing the languages to their functions. The Sustainability can be assessed in two steps: first by measuring the vitality of the language with EGIDS and then, by applying FAMED conditions proposed by Fasold, to evaluate the areas of language acquisition that need to be developed (Fasold, 1984, as cited in Lewis & Simons, 2011, pp. 11-12; Lewis & Simons, 2016)19.

To conclude, EGIDS assists communities in evaluating the present condition of language vitality and establish a target; SUM helps the communities identify how to use their resources efficiently and effectively and FAMED guides communities to target the areas that would help achieve the goal of language maintenance.

2.3 Language Loss

Language loss/shift is a three-generation process among immigrants to most countries where the dominant language is different from their home language (Alba et al., 2002; Fishman 1966; Hinton, 1999; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Hoa, 2002). Second generation onwards, the immigrants are de-ethnicized and are quick to assimilate with the dominant culture (Fishman & Nahirny, 1966, p. 162; Nesteruk, 2010); often acculturation i.e. behavioral assimilation

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19 While EGIDS helps linguists determine the stage of language loss or vitality, SUM and FAMED assist community members to maintain, strengthen and/or rebuild linguistic abilities of their children’s respective HLs. SUM & FAMED raise awareness of the importance of intergenerational transmission and the role parents and community can play in HL maintenance among the linguistic minorities in diasporic cultures. Both these frameworks target the linguistic community and its members while offering remedial measures of RLS.
precedes structural assimilation of the group (Spiro, 1955). In this section, first, I have attempted to present factors of the loss of home/heritage language(s) that are applicable to any language at any time and place. Then I review some of the literature on the maintenance of immigrant language(s) in Canada.

2.3.1 Factors of home/heritage language loss.

Here are the factors, illustrated in literature, that lead to a gradual de-ethnitization, and reduced use of the home/heritage language - a part of the acculturation process. All the factors of language loss are applicable to any time and place and are in the order of appearance in the immigrant children’s lives. Aside from the internal processes of assimilation and acculturation, external pressures of the dominant language and the linguistic milieu affect the choices that the families, especially children, make. The absence of opportunities to acquire and practice their home language skills in an academic setting reduces the chances of transmission of their home language even further.

Age. Children who were younger than school age or were born in the new environment often developed language choices according to the dominant culture around them (Fishman & Nahirny, 1966, p. 179; Park, 2013; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Zentella, 1997).

Use of mixed language at home. When parents mix languages, children have been found to be inclined to using the majority language (Anderson, 2012, p. 200; Hinton, 1999, p. 213; Park, 2013; Zentella, 1997).

The sole sources of home language: parents. Families where parents were the only source of interaction in the home/heritage language have been found to be exposed to limited contact for building strong language skills in HL (Fishman & Nahirny, 1966, p. 185; Hayden,
1966; Hinton, 1999, p. 223; Park, 2013) more so if both parents are bilinguals (Anderson, 2004, 2012, p. 197; Park, 2013); work full time and have their children in childcare (Chumak-Horbatsch, 2008) have diminished support for HL use and maintenance (Anderson, 2004, 2012; Guardado, 2006). No/limited access to HLP or bilingual programs that foster home language maintenance is also an important factor of HL loss (Anderson, 2004, 2012, p. 197; Cummins, 2005; Churchill, 2003). Guardado (2006) learned that the small size of the community was a major cause of HL loss, among the Spanish community in Vancouver, despite consistent and planned input from the parents (p. 66).

**Media.** Young members of the immigrant families were introduced to the dominant language through cartoons and popular culture on television (Hinton, 1999, pp. 206-7) music, video games and mass electronic media (Crawford, 2007). The new modes of entertainment have reduced the conventional methods of engagement with HL through reading and songs and proportionately increased the input of and interaction with the majority language (Crawford, 2007, p. 50) that results in slow and gradual language shift.

**Friends and peer pressure.** The selection of friends that speak another HL or the majority language (Fillmore, 1991; Hinton, 1999, p. 207; Park, 2013), the desire to ‘fit in’ to the school culture (Kouritzin, 1999, pp. 187-193) and the rejection of the home language under peer pressure (Fishman & Nahirny, 1966, p. 185; Hinton, 1999, p. 224; Guardado, 2006) are suggested to be a major cause of language shift.

**Integrative motivation.** Integrative motivation refers to the drive to assimilate the dominant language culture (Hinton, 1999, p. 227) for better chances of employability (Kouritzin, 1999).
**Feelings of shame.** Feelings of shame among children and youth may be due to their ethnicity, their visible difference in appearance, their linguistic abilities and their accent in the dominant language (Hinton, 1999, p. 28). A sense of shame may be there because of their parents’ ethnic background, being self-conscious about belonging to a different race/culture and about their parents’ accent in English (Hinton, 1999, p. 229). Children are also embarrassed with their parents in situations where they are forced by circumstance to speak their ethnic language to their parents to help them interpret conversation with speakers of the dominant/other languages (Hinton, 1999, p. 228).

Feelings of shame can also take the form of ‘home language shame’. Krashen (1998) called it ‘reverse shyness’ - these children have difficulty speaking their home language due to either the shortage of or improper use of vocabulary, imperfect grammar and accent which inhibits them from speaking in their home language in the presence of other proficient speakers and further diminish their chances of improving upon their home language(s) (Anderson, 2012, p. 201; Hinton, 1999, p. 230; Park, 2013, p. 197).

**Feeling of the uselessness of the home language maintenance.** Some might feel that there was no need to maintain their home language due to pragmatic reasons such as the low status of their home language for vocational/educational advancement (Anderson, 2004, 2012, p. 197; Hinton, 1999, p. 230; Kouritzin, 1999). They may perceive that the general status of their home/heritage language was low to that of the dominant language (Anderson, 2004; Anderson, 2012, p. 197).

**Inability to identify with their home/heritage language.** Children identify with the language to which they have been exposed since childhood, which is often the dominant

**Negative reaction to the strong efforts made by parents.** Increased insistence on using the HL results in increased resistance among the children (Guardado, 2002, 2013; Hinton, 1999, p. 231); the tone that parents use when insisting on home language use at home often builds negative associations with their home language (Guardado, 2002, 2013).

**Advanced stages of bilingualism or second language acquisition.** The advanced acquisition of the dominant language when the home language is not fully developed results in subtractive bilingualism (Lambert, 1974; Seliger & Vago, 1991), which means that the dominant language is used more often and the home language is lost in disuse. Higher levels of education and higher paying jobs are also linked to home language loss, especially in Spanish speaking women (Anderson, 2004; Anderson, 2012, p. 197).

With this general overview of conditions applicable to all cultures and states, I move on to the Canadian scene. Since the HLP is considered to be one of the means of maintaining immigrant home languages (Guardado, 2006; Oketani, 1997), HLP or the ILP\(^{20}\) (ILP is used in the Ontarian/Canadian context) can fill the gap and provide opportunities for learning immigrant language(s).

### 2.3.2 Status of International Language Program in Peel.

**Lack of awareness about the availability of International Language Program.**

There is an abundance of literature on ILP in Canada, most of which suggests that though the program is an excellent initiative and has the potential to help maintain migrant languages, it

\(^{20}\) Please see footnote # 10 on page # 10
fails to bring about the desired effect because of a number of systemic barriers (Baker 2001; Cummins 1983a, 1983b, 2001b, 2005; Cummins & Danesi, 1990; Guardado, 2002, 2006, 2013; Jedwab, 2000; Lowe, 2005; Ng, 2011; Oketani, 1997; Park, 2013; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Shoukri, 2010; Siddiqui, 2004; Subhan, 2007; Turcotte, 2006). It was initially hypothesized that the Canadians of Pakistani origin do not enroll in the program because they are not aware of it (Ahmed & Florou, 2012). Ahmed (2013) explored the various information packets and literature provided to the new immigrants upon their arrival and found that, indeed, it does not contain any information about the ILP. The same year, a survey was conducted in the Peel to find out if the new immigrants knew about the ILP; it was revealed that more than 80% of the participants had no knowledge of the program (Kerekes et al, 2013).

2.4 Language Maintenance

Language maintenance efforts are often conducted by ‘organizations of recent immigrants’ (Fishman & Nahirny, 1966, p. 162). The minority language can be maintained if strict compartmentalization of the domains of minority and majority language are made (Fishman, 1991) and the intergenerational transmission is ensured through language transmission strategies by the parents (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004) as in a migrant situation, family is the only domain where HLs can be transmitted to the children. The status of language maintenance attempts by linguistic groups other than Pakistani languages is also viewed to understand the Canadian experience.

2.4.1 Factors that strengthen the chances of home/heritage language maintenance.

Some of the most prominent factors that have been recognized to support the home language maintenance include the use of a strong and active family language policy, strong
cultural identity among its speakers, positive experiences of cultural diversity, parents’ attitude to
their home language, presence of media in the target language and the presence of extended
family and ethnic community, visits to the country of origin, post-adolescent search for identity
and children’s age upon arrival.

2.4.1.1 Language is spoken as a matter of policy. Families that choose a certain
language as their home language (Döpke, 1992a; Fishman, 1991; Hinton, 1999, p. 222; Spolsky,
2004) and use it actively for daily communication at home have a greater chance of passing it on
to their forthcoming generations (Caldas, 2006; Hayden, 1966, p. 200; Houle, 2011, p. 3). Use of
One Parent One Language (OPOL) (Hinton, 1999, p. 224) and Mother Language at Home
(mL@H) are 21some of the best known and most often used strategies for a successful FLP.
OPOL has often been used by parents who speak two different sets of languages thereby
transferring both the parental languages to their children, e.g. by Ronjat (1913 as cited in Döpke,
1998 and Caldas, 2006), Leopold (1939–1949 as cited in Caldas, 2006 and Döpke, 1998) and
Saunders (1982, 1988, as cited in Caldas, 2006 and Döpke, 1998). The Caldas, however, used
mL@H policy for their three children with French as their home language while English was the
dominant language in the suburbs of Louisiana (Caldas, 2006, 2008). Parents who belong to the
same linguistic community are able to practise mL@H. Turcotte (2006), the only study that
analysed a large body of Canadian data (42,500 children aged 15 and over) (p. 21) from the
Ethnic Diversity Survey, conducted by Statistics Canada in 2002, on the other hand, finds that
both the parents who spoke the same language were better able to provide not only a good

21 I have read about the personal narratives of Ronjat (1913), Leopold (1939-49) and Saunders (1982, 1988) that
Houwer (2007), Döpke, (1992a, 1992b and 1998) because strategies per se are beyond the domain of the study.
Strategies of home language transmission are a small part of only one theme of the thesis that is focused on FLP.
Any further references to Ronjat (1913), Leopold (1939-49) and Saunders (1982, 1988) are made to include the
primary sources which document personal experiences and musings of parents who raised their children bilingually
and laid down the foundations of FLP.
quality and quantity of exposure and input but also had better prospects of receiving output from their children in the same language (p. 22) precisely because of being able to use mL@H. Similarly, in a large study comprised of around 1900 families in Flanders, Belgium, De Houwer, (2007) found that mL@H was a more successful strategy compared with OPOL. Based upon the large sample size used in Turcotte (2006) and De Houwer, (2007) it can be safely surmised that mL@H may often be a more successful strategy than the ones prescribed by Ronjat (1913), Leopold (1939-49) and Saunders (1982, 1989)\textsuperscript{22} which involved a small set of subjects. The data regarding the advantage of mL@H may be considered to be more reliable because the results of Turcotte and De Houwer are replicable having been based on common layman subjects rather than those of the trained linguists and privileged families in Leopold, Ronjat and Saunders.

2.4.1.2 Strong cultural identity. Families with strong and positive ethnic identities are able to manage intergenerational language transmission (Guardado, 2002, 2013; Park, 2013).

2.4.1.3 Socioeconomic status. The socioeconomic status of parents (Hoff, 2006, p. 60) and their highest level of education attained (Alba et al, 2002; Park, 2013), especially maternal education (Hoff, 2006, p. 57), contribute to language maintenance as these parents have the means, ease of life and the required knowledge to manage a successful FLP.

2.4.1.4 Positive experiences of cultural diversity. Positive experiences of learning about cultural diversity at school despite discrimination and rejection by the peers (Hinton, 1999, p. 226) and the affirmations of their cultural and linguistic identities at school and wider community contribute to a positive attitude to immigrant home languages (Cummins, 2000, 2005).

2.4.1.5 Parents’ attitude to language. Despite being teased/rejected by peers, some children are able to learn and use their home language because parents manage to maintain pride

\textsuperscript{22} Please refer to footnote # 21
in their heritage (Hayden, 1966; Hinton, 1999, p. 227), have a positive attitude towards their home language (Lyon, 1991; Lyon & Ellis 1991; Park, 2013) or have an L1-centric/bicultural/multicultural linguistic and cultural orientation (Kemppainen, Ferrin, Ward & Hite, 2004).

2.4.1.6 Media. Television (Hinton, 1999, p. 234), the presence of ethnic media (Alba et al., 2002, p. 469; Garcia, 2003), mobile assisted language learning via android phones and other hand held devices (Godwin-Jones, 2011) can play a positive role by providing opportunities to engage with the minority language.

2.4.1.7 Presence of extended family and ethnic community. The presence of extended family members and a large ethnic community fills the void created by lack of home language support at school, and provides opportunities of socialization during childhood and adolescence that children appreciate once they reach the age of majority (Hinton, 1999, p. 235). Ruby (2012) explores the positive role of grandparents in identity development and language maintenance among the third generation Bangla speaking community in East London, U.K. similar to Wei (1994).

2.4.1.8 Visits to the country of origin. Hinton (1999) and Park (2013) reported that visiting the country of origin provided children with a chance to be immersed in the target language (p. 236-8). The Caldas (2006, 2008) report the advantage of frequent visits to an environment where the dominant language was the target language of their three children whom their parents wanted to raise as simultaneous bilinguals. Though the Caldas lived in Louisiana, U.S.A. where their children spoke French as their home language and English as the dominant language, the parents brought their children to Quebec, Canada every summer for nineteen years.
where they lived in a French monolingual environment during the whole summer break (Caldas, 2006, 2008).

**2.4.1.9 Post-adolescent search for identity.** The post-adolescent period is marked by a quest for identity; young adults can experience any or all of the following to explore their uniqueness. Once the stage of the negotiation of identity is complete, love and respect for the home language and its associated culture is rekindled among some of the youth, which propels them to use their home language (Hinton, 1999, p. 243; Oketani, 1997). They may also find their home/heritage language a source of great benefit (Hinton, 1999, pp. 241-43; Oketani, 1997) and may also sometimes enroll in a university language program (Hinton, 1999, p. 238).

**2.4.1.10 Age upon arrival.** Children who immigrate at an older age use language more often, have a stronger affiliation to community organizations compared the younger in the family and have a better grasp of their home language (Fishman & Nahirny, 1966, pp. 179-81; Tannenbaum, & Tseng, 2015). They may also experience challenges with “native-like” oral and communicative proficiency; however, components of their cognitive and academic achievement are not influenced negatively if their reading skills in their L2 are fully developed (Cummins, 1981a).

Next, the immigrant language maintenance experiences of the linguistic groups that have been in Canada for several decades are analyzed.

**2.4.2 Immigrant language maintenance in Canada.**

A number of empirical studies have documented language loss among allophone Canadian children (Subhan, 2007; Turcotte, 2006) and have studied different aspects of language maintenance (Guardado, 2002, 2006, 2013), instances of additive bilingualism through HLPs (Oketani, 1997) and the quest for promotion of the HLP in Arabic language (Shoukri, 2010).
Often known as ‘immigrant’ or non-official languages (Burnaby, 2008, p. 8), in this thesis, these are referred to as Home/Heritage Languages (HL). Instead of focusing on language loss, those studies are reviewed here that contribute to our understanding of home language maintenance among the immigrant language speakers. Wherever possible, I have focused on studies conducted in Canada because of the similarity of the linguistic environment that other allophones share with the Canadians of Pakistani origin.

While analyzing data on language retention from Ethnic Diversity Surveys with a focus on Canadian Social Trends, Turcotte (2006) reported a language loss among the grandchildren (i.e. third generation (G3)) (p. 20). Data analyzed in 2002 revealed that while 74% of the second generation (G2) children self-reported that they were able to carry a conversation in their HL, less than half of them (32%) used it in their own homes after leaving their parental homes and only 16% used it with their friends (p. 20) which clearly indicates a downward trend (Shoukri, 2010; Subhan, 2007) that supports the disruption of intergenerational language transmission.

A longitudinal study in two time frames over 10 years in which ten mother-child pairs of second generation Torontonians of Ukrainian origin were studied, first at the ages of three years and then at age thirteen, to determine whether the intergenerational linguistic transmission was successful or not, documents the challenges of maintaining home language through pre-adolescent and adolescent periods (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999). The family language policy was ‘Ukrainian only’ all along and the mothers are reported to have a very positive attitude towards their Ukrainian language and culture. The observations, semi-controlled isolated interviews with both children and the mothers revealed that it was easier to transmit home language during pre-school ages; whereas, it was much harder during the pre-teen age bracket. The biggest challenge
for the mothers even in the most ‘language committed’ families was to convince their adolescent children to respond in their home language (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999, p. 73).

A qualitative study on language loss and maintenance of Spanish and Hispanic children of varied age groups in Vancouver (Guardado, 2002, 2013) reported the presence of ethnic cultural identity to be the major factor in home language maintenance. These families followed the ‘family language at home’ policy of language maintenance, often known as mL@H, that has often been linked to a successful intergenerational transmission (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004, p. 163; De Houwer, 2007; Turcotte, 2006). The application of mL@H was successful with 70% of the families, though it did not seem to work in the rest of the 30% of the families because despite the positive attitudes to their home language, the parents were reported to have adopted a fierce tone while enforcing their home language on their children (Guardado, 2002, 2013). The study helps us understand that positive parental attitude to home language alone does not necessarily guarantee building a positive attitude to their home language among their children as well. Instead, positive encouraging tones and frequent conversations about their feelings towards their home language, and their children’s use of home language often result in building a positive attitude among children, not vice versa (Guardado, 2002, 2013).

In a mixed methods study, Oketani (1997) observed 42 G2 Japanese youth, in their twenties at the time of the study, living in the GTA who had studied Japanese in HLP conducted by various school boards to find out the effects of their bilingualism upon their academic achievement. Their parents had immigrated to Canada during 1960s and 1970s and belonged to mixed classes. An analysis of their oral proficiency, academic success in Canadian educational system indicated that 70% of the youth observed possessed successful bilingual and biliterate capabilities in both English and Japanese (Oketani, 1997, p. 365). Though their linguistic
abilities in Japanese were found to be comparatively lower than their linguistic abilities in English, they were good enough to produce additive benefits of bilingualism mainly because they had a positive attitude to their ethnic identity and bilingualism (Oketani, 1997, pp. 365 & 373). This segues to the theme of attitudes of immigrant children towards their ethnic and linguistic identity.

2.5 Identity

2.5.1 Social identity.

Children develop their social identity based upon their desire to gain “membership in a social group, whether it be a distinct language community or a distinct social group within a language community” (Ochs, 1993, p. 289). The children’s identification model, called self-identification, relates to how the children develop a label that they use for themselves. Their identification is considered ‘correct’ if their chosen ethnicity corresponds with those of their parents’; ‘incorrect’ if different (Aboud, 1987, as cited in Phinney, 1990, p. 503; Phinney, 2007, p. 272). In adolescence and adulthood, however, it is complex because their identifications are considered a matter of choice related to being old enough to know their true ethnicity (Phinney, 1990).

2.5.2 Ethnic identity.

Ethnic identity is a part of the social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, as cited in Phinney & Ong 2007, p. 271) “that [is] part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from [his] knowledge of [his] membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255, as cited in Phinney
Ethnic identity may be imposed due to visible markers of identity, such as color, race, dress, customs and language. It may also be chosen based on a sense of belonging because of the way a person wishes to be associated with a group that is visibly different (Phinney, 1990, p. 504). Such immigrant groups are called a ‘visible minority’ in Canada; according to Statistics Canada (2015), Pakistanis are considered a visible minority. People with mixed background may often be identified with hyphenation to include both of their identities. Some people may choose to take pride in their hyphenated identities whereas some others may have allegiance with one group. Berry et al. (1986) propose four possible grids of explaining ethnic group membership: a) biculturalism - strong identification with both groups which indicates that the person is fully integrated in both cultures; b) assimilation - exclusive identification with the majority culture; c) separation - when there is identification with the initial group; and d) marginality - when the person identifies with neither group (pp. 306-7).

Otherwise, incorporating a review of earlier research, Phinney (1990) proposes a three stage process of ethnic identity formation. The first stage is that of unexamined ethnic identity, the second is that of ethnic identity search and the third is that of achieved ethnic identity (pp. 502-3).

2.5.3 Pakistanis: bicultural, bilingual and biliterate.

People of Pakistani origin initially came to Canada in 1950 through a quota for 100 people that continued until 1960s when more visas for academic pursuits were granted. Bigger numbers of people of Pakistani origin immigrated in 1990s and onwards (Israel, 1999). Israel (1999) noted that most Pakistani adults were bicultural and Urdu/English bilingual and biliterate.

23 http://www.statcan.gc.ca/eng/concepts/definitions/minority01a
25 http://asia-canada.ca/changing-perspectives/pakistanis-0
(pp. 1031-2), while Awan (1989) had suggested that most parents were mentally prepared for the loss of HL among their children. Over the last two decades, Canadians of Pakistani origin have settled in major urban centers in Canada with the highest concentration in Peel (Region of Peel, 2012). The presence of a number of Pakistani ethnic community groups among the youth and college and university students in the GTA indicates that some members have ‘achieved’ their ethnic identity. University students from varying generations initiated these organizations that are involved in causes, raise funds, and develop plans and teams for development projects in the remote areas of Pakistan. *Pakistan Development Foundation* (PDF) that was initially started to help raise funds for the flood victims in 2010 has chapters in three major universities\(^\text{26}\) in the GTA. Another global organization, *Pakathon*, with the explicit purpose of creating a 'global Pakistani nervous system that helps Pakistanis deepen their relationship to Pakistan\(^\text{27}\)' has a Toronto chapter,\(^\text{28}\) which has been actively engaged in providing educational services, creating global networks and financing entrepreneurs in Pakistan. Free Urdu language classes of children of all age groups are conducted at three locations in the Peel with funding from the local community and the efforts of a local organization *Bazm-e-Ahbab\(^\text{29}\) (Friends’ Circle) Canada. Despite being at a very small scale, these classes are led by volunteer teachers on Saturday mornings for 2 ½ hours and appear to present a reasonable model for Fishman’s concept of community support for language maintenance (1991).

\(^{26}\) 1) University of Toronto: https://www.ulife.utoronto.ca/organizations/view/id/2652;  
2) https://www.ulife.utoronto.ca/organizations/view/id/126705;  
4) Ryerson University: https://www.facebook.com/RyersonPSA/posts/535782739800908;  
5) https://www.facebook.com/pdfpakistan/;  
6) https://www.youtube.com/user/PDFPakistan; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kAIMRE7CQ-s  
\(^{27}\) http://www.pakathon.org/; https://www.facebook.com/pakathonTO/photos_stream;  
\(^{28}\) http://www.pakathon.org/cities/toronto  
\(^{29}\) http://www.southasianfocus.ca/news-story/6001290-in-brief-/
2.5.4 Identity negotiation.

Ethnic identity is dynamic, liable to change over time with the change of environment (Garcia, 2012; Phinney, 1990, p. 502) and with self-exploration/identity negotiation (Phinney & Ong, 2007, p. 272; Ting-Toomey, 1999, 2005). Based upon their positive or negative association with their actual ethnic identity, individuals may choose to self-identify with another group and try to espouse the identifiable markers of the group they wish to associate with, most often to win acceptance from the desired group and to fight back stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination (Phinney, 1990). This behavior among individuals, known as ‘identity negotiation’, is a transactional interactional process in which a person may wish to assert, modify and support their desired self-image with or without success (Ting-Toomey, 1999, pp. 39-40, 2005, p. 217). Successful identity negotiation results in feelings of mutual understanding, respect and affirmation (Ting-Toomey, 2005, p. 218); whereas unsuccessful attempts give birth to fear, uncertainty and lack of confidence.

2.5.5 Identity negotiation due to negative portrayal of ethnicity/culture/religion in the media.

The process of identity negotiation is of critical importance in the ways people connect to each other and lay the foundations for an organized social activity (Swann Jr. & Bosson, 2008, p. 466); however, in an environment of fear and mistrust, as suggested by Ting-Toomey (2005), the organized social activity of establishing a cohesive society may be at risk (Swann Jr. & Bosson, 2008). Identity negotiation in the wake of negative portrayal of one’s ethnicity, culture and religion in the media (Omar, 2012; Said, 1978, 1981) thrusts debilitating pressures on the minds and hearts of the children and adolescents (Kroger, 2006; Marcia, 1980; Omar, 2012; Rousseau & Jamil, 2008). Since early 1970s, the American media has constantly denigrated Islam and the
Arab world (Said, 1981); Caldwell (2010) suggested that the Muslims migrating to Europe and other western countries will never assimilate because a ‘clash of civilizations’ is underway (Huntington, 1997). Besides, they clearly are ‘sub-humans’; nothing but an enemy, a herd of animals and a bunch of ‘vermin’ and ‘virus’ (Steuter, & Wills, 2009, pp. 8-9). The narrative of “Canadian-born” or “home-grown” rather than simply “Canadian”,” (p. 9) dehumanizes and deindividuates each one of them such that the children are aware of the fact that everyone fears them and that they are not trusted (p. 8). In such stifling environment, children, especially adolescents, often feel that they have no choice but to assimilate because human identities are also shaped by others around (Omar, 2012, p. 20). Swann Jr. & Bosson (2008) theorized:

[t]he survival of people’s identities rests not only in their hands but in the hands of others. Whereas people who enjoy a steady supply of nourishment for their identities will retain those identities, those who repeatedly fail to receive such nourishment will ultimately relinquish their identities (Swann Jr. & Bosson, 2008, p. 448).

Omar (2012) challenges the concepts of a singular identity, also known as Ummah (one nation), brushes aside the theory that Qura’an and Sunnah override all other rules and regulations (p. 17) and maintains that despite being a member of an Ummah, Muslims are a diverse group and follow Islam in various ways. He urges Muslims to partake in the multicultural environment of Canada, to contribute to the society and to nourish each other as (Swann Jr. & Bosson (2008) have suggested.

### 2.5.6 Linguistic identity and attitude to home/heritage language.

Language and culture are interdependent living organisms: “without culture, language would be dead; without language, culture would have no shape” (Jiang, 2000). Linguistic
repertoires are a means of communication, whereas language is a marker of identity and an institution in itself (Laitin, 2000, p. 144) Linguistic identity, also called ‘ethnolinguistic identity’ by Fishman (1977, 1996, as cited in Garcia, 2012) is “the prime ethnic identity feature” (Garcia, 2012, p. 81) that helps successful HL transmission.

Parents’ attitude to language in general, their ethnic & linguistic identity and their strategies of transmission of those values contribute to their children’s identity formation (Guardado, 2002, 2013; Oketani, 1997). In a study involving three ethnic groups -- Armenians, Vietnamese and Mexicans -- Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang (2001) found that along with positive parental attitude towards their linguistic identity and cultural maintenance, the two other factors that contributed to successful identity formation were children’s own home/heritage language proficiency and social interaction with peers from the same ethnic group (pp. 137, 150). Similarly, the oral proficiency of Japanese youth in Oketani (1997) was found to be an outcome of their strong ethnic identity, a positive attitude to multiculturalism and their own bilinguality. The youth also stated their clear intentions to pass their language to their coming generations (pp. 374-5). Guardado (2002, 2006, 2013) recognized that a strong ethnic and linguistic identity contributed to home language maintenance among Hispanic speaking families in Vancouver. Aside from the social and psychological advantages, Oketani (1997) also showed how additive bilingualism gained through HLP helped in building a positive ethnic identity that contributed to the academic success of the Japanese students in the GTA.

The linguistic identity that a person arrives at as a part of an ongoing process of self-identification and self-exploration, evident among the Japanese youth above, is enduring and produces long-term commitment and attachment (Ashmore et al., 2004, as cited in Phinney & Ong, 2007). Nevertheless, in this globalized world, notions of identity are becoming “fluid,

2.5.7 Cultural identity.

Another layer of identity, not often mentioned in the literature around language maintenance, is that of belonging to cultures that are different in ‘mental programs’ (Gorodnichenko & Roland, 2012; Hofstede, 1984) and are characterized by varied definitions of ‘self’ (Ibrahim, Ohnishi & Sandhu, 1997). An analysis of a paper and pencil survey conducted in 40 different countries in 1968 and 1972 laid the foundation of the concept of individualism and collectivism as the two extremes of continuum in Hofstede (1984, pp. 15-17). Theorizing that human behavior stems from mental programs, Hofstede (1984) states that the three mental programs of all humans are: a) universal, b) collective, and c) individual. Universal programming refers to characteristics common to all humans that are experienced by all human beings; however, individuals and societies marked as collectivist tend to share identifying characteristics with some but not all, whereas the individuals and societies identified as individualistic are programmed to be unique, unlike any other individual and to act in complete independence of any control (pp. 14-15). Ting-Toomey (2005) posits that there are two kinds of family systems in family decision making processes - personal family system and positional family system (p. 212). Democratic families that follow personal family system allow different family members to experiment and grow as unique individuals while parents act as friends with their children (Ting-Toomey, 2005, p. 212) Compared to that, positional families have a hierarchical power structure,
status based relationships and prescribed roles in which absolute obedience is commanded from parents in an authoritarian manner (p. 213).

Both mental programs and family structures produce different perceptions of self which can be either independent or interdependent (Gorodnichenko & Roland, 2012, p. 220); individuals from collectivist societies immigrating to individualistic societies typically go through the slow and gradual convergence to the culture of their destination (Tannenbaum, & Tseng, 2015) and become independent to a certain degree (Phinney, 2009).

In spite of the initial differences in the linguistic options available to emigrants in a destination location, “selective rather than full acculturation is a preferable alternative for immigrant children and their families” (Portes & Hao, 2002, p. 889) and fluent bilingualism is consistently preferable compared with monolingualism (p. 892).

2.6 Bilingualism/Multilingualism/Plurilingualism

2.6.1 Types of bilingualism.

Identification through one single language is an “artefact”; it "minimizes the actual diversity of individual linguistic capability" (emphasis in original) (Beacco, 2005, p. 10). Some individuals may identify themselves with the first language they learn, be it a mother tongue or not, and may discover their linguistic identity quite late in life (Beacco, 2005, p. 10) while others may identify themselves as bi/plurilingual if given a chance (p. 13). Beacco (2005) raises the problematic that except for the 1999 census in France, most censuses and statistics fail to capture the linguistic repertoire of an individual and restrict them to a single-language identification (pp. 17-18) and hence the concept of monolingualism/one-state-one-language perpetuates (May, 2008; Shohamy, 2006).
While listing ten variables, Kloss (1966) suggests that ‘natural bilingualism’ may occur due to either exogamous marriages or due to living in a multilingual geographical location; ‘voluntary bilingualism’ emerges either because of the personal choice of an individual or because it is taught in the schools and is also widely used in the community. Another type that may interest us is ‘decreed bilingualism’ which is supported by state authorities as a national language policy (Kloss, 1966, p. 142) such as Canada. Fishman (1967) also differentiated between the individual & societal bilingualism and stable & unstable bilingualism (Fishman, 1972, pp.8-9, 1980). Another contribution of the ‘Fishmanian sociolinguistics’ is that of debunking the concepts of a balanced bilingual and the dominant bilingualism that brings us close to the notion of plurilingualism used in European Union (García, Schiffman, & Zacharia, 2006, p. 12). Family/individual bi/plurilingualism is different from societal bilingualism (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2008; Sridhar, 1996). Wherein societal bilingualism is considered a natural outcome of status and corpus planning, family bilingualism is further divided between elitist bilingualism and folk bilingualism (Gaarder (1976) in Baker, 1988, p. 47; Lanza, 2007, p. 46). Elitist bilingualism is driven by choice (e.g. Ronjat, 1913, as cited in Caldas, 2006 and Döpke, 1992a; Leopold 1939–1949 as cited in Caldas 2006 and Döpke, 1992a; and Saunders 1982, 1988; as cited in Caldas, 2006 and Döpke, 1992a) - when languages are being acquired for their cultural and economic value to gain membership in a dominant power group to be able to get high status positions and power. Folk bilingualism, on the other hand, is either due to necessity or compulsion, a means to economic survival and is acquired to gain employment (Gaarder, 1976, as cited in Baker, 1988, p. 47). In order to understand the motives of the children about their choices, it is important to understand the difference between the elitist and the folk bilingualism because every child may be driven by a different motivation such as for economic, social and
cultural (Baker, 1988, p. 47) or the “motivation to want to become, or to continue to be” (Baker, 1988, p. 142).

2.6.2 Multilingualism/Plurilingualism.

As the factors of globalization and migration have brought about a change in the way knowledge of several languages is perceived, the concept of plurilingualism and bi/plurilingualism, emerging from the French literature, at the turn of the century has brought about a radical change in the way bi/multilingualism are conceived. Moore and Gajo (2009) articulated it thus:

[t]he focus on the individual as the locus and actor of contact has encouraged a shift of terminology from multilingualism (the study of societal contact) to plurilingualism (the study of individual's repertoires and agency in several languages) (Emphases in original, p. 138).

This envisages attention to the individual as an actor and their agency in developing their repertoire in multiple languages suggesting that individuals are themselves in charge of their own language learning processes. Plurilingualism is one way individuals and communities identify themselves through the choices they make in their lives. Multilingualism is attained through formal schooling and is referred to as “the co-existence of different languages in a given society”, plurilingualism, on the other hand, is acquired at the individual level while interacting and communicating with people of various linguistic backgrounds (Council of Europe (CEFR), 2001, p. 4). Since languages thrive on a community and are connected to a culture, plurilingualism springs from a pluricultural society such as Europe (p. 6), Australia & New Zealand (Fielding, 2015) and Canada (Council of Ministers of Education Canada (CMEC), 2010;
Piccardo, 2013; Prasad, 2014, 2015). Individual plurilingulism compared with the societal multilingualism is viewed as a more realistic representation of the current linguistic landscape (CME, 2010; COE, 2001; Piccardo, 2013, p. 601). It also establishes realistic expectations with regards to the knowledge of languages: neither emphasizes semblance of the ‘ideal native speaker’ nor places an unrealistic goal of the acquisition of equal mastery on multiple languages (COE, 2001, p. 5; Piccardo, 2013; Prasad, 2014).

Pakistani Canadians move from a stable bilingual environment in Pakistan (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2008; Coulmas, 2013; Fishman 1972, pp. 8-9) to an unstable language environment for them in Canada: an ‘official’ bilingual state where ‘two monolingual solitudes’ exist (Prasad, 2015) side by side like the two parallel railroad tracks that do no intersect (pp. 2-3). In today's globalized world that is characterized by mobility, the ethnic or ethnolinguistic identities may not be restricted to the languages supported by national language policies; they may be plurilingual (Prasad, 2015) given that the individuals and communities have experienced a variety of contact situations and would like to retain some of those components for psychological well-being (Garcia, 2012, pp. 88-9). Individuals who have been in a contact situation with several languages develop transnational/plurilingual identities which distinguishes them from a ‘typical immigrant’ in that their sense of identity, attachment to their ‘home’, its language, and the nostalgia for their ‘Ithaca’ is not full of ‘emotional expressiveness’ (Tannenbaum, & Tseng, 2015, pp. 291-2).

The Council of Europe Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) was developed with political objectives and the main purpose was to represent the diverse languages and cultures; facilitate communication between all European languages; prepare all Europeans for international mobility; “promote mutual understanding and tolerance” between all nations; maintain and further improve the diversity and richness of European cultural landscape; “meet
the needs of a multilingual and multicultural Europe” and prevent the threats to the “marginalization of those lacking the skills necessary to communicate in an interactive Europe (CEFR, 2001, pp. 3-4). Above all, the end goal is to develop linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic competencies to facilitate communication between nations and peoples (p. 13). In order to increase the literacy and communicative skills in several languages, the line of action is to provide “a common basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses, curriculum guidelines, examinations, textbooks, etc. across Europe”, through schools and academic institutions (p. 1).

Plurilingualism is ideally practiced in a variety of contexts, such as city, school, institution and workplace; in the Canadian context, the document is targeted to policy makers and syllabus designers to support the creation of innovative programs for language instruction, keeping in view the current language policies (CMEC, 2010, p. 1). This action-oriented approach, outlined in the Canadian model of Canale and Swain (1980) (CMEC, 2010, p. 28), is specific to the K-12 school context (p. 18). Though the Canadian model promises “to develop students’ “linguistic capital” as “children of the world,” because they are increasingly in touch with people from other linguistic groups, and though it does go beyond French to include aboriginal languages and ‘another’ language, it fails to present any concrete plans as to how the retention of “children’s linguistic capital” will be ensured (See Table 2). Compared to that, the European framework clearly seems to have a plan and aims to have students learn a foreign language for a few years at the primary or elementary level and “know” another foreign language in high school.
### Table 2:

*Comparative Chart of the Council of Europe Framework of Reference for Language in the European and Canadian Context*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fundamentals</th>
<th>CEFR - European Context</th>
<th>CEFR - Canadian Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Language policies</td>
<td>- More than 47 countries with 20+ foreign languages</td>
<td>- One country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Each country has one or two official languages</td>
<td>- Two official languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Recognition of Aboriginal languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Consideration of diversity in international languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Language policies:</td>
<td>- Recognition of “plurilingualism” and “pluriculturalism” as competence that differs from</td>
<td>- Recognition and promotion of bilingualism in an approach that factors in individuals’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vision</td>
<td>multilingualism and bilingualism</td>
<td>plurilingualism and multiculturalism; also, Canada wants to develop students’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“linguistic capital” as “children of the world,” given that young people are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>increasingly in touch with people representing a host of nations, even in their own</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Learning design</td>
<td>- aims to have students learn a foreign language for a few years at the primary or</td>
<td>- aims primarily to have students learn the second official language and/or another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>elementary level;</td>
<td>language;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- aims to have students “know” another foreign language in high school;</td>
<td>- language learning typically begins in the early years of school, for example, grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 for core French and kindergarten for early French immersion. Jurisdictional curricula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>are usually designed for children in kindergarten through grade 12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Reproduced, in parts, from: Council of Ministers of Education Canada (CMEC), 2010, pp. 4-5.
From attitudes to identity, language and linguistic identities, we move to language planning: we plan because we wish to do something with the choices we make in terms of our social, ethnic, linguistic and cultural identities.

2.7 Language Planning and Policy

Diversity due to the arrival of non-official languages is valuable (Statistics Canada, 2012) and represents a form of linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1986; CMEC, 2010); nevertheless, it has often been viewed as a problem (Castiglione, 2007, p. 3; Cummins 2001a; Park & Sarkar 2007). The status of immigrant languages has been treated either as a political or a theoretical issue which is subject to status/corpus planning (Cooper, 1989, pp. 31-32; Fishman, 2012, pp. 4-6; Kloss, 1969; pp. 81-82). Bi/multi/pluilingualism have, however, often been prevalent in almost all cultures either due to contact situations or personal choice (Coulmas, 2013). The concept of classical language policy in terms of national language planning came into being in the immediate post-colonial period in nation-states, which in turn gave birth to the shifting language loyalties in favor of the dominant languages (Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2004, 2012). With the passage of time, there is a gradual understanding among linguists and communities that instead of focusing on 'top-down' policies of language maintenance, 'bottom-up' approaches may produce more desirable results (Spolsky, 2012, p. 3). In the absence of any official status or support from the school system, immigrant families may attempt to maintain their bi/plurilingual repertoire through the use of strategies for second language learning in the domains of family and speech community (Spolsky, 2012).

In order to understand “who speaks what language to whom and when” (Fishman, 1965) among the Pakistani Canadians in the Region of Peel, it is relevant to define the phrase ‘language policy’ for the purpose of this thesis so we are able to find out ‘‘who plans what for whom and
how.” (Cooper, 1989, p. 31, emphasis in the original). When someone in an administrative position such as an institutional head or a family member, attempts to direct/persuade people to learn/use a certain language, whether explicitly through a law or implicitly through their practices and beliefs, they are establishing a language policy (Spolsky, 2004, p. 8). Whereas, it is language management if the language users are judged, evaluated for and discouraged or dissuaded from using any other language or expression which is not recognized by the person in position (p. 10).

2.7.1 Family language policy.

Among the classified domains of language use (Schmidt-Rohr, 1932), family is of the foremost importance (Lanza, 2007; Weinreich, 2011), and ‘the crucial domain’ (Spolsky, 2012); for purposes of language maintenance family is the core unit (Fishman, 1965). Mufwene (2001) recommends that as a form of species, languages are parasitic, “whose life and vitality depend on (the acts and dispositions) of its hosts, i.e. its speakers, on the society they form, and on the culture in which they live (p. 17).” The survival of a language is subject to its use by a speech community. As an outcome of this understanding, FLP is considered to be an appropriate means to language maintenance as it involves strategies to ensure the usage of home/target language (Caldas 2006, 2008, 2012).

Relatively a new field in the area of language policy and child language acquisition, FLP has emerged from personal attempts of individual families raising children bilingually (Ronjat, 1913, as cited in Caldas; Leopold 1939–1949, as cited in Caldas; and Saunders 1982, 1988; as cited in Caldas, 2006 and Döpke, 1992a30) and has focused on parents' role in intergenerational transmission of their HLs to their children (King et al., 2008, pp. 907-8). FLP works in all three

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30 Please refer to footnote # 21
areas of language planning - status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning (King et al., 2008, p. 910) and can be quite manipulative (Shohamy (2006) in King et al., 2008, p. 911) as multiple institutions, such as the state, the school and the parents try to control the children’s choices. However, since FLP is based upon a certain language ideology; children and parents may have varying and conflicting ideologies (King et al, 2008, p. 911) or parents may have more than one ideology (Spolsky, 2004) which can make homes a site of competition between different ideologies. Often parents who raise children multilingually embark on this journey with the best intentions for their children and have the notions of themselves being ‘good’ parents (King & Fogle, 2006) because passing on the knowledge of languages is deemed to be a gift to their children (Pillar, 2001, as cited in King & Fogle, 2006), a skill that needs to be cultivated as the early maths and music skills are (Rosenfeld, 2005 in King & Fogle, 2006) so that children can become successful in life.

Parents who make efforts to maintain their home language for communication and who teach it to their children with the explicit goal of passing on the advantages of additive bilingualism often tend to draw on their personal experiences of having learned languages and/or listen to the expert advice from friends and relatives; they do not have access to any expert advice or support from the popular media (King & Fogle, 2006) or social/communal institutions (Lanza, 2007). Such parents know enough about the advantages of bilingualism, and though there are a number of websites and blogs that offer tips and support for bi/multilingual parenting, parents in King and Fogle’s (2006) study do not mention those, probably because they are not aware of them or have more faith on their own trusted ways (p. 707).

The first known strategy that Ronjat (1913) tested on his own children for raising their children bilingually in French and German while they lived in France was given the name ‘une-
personne; une langue’ (One Person; One Language) by Grammont (1902) (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004, p. 4). Often known as One Parent One Language (OPOL), this strategy has been used in a number of studies and usually been found to be quite useful in raising children bilingually (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Caldas, 2006; Döpke, 1991a, 1992b; King & Fogle, 2006; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008). One common feature of all the earlier studies (Ronjat, 1913; Leopold 1939–1949; Saunders 1982, 1988) is that these were carried out by linguist parents on their own children, whereas the later studies were conducted on immigrant parents and their children. All the parents in Ronjat, Leopold and Saunders belonged to the middle class, seemed to be aware of the advantages of additive bilingualism and made intensive efforts to promote it among their children (King & Fogle, 2006).

Döpke (1992a) observed four children from German-English bilingual families in Australia to investigate what type of input in the children raised chances of their becoming active bilinguals in their minority language. In order to assess ways to establish bilingualism at home, Döpke (1992a) devised a pattern of exposure with various scenarios with a broad range of single/both parents who speak majority or minority language with each other, with children and other members of the family (pp. 12-13). Two recordings of the conversations between parents and children at the interval of 4 years (from 2.4 & 2.8 years to 6.4 and 6.8 years) yielded data regarding the use of OPOL (p. 28). Though the children’s command of German improved over time, the effectiveness of OPOL was found to be somewhat irregular when German was used for communication; it was used 40% of the time on an average and was supplemented with plentiful translation and code-switching (pp. 34-51). Quality of parental input and interaction with the parents, rather than the quantity was found to be more effective in language transmission. Consistency in the use of target language and insistence to use it for daily communication helped
children understand the rule and follow it which in turn helped them gain fluency and confidence (pp. 53-58).

Barron-Hauwaert (2004b) identifies seven strategies for raising children bilingually and applies these to six case studies of parents who had used one of the strategies and shifted to another strategy if it failed to produce the desired effect in their children (pp. 163-191). The strategies are:

1) One Parent One Language - Majority Language (OPOL – ML) (majority-language is the strongest)

2) One Parent One Language - Minority Language (OPOL – mL) (support for the minority-language)

3) Minority-Language at Home (mL@H)

4) Trilingual or Multilingual Strategy

5) Mixed Strategy

6) Time and Place Strategy

7) Artificial or ‘Non-Native’ strategy (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004b, p. 163)

The first strategy, OPOL - ML, is the simplest; both parents speak the majority language which is their L1 as well and they are trying to teach another language to their child(ren). The second, OPOL - mL, is a pattern often to be found in exogamous marriages where the L1 of each parent is different, yet one language is common to them that they use for all of their mutual communications and with child(ren). mL@H, the third strategy may involve a wide range of linguistic abilities - parents with OPOL - ML, OPOL - mL and/or mixed marriage; the common feature among them is that they choose to speak the minority language at home at all times, with a view to providing more input/exposure to their child(ren). The trilingual or multilingual
strategy is self-explanatory; the only caution required with this method is to speak the languages in a way that the children are able to understand the clear separation among them. The mixed strategy is the least researched strategy because code-mixing is still viewed as a problem and not a matter of choice. The time and place strategy includes parents and children involved in some activity in which they perform a ritual or move to a different location for a short trip so the children feel that it is normal to use another language for communication within the family. The artificial and non-native strategy as used by Saunders (1988) is adopted when parents choose to move to a different location altogether for an extended period of time, such as summer vacation or a contact work opportunity, so the child(ren) are exposed to another language that their parents may/may not know (Caldas, 2006, 2008). The most popular strategy during the early phase, however, remained the OPOL (Saunders, 1988, p. 180).

The advantage of using OPOL is twofold: a) two parents or primary care-givers expose the child to two languages since birth which means that they are being raised as simultaneous bilinguals; and b) the children are able to associate one language with one person (Döpke, 1998, pp. 43-44). Nevertheless, OPOL is also criticized for being inherently applicable to only the White and the middle class, which may not produce absolutely fool proof results (p. 44). Some children become receptive bilinguals at most and do not actually use the language for communication (p. 45). Opposed to that are instances where parents reported better success when they mixed languages (several studies reported by Döpke, 1998, p. 45). All of these objections are rejected by Döpke, (1998) by presenting data from non-white, people of mixed income groups and those who mixed languages (p. 49-51) who finally concluded that if used judiciously, OPOL could help develop home as a domain of home/heritage language use and maintain language(s) (pp. 53-4). As mentioned earlier, two large scale studies - De Houwer (2007) and
Turcotte (2006) - found more success with the use of mL@H among the minority language speakers. Compared with the elitist bilingualism explored by Caldas (2006, 2008) Ronjat (1913) and Saunders (1982, 1988), both De Houwer (2007) and Turcotte (2006) studied the intergenerational transmission of immigrant languages - the main focus of the present study.

Like Fillmore (2000), Tannenbaum (2012) pleads for the immigrant language experience on the grounds of immigrants' sentimental attachment to their mother tongue/home language and its centrality to their “sense of self and identity, and both a practical and symbolic link to their homeland, childhood, memories and early significant relationships” (p. 58). Tracing back to Freud's 'defence mechanism' and capturing the development in the field of 'ego psychology', Tannenbaum (2012) links the human need “to protect the self and the self-esteem” to language behavior, to whatever their decisions may be - whether it is language maintenance, adoption of dominant language, total language shift, raising children bilingually, or adopting any of the language strategies (p. 60). “[E]xtreme enmeshment, alienation, marginalization [...], in turn leading to ghettoisation, shifting completely to L2 [...] in turn dismissing options of contact with older generation or previous culture, norms and values" are part of the 'coping mechanism' (p. 61). Schwartz & Verschik, (2013) concur with Tannenbaum. Aside from parents, children themselves could become the agents of change and become full-fledged members of their culture of origin while becoming a part of their present surroundings (Lanza, 2007; Prasad, 2014, 2015; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013). Child centered, engaging (Döpke, 1992b), pragmatic and flexible language policies at home have a greater chance of successful acquisition of several languages compared to any of the strategies (Barron-Hauwaert, 2000; Caldas, 2006, 2008; Guardado, 2002, 2013; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013).
Caldas and his wife experimented with diverse strategies - OPOL - mL@H, time and place and the artificial or non-native with raising their three children bilingually (American English & Québec French) while they lived and worked in Louisiana. In Caldas (2006), they reported facing challenges with their children in adolescence, who, under the influence of their American peers, did not appear to be proud of their bilingualism; in Caldas (2008), however, their children are reported to have outgrown that phase and were gaining confidence and pride in their bilingual & biliterate identity (p. 307).

2.8 Conceptual Framework

The language choices of the participants in the current study are observed through the various lenses offered by Language Vitality and Endangerment (LVE) (Brenzinger et al., 2003), the Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) (Lewis & Simons, 2010), factors of language loss and maintenance, immigrant language maintenance studies in Canada, various facets of identity (social, ethnic, linguistic and cultural), bi/plurilingualism and micro-language planning with the help of family language policy. First, the vitality of Urdu has been gauged using LVE and EGIDS; then, data from language maintenance stories from Canada has been used to compare the experiences of the parents of Pakistani origin. The participants’ identity, attitude to their ethnic community and language, and the practices of their FLP have also been observed to analyze the areas that need to be addressed at the micro-level to suggest ways to successfully maintain their home/heritage language and ensure its intergenerational transference.
Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Procedure

The study employed qualitative methods of study to explore the behavior, opinions, and experiences of Canadians of Pakistani origin. Eight families representing diverse immigrant histories were selected through current connections, personal network and recruitment on social media.

All participants have been identified in this thesis with pseudonyms to protect their confidentiality and anonymity. The names and contact information of the parents/families were collected in the informed consent before the questionnaire, interviews and observations. They were informed of the privacy measures taken for the study and were told that only my supervisors and I were aware of any identifiable information. Once the interviews had been completed, all the names were coded so that the real names were protected with a pseudonym.

The purpose of the study was to collect data about their experiences with language(s) which does not involve any issues that may require privacy. All the participants were informed that their contributions were voluntary.

Most of the names of locations that the participants used have been changed; however, with the consent of the participants, names of cities like Karachi, Islamabad, Brampton, Jeddah and Riyadh have not been changed because substituting their names may not only modify the whole perspective of their linguistic experience, the readers may also not be able to identify with the culture of a ghost town. Pennycook, (2012) has also used both real names and real place names in *Language and Mobility*.
The recruitment flyer was posted on social media and Facebook through the personal page of the scribe. As suggested in the flyer, those who were interested in participating were advised to send a personal email or a private Facebook message to the researcher so that their identity would not be revealed to other group members. Upon indication of interest, each representative of the family was sent the consent forms which they read and returned after completing. Once the consent forms had been collected, a consenting parent representative for the family was contacted through his or her preferred mode of communication (email or telephone) and a mutually agreed upon place and time were arranged for each family visit.

I had expected to recruit the participants through electronic mail or via social media through Facebook. However, in practice, recruitment through the Facebook page was not very effective because some of the people who were interested in participating and met all other requirements did not live in the Peel. Instead, the e-mail that I sent through two personal contacts who maintain a mailing list for their social work among the local Pakistani Canadians helped me find participants that met the criteria.

Eight families of Pakistani origin residing in Peel were selected based on various factors. Families with a) at least one child who had acquired education in public educational system in Canada; or b) at least one child who was an adult and was working, were selected. The purpose of including a child who had acquired education in Canada was to observe the effects of monolingualism or Canadian style bilingualism, whereas grown up independent children were to reveal the effects of a monolingual (or Canadian bilingual) work atmosphere on their language use. The sample size was expected to enable in-depth data collection within the time limitations of this study.
3.1.1 Data collection

The study included six processes of data collection which were carried out during a 90-minute family visit:

**Family tree of participants.** The names of the participants present at the meeting were recorded in the form of a family tree diagram (Appendix G) which I completed with the assistance of a senior family member. The information collected included the names of all those present, as well as the languages spoken by those members, and their relationships to other family members.

**Preliminary demographic questionnaire.** At the meeting, each member of the family present was distributed a background questionnaire (Appendix C) and was asked to fill it out to collect some basic information about him or her.

**Group interview.** Once all participants present had completed the demographic questionnaire, a group interview (Appendix D) was carried out with all members of the family who wished to join about participants’ language use and choices. In order to ensure that the questions in the interview were valid, I sought insight from other studies on immigrants in North America (De Samudio, 2006; Oketani, 1997; Shoukri, 2010; Subhan, 2007). All of these works focused on the language use and subsequent language loss among their respective communities, namely Chinese, Japanese, Arabic and Bengali speaking groups in Canada.

**Observation of linguistic interactions during this interview.** The linguistic interaction between the parents and children was also observed and notes were taken during the meeting for the purpose of better understanding the participants’ language use.
Optional individual follow-up interview for any interested participants. At the end of the group interview, each family member was offered the opportunity to follow up with the researcher in any way they felt comfortable. Questions for the children’s follow-up interview are in Appendix E.

Optional individual follow-up via e-mail, phone or Skype following the meeting. Participants were also given the option to contact the researcher via email or talk on the phone/via Skype to share any thoughts that they did not feel comfortable sharing in the presence of other family members.

The total time for the interview was expected to be 90 minutes; however, depending upon the members of the participants from each family, some interviews were finished earlier and some went over the prescribed time limit. A further breakdown of the time used with the participants is given below and following are the steps used for the interviews: 1) After the initial 10-15 minutes during which everyone filled out their consent forms and background questionnaire, everyone was in the same room. At this point, I read aloud the consent form so each was also listening to it while reading it; they were also told about their option to contact the researcher after the interview through email, telephone, or Skype. 2) Once the demographic surveys had been completed, group interviews were conducted for around 55-60 minutes with the family members that were present. At this stage, children could respond to the questions. If, however, they did not feel comfortable they had the option to hold on to their responses until some private time with the children at the end of the group interviews. Except for one child, all of the other children participated in the conversation in a group setting. The only child (19 years

31 For the purpose of this study, the term ‘child(ren)’ may apply to various age groups, 0-30 [#of participants between 0 and 30 years old] and if they introduce themselves as child(ren) in a family.
of age who requested to be interviewed alone was also interviewed in the presence of other family members including parents. He had requested to be interviewed separately to be able to answer the questions on a one to one basis to save time, not because he was uncomfortable expressing himself in the presence of other family members.

As mentioned in step 1 above, both parents and children 16 years and older could contact me for a follow-up interview for which the consent from both the children and the parents was obtained in the initial 10 minutes. Parents signed the consent form of the children between ages six and fifteen in the presence of these children.

For group/individual interviews, the same interview protocol was used with all the participants; however, some questions were different for the participants, depending on whether they considered themselves bilingual or monolingual. The parents of the bilingual children were asked of the measures they take/had taken to maintain bilingualism and the parents of the monolingual children were asked if they ever felt a sense of loss of their home language. Other questions were asked based upon their responses to the questions as they occurred in a natural communication.

The group interviews were tape-recorded using a voice recorder upon the consent of all individuals. Individual interviews were also tape-recorded upon the consent of the participant.

After completion, the interviews were transcribed. Transcripts of group interviews were, later, shared with families via e-mail or a private Facebook message; families were invited to provide any changes such as omissions, additions, and information to be removed. Transcripts of individual interviews for adults and children were also shared confidentially with each
participant through electronic means (e.g., e-mail). Individuals were invited to return any edits to the researcher via e-mail.

### 3.2 Participants

The grouping of Canadians who held Pakistani nationality was done in such a way as to reflect four immigration patterns, in the following manner:

- A small minority of Pakistanis having immigrated in the early phase, between the 1950s and 1980s: one family (Raza) that participated had immigrated in 1962.

- Those who had emigrated from Pakistan directly: four families fit into this category. Two of them (Malik & Haq) reported Punjabi as their native tongue, and one (Hassan) reported Pushto as its native tongue although all three families said that Urdu was their HL. The fourth family (Syed) reported Urdu and Gujrati as their parental languages; Urdu as their HL.

- Those who emigrated from Middle Eastern (ME) countries after having lived there for around five-10 years and whose children had attended International Schools during that time: one family (Ameer) fit into this category.

- Those who immigrated from ME countries after having lived there for around five-10 years and who were single parents/were women not accompanied by their male spouse/parent. Some such cases have been observed in families coming from Pakistan as well. I wanted to separate families that are accompanied by their mothers alone to see how the dynamics were influenced by the presence of one or both parents. Do their language choices differ or not? Two families (Khan & Ahmed) fit into this category.
From among the families who have been settled in Canada since the early sixties, it was possible to come across families who have three generations living in Canada. The purpose of including this group of migrants was to observe gradual/intergenerational change in their linguistic circumstances and choices as Wei has done with respect to the Chinese families in Britain (1994). The daughters of the Raza’s did not participate in the study as they lived in other provinces.

Those who came directly from Pakistan have children who were born and educated in Pakistan, who had acquired proficiency in their HL through formal schooling or by simply being exposed to Urdu and other local languages through their surroundings and media before their arrival in Canada. Some of these children came very young or were born and educated in Canada and learnt their HL here either from their parents or in ILP. The different age groups of their children gave me insight into the changes in their children’s attitude towards language(s). Families moving from the ME countries also have the same pattern of children learning their HL through schooling. However, the basic difference between this group and those who came directly from Pakistan is the lack of social support in the ME countries. Outside of the home, they were exposed to a third language (most often Arabic) which is quite different from what the children are used to being exposed to in Pakistan. Besides, due to the temporary nature of the work visa, which is renewed every year (though most often families are aware that the work permit will be renewed), they do not have a sense of permanence as they do in a country where they can acquire citizenship as in Canada.

The last group is unique in a sense as they are often unaccompanied by their male spouse/father; he processes the family visa, sends the children and his wife to Canada but continues working in the ME countries. The phenomenon of these families has raised quite a stir
and has been filmed and presented by Omni Television as a documentary entitled ‘Begumpura: The Wives Colony’ (Omni Television, 2013). As a single parent, the responsibilities of guiding children and making important decisions rest on the female parent, which presents unique challenges in language maintenance.

The conversations between the parents and siblings with children aged six years or under were observed to notice what language the children aged six years or under had used. Only five out of 32 participants were in this latter category. The other group of interest was that of children who had immigrated to Canada at a young age to compare and contrast their language choices with those of their older siblings.

3.3 Data processing

After the completion of the interviews, I transcribed them, analyzed them, identified themes and coded them thematically. They were transcribed using considerations of discourse analysis, the choice of words, body language and indexicality (any of the verbal/non-verbal signs and the style of speech that points to certain thought processes or is open to interpretation; e.g. smoke is an index of fire). Besides, I also tabulated the background information that was collected before the interview and compared and contrasted the information.

The data from Q.1 (Appendix B - Background Questionnaire) collected from individual participants has been collapsed in Table 3. Other relevant information that may help understand the individual and collective circumstances, such as first and family names (both pseudonyms), all known languages, generations, current age, age upon and year of arrival and the country they had moved from, have been added to Table 4. The data from Q.2 (Appendix B – Background Questionnaire) is in Tables 5 and 7. Four figures have been extracted from Table 6, to provide a
visual aid for a holistic understanding of the statistical details. The data were analyzed and graphs were generated using SPSS version 21.0. Generations, counts, and percentages were coded as nominal, ordinal, and continuous variables, respectively.

3.4 Writing up

In order to write down the findings from the background information and interviews, first I created family portraits of all the families who participated and identified their methods of language maintenance. Then I compared and contrasted them in a cross-case analysis and created connections to the literature. In reporting the findings, I have focused on children’s language(s) acquisition because the basic purpose of this study is to learn whether children are learning and using their HL(s) or not. I have also included information that is more striking and offers insight into the unique language histories of the Pakistani Canadians in Peel and brings forth the dichotomy of their situation in relationship with the participants’ colonial past.

3.5 Limitations

I had planned to recruit participants through electronic means which excluded families that do not use e-mail or social media. I initially thought that I would be able to include some three-generation homes; three intergenerational families did participate but they actually lived in separate homes and only one of those chose to participate in the interview as one family. A typical Pakistani Canadian family where three generations live under one roof could not be included. The daughters of the Razas and their children could have lent some useful data because a) they would have been the only three generation family, b) they were born and raised in the
monolingual environment in Canada and c) two of the three daughters maintained exogamous homes; however, they could not be included because they lived outside of Peel/Ontario.
Chapter 4: Findings

In this chapter, first I divide the participants of the study in a generation bracket and then answer the questions of the study using the language histories, choices and uses of the various age groups from immigrant families of Pakistani origin. Afterwards, I share some important themes that came to prominence during data analysis.

I was interested in learning if the Pakistani Canadians are able to maintain their bi/multilingual linguistic repertoire and transmit their HLs to their children or not. Thirty-two members of the eight families were able to participate. Often pseudonyms of family names are used to describe the whole family (e.g. the Obamas); on other occasions, each family member is mentioned with their first names (also pseudonyms). In some situations, the titles of the groups may be used instead of the family or individual names. Five members of the Haqs (parents: Nazia & Zaman, three children: Maheen, Rafi and Hashim); four members of the Syeds (a parent: Abeer and three minors: Zarwa, Kanwal and Musa); five members of the Khans (a grandparent: Resham, both parents: Farina & Omar and two minors: Anila & Aayan); two members of the Razas (both grandparents: Shahid & Farida); two members of the Maliks (a parent: Farah and a daughter: Zubia); two members of Ahmeeds (a parent: Ghazala and a son: Saleem); six members of the Hassans (both parents: Shakir & Sumera and four sons: Shariq, Ifrahim, Aimen and Saud) and five members of the Ameers (both parents: Hamid & Fariha and three children: Umair, Ahmar and Aisha) are listed in Table 3.
Table 3:

**List of Participants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. #</th>
<th>Family Code</th>
<th>G. Parent</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Child #1</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Child #2</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Child #3</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Child #4</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Interview Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Syed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abeer</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Zainab</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kulsum</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>6 ms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sep. 27, ’14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Khan Resham</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Omar</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Anila</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aayan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sep. 28, ’14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Raza Shahid</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>Faiza</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sep. 29, ’14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Malik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Farah</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Zubia</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oct. 09, ’14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Ahmed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gazala</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oct. 29, ’14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Hassan</td>
<td>Shakir</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Sumera</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Shariq</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Ifrahim</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Aiman</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Saud</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Oct. 18, ’14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All members of the eight families that participated in the family interviews. All participants that identified as daughters are in **bold**.
4.1 The Enigma of the First Generation and the Second Generation

The terms 'First Generation' (G1) and 'Second Generation' (G2) are loosely used to describe children born outside or inside Canada (Statistics Canada, 2011c, 2013b) without any consideration for age upon arrival in Canada (Rumbaut, 2004). Statistics Canada define G1 as any person “born outside of Canada”; G2 as any person “born in Canada but with at least one parent born outside of Canada” (Statistics Canada, 2011c, 2013b, p. 3). In order to evaluate the linguistic experiences of the immigrants, it is particularly important to consider the age upon arrival (Cummins, 1981a) because younger children tend to have different linguistic experiences (Caldas, 2006; Döpke, 1992a) compared with those of their own siblings who had already started schooling in their countries of origin and had developed a varying degree of mastery over their HL (Rumbaut, 2004).

One of the participants of the study, Nazia Haq, who works as a translator and interpreter, explains how she would define G1 and G2 as she observes the difference between the linguistic abilities of the children of varying age groups in her own family.

Nazia: so the parents who came here whose mother tongue was Urdu or those who came here as grown up, all of the cultural programs in Urdu are for their entertainment. Members of the second generation, that is their children and here I mean the children who came at a very young age, they do not associate or identify with the language of their parents (Interview with the Haqs, Sep. 13, 2014).

Though nebulous, she tends to distinguish children’s linguistic abilities based upon the age upon arrival: very young children’s linguistic identities are different from those who came as grown up children.
In this thesis, I have treated all the participants who came to Canada over the age of majority (18 years) as G1 because they had already built linguistic abilities in their HL(s) before landing. All the participants who were born in Canada are identified as G2 following the definition of Statistics Canada. Please refer to Table 4 to view the description that follows.

Based upon the analysis of Rumbaut (1997, 2004), I have divided children in four groups with a view to distinguishing the linguistic exposure of the younger children compared with the older and grown up siblings.

1) Six participants, Hashim, Zarwa, Kanwal, Anila, Aayan, Musa, who were born in Canada and one participants, Rafi, who moved to Canada at the age of 6 months, are identified as the classic G2.

2) Those who landed in Canada, Fahad, or who moved to England in early childhood between ages of 0.5 and 5 years, Ifrahim, Aiman and Saud, are identified as the 1.75 generation (G1.75) because their linguistic exposure and learning experiences are closer to those of the Canadian born in G2.

3) Children ranging between ages 6-11 (in my data, between 7 and 9), Shariq, Aisha, Mehreen and Zubia, are the classic 1.5 generation (G1.5). They may have started learning their HL formally at schools in their former locations; were still in the process of learning it but were cut short and had to transition to a monolingual environment.

4) Those who entered in Canada between the ages 12-17 (Omair, Ahmar, Omar and Saleem) are called a 1.25 generation (G1.25). They had developed their linguistic repertoires to some degree in their L1 before entering into a different linguistic group and tend to share experiences of the G1 Canadians (Adapted from Rumbaut, 2004, p. 1167).
Aside from the children, adults (parents and grandparents) have also been divided into
three age brackets to be able to delineate the data in a better way; both groups of parents indicate
a separate language attitude as explained in Caldas (2008) and an understanding of the need for
building plurilingual repertoire among their children.

5) Abeer, Omar and Farina, identified as Young Parents (YP) in the Table 4, are in their late
twenties and early thirties; all their children are in G2. These parents seem to be concerned about
language loss and the importance of language maintenance among their children. They also have
more challenges to face because the linguistic environment around them is monolingual and the
DL is different from their HL (Caldas, 2006).

6) Zaman and Nazia, Farah, Ghazala, Shakir and Sumera; and Hamid and Farhat, identified
as Middle-aged Parents (MP) in the Table 4, are in their forties and fifties; their children appear
in different age brackets. Compared with the YP, they grew up in cultures where pluilingualism
is a societal norm (Bhatia & Richie 2008; Romaine, 2006; Sridhar, 1996) and may not be aware
of the challenges of bilingual and biliterate children in monolingual cultures (Caldas, 2006,
2008). Some of them raised some of their children in Pakistan, U.K. and K.S.A. and some in
Canada.

7) Resham, Shahid and Faiza, identified as Grand Parents (GrP) in Table 4, are the
grandparents from two families.

Saleem and two of the three daughters of Shahid and Faiza (who did not actually
participate in the interview) have formed exogamous families as a part of a natural process of
socializing with other cultural and linguistic groups and acculturation; their data is outlined
slightly differently on the pattern of exogamous families. All of the groups mentioned above
have been identified in Table 4 and in a legend on the same page.
### Table 4:
**Current Age and Age upon Arrival**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Code</th>
<th>G. Parent</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Age: now/at arrival in Canada</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Age: now/at arrival in Canada</th>
<th>Child 1</th>
<th>Age: now/at arrival in Canada</th>
<th>Child 2</th>
<th>Age: now/at arrival in Canada</th>
<th>Child 3</th>
<th>Age: now/at arrival in Canada</th>
<th>Child 4</th>
<th>Age: now/at arrival in Canada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haq</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Zaman</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Nazia</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Mehreen</td>
<td>25/9yrs</td>
<td>Fahad</td>
<td>21/5 yrs</td>
<td>Rafi</td>
<td>17/6 ms.</td>
<td>Hashim*</td>
<td>11/Born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khan++</td>
<td>Resham</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>OMAR</td>
<td>33/16 yrs</td>
<td>FARINAA</td>
<td>29/23 yrs</td>
<td>Anila*</td>
<td>3/Born</td>
<td>Aayan*</td>
<td>2/Born</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raza+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Shahid</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>Faiza</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Farah</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Zubia</td>
<td>22/9 yrs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ghazala</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Saleem</td>
<td>32/16 yrs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hassan</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Shakir</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Sumera</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Shariq</td>
<td>19/9/7 yrs</td>
<td>Ifrahim</td>
<td>16/6/4 yrs</td>
<td>Aiman</td>
<td>14/4/4 yrs</td>
<td>Saud</td>
<td>12/2 yrs/8 ms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ameer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Hamid</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Fariha</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Ahmar</td>
<td>25/14 yrs</td>
<td>Omair</td>
<td>23/12 yrs</td>
<td>Aisha</td>
<td>20/9 yrs.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Legend:**

- * born in Canada
- + three generations in Canada
- ++ all three generations participated in the study

Bold: moved to England at the last age mentioned; e.g. Shariq moved to England at the age of 7 and came to Canada at the age of 9

BOLD: Two sets of parents: ABEER, who were aware of the benefits of early multilingualism/plurilingualism

*Italics:* Two set of G parents: *(Resham, Shahid & Faiza)* 1G

*Italics:* intermarried: Saleem + daughters of Shahid & Faiza

Grandparents

**Participants grouped by generations:**

- **2.00 G** Hashim, Zarwa, Kanwal, Anila, Aayan, Musa (all born in Canada) and Rafi who came to Canada at the age of 6 months
- **1.75 G** First three came to Canada at ages before the brackets (moved to England at the ages in brackets): *Ifrahim*, 6 years (lived in England from 4-6); *Aiman*, 4 years (England 2-4); *Saud*, 2 years (England 8 ms. to 2) and Fahad 5 years
- **1.5 G** Shariq (7 years); Aisha (9 years); Mehreen (9 years); Zubia (9 years)
- **1.25 G** Omair (12 years), Ahmar (14 years) **OMAR** (16 years) **Saleem** (16 years)
- **1G YP** ABEER, OMAR, FARINA
- **1G MP** Zaman & Nazia; Farah; Ghazala; Shakir & Sumera; Hamid & Farhat
| 1G GrP | Resham; Shahid & Faiza |
Table 5:

**Number and Percentage of Participants by Generation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>40.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1: **Number and Percentage of Participants by Generation**

Table 5, comprised of the source data, is used to generate Figure 1, 2 and 3. Figure 1 shows the numbers and the percentage of the various participants according to the generation they are grouped in; Figure 2 helps establish the location that each participant moved from and Figure 3 distributes the numbers and time periods when the participants came to Canada.
Figure 2: Number of participants who moved from each country, including 2nd generation Canadians

Figure 3: Number of participants who arrived in each decade, including 2nd generation Canadians
While analyzing the data, I have looked at the language abilities of all the participants to observe how the location where they developed their linguistic repertoire influenced the choices they made and the skills they gained. Although the responses of all participants of the study are equally significant, those from and/or about G2, G1.75, G1.5 and G1.25 are more helpful in answering the research questions. It has also been interesting to compare the language histories of the parents and children; however, the elaborate language histories of the parents are not included while presenting the data because of two reasons. The first reason is that their linguistic capabilities were developed before coming to Canada and because their journeys and histories are quite similar. All of them are plurilingual to various degrees because they lived in conditions where at least three languages are a norm of the day: national, official and regional languages. They ‘picked’ other languages as they married into families that spoke a different dialect/language, traversed different regions of their country of origin and other parts of the world that they lived and worked in. Secondly (and mainly), children’s linguistic journeys and histories furnish us with better answers to the questions of this study as the purpose of the study is to find out how successful parents are in intergenerational transmission of their home/heritage languages to their offspring.

4.2 Generation-wide language skills.

A quick overview of the column ‘Known Languages’ in Table 6 reveals that all of the participants are exposed to several languages with a view to building a plurilingual repertoire. Wherein almost all of the G1 participants use diverse languages in various domains, with Urdu as the dominant language other than school, the pattern starts to change from the G1.25, precisely from participants of 14 years and below with more of Es for English in most of the domains indicating a language shift. The pattern gradually progresses to predominantly English
from G1.75 and G2; except for Anila and Aayan, all of the children are reported to be using English in most of the settings. The only setting in which G1.75 and G2 use Urdu most regularly is with grandparent and sometimes some parents. Also, from G1.75 onwards there is a general trend of English and French being used at the school as all of these children are/were enrolled in the FIS. Anila, Aayan and Musa who have not started school yet will also be admitted to the FIS as reported by the parents. The only child from G2 who went to an English monolingual school is Rafi.
Table 6:

Charts to Show Language Use across Different Settings

Q.2. What is/are your preferred language(s) in the following settings? Select the appropriate column with a tick (✓).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Code</th>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>All known Languages</th>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Age upon Arrival</th>
<th>Year moved</th>
<th>Moved from</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Siblings</th>
<th>Friends</th>
<th>Maternal grandparents</th>
<th>Paternal grandparents</th>
<th>Uncles/aunts/others</th>
<th>Cousins</th>
<th>Religious institution</th>
<th>Neighbourhood</th>
<th>Family Other: gatherings with in-laws</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Raza</td>
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<td>Pakis</td>
<td>E-U</td>
<td>E-U</td>
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<td>U</td>
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<td>E-U</td>
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<td>E-U</td>
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<td>U</td>
<td>E-U</td>
<td>E-U</td>
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<td>E-U</td>
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<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td>E-U-S-P</td>
<td>E-U-S-P</td>
<td>E-U-S-P</td>
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<td>P</td>
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<td>E-U-P</td>
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<td>E-U-P</td>
<td>E-U-P</td>
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<td>2005</td>
<td>U.K.</td>
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<td>Pu</td>
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<td>E-U-P-Pu</td>
<td>E-U-P-Pu</td>
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<td>E-U-P-Pu</td>
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<td>Language 2</td>
<td>Language 3</td>
<td>Language 4</td>
<td>Language 5</td>
<td>Language 6</td>
<td>Language 7</td>
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<td>Language 9</td>
<td>Language 10</td>
<td>Language 11</td>
<td>Language 12</td>
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<td>E-F</td>
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<td>E-F</td>
<td>_</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Legend:**

U: Urdu; E-English; F - French; A-Arabic; P-Punjabi; Pu-Pushto; S - Sindhi; K - Kashmiri; Po- Pothwari; Pa – Pahari

* In order of their knowledge of the said language
While the aforementioned abilities are determined by their self-reported questionnaire, here is a summary of my personal observations during the entire meeting and their parents’ reports about their children’s skills in their HL.

Though not spoken in the same words, the parents of G1.25 children said that their children were simultaneous and somewhat balanced bilinguals in English and Urdu with developed literacy skills, could read Arabic (‘nazira\(^{32}\)’ Quran) and were also able to communicate in both Pakistani and Indian Punjabi, Sindhi or Pushto. All four of the G1.25 said that they communicated with the family in Urdu on a regular basis. Being transnationals and/or Third Culture Kids (TCKs), having lived and grown up in the Middle East, they had ‘picked’ up a reasonably good command of Arabic so they could also understand the Arabic text that they read and were capable of carrying out an average communication in Arabic. One more reason why they could easily build their skill in Arabic is that large portions of the Urdu vocabulary and writing system are derived from Persio-Arabic script.

All four G1.5 children were able to communicate in Urdu as a second language. Only two of the four, Mehreen and Zubia, incorporated it in their daily communication with parents; the other two often mixed languages and responded in English.

The G1.75 children may be considered passive bilinguals: they are receiving input in their HL while at home because the parents talk to them in Urdu; though they respond in English. It is difficult to evaluate their communicative abilities because they only spoke in English even before and after the formal interview. Their parents reported that their children possessed the productive capacity and sometimes did speak to the parents in Urdu when requested. All of these participants are currently in their adolescence, a stage at which children have often been reported

\(^{32}\text{(sight reading) which means that the children are able to identify the alphabets and words in Arabic based upon the similarity of alphabets and script with Urdu but are unable to comprehend the meaning.}\)
to be under strong peer pressure (Caldas, 2006). Fahad, on the other hand, is reported to possess reasonably good communicative skills in his HL.

Two persons, the Haq brothers, Hashim & Rafi (now 11 & 17), from the G2, seem to be heading towards subtractive bilingualism (Lambert, 1973; Cummins, 1989, 1991). The other five G2 participants, Zarwa, Kanwal, Anila, Aayan and Musa, are aged between 6 months to 6 years who are still so young that it would be difficult to predict the future of their Urdu language acquisition.

Since their birth, Abeer used to speak both Urdu and English with Zarwa and Kanwal; until the age of three they also spoke to her in Urdu. As soon as they were introduced to English cartoons, even before starting school, they stopped speaking to their mother in Urdu, which became a habit at 4 years of age. On a recent trip to Pakistan, they are reported to have spoken to their grandparents and members of extended family in age appropriate Urdu with correct accent but not to her. They may be going through the stage of passive bilingualism (Wei, 2000; Grosjean, 1982; Mackey, 1962, 2000) or perhaps they do not necessarily feel the need to speak to their mother in Urdu because they know that she knows English.

Anila and Aayan always speak to their parents, their grandmother and their aunt in their home language as long as they are at their own home or at their grandma’s home; however, they are reported to switch to the dominant language i.e. English, as soon as they step out of the house, probably because of the cultural cues that they receive from the environment outside.

### 4.2.1 Discussion.
The analysis so far reveals that the Ahmeds, the Ameers, the Khans, and the Razas (four out of eight families) seem to have been successful in the intergenerational transmission of their HL to their children. The Raza’s reported that their three daughters, two of whom entered into exogamous marriages did not make any efforts to pass on their heritage language to their children; English is the home language of their daughters. The Pakistani emigrants who have been able to maintain their societal bi/multilingualism (Weinreich, April 8, 2011; Baig, July 7, 2009) are able to espouse multiple identities and allegiances (Leitner & Ehrkamp, 2006) often because either they are TCK and have had transnational experiences (Duff, 2015; Fogle & King, 2012; Goulbourne et al., 2010) or because they have lived in urban centers which have a cosmopolitan culture (Pennycook, 2012). Except for the Razas, who have been settled in Canada since the 1960s, all of the participants have moved to Canada in the 1990s and 2000s, whereas six of them were born in Canada (Figure 2).

The Razas, whose third generation is going through their adolescence reported that though their three daughters have a good command of both literacy and communicative skills in Urdu, the home language of their daughters’ conjugal homes is English because they have intermarried. Intermarriage is a common experience among migrant communities and in homes where L1s of both spouses are different, often English becomes the home language, especially in countries where English is the dominant language (Crawford, 1996; Doyle, 2013; Meng, 2006; Yates & Terraschke, 2013;). Saleem, who has also married an East Asian, does not have children yet but vows to pass on Urdu to his children.

The Maliks have had challenges with making Zubia speak to them in Urdu; lately, she has developed an interest in learning Urdu formally because of the questions surrounding her identity that surfaced when she attended university. She resents having been ‘imperialized at
some level’. At the age of twenty-two she wishes to learn reading Iqbal’s poetry and other basic texts of advanced level that she is unable to read due to her basic reading skills in Urdu.

The children of the Hassans and the Haqs came to Canada either as babies or were born here; they have grown up here and identify themselves as Canadians. They consider their home language to be different from that of their parents, or what their parents thought that their HL was. The conversation between Hashim and his parents, Nazia and Zaman displays how Hashim differs with them in regards to both his HL and L1. His statement is well reflected in the Tables 4 and 5 that have been generated by collapsing the language use data of all the participants. Similarly, the three children from the Hassans, Ifrahim, Aiman, and Saud also state that their HL was English while both parents said that they spoke to their children in both Urdu and English. Abeer reports the same for her two daughters and so do the Razas for their seven grandchildren who could not participate in the study because they lived outside Peel.

Noteworthy is the fact that all of the children mentioned here belong to G2 and G1.75: the groups that were identified as sharing similar linguistic exposure and experiences (Rumbaut, 2004). All of these children may be regarded as passive bilinguals (Hinton, 1999): they understand their home languages at varying degrees, but cannot speak them. They communicate in the HL(s) only when requested or when they feel that their interlocutor may not understand English. As reported by Abeer, Nazia and Sumera, they tend to speak a hybrid Urdu as their pronunciation, accent, word choice and production is often distant from what their parents identify as Urdu. It can be said that influence of the DL through schooling (Gardner, 2001) has resulted in these children developing separate linguistic identities from those of their after entering school (Eccles, 1999). Gradual language loss is evident in these children (Fillmore, 1991, 2000; Fishman & Hoffman, 1966; Hinton, 1991; Portes & Rumbault, 1990).
It can be surmised that at least four out of eight (50%) of the families have been successful in their HL retention; others are either struggling or have surrendered to the power of the dominant language. Only one family, the Khans has children from G 2 who are able to speak Urdu at the age of 3 and 2; it is hard to predict whether they will continue speaking it or abandon it as the Syeds have done. All other people who indicated using Urdu with friends and family are from G1.25, which is closer to G 1.

4.3 The desire to integrate while retaining their multicultural/plurilingual identities

The desire to integrate is obvious in all families that participated; the comments of Omar and Farina and Ahmed, and the choice of FIS among all the G2 and G1.75 children reveals that the Pakistani Canadians keep track of the labor market trends and make efforts to learn the official languages of Canada so they are able to find better work opportunities. As Hamid Ameer asserts, that they have moved to Canada on a permanent basis and as a parent he would allow his children to develop choices that are beneficial to their lives here. Shariq’s practicality; Ghazala’s badge of ‘Urdu speaking Pakistani Canadian’; Sumera & Shakir’s interest in focusing on making their children ‘good human beings and good Canadians’, contrasting with Zubia’s quest for identity and the negotiation of identity, also apparent in the children of the Ameers, are all obvious markers of the diversity that is characteristic of multicultural/plurilingual societies that these people have originated from (Bhatia & Richie 2008; Romaine, 2006; Sridhar, 1996). Due to their colonial past and having lived in a multilingual culture, they are willing to adjust to the cultural norms of their new home country and are ready to sacrifice their home languages. They are prepared to help their children integrate and allow agency to their children who assert to use
the dominant language, as Fogle and King (2012) had indicated. However, given a chance, they would like to teach their children their home language for some very good reasons:

Shakir: I want them to learn as many languages as they can ... especially Urdu ... it is a rich language ... it has rich literature and Arabic ... so at least we’re keeping the Urdu language. I will try to motivate them to learn both Arabic and Urdu because both these languages are rich with lots of literature about religions ... not only about religion; ... about the systems, about history and you cannot find that stuff in other languages (Interview with the Hassans, Sep. 28, 2014).

While allowing their children to integrate into the culture of their new home country, they also wish that their children would continue to remain multilingual and stay in touch with the rich heritage, their linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu, 1992) that they have brought to their new home country pointing to their attitude to the home language and culture (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999; Oketani, 1997).

The view of the parents that it is in the children’s best interest to retain their knowledge of home language and to maintain it to their best of ability is clearly indicative of their strong linguistic identity. These views are listed below (Table 7) in brief along with the names of the participants who reiterated some of the reasons why people maintained languages.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. #</th>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Reasons for home/heritage language maintenance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>G1.25</td>
<td>Ahmed, Omar and Saleem</td>
<td>Cultural content cannot be translated.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>G1YP G1MP and G1GrP</td>
<td>Abeer, Ghazala, Rashida, Sumera and Shakir</td>
<td>Link to the culture they associate/identity with</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>G1.25 and G1YP</td>
<td>Ahmed, Farina, Mehreen and Zubia</td>
<td>Cultural and linguistic capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>G1.75 and G2</td>
<td>Hashim, Mehreen, Rafi and Shariq</td>
<td>Builds the ability to communicate with extended family members that do not possess the communicative competence in English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>G1MP, G1.25 and G2</td>
<td>Ahmed, Ghazala, Omar, Omair, Rafi and Zubia</td>
<td>Part of their identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>F1YP and G1.25</td>
<td>Ahmed, Farina, Omar and Omair</td>
<td>Knowledge of several languages is beneficial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>G1MP and G1.25</td>
<td>Ghazala, Saleem, Sumera, Shakir and Zubia</td>
<td>Offers ability to understand and enjoy literary forms</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>G1.75 and G1YP</td>
<td>Farina, Mehreen and Omar</td>
<td>Looks good on the resume</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With this overview, I turn to the research questions.

### 4.4 Experiences of Home/Heritage Language maintenance

#### 4.4.1 Q.1. What are the experiences of “home” language(s) maintenance of five to eight diverse immigrant families originally from Pakistan?

HL maintenance has been an important responsibility of the parents; family remains at the center of migrant children’s HL development (Fishman, 1966, 1991, 2004; Spolsky, 2009a; Tsai et al., 2012) for Pakistani Canadian families. Aside from family, the other options available to parents in Peel are:

a) privately arranged online tutorials via electronic media such as Skype™:
Fariha mentioned that one of her cousin’s children in Brampton studies Urdu via online classes on Skype; other participants of this study were not aware of any such service.

b) community based weekend schools

Community based weekend schools are organized by Bazm-e-Ahbab, where Ghazala teaches and where the three children of the Hassans had learned Urdu for a year.

c) ILP classes offered by the PDSB and the D-PCDSB, as in all the other school boards across the GTA.

One participant, Omar, has attended an ILP for credit which is offered to high school students; he was not aware of the ILP for the elementary levels and was happy to know that he could enroll his children there. Only one participant, Abeer, had already known about the ILP for elementary stream. She came to know about the ILP from a post on a closed group of Pakistani mothers on the Facebook by another mother who also wanted to send her children to the Urdu class. Abeer wanted to enroll both her daughters in the Urdu class; some of the details of her experience with the ILP will follow shortly.

4.5 Strategies to Maintain the Home Language

4.5.1 Q. 2. What strategies have the more "senior" members of the household used to maintain the "home" language(s)?

Responses to questions 3 and 4 for the interview (Appendix D) helped me find answers to this question. Although the initial response of all the families was that of surprise at the word ‘policy’ in the third question of the interview, almost all of them said that they spoke Urdu with their children. When probed further, the most popular strategy that seems to emerge is the use of
1) mL@H (De Houwer, 2007; Turcotte, 2006), coupled with ‘Trilingual or Multilingual Strategy’ (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004, p. 163; De Houwer, 2007) applied with a varying degree of emphasis and consistency followed by codemixing/codeswitching/codemeshing. The other strategies that they used were: 2) partially using OPOL (Ronjat, 1913; Saunders, 1982, 1988); 3) sending their children to weekend schools privately organized by the community; 4) frequently traveling to their home country (Caldas, 2006, 2008) and/or inviting parents/parents-in-law to visit their family in Canada and socializing with other members of the Urdu speaking community in the GTA; and 5) using books and media to help teach Urdu.

### 4.5.2 Minority Language at Home and Trilingual or Multilingual Strategy

Hailing from a multilingual cultural background, all of the G1 (all parents in my data) have grown up with a mL@H strategy along with Trilingual or Multilingual Strategy. The parents have tried to maintain a typical Pakistani linguistic atmosphere at home with a varying degree of success even after leaving their home country for career pursuits in the ME or England and final settlement in Canada. Since they have mixed abilities in ‘all known languages’, it would be appropriate to consider them plurilingual.

Two families, the Ahmeds and the Razas said the following for their formal language policy, which is a very close description of mL@H with the strict discipline observed in Saunders (1982, 1988):

Ghazala: Whenever they tried to speak English I told them, “I’m sorry, I don’t know English”…”I don’t understand what are you talking about” …I told them it’s an Urdu Speaking Family (Interview with the Ahmeds, Oct. 29, 2014).

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33 Both One Parent One Language and Trilingual or Multilingual Strategy are two separate strategies as listed in Barron-Hauwaert, (2004, p. 163) on page 58 of this thesis. Literature around both strategies is compared and contrasted in this section.
Shahid: If they replied in English, I’d say ‘no I did not understand that’ (Interview with the Razas, Sept. 29, 2014).

The Ameers said that they used mL@H as long as the children were young; they gradually became lenient towards their children speaking to them in English once the parents were confident that they children had developed productive skills in communication. This is what he tells us about the youngest daughter, Aisha, who was nine years old when she came to Canada:

Hamid: If we had not consciously spoken to her in Urdu or would have allowed [her] to speak in her own language, I don’t think she would have picked up any Urdu (Interview with the Ameers, Jan. 29, 2015).

The Khans strictly adhere to Urdu only at home (mL@H); their children Anila (3 years) and Aayan (2 years) are young and still learning to speak both Urdu and English.

Farina: Our basic rule is that both Omar and I speak Urdu with the children and it is also very clear to the children … they may speak to me in English but I always respond in Urdu… they have to ask me to do things for them and they know that they have to speak to me in Urdu if they want things done. (Interview with the Khans, Sep. 28, 2014).

It is interesting to note that despite not yet having started school, they have learned to communicate in English through cartoons on television.

The Syeds mom was not as firm as the Khans’s mom is with respect to the productive skills in Urdu. As a typical Pakistani, Abeer had grown to codeswitch, codemix and codemesh all at the same time which continued until a couple of years ago, even during the early infancy of her daughters Zarwa and Kanwal. When her daughters started speaking, they spoke to her in Urdu; after starting school, they started speaking to her in English. As soon as she came to
realize that both of them were always responding to her in English, she made a conscious effort to speak to them in Urdu at all times so they would have constant input and be aware of the policy. She is, patiently, working on extracting a response from both the daughters in Urdu.

4.5.3 One Parent One Language approach.

Both the Hassans and the Haqs seem to be comparatively relaxed towards the mL@H; they tend to disagree among themselves as parents as well. It may be assumed from their responses that they partially follow the OPOL approach (Ronjat, 1913) while they often codemix and codeswitch. First the Hassan parents explain:

Shakir: We try to speak Urdu with our children because we want to keep the foundation in Urdu… we combine both … English and Urdu …. Policy is just the comfort level; if you’re comfortable in it you can speak it (Interview with the Hassans, Sep. 28, 2014).

Sumera: It’s not enforced … they’re Canadians … they have to live and work in this society so English is very important (Interview with the Hassans, Sep. 28, 2014).

Shakir: My approach is different, I want them to learn as many languages as they can … especially Urdu (Interview with the Hassans, Sep. 28, 2014).

And the Haqs explain:

Zaman: When I communicate with them I make a conscious effort to communicate with them in Urdu … Rafi often responds in Urdu and Mehreen also often responds in Urdu … I must say 80 to 90 % of the time when I’m talking to her in Urdu… They know that I’ll feel less privileged if the response in Urdu is less than 50 % (Interview with the Haqs, Sep. 13, 2014).
While Zaman, the father, expects to hear responses in Urdu, Nazia, the mother, seems to have surrendered to the power of the DL and allows the children to speak whichever language they wish to.

Nazia: I never enforced that rule in my house because it is struggle as an immigrant to keep your language alive (Interview with the Haqs, Sep. 13, 2014).

Finally, the Maliks have been flexible with their children’s HL use; they spoke to their daughters in Urdu and ignored if the daughters responded in English. Their grandmother who also lived with them spoke to them in Urdu and sometimes in Punjabi and also expected a response in the same. While the other two other daughters who could not participate in the study were reported to respond in the desired language, Zubia who participated in the study did not. Both the mother and daughter said that no ‘laws, rules or regulations’ were enforced (Interview with the Maliks, Oct. 9, 2014); the family atmosphere was friendly and flexible because the parents understood that the culture outside home was different and that it was in the interest of the family to be adaptable.

4.5.4 Weekend language schools.

Weekend Language Programs are of two types: one is offered by the Schools of Continuing Education by PDSB and D-PCDSB, called the ILP, and the other is a privately managed volunteer based series of programs organized by philanthropic people and community organizations. The ILP will feature a little later in my description.

The children of the Razas and the Hassans acquired literacy skills at Weekend Language Programs offered by the community. The Razas sent their three daughters to a privately arranged Urdu Language Program for almost a decade; the Hassans sent their four sons to a free Urdu Language Program for around two years offered by a local community based organization called
'Bazm-e-Ahbab’ that arranges other social events of *mushaira* and *bazm-e-sukhan* (poetry recitation) for families. Ghazala, the participant in this study, volunteers for ‘Bazm-e-Ahbab’ and manages the two-and-a-half-hour program at one of the three locations in Mississauga on Saturday mornings.

4.5.5 *Travels to the country of origin.*

Closer in experience to the Caldas children (2006, 2008), the daughters of the Razas were able to develop advanced communicative skills in Urdu because they used to travel to their parents’ country of origin annually or biannually where they were immersed in the target language for two months during summer vacation. Similarly, the Syeds, the Ahmends and the Ameers traveled to Pakistan frequently where they had a chance to intermingle with members of their extended family and use the DL.

4.5.6 *Presence of the extended family.*

The Haqs and the Hassans report that their children’s grandparents visit over an extended period for a couple of times made a ‘huge difference’ in their children’s development of communicative skills in Urdu. In order to communicate with their grandparents, initially the children used to seek help from their parents for some translation and alternative vocabulary in Urdu but gradually they became comfortable communicating on their own. The Khans and the Maliks have their grandparents, siblings and members of other extended family living in Peel which gives their children an opportunity to be exposed to/use Urdu more often. Except for the Maliks, none of the families maintained three generational homes.

4.5.7 *Use of books and media.*
The Haq and the Hassan parents stated that they brought text books from Pakistan and hoped that they would be able to teach their children at home; however, they found it difficult to achieve the task because either they themselves could not spare time from their busy schedules or the children were preoccupied with their academic and non-academic pursuits. The Razas brought children’s Urdu magazines and books from Pakistan which their daughters used to read. The Ahmads are the only family that read literary works for pleasure and often read aloud to their mother who ensures that they read well. Saleem also wrote handwritten Urdu letters to his mother, Ghazala, almost a decade ago when he was away from home and studied at a university in Ottawa.

The Ahmads, Ameers and Maliks often watch Pakistani television programs; children from the G.1.75 and younger watch those with the parents, enjoy them and also try to learn the vocabulary. Along with Canadian politics, Saleem and Zubia have developed keen interest in Pakistani politics because of a former cricketer who was a social activist and now is a politician, Imran Khan. Other than Saleem and Zubia, Ahmar and Omair also listen to Imran Khan’s speeches in Urdu and try to learn words new to them in those speeches. Ahmar reported that some of his friends who had never spoken Urdu among friends have not only started learning Urdu so they are better able to understand his speeches, they have been trying to speak it among friends and peers whenever possible. When the friends from the same linguistic community meet, they say, ‘let’s talk in Urdu, today’. The G2 children, on the other hand, are reported to watch only the English cartoons whenever possible.
Table 8: 
*Charts to Show Language Usage by Generation across Different Settings*

Q.2. What is/are your preferred language(s) in the following settings?

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* N/A= Not Applicable
### Table 8: Charts to Show Language Usage by Generation across Different Settings

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**Legend:**

- U=Urdu; E=English; F=French; A=Arabic;
- P=Punjabi; Pu=Pushto;
- S=Sindhi; K=Kashmiri; Po=Pothwari;
- Pa=Pahari

All languages in the first column are mentioned in the order of the knowledge and use of the said language.
Figure 4: *Number of participants who were English-French bilinguals by generation*

Figure 4 illustrates the numbers of participants who were English-French bilingual in each generation. All of the participants knew English which they had learned before coming to Canada. The number above the bar shows the exact numbers used to generate percentages.

### 4.6 Language Use

#### 4.6.1 Q.3 Which language(s) do family members use for various purposes at home?

This question is answered with the Background Questionnaire (BQ) that presents a good overview of the language use by the participants (see Table 6, 8 and Figure 4 above). Various groups of interlocutors are listed in the BQ, including at school/work/home; with mother/father/
siblings/friends/maternal and paternal grandparents/uncles/aunts/others/cousins, at a religious/
family gathering, and in the neighborhood.

Almost all of the children in G2, G1.75 and G1.5 talk to all of the groups above in English except for their father, their mother, and both maternal and paternal grandparents with
whom they speak in Urdu. Urdu is the HL according to the perspective of the parents, but
children of two families, the Hassans and the Haqs, clearly stated that their HL was English. As
it has been shown above, both these sets of parents speak to their children in Urdu; however, 50
to 60 % of the time they get the response from their children in English, most often from the
children in G2 and G1.75. Grown-up children, in G1.5 and G1.25 have ‘heard’ their parents
speak regional languages like Punjabi, Pushto, Pothwari to their grandparents and friends, which
they understand to decipher the overall meaning of the speech; they are not, however, able to
speak those languages, as Hinton (1999) had found out.

Similarly, all of the children have stated that they know Arabic. Traditionally, an Arabic
language instructor is hired among all Pakistani families during the early years (ages four-10) of
the children to teach them how to read the Quran. It is interesting to note that the manner in
which majority of the Urdu speakers ‘read’ the Qura’an does not necessarily mean that they are
able to understand the meaning of the text. Abeer told that it is mostly nazira (sight reading). A
number of local mosques, certified instructors in Arabic Tajweed (Phonetics) provided one on
one or small group classes often advertised through Pakistani grocery stores, telemarketers, Urdu
newspapers or word of mouth, or offer classes on Skype using electronic media (GTAville, 2014;
UIA, n.d.). Lately, there has been a general awareness that the recent wave of terrorism has
emerged because Quranic verses are misquoted, misinterpreted and detached from their context
(Share Islam, n.d) and that it can best be understood by learning the language of Qura’an so
Islam can be practiced as a religion of peace in its verbal meaning. The young parents in the present data seem to have adopted this approach and prioritize Arabic to Urdu.

As a result of immigration to Canada, the importance of the English language, which already existed even before coming to Canada, has increased in the lives of the Pakistani Canadians; the knowledge and skills of Arabic remains almost the same or similar whereas, the knowledge and skills of Urdu or other regional languages that may be considered their HLs, have declined. As ranked by Omar and Ahmar, after English, French is the second in the list of preferred languages, Arabic is the third and Urdu or other home languages are the fourth in the list of priorities. There of the six children from both G2 and G1.75 also reported using French along with English at school; other than that they use English for all communicative purposes despite studying in FISs.

In summary it can be stated that the children are increasingly using English as their HL. As Farina, Sumera, Nazia and Zubia pointed out, parents and children are able to spend a very limited time with each other; the majority of the time, children are at school or in the company of their friends where English is the dominant language.

4.7 Respect for Choices

4.7.1 Q.4 To what degree do the various family members value the language(s) used by some or all in their home?

In families like the Ahmeds, the Ameers, the Khans and the Razas, children conform to the family language policies established by their parents; in the rest of the families, the Haqs, the Syeds, the Malik and the Hassans, the parents have been more flexible and adaptable to the children’s choice of language and have allowed them to use their ‘preferred’ language or the
language that they are ‘comfortable in’. The Syeds have recently become aware of the challenges of extracting a response in their HL from their children and have brought changes to the FLP with no reported success so far. During the interviews, the interaction between the parents and the children was friendly despite clear differences in their views on the choice of HL. Measures had been established in the methodology to ward off any possible conflict among the parents and the children. It had been decided, and also made clear to all of the participants, that the children sixteen years old and older could request a separate interview if their views on HL use or policy conflicted with those of the parents. Only one person, Shariq, requested a separate interview in the interest of time. He was interviewed soon after the interview with the rest of the family, while the mother was in the same room. The ease and comfort of the children suggests an atmosphere of general respect among the various family members.

At least four families out of eight - the Ameers, the Haqs, the Hassans and the Malik - have used the expression ‘preferred’ as a language policy; whether their children responded to their parents in their HL or not, parents said that they liked to be more flexible and friendly with their children and that they did not force them by laws, rules and regulations.

Farah and her daughter, Zubia, elaborate upon ‘flexibility’ at home:

Farah: I was not that strict that they really need to speak Urdu... I like to have more flexibility with my kids ... so they shouldn’t be forced by laws, rules or regulations... I was very open, friendly, and flexible (Interview with the Malik, Oct. 9, 2014).

Zubia concurs that her mother was, indeed, extremely accommodating:

Zubia: She was very open ... she understood that ... outside is a different culture ... some of it's gonna seep in ... so I think she’s always been a very open parent to changes (Interview with the Malik, Oct. 9, 2014).
Hamid and Ahmar said that in the early phase of moving in to Canada, Aisha had to be reminded that she was speaking in the wrong language if she responded in English, but ever since the children grew up, their family is known to be a family of five independent adults, where though apparently no one acts as a parent in the traditional sense of the word, children are aware of the boundaries and generally act according to the wishes/expectations of the parents wherever possible.

Zaman reports that his “desire is [to] hear a response in Urdu but 70% of the time he’d [Hashim] respond back in English; 30% or 25% he’d respond back in Urdu … and that Hashim knows that his father feel “less privileged if the response in Urdu is less than 50 %”. As the conversation builds on with the Haqs, the mother acknowledges that it is her personal failure if her children could not learn their HL; she does not hold children responsible for the visible language loss. Or else she holds the system responsible details of which will be reported a little later.

Sumera presents a very fascinating reason for mixing languages while communicating with children:

Sumera: When their father wants to talk to them how to be a good human being, how to be a good Canadian so then that communication is mostly in English because we think that this is an important information and they should absorb all of it (Interview with the Hassans, Oct. 18, 2014).

Though the Ameers have been successful in the intergenerational transmission of their HL and two of their children claim that they will pass on their language further, realistically speaking, Hamid is aware that as parents they cannot expect any miracle to take place and that they are reconciled to the fact that their HL will be what their children are comfortable with.
4.8 Challenges in Home Language Maintenance

4.8.1 Q.5 What are the perceptions of the various family members regarding the challenges / issues associated with language maintenance?

The challenges in maintaining HL(s) can be divided into eight categories; the first five that are supported by the earlier studies are discussed separately, whereas the last three that are unique to this study are discussed later.

4.8.1.1 Influence of the dominant language/culture. Both the children and the parents are cognizant of the pervasiveness of the dominant language and culture around them. Farina and Abeer from G1YP, and Sumera from G1MP, indicate that the dominant culture that is different from their home culture pervades all around them: in the parks, streets, neighborhoods, institutions, media and among peers. Hashim reports that the children belonging to his own linguistic community do not speak their home language while at school. His statement tends to determine that it is not ‘normal’ to speak home language at school because no one ever does.

Hashim: I don’t think I heard that much people speak Urdu that are school ambassadors … that are kids. There are some kids that I know are Pakistani or Indian and I know that they actually speak Urdu and Punjabi, but not at school.

Farina: That is the biggest challenge because all around them, on the street, in the park, on the media they hear only English and so they have very little chances of being able to practice their (home) language (Interview with the Khans, Sep. 28, 2014).
Abeer: Once they started watching cartoons, it was difficult for me to make them speak in Urdu … since then they always speak to me in English … and after starting school it became a solid habit … they don’t speak to me in Urdu even if I speak to them in Urdu (Interview with the Syeds, Sept. 27, 2014).

Sumera: When we initially came to Canada, we were speaking to them in Urdu but they started to respond in English. Even when we were living in a community which was a pure Pakistani neighborhood, all the girls and boys were only communicating in English (Interview with the Hassans, Oct. 18, 2014).

These children have a passive knowledge of the language and are unable to speak the language their parents speak (Fillmore, 1991; Hinton, 1999) which may gradually result in subtractive bilingualism (Baker, 1998, p. 643, 2011; Cummins, 2001b; Lambert, 1974).

4.8.1.2 Mainly parents’ responsibility. Parents, grandparents and members of the extended family are mainly responsible for the intergenerational transmission and they acknowledge that they were unable to fulfil their responsibility as ‘good’ parents as King & Fogle (2006) had suggested.

Nazia: I always thought I could teach my children my native tongue … I even made efforts … I brought books … never had the time to do it … time flew by … don’t know why … and then I realized it … and then I suddenly came to know that they have not learned the language. (Interview with the Haqs, Sep. 13, 2014).

Farina: Parents or grandparent, in our case, are the only people with whom they can interact in Urdu. So this is the biggest problem (Interview with the Khans, Sep. 28, 2014).

Farina further explains why it is a problem that it is the responsibility of the parents alone (Fishman, 2004; Spolsky, 2009a; Tsai et al., 2012) as described below.
**4.8.1.3 Inadequate time for engagement with home language.** The HL gets little attention due to other languages given priority especially for those who have studied in the FIS, who have a greater chance of losing out on their HL as they are already learning at least two other languages simultaneously; the third would always be Arabic in terms of the pedigree of language choices.

Sumera: when we went to Pakistan for the first time, I bought some Urdu books and story books and I thought I’ll teach them myself but I could not because of my busy schedule and also because coming home they were already tired … there were other activities and so I could not do that work … sit and make sure that they learn the language … couldn’t put that effort … constant effort was required to be there and I think I didn’t do it (Interview with the Hassans, Oct. 18, 2014).

Omar: So if it is going to be their fourth language, I don’t know how far we can go and how much time we can spend on it (Interview with the Khans, Sep. 28, 2014).

Zubia: Life here, as you get older, gets so busy and so demanding that it stays there as a side project (Interview with the Maliks, Oct. 9, 2014).

Nazia: When I suddenly came to know that they have not learned the language …. in fact, they have been behind in many other things …. for me the biggest realization was that I wanted them to learn Arabic …. learn to read it … so that became my priority. Everything else fell back … so all the effort that I could provide at that moment in time was for them to just to enable them to read the Qur’a’ an and all the spare time was spent doing it…. so Urdu and Punjabi were far far back. (Interview with the Haqs, Sep. 13, 2014).
4.8.1.3 *Inadequate time with parents.* Almost all of the participating mothers said that due to the children’s school and their own career pursuits/busy schedules, they do not get the opportunity to spend quality time with their children. Farina elaborates upon it:

Farina: I want them to read and write in Urdu as well but I don’t know if we would be able to take out time to actually sit and teach them reading and writing. It’s only parents who can teach them and if both the parents work then they have very limited time with the children. If we divide the time between the people with whom children spend their day, there are three groups….school where they spend most of their day, and then friends, so around 75% of their time they will be using English or may be French as well (Interview with the Khans, Sep. 28, 2014).

The children have less than 1/4 of their day with their parents in terms of interaction; this is only 25% of the day, during which time the children prefer to relax and watch television and cartoons in English.

4.8.1.4 *No outside support.* As mentioned earlier, parents, grandparents and members of the extended family are the only people who can communicate with the children in their home language; they do not have any outside support from the community, school and government. An educational institute where their home language is instructed formally seems to be an alternative arrangement that the participants desire to have around.

Farina: It is difficult to make them speak, because all children their age speak English and because there is no outside support (Interview with the Khans, Sep. 28, 2014).

Sumera: to make them study … help them do the homework make them good human beings and then maintaining the language on top of that …. it was too much, I think if somebody from the community, form the government had moved forward and made those
arrangements that we tried to do but as I saw it myself that people don’t take initiative (Interview with the Hassans, Oct. 18, 2014).

Zubia: if it’s institutionalized in a program … for example … ten classes and someone is holding you accountable, then I’d learn the Urdu language … It’d be very nice to have some kind of a center here (Interview with the Maliks, Oct. 9, 2014).

4.9 Lack of Awareness about International Language Program in Urdu in Peel

When the International Language Program (ILP) for elementary school came up during the interview with the Khans, Omar who had himself attended the ILP for credit in high school said:

Omar: Really, I didn’t know about that

R^34: You went to the program and you don’t know that it has a stream for young children as well?

Omar: No, I did not know about it; I’m hearing about it for the first time

Farina: So yeah, I would want them to be in that class. (Interview with the Khans, Sep. 28, 2014).

Abeer also thought that the Pakistani Canadians in the Peel may not know about it:

Abeer: I think people don’t know about it. Even I myself came to know about it from that Facebook post a couple of weeks ago … the one who had posted the link to Urdu classes on the weekend … I think most of the people don’t know about this program and that is why I wanted to spread the word around. (Interview with the Syeds, Sept. 27, 2014).

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^34 R: stands for the researcher
Omair who has good knowledge of the advantages of learning several languages, knows about programs of other languages because they used to take place in his school but is not aware of an Urdu ILP.

Omair: I know that there’s Arabic school on Saturday and Cantonese and Mandarin on Sundays but I don’t know about Urdu …. is there any? (Interview with the Ameers, Jan. 29, 2015).

4.9.1. Inadequate enrollment

This can be illustrated through a story around Abeer. In early September, 2014, during a leisure hour while I was on Facebook, an update from Abeer appeared on one of the closed groups, Pakistani Moms in Canada (PMC), that we are members of. It was a Saturday afternoon and that morning she had taken her daughters to enroll them in the Urdu class under the ILP offered by the PDSB at a location in the Region of Peel. Other than two of her daughters, only three other children had presented themselves for the Urdu class. Abeer was told that the class could not run because of the inadequate number of students and was told to return the next week. After returning from the school, Abeer posted an angry and frustrated update on the PMC saying that classes of other languages were brimful and she could hear all other South Asian languages in the hallways except for Urdu. In a rather sentimental update she invited mothers to send their children the next week so that there would be adequate numbers of students to begin the class. Some mothers responded to her post and requested further information regarding other district school boards in the neighboring areas such as Halton, Milton and Durham. Abeer shared as much information as she had about the PDSB. Being naturally interested in the HLP/ILP, I responded to some of the queries and shared details of other school boards. Noticing the interest of the members, I started a public Facebook page entitled ‘Enroll in Urdu Classes’ to recruit
students for the ILP in PDSB so the class would start. Despite all attempts, the Urdu class could not resume in the year 2014-15 because of the inadequate numbers, much to the dismay of Abeer. Later, I asked her if she was interested in participating in the study and she happily agreed. She narrated the whole incident in the interview.

Asked if she had any fears of the HL loss upon arrival in Canada, she said:

Abeer: They may, and it is because of this fear that I want my girls to join the Urdu class. That is why I took them there because I want them to learn it to be connected to my culture. … So when I came to know about it, I was very happy … and very excited and I registered both my daughters …. but they don’t have enough students…. So when I went to the Urdu class last Saturday, they said that only 7 children - including two of my daughters - were enrolled in the class and that they needed at least 15 children to start the class. And that is why I posted on the Facebook page that I am very disappointed that we cannot even have even 15 children who would study Urdu in this big city like ….. Classes are full of Tamil and Hindi children, but we don’t have enough students in Urdu class???. That is very frustrating!!! (Interview with the Syeds, Sept. 27, 2014).

Then she comments on the quality of the class but is happy that at least it is there.

Abeer: I have heard that the Urdu class is not very good but I think at least it is there and if I’m able to send my daughters, perhaps they WILL learn something (Interview with the Syeds, Sept. 27, 2014).

An actively running and well-advertised Urdu class under the banner of the ILP could provide positive support to the parents who are interested in passing on their linguistic capital to their children and help them become plurilingual.
And now the two other themes that emerged as unique to the experience of the Canadians of the Pakistani origin: the influence of the colonial past among the senior parents who have migrated from Pakistan and the post adolescence quest for identity that is extremely prominent among the youth who moved to Canada at a young age, went through a process of identity negotiation and have now achieved their identity.

4.10 Influence of the Colonial Past

All of the participants said that they had studied in schools where the formal language of instruction was English and that the dominant population of urban centers in Pakistan uses English on a regular basis. English is the language of mobility in Pakistan; however, under point system immigration policies, only those who fulfill language requirements are allowed entry into Canada. Some of the quotes of the participants are presented here:

Rashida: Lots of Pakistani parents are proud that their children speak English and so when our children mix with them, they also speak English (Interview with the Khans, Sep. 28, 2014).

Abeer: Most of the Pakistani people are not very much interested in teaching their kids any Urdu… even when I went to Pakistan last year, many of my cousins were surprised when they heard my daughters speaking in Urdu. They speak to their children in English even if they themselves have not gone to English medium schools …but they don’t speak to them in Urdu … so they used to make fun of me and my daughters. (Interview with the Syeds, Sept. 27, 2014).

Ahmar: Even that are back home, would speak in English (Interview with the Ameers, Jan. 29, 2015).
Omair: You know cuz they also went to English schools, they also work in businesses where primarily they speak English … you know …so … it’s the language of the fluency for a lot of the people … and then … on top of that … your education is also in English (Interview with the Ameers, Jan. 29, 2015).

That sets a precedent for the children who move to Canada as well. Mehreen, Ahmed, Omair and Aisha had talked about their cousins in Pakistan or in parts of the world with whom they communicate in English. In contrast, Farah and Abeer tell us that they have observed that children from other linguistic groups do speak their HLs, but not those who originated in Pakistan.

Farah: All the Chinese students whether they are outside, they’re using their own language but, unfortunately, we as a Pakistani … our kids are not speaking Urdu outside with their friends. They feel shy and I think we are facing lots of challenges and as for our future for Urdu in Canada, I’m really scared about that … so we should work on that project that they should speak … they should feel comfortable speaking Urdu with their friends too … not only at home (Interview with the Maliks, Oct. 9, 2014).

Nazia explores the dichotomous situation of the people of Pakistani origin in Canada in a detailed recount that any of the Pakistani Canadian can relate to:

Nazia: I will go back … many many years back … before we even moved to Canada … It’s a paradox that most of us coming to Canada as an immigrant face. Especially in Pakistan if you want your children to be educated in a good school the competition is very tough and the prevalent language is schools is English … expectation is that even a toddler should be speaking in English. English is not a spoken language in Pakistan; it’s an official language so those children who learn their language at home their mother language will
be either Urdu or Punjabi … but the expectation is that when they’re ready to go to school they would be able to understand English & converse in English … so that’s the paradox. And all those parents who want their children to get a good education start talking to their children in English even when they are toddlers so they’re being multilingual at a very young age. Because of this competition they know that they’ll be picking up Urdu because from the media … from everybody around them, going into the social media and all and on the other hand regional languages as well but as they start to look at English as a preferred language… so their languages are developed that way. The paradox here is that when you move to Canada, you’re encouraged to keep your mother tongue alive where now the roles are reversed completely. Everything around you is English and you have to now struggle to keep your mother tongue alive … now you’re emphasizing to the same child that you have been telling all along to speak English at home; you’re asking the same child to speak Urdu and another regional language at home … that’s the paradox … suddenly the roles are completely switched (Interview with the Haqs, Sep. 13, 2014).

4.11 Identity - Post Adolescence

Ahmar (25), Omair (23) Zubia (22) and Aisha (20), from G. 1.25 and G1.5, came to Canada between the ages of 14 and nine and all of them have spent around/more than 11 years in Canada. Zubia and Ahmar shared their experiences of growing up in Canada, especially during their teenage. Both Zubia and Ahmar were quite vocal about the fact that during the teenage years, they did not speak any Urdu because they did not want to be associated with their language and culture. They said that they wanted to be assimilated with the dominant culture of the society. Zubia, who discussed the issue of identity at length raised some very poignant issues:
Zubia: I didn’t care too much about speaking Urdu … or anything that would put me in association with my culture … I would … sort of … be at a distance from anything to do with my culture … you know … publicly … um just coz that’s what you do when you’re little … I guess, so anyways it was … I think after … when I went to University …. That’s when I realized that I have to cover my language … that’s when I got interested in understanding my language and I started reading Iqbal … like you want to read the primary documents … Urdu is very much a part of my identity and I take pride in my identity and so the fact that I can’t speak Urdu the way I want to … naturally …. I feel like I’ve bin imperialized at some level … you know and that’s never good (Interview with the Maliks, Oct. 9, 2014).

When she was asked why that happened, she explained further:

Zubia: I think … I just never really valued …. not never … I mean as a young … child … as a teenager growing up … I didn’t value traditions and culture … it was only university … I took International Relations … so you’re bound to be curious about where you come from … the country you come from … the language it carries and like …. the connection that you hold to it … you explore those question …. but like those questions didn’t mean much when I was a teenager …like many teenagers … you don’t think about it … at least I … I didn’t … yeah …

I think for every human being the central question is who am I and that really stems from the language, culture, traditions, clothing; I mean all of that …. it’s like a social construct that … every country has their own social construct food also and music also and with music there’s a certain language being used … language is a crucial component to your identity eventually. without a doubt English is an international language and we cannot
survive without knowing English but that being said … I couldn’t survive without knowing Urdu … I take pride in language …. in Urdu language … and it’s very much how I define who am I … my identity so …. I go through this table like in every day … it’s like I’m Pakistani cuz I speak that language … so like, I need it (Interview with the Malik’s, Oct. 9, 2014).

As a child and a teenager Zubia did not want to be identified with her language and culture; as a grown up young adult, her language and identity have become the most significant elements of her being. Ahmar also expressed similar stories of himself, both of his siblings and friends as they grew up in Canada. Among his friends, he can speak the best Urdu. He narrated an instance that had taken place a couple of days before this interview. Two of his friends, in their early thirties, who had grown up speaking English, whose parents also spoke to them in English and had never introduced them to Urdu, expressed their desire to have a conversation in Urdu.

Ahmar: So it’s five of us are having a conversation, he comes up and he’s talking to us in Urdu … he’s like چلو آج اردو میں (Let’s talk in Urdu today) (Interview with the Ameers, Jan. 29, 2015).

Here’s another excerpt from the conversation between members of his family suggesting that all three of them went through this phase of estrangement from their HL and culture.

Ahmar: I still remember the teen time … we’d always answer in English … and this is when we’re at school … but then as we grow mature we get comfortable in our skin as well (Interview with the Ameers, Jan. 29, 2015).

Omair: Yeah … yeah … you do

Ahmar: Aisha was also like that … in her teen years she’d only speak in English (Interview with the Ameers, Jan. 29, 2015).
As mentioned above, they [his parents] made the rule of speaking only Urdu during Aisha’s teenage years so she would be able to develop communicative skills in Urdu.

Zubia, Omair and Ahmed, all from G1.25, reported their exploration of identity once they had passed the impressionable age of adolescence when they hardly wanted to be identified with the cultural background they belonged to and did not want to be heard speaking their HL in public. Friends of Ahmed, the G2 children who were neither spoken to in Urdu nor had a chance to speak it during their early days at home wanted to learn to communicate in it in their late twenties & early thirties despite their ‘gulabi urdu’\(^{35}\) (Pink Urdu, i.e. diluted accent) because their identities were awakened through their interest in Pakistani politics and welfare work in Pakistan and they could finally identify with their HL and its associated culture. All three of these children are involved with organizations such as Pakistan Development Foundation and Pakathon which indicates that they have gone through search for their identity, have achieved it and are aware of their hybridity. As observed by Hinton (1999) and Oketani (1997), they love their HL and find their HL a source of great benefit; Zubia is keen to enroll in a language program so that she can ‘cover’ her language and read the important texts.

4.12 Future of Urdu in Canada

Zubia: Urdu as a language is definitely threatened … this is really ironic … especially in Peel area … because there’re so many Pakistanis that live here (Interview with the Maliks, Oct. 9, 2014).

\(^{35}\) \textit{gulabi} is from the word ‘\textit{gulab}’ which means rose in Urdu. A wide majority of the Pakistani people are not necessarily ‘Urdu speaking’ (Rahman, 2006); their home language can be any one of the regional languages such as Balochi, Punjabi, Pashto, Saraiki and Sindhi. They speak Urdu because they identify with it as a ‘national’ language, an identity marker and a language of prestige. Having learned any of the regional languages first at home, they may not be able to speak Urdu in its standard accent and may not be able to pronounce certain glottal sounds; hence their language is often known as ‘\textit{gulabi Urdu}’ (Pink Urdu) spoken in its diluted form. See https://www.wdl.org/en/item/9690/; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6KB5_brfcXc&nohtml5=False
Zubia finds it ironic that Urdu is threatened in an area where there is a strong presence of people who identify themselves as Urdu language speakers. Farida and Shahid think that Urdu is threatened because the Pakistani Canadians are not involved in any community work. Nazia contends that not just the community but the whole system has failed to contribute to the development of linguistic capabilities of the children and not just the HL but also disappointed with her personal experience of educating her son in the FIS.

Nazia: Sorry, I’d say that the whole system failed …I’m suggesting that the environment around my children was not helpful … even when it comes to French, it’s just a lip service … they say that everything should be bilingual … you see signs, you see label, you see French alongside English but in reality even the children going out of the school system cannot speak French (Interview with the Zamans, Sept. 13, 2014).

In the present circumstances, the HL loss is imminent; Rafi tells us the process:

Rafi: the language will be less and less used by … for example … my children and the children of my children. I don’t see it being used much because of how minimally I spoke it in my household (Interview with the Zamans, Sept. 13, 2014).

Hamid tells us the reason why:

Hamid: that’s a reality that we have moved here, … we’re not here in a transit or on a short visit like we were in the Middle East where you were on the work permit … where you don’t know what your future is … When we moved to Canada, obviously, we expected all this to happen and I’d rather they develop their own comfort level. If it lies only with English, so be it. You know they have to live here; the rest of their life is here. So consciously it never bothered me. (Interview with the Ameers, Jan. 29, 2015).
4.13 Summary

This chapter is comprised of the depiction of the experiences of Pakistani Canadians in Peel and establishes that the status of Urdu is threatened because only 50% of the children are able to acquire their home language due to the several multiple limitations and challenges enumerated by the parents. In spite of the challenges of survival/settlement issues that a new immigrant families face, limitations of quality time with each other, the lack of awareness about family language policy and the various strategies of language transmission, the absence of school board-led ILP and community organization, the desire to integrate without losing their multicultural and plurilingual identities persists. Given a chance, they wish to develop plurilingual abilities because they consider it to be an important component of their identity and feel that their home language loss is the loss of their cultural and linguistic capital. They also want to rise above the influence of their pre-immigration experiences and dispense with their colonial past that still dominates their psyche and influences them to make choices that contribute to their home language loss.
Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to gauge the vitality of Urdu as an immigrant/minority language in Peel where Urdu has emerged as the 12th among the top 22 languages spoken all over Canada (Houle, 2011; Statistics Canada, 2011b, p. 4), as fourth among the top five languages in the CMA of Toronto (Statistics Canada, 2012, p. 7), the second biggest language in Brampton and the top-most language in Mississauga in the last two censuses of 2006 and 2011 (Region of Peel, 2012). I wanted to find out whether the Urdu speaking Canadians were able to maintain their HL and continue building on their traditional societal bi/multilingual status in their new home country or not. With reference to the literature review around the theme of language loss and maintenance, and the findings of the study, we finally move to discuss the present data.

5.1 Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, Language

Vitality and Endangerment & Sustainability Use Model

Through the lens of the EGIDS (Lewis & Simons, 2010) and LVE (Brenzinger et al., 2003), and based upon the responses of the participants, here is a summary of the current status of Urdu in the Peel:

It is between the level 6b which translates into ‘threatened’ in four G1.75 children and level 7, which is ‘shifting’, among two of eight children from G2 (Hashim and Rafi). The six other children from G2 are reported to be able to communicate in Urdu but they speak only when they know that their interlocutor does not know any English. They do not respond to their parents in Urdu which worries their parents. Only one out of the four G1.5 children (Aisha) actively uses Urdu to speak to her parents and older members of the extended family but not to her siblings, cousins and friends. Children in G1.25 have a good grasp of Urdu and they use it
with their parents, siblings, family and peers. Saleem is married to a Korean and his HL is English. One participant from G1.5 and three out of four from G1.25 who indicated interest in their HL use the word ‘threatened’ to describe the future of Urdu in Canada.

Even a cursory glance at Table 6 reveals that there are more records of Urdu on page one (mostly G1) of the table compared with more English on page two (G1.25 – G2). Among the children, the home is the only domain where Urdu is used for basic communication between children and parents, though it is neither used among siblings nor cousins and friends. Besides, the children never communicate purely in Urdu and almost always codemix/codeswitch/codemesh. It was also reported that the children spoke to both maternal and paternal grandparents in Urdu which means that they used the HL quite infrequently because most of the grandparents lived in Pakistan. Only one family - the Maliks - maintained a three generational home; the Khans lived in separate homes in Mississauga. This interprets as option C in questions by Lewis & Simons (2010).

With the policy of official bilingualism (English & French) in Canada, Urdu, like all immigrant languages and those of the First Nations, is listed as a non-official language in Canada (Statistics Canada 2012, p. 4).

There is currently no institutional support except for Urdu as an ILP at the PDSB and D-PCDSB where credit courses have some enrollment; elementary level classes have not been offered due to low registration numbers, as reported by Abeer.

As illustrated in the data shared above, the youngest generation of the proficient speakers is C, i.e., parents, which translates into EGIDS level 7 = Shifting.

36 Links to the Official Languages Act, 1969:
a) http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/o-3.01/;
In the absence of both official status and scanty institutional/community support, parents alone bear the responsibility of language transmission. According to the SUM (Lewis & Simons, 2011, 2016), the parents can pass their HL onto their children only if they are aware of the ‘best practices’ or are able to develop a friendly relationship with their children (Guardado, 2002, 2006). Unfortunately, the majority of the parents are not aware of those strategies and raise their children from hearsay as reported by King and Fogle (2006, p. 707). Compared to the findings in Guardado (2002, 2006), in this set of data, all of the children and parents seem to have a friendly/loving relationship with each other and the children were free to choose whichever language they wished to use for their expression. A classic example of this understanding between parents and children that leads to limited use of the Urdu is the statement by Aiman and Ifrahim from G1.75 who report that they speak in English because they are comfortable in English and that their parents understand it; their parents speak in Urdu because they are comfortable in it and their children understand it. The basic purpose of communication is met at the ‘comfort-level’ of each group which in their perspective is just right; the intergenerational transmission of language is, however, disrupted. This understanding, unfortunately, acts as a catalyst to disrupt linguistic transmission. Their interpretation of ‘good parenting’ seems to be different from the data shared in King & Fogle (2006), which stipulated the achievement of additive bilingualism to be one of the necessary goals of the twenty first century ‘good parents.’

Although the language loss among the children has been reported in many ways and disappointment has been expressed by majority of the parents, the sum of it all is that family is the only domain where children have the opportunity to learn, practice and use their HL. No outside support from the community or the society at large and limited time with the parents has been reported which is a recipe for diminished input that results in gradual language loss
(Hayden, 1991; Fishman, 1991; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Wei, 1994; Zentella, 1997).

5.2 Factors of Language Loss

A number of factors of language loss reported in literature are similar to the experiences of the Haqs, Razas, Maliks and Hassans. Some of the titles from Chapter 2 have been used here, whereas some of those have been merged together depending upon the rate of occurrence.

5.2.1 Age.

The firm declaration of self-identified association with the DL among the children from G1.75 and G2 such as with Hashim, Rafi, Sa’ad, Saud and Ifrahim supports all the previous studies that document among the succeeding generation of minority language speakers (Fishman & Nahirny, 1966, p. 179; Park, 2013; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Wei, 1994; Zentella, 1997). It is too early to predict about the HL acquisition of the children younger than 6 years, such as Zarwa, Kanwal, Anila and Aayan, either because they may be going through the silent phase known as the passive bilingualism or in the case of Saud, Aiman and Ifrahim because they are currently going through the period of adolescence which can be marked by self-assertion (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999) and identity negotiation (Phinney & Ong, 2007, p. 272; Ting-Toomey, 1999; 2005) and/or is a challenging phase of life (Caldas, 2008).

5.2.2 Media.

Abeer and Farina reported that their children shifted to the DL as soon as they started watching cartoons is documented in Hinton (1999) and Crawford (2007). Children may be exposed to the cartoons and children’s television programs in their home languages with the increasing facilities of electronic devices.
5.2.3 Use of mixed language at home.

The Haqs, Maliks and Hassans mix languages; their children tend to identify with English and use it almost all the time as reported by Anderson (2004, 2012), Hinton (1999), Park (2013) and Zentella (1997).

5.2.4. The sole sources of home/heritage language(s): parents.

Farina analyzed the short span of time that children are able to spend with the parents, resulting in limited contact with their HL, as suggested by Fishman & Nahirny (1966), Hayden (1966), Hinton (1999) and Park (2013). Parental bilingualism - a common feature of most parents of Pakistani origin and described by Nazia as a dilemma is reported in Anderson (2004 & 2012) and Park (2013). Abeer mentioned the non-availability of Urdu classes in the ILP offered by the PDSB due to low enrollment. HLP and bilingual programs have been reported to foster HL maintenance; their absence contributes to home/heritage language loss (Anderson, 2004, 2012; Cummins, 2005; Churchill, 2003).

5.2.5 Friends and peer pressure.

The school population consists of various language backgrounds, which makes it necessary for the children to speak a common language for most of the day. Zubia reported that her best friend is Chinese, which results in reduced HL use in her company, as Fillmore (1991), Hinton (1999), Kouritzin (1999), and Park (2013) had reported.

5.2.6 Integrative motivation and the feeling of the uselessness of the home/heritage language maintenance.

The statements made by the parents as well as their decision to send their children to FIS wherever possible clearly indicate that they wanted their children to have a good grasp of the languages required for an official bilingual status in Canada. After English and French, the third
language of their choice, as reported by all of the parents, is Arabic; Urdu or Punjabi/Pushto/Sindhi are their fourth choice. The goal of the acquisition of the first two languages in both literacy and communicative skills is due to extrinsic and integrative motivation. In Arabic, the goals are reading skills, though for some, the goals are only nazira. For at least three families - the Khans, the Syeds and the Hassans – the acquisition or Arabic reading skills would be for a better understanding of Islam. The families report wishing to learn Urdu or Punjabi/Pushto/Sindhi only for communicative purposes, mainly to interact with the family members and to stay connected to the culture associated with their HL. This drive to assimilate in the DL culture (Hinton, 1999) for better chances of employability (Kouritzin, 1999) stems from the awareness that their HL is neither respected nor can it serve as a tool for vocational or educational advancement as endorsed by Anderson (2004, 2012).

5.2.7 Feelings of shame and inability to identify with home/heritage language.

Zubia, Ahmar and Omair’s inability to identify with their HL, as detailed later in this chapter, has been reported in Hinton (1999), Portes & Hao, (2002), Portes & Rumbaut, (2001) and Portes & Schauffler, (1994). Language shame, the reverse shyness due to their inability to speak their HL with full mastery and in its proper accent, also reported in Hinton (1999), Krashen (1998) and Park (2013), seems to be obvious in G1.75 and G2 children as they are still undergoing the impressionable and delicate age of adolescence when preteens imitate peers (Caldas, 2008). Ahmar reports how he and his friends are trying to shed this reverse shyness after having attained their ethnic identity in their adulthood.

5.2.8 Exogamous marriages.

A natural consequence of contact between cultures and peoples is that people start building relationships of intimate nature. The unique challenges of marrying into a diverse
linguistic group pose a number of challenges and require a) a good understanding of the strategies of teaching languages and b) a strong commitment to the intergenerational transmission of languages as Ronjat (1913) and Saunders (1982, 1989) had exhibited while raising children bi/plurilingually. All the children of the three Raza daughters who entered into exogamous marriages are reported to have followed the popular trends of language choices and shifted to the DL.

5.2.9 Conclusion.

The last two factors listed in Guardado (2002, 2013) and Hinton (1999) - ‘Negative reaction to the strong efforts made by parents’ and ‘Advanced stages of bilingualism or second language acquisition’ reported by Anderson (2004, 2012), Lambert (1973) and Seliger & Vago (1991) - do not apply to any of the participants in the current study because a) both the parents and the children appear to have a relationship of mutual respect, and b) these children are becoming monolinguals, not because of their advanced stages of bilingualism. They are losing the characteristic plurilingual touch their parents had, which is acutely felt by parents like Nazia, Zaman, Shakir, Farah and Abeer and which is resented by children who have entered the age of majority and have also achieved their ethnic/linguistic identity (Phinney, 1990).

5.3 Factors of Language Maintenance

Since the purpose of the study is to focus on maintenance, it is significantly important to look at the factors that have helped the Khans, Razas, Ahmeds and Ameers in intergenerational transmission. Except for the Razas, all three families have spent a significant period of their lives in the ME. Compared with the experiences of the exogamous marriages of Ronjat, Leopold, Saunders and Caldas, both the parents in the present study belong to the same religious, cultural and linguistic group but they have lived experiences of growing up in major urban centers of
three cultures: Pakistan, Middle East (Saudi Arabia, more precisely) and Canada. During their interviews, almost each and every grown up member of their families exhibited a well-rounded understanding of the advantages of the knowledge of several languages. All of them used the words ‘multilingual and multilingualism’ as these are the terms that have traditionally been used to denote the knowledge of many languages. Just as they admire some traits of the culture and languages of their origin, they have equal respect for and derive pleasure from their cultural and linguistic experiences in the ME and in Peel which points to their transnational (Duff, 2015; Fogle & King, 2012; Goulbourne et al., 2010; Leitner & Ehrkamp, 2006) and plurilingual (CMEC, 2010; Piccardo, 2013; Prasad, 2014, 2015) identities.

5.3.1 Language is spoken as a matter of policy.

The Khans, Razas, Ahmeds and Ameers follow the mL@H which De Houwer, (2007) and Turcotte (2006) found to be more fruitful than OPOL prescribed by Caldas, (2006), Ronjat (1913), Leopold (1939-49) and Saunders (1982, 1989) along with ‘Trilingual or Multilingual Strategy’ (De Houwer, 2007; Barron-Hauwaert, 2004, p. 163). Since both the parents belong to the same linguistic group, they faced comparatively fewer challenges in language maintenance as reported in De Houwer (2007) and Turcotte (2006). Compared with those, the families that were flexible with the FLP (the Maliks and Syeds), or the parents who had different attitudes toward language choices and use (the Hassans and Haqs) seemed to contribute to the shift towards the DL.

The practices of Shahid and Faiza (the Razas), Ghazala and Saleem (the Ahmeds) have often been cited in literature as policies of successful transmission as in Ronjat, (1913), Guardado, (2002, 2013). When the children responded to or addressed Shahid and Ghazala in English, often the parents used to directly state that they did not understand their children.
Children of both the families knew well that their parents know English: Shahid was a fluent English language user because of his career in Canadian public school system, and Ghazala was an Urdu-English interpreter, their children understood the hint and helped their parents build the ‘Urdu Only Zone’ by using the strategy of mL@H. Since Shahid and Faiza came to Canada in early 60s when there were very few families from Pakistan, their motivation was to build a familiar atmosphere at home so that they would not miss their abandoned homes and people. They used to travel frequently to their country of origin to allow their daughters to experience the culture and lives of their parents and imbibe it (Guardado, 2002; Park & Sarkar, 2007). The Ameers also followed the same policy while the children were young and/or until they had gained success in passing on their HL to their children; the Khans and Syeds are currently using it and hope to make their maximum efforts. The first response of the six other families was that they did not follow any language policy at home; however, when probed further, it surfaced that they did follow an unwritten, undeclared policy at the subconscious level and that was to suggest in any way possible to the children that their HL was Urdu. The data suggests that families need to make a conscious effort to understand and apply the strategies if they are keen on the intergenerational transmission of their HL. OPOL is not used because all of the parents belong to the same linguistic community, either because the parents were used to communicating in Urdu or because they were interested in creating a HL environment in Urdu alone. For example, Ghazala says, “I tell my children that we’re an Urdu Speaking family. Saleem and the two other children of the Khans who have entered into exogamous wedlock and could not participate in the study may try OPOL to develop plurilingual abilities in their children.

5.3.2 Strong global and plurilingual identities.
The Khans, Ahmeds and Ameers indicate strong and positive ethnic identities, of which plurilingualism is an important feature. Conversations included themes around the benefits of plurilingualism, such as plurilingualism being good on the resume, an important asset and a great way to connect with various cultures in urban centers like Karachi and Mississauga/Brampton, and about how having learned basic communication skills in languages they came in contact with through their exposure to a number of cultures and languages has helped their children become open to other cultures as reported in CMEC (2010), Piccardo (2013) and Prasad (2014, 2015); the intergenerational transmission of their HL is just one feature. Their cultural identity does not seem to be restricted to either of the binaries of Canadian and/or Pakistani frames; they indicate positive attachment to all the cultures that they have been associated with so far and sound more of global citizens similar to Goulbourne et al. (2010), Leitner & Ehrkamp (2006). Compared with these participants, all members of the G1.25 - children who have had experiences of only two cultures -- tend to undergo the process of identity negotiation, obvious in the case of Zubia, Hashim and Rafi and possibly reticent among the Hassan children. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the main focus of Sumera and Shakir, the Hassan parents, is helping their children become ‘good human beings’ and ‘good Canadians’, rather than attempting to become the King & Fogle (2006) style ‘good parents’ themselves. As for language choices, Shakir would like his children ‘to learn as many languages as they can, especially Urdu’ - a clear sign of helping his children develop plurilingual identities. Though currently, the three of their children - Ifrahim, Aiman and Saud - from G1.75, who have studied at the FIS, identify themselves as Canadians and English speaking people, there are chances that they may be going through any of the first two stages of ethnic identity formation illustrated by Phinney (1990): namely the ‘unexamined ethnic identity’ and that of ‘ethnic identity search’ (pp. 502-503).
5.3.3 Socioeconomic status.

All the participating families belong to the middle class; both parents are educated with professional and high academic qualifications such as M.B.B.S. and Ph.D., have the means, ease of life and the required knowledge to provide circumstances that contribute to language maintenance as suggested by Alba et al., (2002), Hoff (2006, p. 60) and Park (2013).

5.3.4 Positive experiences of cultural diversity.

Positive experiences of learning about cultural diversity at school despite discrimination and rejection by the peers (Hinton, 1999, p. 226) and the affirmations of their cultural and linguistic identities at school and wider community contribute to a positive attitude to immigrant HLs (Cummins, 2000, 2005). All the participants from G1, G1.25, who have strong transnational and plurilingual identities, have positive experiences of cultural and linguistic diversity, whereas the participants from G1.5, G1.75 and G2 seem to have received silent messages that withheld them from identifying with their ethnicity, culture and language despite being a visible minority. Zubia, Ahmar, Omair and Aisha refrained from speaking their HL during their teenage and were able to achieve their linguistic identity once they had grown mature. Hashim is the only G2 child who expresses himself quite well and clearly declares, “I don’t think I heard that much people speak Urdu that are school ambassadors … that are kids …. there are some kids that I know are Pakistani or Indian and I know that they actually speak Urdu and Punjabi at home, but not at school” (Interview with the Haqs, Sep. 13, 2014). Despite going to a school where a visible minority is not a minority, children do not feel comfortable speaking in the HL and prefer the DL, which is called being ‘silenced’ by Nettle & Romaine (2000).

5.3.5 Media.
The Ahmeds, Ameer and Malik children from G1.25 cited the positive effects of television on the building of Urdu vocabulary. Due to cable services, they are blessed with the options to remain connected with their country of origin and they watch talk shows around political issues in Pakistan. Saleem mentioned the local ethnic newspapers in Urdu that usually only the elderly read; Omar reads electronic versions of Urdu newspapers. None of the children beyond G1.25 watched any Urdu television or used any Urdu enabled applications on hand-held devices and cellular phones.

5.3.6 Presence of extended family and ethnic community.

The Haqs and Hassans reported that the visits of children’s grandparents offered them opportunities to speak their HL; the presence of the Khan and Malik grandmothers and an aunt in Peel allows greater input of the HL among the children. Two of the three Ahmed sisters are reported to be speaking their HL fluently; Zubia has a strong sense of identity due to socialization during childhood and adolescence, similar to the findings of Hinton, (1999), Ruby (2012) and Wei (1994). The presence of a large ethnic community, however, does not seem to be as effective as usually expected. Interestingly enough, the Razas and Nazia state that the presence of a large ethnic community has been counterproductive to HL maintenance. While the Razas state that most other parents from their community have a false perception that their children will learn Urdu automatically because they are surrounded by the people from similar linguistic background, Nazia confesses that she thought that her children would learn Urdu as easily and ‘naturally’ as they (herself and her husband) had ‘picked up’ English and become multilinguals while living in Pakistan.

5.3.7 Visits to the country of origin.
As indicated in Caldas (2006, 2008), Hinton (1999) and Park (2013), the positive contribution of visits to their country of origin where the children were immersed in their HL and had a chance to use it is evident in the Razas, Syeds, Ahmeds and Ameers. Abeer reported that though she had been speaking to her daughters in Urdu, her daughters never responded to her in Urdu; however, when they went to Pakistan, they spoke to everyone in Urdu.

5.3.8 Age upon arrival.

Ahmar, Omar, Omair and Saleem, all from G1.25 use Urdu more often, have a clear accent, are aware of the pleasures of using culture specific vocabulary and think that there are certain abstract concepts that they can only express in Urdu as they lose their significance and meaning when translated in English. They also have a strong affiliation to community and country of origin as suggested by Fishman and Nahirny (1966) and Tannenbaum and Tseng (2015).

5.3.9 Conclusion.

The transnational and plurilingual identities of the participants emerge as the biggest contributing factor in the success of intergenerational language transmission. Only those families that identify themselves as such due to their language histories and experiences of living and working in countries other than their country of origin have been found to be motivated to devise a family language policy that ensures strong HL skills.

5.4. Identity

The multiple layers of identity of the people of visible minority present several challenges in terms of acculturation. Children, especially children belonging to G1.75, G2 and subsequent
generations, may have to undergo a proportionately higher degree of negotiation to arrive at their true identity.

### 5.4.1 Linguistic identity.

There is clearly a strong desire among the parents and the children in this study to integrate with the dominant culture (Eccles, 1999; Esser, 2006; Gardner, 2001) irrespective of their ability to pass on their HL to their children.

Parental knowledge of English and flexibility towards the use of the HL points to another possibility. Contrary to parents in Hinton (1999), the Pakistani Canadian parents may be accommodating the DL because being bilingual, they feel that they can afford to be adaptable and to bridge the gap that parents and children may develop because of identifying with two different linguistic groups. For people of Pakistani origin, English is a language of power and prestige that they had already been accustomed to using (Rahman, 2006) even before coming to Canada. The English language is as much a part of their linguistic identity as Urdu/Punjabi/Sindhi/Pushto have been (Rahman, 1995, 2006) and is contributing to the Urdu language loss.

A theme widely available in literature around language planning and policy in Pakistan is the desire to become like the master and to speak the language of the colonial power that ruled it once (Ahmed, 2011; Amir, 2008; Coleman, 2010; Coleman & Capstick, 2012; Durrani, 2012; Khalique 2006; Pinnock, 2009; Shamim, 2011). As soon as the Pakistani Canadians move to Canada (or any other English speaking country), the parents are in a quandary because with a sudden change of language ideologies, issues of linguistic identity surface. As we have observed in the data, some families are able to adjust to it fairly well; some are not, either because they do not understand the dichotomy soon after landing due to their engagement with settlement issues.
(the Haqs) or because they do not understand those issues until their children experience negotiation of their identities (the Maliks). Children like Omar, Omair, Ahmar, and Saleem had started developing multiple identities and allegiances (Leitner & Ehrkamp, 2006) even before coming to Canada because they grew up in the K.S.A. while they travelled to Pakistan on annual vacations, where they got a chance to be immersed in the pluriligual environment. Also, they as well as their parents knew that they were there on a temporary work permit and never tried to assimilate into the local culture, lived segregated lives from their host culture, though they were able to ‘pick up’ some communicative Arabic which has enabled them to build on those acquired skills and to promote it further, as by Omair.

5.4.2 Cultural identity.

It may be said with some certainty that due to the cultural differences between communal societies and individualistic societies, children raised in each culture react differently to the policies at home (Hofstede, 2001). However, with change over time, and the influence from other cultures, the hierarchical pattern of parenting among migrant families of Pakistani origin may also be undergoing readjustment as Conteh, Riasat and Begum (2013) had noted among the people of Pakistani heritage in Bradford, U.K.. Orbala, (2015) and Wakil, Siddique, and Wakil, (1981) agree that the immigrant families from Pakistan have adopted the more practical aspect of life in general, though they have resisted change in some core values. Both children and parents show love and care in ways different than those of the North American culture. Instead of showing respect and love by physical touch, hug or expressions such as ‘thank you’, most often, they express their feelings through words of prayer (not praise!) and by acts of obedience and conformity to social, religious and linguistic norms (Orbala, 2015). The relationship between
children and parents is based on mutual respect and rights upon and duties towards each other (Arshed, 1919).

This means that the children who had the chance to grow up in their country of origin had absorbed the concept of conformity to social and linguistic norms, whereas the G2 children may not have had a chance to consistently observe and absorb the cultural norms of the desi family. Instead they receive a discreet message focusing on personal freedom and self-assertion from the cartoons, media and school curriculum which makes them negotiate their identities at multiple levels (Zine, 2001). Noticing the change in the pattern of their children’s behavior (King & Fogle, 2012), parents are trying to adjust to the choices that their children make (Orbala, 2015). The concerns raised by YP, especially Farina and Abeer, that their G2 children made a clear shift to English as soon as they were exposed to the English cartoons (Kouritzin, 1999, p. 126), stepped out of the house or went to the Early Years Centres (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999) and joined school (Hinton, 1991; Fillmore, 1991), are a clear manifestation of the role of those discreet messages. By switching to English as they prepare to step out of the house, Anila and Aayan clearly demonstrate their full understanding that Urdu has no function outside of home. They may comply with the FLP devised by the parents as long as they are dependent upon them; they may make their own choices as they grow more independent and use English alone.

5.4.3 Post-adolescent search for identity.

The experiences of all these adult participants in G1.25 and G1.5 reveals that all four of them underwent the phase of negotiating their identities. This revelation helps me understand the plight of the children in G1.75 and G2 groups. It is their insecurities around their linguistic and cultural heritage that silence them and their voices seem to vanish (Nettle & Romaine, 2000). The experiences of the children in G1.25 and G1.5, give a glimmer of hope that one day
the children in G1.75 and G2 groups will outgrow this phase of their lives as the Ameer children have, and will feel the same pride in their linguistic and cultural background that Zubia now indulges in.

### 5.4.4 Identity as a ‘Good human being/Canadian’.

As opposed to King & Fogle, (2006) who associated the concept of ‘good parenting’ with language transmission, parents like the Ameers and the Hassans focus on building friendly relations with their children and think that ‘good parenting’ means raising children as ‘good’ human beings. Language spoken by their children does not seem to be of great significance to them compared with the purpose of raising children as good human beings and good Canadians, as Sumera and Shakir have pointed out. Sumera reports that instead of expecting the usual respect from the children as a part of the Pakistani cultural norms, Shakir reaches out to children and speaks to them in the language they use most often so they will be able to understand the total meaning of what he wants to teach them about being good human beings and good Canadians. This is a clear manifestation of “[t]he collectivist values of sharing, adjustment, mutual interdependence and harmony” typical of educated and enlightened South Asian homes (Chadha, 1999, p. 13). Mutual respect for the choices of the children, unfortunately and unobtrusively, is indirectly creating circumstances where subtractive bilingualism is taking place among the children (Baker, 1998, p. 643, 2011; Cummins, 2001a; Lambert, 1974).

As we review the data, it is interesting to note that Arabic has emerged with a higher rank in terms of priority: almost all the parents state that they want their children to learn literacy skills in English, French, Arabic and then in Urdu as the fourth language. The reason why Arabic is given priority is the same: a better appreciation of their religion, Islam, because the second-hand (crooked and deficient in many ways) knowledge of Qura’an and Sunnah through
translations and interpretations are to be avoided by teaching Arabic as a language, not merely a medium of religion.

5.4.5 Conclusion

Hamid Ameer asserts that they have moved to Canada on a permanent basis and that as a parent he would allow children to develop choices that are beneficial to their lives here, though in practice his family has had chances to develop transnational and plurilingual identities. Shariq’s practicality, Ghazala’s badge of ‘Urdu speaking Pakistani Canadian’, Sumera and Shakir’s interest in focusing on making their children ‘good human beings and good Canadians,’ contrasting with Zubia’s quest for and negotiation of identity, also apparent in the children of the Ameers, are all obvious markers of the diversity that is characteristic of truly multicultural/plurilingual societies that these people have originated from (Bhatia & Richie 2008; Romaine, 2006; Sridhar, 1996). Orbala, (2015, April, 01) and Wakil, Siddique, and Wakil, (1981) had concurred that parents were adapting their parenting styles to help their children adjust to the culture that they were a part of and were allowing greater freedom to their children. Due to their colonial past and having lived in a multilingual culture with plurilingual tendencies, they are willing to adjust to the cultural norms of their new home country and ready to sacrifice their HLs - a sacrifice that they should not be made to make so they are able to retain the cultural and linguistic capital that they bring to Canada; their loss is Canada’s loss. The G1-MP are prepared to help their children integrate and allow agency to their children who assert to use the dominant language as Fogle and King (2012) had indicated. The G1-YP, however, wish to help their children not only acquire an officially bilingual status in Canada but also for their children to maintain their multicultural and plurilingual identities because these parents are aware of the value of the ‘asset’ of plurilinguality.
5.5. Limitations

A number of participants are from different backgrounds and language histories. The findings could be more focused if the study was concentrated on migrants with similar language histories such as migrants from Pakistan or transnationals from the Middle East/TCKs. With each family having different immigration backgrounds, it may be difficult to assume that somehow a similar profile could be obtained such that the findings would be generalizable to all Pakistani Canadians. Families with experiences of other cultures in transition from their move to Canada seem to have a chance develop transnational identities and tend to be aware of the challenges of language and cultural retention; families coming directly from Pakistan may not get the chance to contemplate these issues and, quite often, their children experience a radical shift to the DL.

Conversations with children older than six years of age generated valuable data that helped me assess their linguistic repertoire and understand the centrality of their identities that leads them to make the choices that they make. Other strategies, such as more observation time when the family members interacted in their natural setting, could have helped me collect more tangible data from the children under six years of age. It would be worthwhile to understand their reasons for not responding to their parents in their HL.

5.6 Future Directions

One way outside support can be provided is by giving an option to study a third language in the school system, as Baldauf, Chua, and Siew (2013) have suggested based upon real practices in multilingual societies such as Singapore, South Africa and India. In Canada, English, French and mother tongue/HL options can be made available to maintain the linguistic capital of
migrant families. Currently, immigrant languages do not fit into the unique Canadian ‘bilingual framework’ (Haque, 2012) and migrant languages do not feature in the school curriculum (Ahmed, & Florou, 2012). The ILP is a part of the School of Continuing Education and often the timing and the locations of classes are inconvenient for the majority of parents (Ahmed, 2012; Ahmed, & Florou, 2012; Cummins, 1995, 2001a, 2001b, 2014; Cummins & Danesi, 1990). A wide majority of the Canadians of Pakistani origin are not even aware of the program (Kerekes et al., 2013) because it is not featured in any of the literature prepared to guide the newcomers to Canada (Ahmed, 2013). As indicated earlier, only two participants knew about the ILP: Abeer came to know about it via the scribe’s update on the Facebook page, and Sumera, who has been actively involved in school councils. Awareness of such beneficial programs could be increased so that Canada’s linguistic and cultural capital can be retained.

More Urdu language instruction programs, such as the one that Bazm-e-Ahbab manages, can be organized by the local Pakistani Canadian community to increase the frequency and accessibility of Urdu learning opportunities for the increasing numbers of children and adults.

5.6.1 Further Study.

I was able to find answers to the questions that I had in mind for this study and came to realize that the issue of language maintenance is as complex as it is integral; however, new questions also surfaced as a result of the conversations with families. Cummins (1986, 1989a; 2001a, 2001b) and Chumak-Horbatsch (2012) have emphasized the need to manage the language repertoires of migrant children and to help them adjust to the Canadian linguistic milieu. The application of Linguistically Appropriate Practices (LAP) in elementary and middle schools may protect adolescent children from the process of negotiation of identities as the Pakistani Canadian children have demonstrated. One of the questions that appears is: how to assist parents
in establishing family language policy so the children are able to respond in the desired language? This is similar to the subject of ‘output’ in any language learning processes. Data available in Caldas (2006), Chumak-Horbatsch, (1999) and Guardado (2002) points to the resistance from the adolescent children; carefully analyzing the attitudes of both parents and children during this phase, may help linguists and parents devise strategies that may reduce the challenges during teenage.

The word ‘loss’ has a special significance in the lives of those G1.75 and G2 participants (e.g. Zubia, and the friends that Ahmar reported about) who have finally achieved their identity, started raising their voices and are looking for flexible programs that would offer them language instruction in the language(s) of their choice. The accessibility and promotion of the International Language Program by Schools of Continuing Education attached to various school boards can offer flexible programs for adults in the work force so that they are able to fill that void and finally ‘speak’ in the language(s) they wish to learn and use.

What can be done to improve the quality of teaching of French? The three sets of parents who had sent their children to French Immersion Schools (Gr. 1-8) seemed to be dissatisfied with their experience and the children thought that they could not develop bilingual abilities in French. It would be worthwhile to explore if this is a perception of the Pakistani Canadians alone or that of the parents from other communities as well. Their experiences with French language may have been negatively impacted because very few among the Pakistani Canadians ever had any contact with it. The parents may not be able to support French language learning at home because they themselves do not know French. It would be worthwhile to explore why these parents are unable to create a home culture where the knowledge of languages is appreciated.
Future research could focus on finding ways of supporting parents in language maintenance and also empowering parents so they can support their children in acquiring plurilingualism to their desired level.
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https://www.peelregion.ca/planning/pdc/data/bulletins-brochures.htm


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Appendices

Appendix A. Letter of Consent for Parents and Children Aged 16 and Above

Date: ___________________

Hello,

I am a graduate student at OISE, University of Toronto, and am currently enrolled as a candidate for the Master of Arts in Language and Literacies Education. I am studying the topic of ‘Language Choices of Pakistani Canadians in the Peel Region’ for partial fulfillment of the requirements of Masters in Arts. I will ask questions about the language(s) that you use in your communications at home and how you and your children relate to your home language(s). I think that your knowledge and experiences regarding your language(s) use will provide insights into this topic.

I am writing a thesis on this study as a requirement of the Master of Arts Program. My research supervisors are Dr. Antoinette Gagné, Dr. Christine Connelly and Dr. Julie Kerekes. The total time for the interview is expected to be 90 minutes; (further breakdown follows). My data collection consists of a demographic survey and collection of information to create your family tree (of the members currently living in the same household) (10-15 minutes) followed by a 55-60-minute group interview that will be tape-recorded and observations that will be noted down by me. At the end of the group interview, I will request the parents to move to a separate room and ask children to share any of their thoughts and concerns that they did not feel comfortable sharing in the company of the parents for around 20 minutes. If any of the participants wishes to speak to me separately from the rest of the group, they may request to do so at the end of the group interview.

I would be grateful if you would allow me to interview you at a place and time convenient to you. I can conduct the interview at your home, in a public place, or anywhere else that you might prefer or feel comfortable.

The contents of this interview will be used for my thesis, which will include presentations at a conference or publication. I will not use your name or anything else that might identify you in my written work, oral presentations, or publications. Anything that you would say during our meeting would remain confidential. The only other people who will have access to my data will be my research supervisors mentioned above.

You are free to change your mind about your participation at any time, and to withdraw even after you have consented to participate with no adverse consequences. You may decline to answer any specific questions. I will share with you a copy of my notes to allow you an opportunity to make any changes or omissions to the data. I will destroy the tape recordings,
transcriptions, and the data after I have presented and/or published my findings, which may take up to five years after the data has been collected. Please contact me via email and/or telephone and inform me if you or your family decides to leave the study at any point before its findings are presented and published; all data collected will be destroyed and removed from the study.

There is a possibility of family or social risks involved if children and parents have any conflicts on the choice of language(s). Please contact the researcher if and when any social or familial conflicts arise. During the interview effort will be made to develop a congenial atmosphere in which both parents and children are able to express their opinions on language(s) choices. If, however, they feel uncomfortable expressing their opinions, they are advised to spare those thoughts and share them with the researcher either through an email, a phone conversation or on Skype. Contact information of the researcher will be provided after the informed consent has been signed and the group interview has taken place.

There are no financial benefits of participating in the study. However, once completed this study may help you understand the benefits of maintaining home languages including traditional Pakistani languages. Parents faced with decisions about their children’s language choices may be influenced by this study to think further about the significance of language maintenance and its consequences for multiculturalism in Canada. Children who are involved in the study may also think about making conscious efforts to speak their home languages, communicate better with their grand-parents and other relatives who do not know English and form deeper and more meaningful ties.

The findings of the study will be posted on this Facebook page once the study is complete and the data has been analyzed.

You may also contact University of Toronto Office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-946-3273 if you have any concerns about the rights of participants and/or any further questions about the study.

Should you agree to participate in the study, may I please request that you sign the attached form and return it to me at tasneem.ahmed@utoronto.ca. Please keep a copy for your records.

Thank you very much for your help!

Yours sincerely,

Tasneem Ahmed

Contact Information:

To be shared only when parents or children above 16 years of age would like to contact the researcher for a follow up on the interview

Tasneem Ahmed
1) Email address: tasneem.ahmed@utoronto.ca
2) Tel: 289-997-4323
3) Skype ID: tasneemanjum1
Informed Consent Form for Background Questionnaire, Observations, Interview and a possible one-on-one conversation with the principal investigator

I acknowledge that the topic of this interview has been explained to me and that any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can withdraw at any time without penalty.

I have read the letter provided to me by Tasneem S. Ahmed and understand the nature of this study as well as my rights as a participant.

Name (printed): ___________________________________

Signature: ________________________________________

Date: ______________________

*Please keep a copy of this form; original will be kept by the researcher in her research records.*
Appendix B. Parental Informed Consent for Children Under 16

Date: ___________________

Hello,

Your child has been invited to join a research study to look at the choices that people make in the use of language(s) at home that may lead to home language maintenance or loss. Please take whatever time you need to discuss the study with your family and friends, or anyone else you wish to. The decision to let your child join, or not to join, is up to you.

In this research study, I am investigating Language Choices of Pakistani Canadians in the Peel Region for partial fulfillment of the requirements of Masters in Arts at OISE, University of Toronto. My research supervisors are Dr. Antoinette Gagne, Dr. Christine Connelly and Dr. Julie Kerekes. My data collection consists of a demographic survey and collection of information to create your family tree (of the members currently living in the same household) followed by a group interview that will be tape-recorded and observations that will be noted down by me. The total time for the interview is expected to be 90 minutes; (further breakdown is given below).

The total time for the interview is expected to be 90 minutes; further breakdown is given below. Following are the steps of the interviews:

1) Everyone fills out Appendix A (consent forms) and Appendix B (Background Questionnaire): 10-15 minutes. A parent may fill the Background Questionnaire with the help of the child(ren) below 16.

2) All present family members participate in a group interview for around 55-60 minutes. Children may respond to the questions. If, however, they do not feel comfortable stating conflicting opinions in the presence of their parents, they may hold on to their responses until some private time with the children at the end of the group interviews.

3) After the completion of the group interviews, parents move to another room and the children will be asked to share their thoughts, concerns and issues around language maintenance for 20 minutes.

Both children and parents may contact me for a follow-up for which the consent from both the children and the parents will be obtained in the initial 10-15 minutes.

I will ask your child questions about what language(s) they use in their communications at home and how he or she acquires home language(s). I will also try to find out whether your child is able to acquire the home language and how well.

Your child will be asked to speak in the language of his or her choice and to tell me reasons why and how they make decisions regarding the language(s) use. His or her interaction with his or her parents and siblings will also be tape-recorded, observed and notes will also be taken of his or
her use of language(s). This will take him/her 20 minutes apart from their participation in the group interview. The conversation with your child will be informal so he or she is comfortable and relaxed. The script of the interview will be shared with your child(ren) and they will be asked to review, edit and resend their edited script to the researcher.

I may stop the study or take your child out of the study at any time if I judge it to be in your child’s best interest. I may also remove your child from the study for various other reasons.

Also, you or your child are free to choose to stop participating in the study at any time with no adverse consequences. If your child stops the recorded interview, any of the recordings, transcripts and data will be deleted. Please contact me via email and/or telephone and inform me if you or your child decides to leave the study at any point before its findings are presented and published; all data collected will be destroyed and removed from the study. Once the findings of the study have been published and or presented, it will not be possible to remove the data collected from your child.

This study may involve any social risks though the information gathered is general in nature. There is a possibility of family or social risks involved if children and parents have any conflicts on the choice of language(s). You are encouraged to contact Polycultural Immigrant and Community Services at Sheridan Mall, 2225 Erin Mills Pkwy, Lower Floor (Settlement & Resource Centre), Mississauga, ON L5K 1T9 if and when any social or familial conflicts arise. During the interview effort will be made to develop a congenial atmosphere in which both parents and children are able to express their opinions on language(s) choices. Besides, all the data gathered will be coded to cover the identity of the participants and the information gathered during observations and interview.

There are no financial benefits for participating in the study. However, you might see the following benefits from this research: raised awareness of the importance of home language maintenance and/or the benefits of bi/multilingualism. My research has shown that there is a lack of knowledge about the language choices of Pakistani Canadian families in the Peel Region; your child’s participation in this study will help to provide important information in that area from the perspective of the younger generation.

Your child’s name will not be used when data from this study are published. Every effort will be made to keep all research records, and other personal information confidential.

I will take steps to keep information confidential, and to protect it from unauthorized disclosure, tampering, or damage. Aside from me only my research supervisors Dr. Christine Connelly, Dr. Antoinette Gagne, and Dr. Julie Kerekes will be familiar with the contents of the data generated through questionnaire, observations and the interviews. After the completion of the interview, the conversation will be transcribed and all identifiable information such as personal names and names of locations will be coded. The transcriptions of the group interview will be shared with you and your family for a review and confirmation that all information has been recorded accurately. After the completion of the project all the audio and electronic data will be stored in my password protected personal laptop and the hard copies of the data will be stored in a locked cabinet at my residence.

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your child has the right not to participate at all or to leave the study at any time. Deciding not to participate or choosing to leave the study will not result in any penalty, and it will not harm his/her relationship with the researcher.
The anonymous findings of the study will be posted on the Facebook pages where the participants were recruited and they will also be passed on to Dr. Bashir and Mrs. Ali once the study is complete and the data has been analyzed.

You may also contact University of Toronto Office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-946-3273 if you have any concerns about the rights of participants and/or any further questions about the study.

Thank you for your time.
Yours sincerely,

Tasneem Ahmed

Permission for a Child to Participate in Research

PART A TO BE COMPLETED BY THE YOUNG PERSON.

I agree to take part in the study on Language Choices of Pakistani Canadians in the Peel Region and would like to take part in (please tick one or more of the following)

☐ a group interview with all the family members present
☐ an individual interview
☐ Follow-up communication via email, phone or Skype

I have read and understood the accompanying letter and information leaflet. I know what the study is about and the part I will be involved in. I know that I do not have to answer all of the questions and that I can decide not to continue at any time.

Name __________________________
Signature _______________________
Age__________________

PART B TO BE COMPLETED BY THE PARENT/GUARDIAN

I have read and understood the accompanying letter. As parent or legal guardian, I authorize ___________________________ (child’s name) to become a participant in the research study described in this form.

Child’s Date of Birth: __________________________

Parent or Legal Guardian’s Signature: ______________________ Date: __________

Upon signing, the parent or legal guardian will receive a copy of this form, and the original will be held in the subject’s research record.

Please return the electronic copy to tasneem.ahmed@utoronto.ca.
Appendix C. Background Questionnaire

Family Code:________

LANGUAGE CHOICES OF PAKISTANI CANADIAN IN THE PEEL REGION

In order to better understand the factors that influence peoples’ choices about the languages they learn and use; I would like to obtain some information about language knowledge, and language use in the home. I would be very thankful if you would complete this 8-10 minute questionnaire about yourself.

Please fill in one questionnaire per person. Parent(s)/primary caregiver may fill for child(ren) below 7

1) Please provide your name and age. Full Name: _______________________________ Age: _____

2) What is/are your preferred language(s) in the following settings? Select the appropriate column with a tick (√). In the topmost colored row of the last two columns, write the name(s) of language(s) you use.

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3) Given the following activities, roughly how many hours do you spend in language(s) known to you on a daily (D) and weekly (W) basis? In the coloured row write the name(s) of the language(s) you use. (Write E for English; P for Pushto; Pb for Punjabi. Write the name of the activity for ‘Other’ in the last column).

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<th>Eat</th>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Run errands</th>
<th>Watch/ read News</th>
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<th>Surf net</th>
<th>Chat social media</th>
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Thank you

Tasneem Ahmed
Appendix D. Family/Group Interview Questions

The following questions will be used for the interview. Some of the questions will be modified based upon the responses of the participants to the answers given for other questions. The questions will be simplified in the language that the respondents feel comfortable in if that is requested.

1. Can you tell me a little about yourself and your own personal “language history”? Can you tell me a bit more about your children’s language histories (for children below 7)?

2. What languages have you come into contact with in your lifetime, and what were their influences on your thinking about languages, your use of language(s)? What motivates you to learn a language? What language(s) do you use most often for various purposes at home?

3. A) Do you have clear cut language rules/policy at home?
   a) Why did you/did you not develop this rule/policy?
   b) If you have them, please elaborate upon the rules/policy.
   c) How do you implement the policy?

   B) Do you/your children follow the language rules/policy? (For those who acknowledge that they have a home language policy.) What happens if children (to parents)/you (to children) do not follow the rule/policy?

4. In your opinion do you speak your home language well? Please give reasons for your answer. How did you learn your home language(s)? (For parents & children born in Canada, as well as those who started schooling in Canada)

   A) If the family reports that they or their child(ren) has/have good command of the home language: What factors do you attribute to a good command of your home language(s) among your children? Any other factors that were involved? (possible prompts: interaction with families of the same language group; presence of grandparents; extended (summer break) or frequent travels to the country of origin; exposure to media in their home language)

   B) If the family indicates low proficiency or low communication rate in the home language: What do you think are the reasons of the lack of knowledge/skills and usage of the home language in your child?

   C) Do you mix languages? What makes you do that? Is it good to mix languages? Is it good for your home language? Do you think it may change your home language? Do you think the languages change over time?

5. Do you think that it is necessary to maintain your home language? Please give reasons for your answer.
6. A) Do you think that a good command of home language helps in learning the school language? If YES, how do you think that can be achieved?
   B) (Children) Do you think learning the home language(s) (spoken by your parents) is good for you? Please give reasons for your response.

7. (Parents) Did you expect that your children would miss something in their home language or lose it altogether because of living in Canada? What do you think about that?
   (Children) Did you face any learning problems due to English/French language after moving to Canada? Please give some details of those problems.

8. Did you face any challenges/issues in maintaining your home language? What do you think is the future of Urdu and other languages (other than English and French) that you speak in Canada?
Appendix E. Children’s Follow-Up Interview Questions

The same questions will be used for the interview. Some of the questions will be modified based upon the responses of the participants to the answers given for other questions. The questions will be simplified in the language that the respondents feel comfortable in if that is requested.

Any of the questions in Appendix C-1 may be revisited upon indication from the children, especially Q. #s 3 B; 4 B & C; 5, 6 & 7

1. Would you like to add anything to the previous discussion we have had in the company of your parents?
Appendix F. Text for Facebook Page/email communication

Hello! My name is Tasneem Ahmed. I’m writing because I received your signed consent forms and I was wondering whether you might still be interested in participating in the study.

**If so:**

Thank you so much! What would be the most convenient timing for you? We would need about 90 minutes together at a time that all of the members of the family who had wanted to participate could be present.

Where would you like to meet? I could come to your home if that is easiest, or we could meet at a nearby library/community centre or a coffee shop or wherever you prefer.

Could you please tell me the address?

Is there a phone number where I can reach you in case we need to get in touch?

Looking forward to meeting you then!

**If not:**

I understand. Not to worry at all. Thank you very much for your time.

Yours Sincerely

Tasneem Ahmed

Tel: 289-997-4323

Email: tasneem.ahmed@utoronto.ca
Appendix G. Family Tree Template

Legend:

GP: Grandparents
P: Parents
C: Children
Appendix H. Recruitment Flyer

Dear Pakistani Canadians:

- My name is Tasneem Ahmed and I am interested in learning more about how your family views and uses your home language(s).
- I would like to interview your family to understand the home language use and choices among the people of Pakistani origin who have made Canada their home!

You can participate!
If you have at least one child who:
- a) has studied/studies in public educational system in Canada; and/or
- b) is an adult and works

If you agree to contribute to the study you are expected to do the following:
1. Sign an informed consent form
2. Be willing to participate in a group interviewed at a mutually agreed time and place for around 90 minutes.
3. Allow the principal investigator to take notes and record the interview
4. Talk to me individually if you wish to share something more.

Who to contact:
Tasneem Ahmed
289-997-4323
Tasneem.ahmed@utoronto.ca

During the interview, you will be asked to talk about:
- language(s) you use at home
- importance of maintaining home language(s)
- ways you transmit your home language to your child(ren)
- are your child(ren) able to acquire your home language(s)
- the challenges you face(d) in teaching your home language to your child(ren)

REST assured:
- All the information you share will remain confidential
- Pseudonyms will be used
- You may decline to answer any specific questions
- You are free to change your mind at any time, and withdraw
- All recordings, transcriptions, and the data will be destroyed after five years of the collection of the data.

KNOW YOUR RIGHTS:
Have any questions about your rights as research participants?
Please contact University of Toronto Office of Research Ethics at:
ethics.review@utoronto.ca
or call 416-946-3273
Appendix I: List of the Facebook Pages where the Recruitment Flyer was Posted

1) Association for the Development of Pakistan (6,592 followers);  
2) Association of Pakistani Engineers in Canada (APEC) (43 members);  
3) Campaign Against Drones in Pakistan (497 likes);  
4) Canada Pakistan Trade & Business Association (46 member);  
5) IMG's from Pakistan in Canada (1,191 likes);  
6) IMG STUDY GROUP (772 likes);  
7) Soul Sisters, Pakistan (1,540 members),  
8) Muslim Moms of Mississauga / Oakville & all GTA (1,566 members),  
9) Pakistan Development Fund (P.D.F) (1,103 likes);  
10) Pakistan Development Fund (P.D.F.) - McMaster University (366 members);  
11) Pakistan Development Fund (P.D.F) - Ryerson University (134 members);  
12) Pakistan Development Fund - University of Toronto (139 likes);  
13) Pakistan Development Fund (P.D.F) - University of Toronto (457 members) and  
14) Pakistani Muslim Moms in Canada (1,417 members).  
15) MuslimMoms.Ca (731 likes)

37 Statistics were collected the day the flyer was posted.