"Bright future is

English international

language"

Bangladeshi Italians in east London

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Chapter 1.

Introduction

This project is an ethnographic case study of a group of migrants recently arrived from Italy to settle in the UK. The sociolinguistic interest in the group I am calling 'Bangladeshi Italians' stems from the fact that they are highly mobile individuals. They have migrated at least twice and as a consequence have complex multilingual repertoires stemming from a whole variety of contexts and life experiences. I first became interested in this group 3 years ago when they started arriving in the UK and enrolled as ESOL students in Tower Hamlets College where I work as a teacher. At about the same time the Italian Bangladeshi Welfare association was established, suggesting recognition within the Bangladeshi community of east London, both of a distinct group and of significant numbers to warrant a separate association.

The project draws on theories of language ideology to explore the groups' attitudes and beliefs pertaining to their multilingual repertoire. As Woolard (1998:3) points out, 'ideologies are not about language alone. Rather they envision and enact ties of languages to identity, to aesthetics to morality and epistemology'. This makes language ideology a useful research lens through which to observe social processes such as migration. The study investigates, predominantly, how the participants talk about the languages, registers and styles that make up their communicative repertoire and the part these language resources have to play in their lifestyle and life choices. It also looks at their accounts of their own language practices. If, as

Blommaert (2010.5) argues, 'complex mobility, associated with superdiversity, causes people's patterns of language use to become less predictable and significantly more complex', then we can expect to observe the same complexities in beliefs about and attitudes towards language. This study therefore investigates the link between these transnational super-mobile migrants and the ideologies underpinning their ideas about language. As part of this study I will address the following research questions.

1. What are the language ideologies underpinning explicit and implicit comments about their own communicative repertoires?
2. How far can these language ideologies be seen to have impacted on their migration trajectories?
3. How far can experiences of migration or transnationalism be seen to impact on explicit or implicit beliefs about language?

To date there have been no sociolinguistic studies which focus on this particular group of migrants. Other studies which have focussed on the Bangladeshi community have focussed on multilingual practices first and foremost (Creese and Blackledge 2010), whereas the main focus of this study is on language ideologies. Few studies investigate first generation migrants so soon after arrival in the UK. I think that the timing of this study has allowed me to investigate this group whilst still in its mobile transnational state allowing a particular spotlight on mobility.

1.1 Context

The study is set against a backdrop in the UK of increasing hostility to migration. Although there is not the scope as part of this project to discuss this at length, it is worth noting that this group are migrating at a time when the border control politics of the European Union have intensified to the point that currently many European leaders are prioritising closed borders over averting humanitarian disaster. Already there have been thousands of deaths in the Mediterranean, with people fleeing war torn or highly dangerous areas of the world. Meanwhile, UK news coverage focuses on refugees at the France-UK border at Calais, who are taking desperate measures to cross the channel in order to settle in the UK.

In addition, headline news at the end of August 2015 reported that UK net migration had risen to a record high. The rise, mainly due an increase of migrants from the EU, was described by the immigration minister as 'deeply disappointing' (Travis 2015). While my participants are currently protected by freedom of movement within European borders, it is hard to see how, in the current political climate, this freedom will not be threatened. Already, the BBC (30 August 2015) have reported the home secretary Theresa May's statement that EU migrants will be targeted in an attempt to reduce immigration. My participants' feelings towards their new country, and possibly their future experiences here, will most certainly be affected by the anti-migration hysteria which has gripped much of current UK political and

popular discourse. Their hope of a 'bright future, sits in stark contrast to this.

1.2 Description of chapters

Four chapters follow this introduction. Chapter two investigates the field of current research relevant to the study. Chapter three outlines the research methodology and looks at both theoretical underpinnings of linguistic ethnography and the practical aspects of my own research. Chapter four centres on the description and interpretation of the data and conclusion.

Chapter 2. Review

of the literature

The overarching framework for this study is language and super-diversity and this will constitute the focus of the first part of this literature review. The two sections that follow focus on current research into language ideologies and ideologies of English (as a global language) and I will explore the research in these areas through the lens of super-diversity, globalisation and transnational identities. In the final section I will explore literature related to the most hegemonic language ideology, that of whole constituted and named languages.

2.1 What is super-diversity?

The term super-diversity was coined by sociologist Steven Vertovec (2001, 2007) in response to changes in migration patterns. He outlines a number of key differences in patterns and behaviours which distinguish current migration from previous migration patterns. These mainly constitute intensification of migration, increased complexity of migrant experiences and identities, alongside ease of transnational communication afforded by new technologies. In this context intensification refers, not to an increase in numbers of migrants, but to a more complex profile of migrants. Arnaut and Parkin (2013:1) state, 'While the amount of people migrating keeps rising at a steadily growing pace, the migration flows have radically diversified. This diversification applies not only to the range of migrant-sending and migrant-receiving countries, but also to the socio-economic, cultural, religious, and linguistic profiles of the migrants as well as to their civil status and their

migration trajectories'. Vertovec calls this 'diversification of diversity' (2007:1025) and argues that, simply 'observing ethnicity or country of origin provides a misleading, one dimensional appreciation of contemporary diversity' (ibid).

The other major difference put forward by Vertovec (2001:574) is increased contact with home nations and related consequences of this. He argues that, up until fairly recently migrants have tended to develop new identities based on contact with their new communities and their most ressing concern was how to adapt to host cultures and how to manage the effects of social exclusion from their new environment (Vertovec 2001). Although such concerns still remain important, he argues that they no longer constitute the whole picture and transnationalism is now a key concept in migration studies. He points out (2001:574) that, 'the past decade has witnessed the ascendance of an approach to migration that accents the attachments migrants maintain to families, communities, traditions and causes outside the boundaries of the nation-state to which they have moved.' In other words, national identities, which previously tended to be based on memories of country and culture of origin, became rather more diluted as time went on and what emerged over time was what some have called hybrid identities, (Harris 2006). Now, however, migrants are more likely to maintain current, ongoing and dynamic transnational identities, living their lives across geographical space. Vertovec (2007: 1043) argues

that, 'the degrees to and the ways in which today's migrants maintain

identities, activities and connections linking them with communities outside

Britain are unprecedented.'

This change is understood to be mainly due to the ease of communication

afforded by the world wide web and related technologies, (Vertovec:2007,

Blommaert:2010). Appudurai, (cited in Androutsopoulos 2006:521)

describes this as 'virtual neighbourhoods of international electronic

communication'. Migrants have always relied on the latest communication

technology to maintain contacts with their homelands. For example

Jacquemet's 1996 study of Moroccan migrants to Italy shows how video

technology was used to include migrants in special events back home such

as family weddings. 'Now, with the globalization of techniques of video

reproduction, sophisticated video cameras record the event down to the

most minuscule detail. The videotapes will then be viewed by whole groups

of migrants in the long nights of life away from home, allowing them to

keep in touch with their communities, to be informed of the latest news

(Ibid:381). Now, video tapes have been replaced by more immediate

technology, as the example of the 'Skype wedding' on page 32 shows. In

2004 Vertovec (cited in Androutsopoulos 2014:) remarked that thanks to

cheap telephone calls, 'It is now common for a single family to be stretched

across vast distances and between nation-states, yet still retain its sense of

collectivity.' In 2015, those cheap calls are now free calls. My participants

listed a number of technologies and applications such as Viber, Tango, Skype and Facebook, which allow them to be in constant, immediate free contact with the various communities they belong to.

Super-diversity is also understood as being directly linked to globalisation and its related economic, social and cultural changes. (Vertovec, 2007, Blommaert, 2010). Globalisation is a contested term and many scholars argue that globalisation in itself is not a new phenomenon but merely the name attached to this latest phase of capitalism. However, there is agreement among sociolinguists that the impact of globalisation represents a new and highly significant phase with regards to our understanding of language. Heller (2013:350) states, 'there is something about globalisation which is tied to language in some way worth remarking. Blommaert also argues (2010:2) that 'the traditional concept of 'language' is dislodged and destabilized by globalization'. Blommaert and Rampton (2011) talk about a 'paradigm shift' in linguistics and Arnaut and Parkin (2013) suggest that sociolinguistics need to engage with the 'repercussions' of this shift. I will explore this shift in the next subsection.

Language and Super-diversity

According to Blommaert (2010:5) complex mobility and frequent electronic contact associated with super-diversity causes 'people's patterns of multilingual language use to become less predictable and significantly more complex (2010: 5). Blommaert and Backus (2011:23) argue that we need a

new vision of languages, 'to encapsulate 'the real 'language' we have and

can deploy in social life…functionally distributed communicative resources,

constantly exhibiting variation and change'. In their 2011 position paper,

'Language and super-diversity', Rampton and Blommaert outline a number

of areas they consider to be worthy of exploration. The biggest paradigm

shift can be viewed as understanding a move from whole named languages

viewed as systems and attached to nations or communities, to

communicative repertoires or resources attached to individual speakers and

their biographies. According to Blommaert (2010:8) these communicative

repertoires may not resemble whole languages. He terms this 'truncated

repertoires', which he describes as 'highly specific 'bits' of language and

literacy variables combined in a repertoire that reflects the fragmented and

highly diverse life trajectories- and environments of [new migrants]'

Jacquemet, (2005: 264) uses a similar analysis when describing

transidiomatic practices employed by super-diverse or 'recombinant'

identities. He argues that, 'the lenses we usually adopt in looking at

language must be significantly altered to accommodate for communicative

phenomena produced by recombinant identities, even if these phenomena

lack grammatical and syntactical order, or cannot even be recognized as

part of a single standardisable code.' Language in the age of globalisation

and transnational mobility therefore may look very different to our current

imaginings of it. The thread of this paradigm shift runs through the whole of

this research project and I will return and explore it further in subsequent sections.

Super-diversity and language ideologies

As we have seen, the advent of globalisation, increased mobility and speed of communication via technology has challenged what are now considered to be insufficient or inadequate notions of essentialised categories of 'community', 'speech community' or even language itself. This problematizing of fixed categories has precipitated particular attention towards language ideologies. Duchene et al point out, 'Globalisation and mobility in the late modern context gave the notion [of ideology] new urgency' (2013:5). In the next section of the review therefore, I will explore a range of recent critical studies which investigate attitudes to language.

2.2 Language ideologies

There have been a number of authors, among them Kroskrity (1998, 1999, 2000, 2006), Shieffelin and Woolard (1998), Blommaert (1999), whose writings have made ideology of language into a distinct sub discipline of sociolinguistics. Most recent authors refer back to Michael Silverstein (1979:193) who describes language ideologies as, 'any sets of beliefs about languages articulated by the users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use.' Moreover, as Kroskrity (2000:8)

argues, 'a member's notions of what is , "true," "morally good", or "aesthetically pleasing" about language and discourse are grounded in social experience and often demonstrably tied to his or her political-economic interests.' According to Kroskrity (2006) language ideologies are, 'beliefs, feelings and conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political and economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation states. Blackledge (2000:6) talks about 'ways in which language uses and beliefs are linked to relations of power and political arrangements in societies'. Language ideologies therefore, can help give an insight into the workings of power and how language is appropriated by powerful elites, for example in education or language polices, to maintain dominance.

Individual agency and awareness

However, Kroskrity (2007:518) points out, 'language ideologies are not merely those ideas which stem from the ''official culture'' of the ruling class but rather a more ubiquitous set of diverse beliefs, however implicit or explicit they may be, used by speakers of all types as models for constructing linguistic evaluations and engaging in communicative activity'. Indeed, among critical sociolinguists there is a general consensus that language ideologies are carried at both macro and micro levels. At a macro level they are attached to whole periods of histories and linked to language and institutional policies. Macro level ideologies account for many of the 'common

sense' normative ideologies held by individual speakers, including the existence of whole bounded languages for example, the link between a nation state and a language or the centrality of the mother tongue. At a micro level the situation may look rather different and as Duchêne et al point out, ' a balance needs to be struck between tracing the larger discourses about, for example, what constitutes acceptable language(s) and attending to the small scale interactive moments within which both larger discourses lurk and also the resistances and alternatives to them' (2013:5).

Rampton explores this contradiction in his 1995 study on language crossing among urban youth. (1995:303). He points out that the language practice of 'crossing' contradicts the established ideology of 'ethnic absolutism'. Incorporating language 'belonging' to another ethnicity into one's own repertoire suggests rejection or contestation of established or normative ideologies with respect to ethnic absolutism. This 'rejection' of established ideologies emerges unconsciously from situated language practice. 'Crossing rose out of solidarities and allegiances that were grounded in a range of non-ethnic identities- identities of neighbourhood, class, gender, age, sexual orientation, role and so on' (Ibid). The question when looking at how normative ideologies are diffused in practice therefore is not always how much they are explicitly contested by speakers but whether local practice appears to be at discord with the more established ideologies circulating. As Rampton points out, 'if ethnic absolutism had been completely hegemonic

in the network I studied, language crossing would have been unacceptable' (Ibid: 299). When using language ideologies as a framework therefore it is important to look at explicit value judgements made about language and language use but also to how dominant ideologies are played out in usage.

Language ideologies and migration

As I mentioned, many established or hegemonic language ideologies circulating throughout the world are tied up with political notions of the nation state and therefore are particularly relevant when discussing migration. This is often described as the 'one nation one language' ideology and relates to the belief that language and geography are inevitably tied together and moreover that a sense of national identity is always linked to the language of that nation. According to Wollard (1998:16) 'the identification of a language with a people and a consequent diagnosis of peoplehood by the criterion of language have been the fundamental tenets of language ideology.' She also states, (1998:16) that this ideology is 'globally hegemonic'. Blackledge focuses on the proliferation of monolingual language ideologies relating to nation building. He argues, citing Hobsbawn, 'that at the heart of linguistic nationalism is not so much communication, as questions of power, status, politics and ideology' (2000:30). It is interesting to look at the importance of this ideology in the history of Bangladesh.

Durrani (2012: 35) cites Jinnah's 1948 speech to the Bangladeshi people in Dhaka, in which he attempted to push the one nation one language ideology:

'The State Language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language. Anyone who tries to mislead you is really the enemy of Pakistan. Without one State language, no nation can remain tied up solidly together and function.'

After the Bangladesh liberation war in 1971, language was very much linked to the building of the new Bangladesh. Although the origins of the 1971 war were certainly more complex, it is described in popular accounts as a war for the Bengali language. Durrani (2012:36) states, 'language policy is but one aspect of the complex political, social, and economic factors that led to Bangladesh's eventual independence in 1971, but language issues certainly sowed the seeds of discontent.'

Of course the one language one nation ideology is by no means just confined to Bangladesh, but has long been considered an inextricable part of nation building. However, the age of globalisation and mobility makes the link between language and nation state more complex and difficult to sustain. Heller (2008:510) argues the 'fuzziness' or 'messy' parts of diversity and multilingualism are always going to clash with the dominant ideology of 'one language one nation'. She goes on to argue, as do others (for example

Blommaert and Rampton 2011), that in the age of mobility and globalisation 'it is increasingly difficult for [nation states] to impose fictive linguistic, cultural homogeneity within their boundaries' (2008: 513).

Language hierarchies

Very much related to the ideology of 'one nation one language' is the idea of a hierarchy of languages. Language hierarchy ideologies not only rank languages in terms of status and prestige but also link the languages to ideas about the speakers of these languages. As I have already highlighted 'Ideologies of language are not about language alone, but are always socially situated and tied to questions of identity and power in societies'(Woolard cited in Blackledge 2000:27). Even a cursory lookback to the history of slavery or colonialism will immediately reveal how language hierarchies are linked with power and domination. Schwab et al (1990:4) explain in their resource manual for adult literacy educators in the UK, why 'although Creole languages exist all over the world and are studied and documented seriously by linguistics, historically they have been treated with disdain and regarded as 'broken' or 'bad' European languages.' They state, 'Caribbean Creole languages came about as a result of the violent and unequal contacts between Africans and Europeans during the Atlantic Slave Trade[….] in order to justify slavery, black people were regarded as inferior and the languages they created were held in contempt by the white rulers' (ibid).

Standard varieties of languages are linked with class advantage and powerful institutions and are generally judged as superior to vernacular forms and can be used as a basis for discrimination. Wollard (1998: 19) cites the example of Received Pronunciation in English, a variety which indexes social standing and even intellectual superiority. In this sense, where power is used to reinforce linguistic inequality, the use of non-standard forms are considered as a threat to that power.

Hierarchies, therefore, are applied to 'whole', named languages or to varieties of particular languages. In the case of whole languages the ideological ranking is generally determined by the political and economic power of the nation where that language is spoken. It is no co-incidence that English, considered to be the most influential global language, is attached to the political economic power of the United States and former colonial expansion of the UK. Other important world languages, such as French and Spanish, are also linked with past colonial expansion. The rise of the status of Mandarin is attached to the rise of the Chinese economy and so on. The position of English as a world language is particularly key for this study and I will focus on this in the next section of the review.

2.3 Ideologies of English as a world or global language

When investigating my data there was a plethora of references to English as a global language. In this sense it is clear that for my participants English

affords something other than just communication, almost as if knowledge of

English is perceived as a new basic skill, an essential add-on to other skills,

knowledge and attributes. In the final part of this review therefore, I will

look at work that takes a critical look at the origins and the proliferation of

this ideology. Firstly, I will briefly explore the literature relating to the

perceived importance of English on a world scale. This includes reference to

linguistic imperialism, globalisation and commodification processes. I will

then investigate work which questions the pre-eminence of English pointing

towards misrecognition of the powerful discourse and the effects this might

have. Finally, I will explore recent work which orients us to an alternative

understanding of what might be happening to English as a global language

as it is diffused in localities around the world, linked with critiques about the

reification of language in general.

Linguistic imperialism

Philipson (1992), one of the most prominent authors on 'Linguistic

imperialism', argues that the global spread of English has been created by

the economic ambitions of world powers such as the UK, and, more

importantly in terms of economic weight, the US in order to maintain

economic advantage and dominance. This dominance dates back to the

colonial period but continues in different forms to date. He states, 'it has

been British and US government policy since the mid-1950s to establish

English as a universal "second language" so as to protect and promote capitalist interests' (1992:63 cited in Pennycook 1994). According to Pennycook (1994-35) English is 'linked to social and economic power both within and between nations, to the global diffusion of particular forms and knowledge, and to inequitable structures of international relations'.

He (2010: 76) outlines three key historical phases in the development of English, 'the role of English under colonialism, the subsequent role of English in India […]and the more recent dominance of English as a global language'. I will focus mainly on this more recent dominance of English as a global language and the development of English as a commodity. According to Heller (2008:15) former colonial powers are able to repackage their national languages and sell them to the world in a commodified form that is more acceptable than political dominance. She states that they have successfully avoided claims of neo-colonialism by seeking to, 'redefine themselves as possessors of linguistic capital understood in its most basic sense as a technical communicative tool' (ibid).

Gray (2012:138) also remarks that, 'those languages which may provide their speakers with a competitive edge in the job market are frequently packaged, promoted and sold in terms of the potential economic reward or the opportunities they can bring'. It is interesting to explore some of these ideas in relation to Bangladesh. Seargeant and Erling (2011) have investigated language ideologies relating to a UK government programme of

development for the promotion of English in Bangladesh. They assert that the rise of English in Bangladesh is a very recent phenomenon due to the successful suppression of English historically by the national governments of Pakistan and subsequently Bangladesh in favour of national languages (see Durrani 2012). This led to what they call a 'serious decline in the standard and status of English in Bangladesh, despite the expansion in the wider world of English linguistic globalisation.' They go on to say, however, that recently there has been 'renewed awareness of the importance of English' and they argue that there is now 'an established discourse, both in the popular imagination and in academic research, of English as a 'global language' – of English being the pre-eminent language for international communication and thus an important, if not vital, element in the skill-set necessary for successful participation in 21st century society' (2011:4).

This ideology has now become so strong that, again according to Seargeant and Erling, (2011:8) 'this belief in global English is now mostly accepted as a 'done deal'. Indeed, it is an attitude that is so entrenched in contemporary thinking and has become such a commonsensical notion that it is rarely stated explicitly in language policy documents".

What is the power of English?

Although this ideology has taken hold and is clearly influencing my own participants, there are a number of studies which urge caution when

considering the position of English as a global language. Seargeant and Erling (2011:10) point out that even when enhanced employment opportunities with English occur they do so, 'only within the pre-existing hierarchical social structure, so that certain groups, particularly women, have less access to such opportunity whatever the level of their English language competence'.

Such studies challenge the, 'bright futures', notion and suggests that people in search of English to secure their economic future, may well be 'misrecognising' the power of English as an international language.

There have, however, also been numerous critiques of the idea of linguistic imperialism. One argument to be explored is how much of the power of English is material reality and how much of it is representational reality. Holborow provides a critique of the very idea that a language could be analogous to the real material, coercive power used by states for imperial expansion. She further argues, (2012:28) 'extending the application of capital to language, to culture, to social attributes or indeed to humans, may itself be an outcome of neoliberal thinking that converts everything into a product'. Language, according to Holborow acts differently than real coercive power as it can also be used by populations to resist. 'The dominance of English,' she says, 'does not preclude it from being used to denounce western culture' (Ibid: 28) and ultimately she argues that to fuse

a dominant language with a dominant ideology means to assign a

functionalist role to English within global capitalism.

 This dynamic of representation versus reality is interesting when

considering my data and the majority of my participants who appear to

have, on the basis of language or representational ideologies of English,

acted on the material reality of their own lives, for example housing,

employment, family income.

While no author denies the spread of English in the world today, there are

arguments around who 'owns' it and whether English is mainly in the hands

of the powerful promoting social inequality or whether there is also power

in the hands of more dynamic and creative social processes from below.

Beyond reification: messiness, fuzziness, mobility and practice

I will now investigate some recent studies which offer an alternative view of

English in a globalised world. According to Pennycook, approaches to global

English are more often than not, stuck within twentieth century frameworks

of languages and nations. He goes on to say (2010: 86) that if 'the ways we

think about language are inevitably products of particular historical

contexts, then an age of globalisation suggests that we need to reflect on

how and why we look at language as separate, countable, describable

entities in the way we do and to consider that languages may be undergoing

such forms of transition to require new ways of conceptualisation in terms of local activities, resources or practices'. Indeed many have pointed out, the position of English as a global language, both from the point of view of its promoters and its many opponents rests on its reification. Jacquemet (2005:260) critiques linguistic scholars on this matter, 'they have reified the notion of language, relegating it to bounded areas, clear confines, and homogeneous communities'. 'In so doing, the majority of scholars interested in language failed to investigate the linguistic mutations resulting from communicative practices happening in the multiple crevasses, open spaces, and networked ensembles of contact zones' (Ibid:261). Recently, however, many sociolinguists have begun to counter the hegemonic idea of languages as unified entities. Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) talk about 'metrolingualism', Blackledge and Creese (2000), 'translanguaging', Blommaert (2010), 'truncated repertoires' and Rampton 'crossing' (1995) to express multilingual practices which appear to challenge traditional ideas of language as whole and bounded. These ideas are still being contested and in practice it is sometimes difficult to ascertain whether multilingual practices are a result of more traditional code switching associated with more stable multi lingual communities using two or more languages in a more structured, systematic way. Blommaert (2010:180) suggests replacing the structural notion of language with the concept of 'voice', […]which refers to the way in which people actually deploy their resources in communicative practice.' In this way, 'traditional notions related to

multilingualism, such as code-switching, then become moments of voice in which people draw resources from a repertoire that contains materials conventionally associated with language.' Ultimately, however, definition rests on the perspective of the researcher.

Certainly, the focus on English as the number one single most powerful language in the globe today rests on the traditional understanding that languages exist as entities, to be named, counted, ranked and ascribed value. Blommaert, Canagarajah, Pennycook, Jacquemet and Heller all challenge this notion in different but related ways. Canagarajah asks the following questions: "How do people live with these tensions in their day to day life? How do they transform these constraints in their favour? How do they creatively manipulate these tensions? (1999:76). Heller suggests a focus on 'processes and practices' to 'overcome the traditional ideas of 'communities' and 'identities' (2008:506). Similarly, Pennycook formulates his argument in terms of 'language as a local practice (2010)'. His challenge to the global hegemony of English is to contest an epistemological perspective on English emanating from a powerful centre (UK and US) to a less powerful periphery. He challenges us instead to view English and all other language resources as spreading from local practice, seeing practice itself as the source of language. This gives a completely different perspective on the power of global English. He compares this idea to Canagarajah's description of Lingua Franca English. Canagarajah states that,

'LFE is not a product located in the mind of the speaker, it is a social process constantly reconstructed' (cited in Pennycook 2010:85). We can also return here to Jacquemet's 'transidiomatic practices'. 'Speakers use a mixture of languages in interacting with friends and co-workers, read English and other ''global'' languages on their computer screens, watch local, regional, or global broadcasts, and listen to pop music in various languages. Most of the times, they do so simultaneously. In this logic, we should rethink the concept of communication itself, no longer embedded in national languages and international codes, but in the multiple transidiomatic practices of global cultural flows (2005:274).

All of the studies I have mentioned above, pose a challenge to the way in which language is viewed and therefore a challenge to many deep seated language ideologies which rest of the reification of language. This challenge has emerged from the particular social, economic and political conditions created by migration and mobility in the globalised world. As Pennycook (2010:86) says, 'if it is clear that the ways we think about language are inevitably products of particular historical contexts, then an age of globalisation suggests that we need both to reflect on how and why we look at languages as separate countable entities in the way we do and consider that languages may be undergoing such forms of transition as to require new ways of conceptualisation'.

An inevitable question in analysing my data therefore is how far can the ideologies held by my participants, as protagonists or 'recombinant identities' in this world, be viewed through these new lenses. What do they look like from the point of view of a researcher who has tried to step away from her own ideological, if critical, vision of a single, powerful, monolithic language?

Chapter 3.

Methodology

In this chapter I will firstly give some information about the participants in my study and the context in which the research took place. Secondly, I describe aspects of methodological framework I used for analysis, Linguistic Ethnography. I will go on to explain and briefly describe the processes involved including the interviewing process and the analytic framework I used for looking at the data. Finally I will outline some limitations of my study.

3.1 Context

The case study in this project centres on the group 'Bangladeshi Italians'. This relatively new group of migrants began to arrive in east London in significant numbers from various Italian cities around 2012/13 to settle among the long established Sylheti community of Tower Hamlets. This new migration is undoubtedly starting to change the face of the Bangladeshi diaspora in east London. Although the Sylheti Bangladeshis have never, of course, been a homogeneous group, they certainly have some common characteristics, such as shared language, cultural practices and reason for migration, mainly to work in the previously flourishing manufacturing industry in east London, fleeing persecution as a result of the 1971 war and, more recently, family reunion. Similarly the Italian Bangladeshi group are clearly very diverse but they also have many shared biographical experiences which differentiate them from their Sylheti neighbours. They have vastly different language repertoires than the Sylheti speakers as most

have come originally from the Dhaka region of Bangladesh where most

people speak standard Bengali or Dhakaiya, the local variety, and they also

speak Italian. Although Sylheti Bangladeshis have always kept close ties with

Bangladesh, what we are seeing among the Bangladeshi Italians is not so

much close links, but literally people living in various places simultaneously,

described by Vertovec (2001:2015) as 'here' and 'there', moving frequently

between Bangladesh and Europe both digitally and physically. A relevant

example of this from my data comes from one participant who organised a

cross continental 'Skype wedding' for her cousin who was living in Italy. He

was unable to travel to Bangladesh for his own wedding due to business

commitments. My participant suggested they do the whole thing over the

internet and thus ensued a wedding in the age of transnationalism. This

included the whole range of ceremonies and parties required, taking place

in both countries and lasting over a period of days, connected by computer

screens.

The transnational nature of the Bangladeshi Italian lives and identities has

led to an ever increasing complexity of individual subjectivities within the

Tower Hamlets Bangladeshi community. They are often living parallel but

very different identities simultaneously. For example their transnational self

may reflect a middle class identity whilst their actual lived experiences

correspond to a more working class identity at the forefront of struggles for

decent housing for example.

As part of this study I worked with eleven Bangladeshi Italians. My participants are all middle aged and all have school aged children who were born either in Italy or Bangladesh. They migrated from Bangladesh to various parts of Italy from the late 1990s to early 2000s, settled there and built families and careers there. They have now lived in the UK from between one and three years. They are either Italian passport holders or spouses of Italian citizens and therefore have freedom of movement within the European Union. They all live in privately rented accommodation in Tower Hamlets. Only one participant, the man, is currently in employment, working in an Italian restaurant in central London. (See appendix 2 for more information about participants).

3.2 Linguistic Ethnography

For this research project I have chosen to do a qualitative group case study which draws on Linguistic ethnography as its methodological framework. Linguistic ethnography has been developed from a range of disciplines in the social sciences, such as anthropology, sociology and linguistics. It allows the researcher to investigate language as inextricably linked to social processes.'

Heller (2008:250) describes linguistic ethnography as a discovery of, 'how language practices are connected to the very real conditions of people's

lives[…] how and why language matters to people in their own terms.' She goes on to say that ethnographies, 'allow us to tell a story [..] which illuminate social processes and generates explanations for why people do and think the things they do' (Ibid: 250). As my research questions focus on societal factors that may impact on language use, or in this case language ideology, I consider linguistic ethnography as an appropriate methodological framework.

There are different levels of ethnography which are also used in Linguistic Ethnography. Green and Bloome, (cited in Rampton et al 2014:18) outline three approaches. Full ethnography entails ranging 'the broad, in-depth and long-term study of a social or cultural group.' 'Adopting an ethnographic perspective', is a 'more focused approach… to study particular aspects of everyday life and cultural practices […] fusing theories of culture and inquiry practices derived from anthropology or sociology'. Finally, 'using ethnographic tools' entails simply making use of data collection methods common to ethnography such as participant observation. According to this framework 'adopting an ethnographic perspective' would be the most apt description of my project.

Linguistics and ethnography

Most Linguistic ethnographers highlight the benefits of the combination between ethnography, which is a multi-disciplinary research framework,

and linguistics. Rampton et al (2004:4) describe this mutually beneficial coming together of two disciplines as 'tying ethnography down' to more empirical analysis and 'opening linguistics up' to processes which inevitably at times defy standardisation. Partly what distinguishes linguistic ethnography from ethnography in other academic disciplines is in fact the fine-tuned focus on language, normally by employing discourse analytic tools. According to Rampton et al (2004: 6), 'discourse analysis is often centrally involved in stepping back from easy flow of communicative practice, interrogating its components, underpinnings and effects.'

The researcher

Another key aspect to ethnography is the importance attached to the researcher. An understanding that there is 'no view from nowhere' allows ethnography to embrace the researcher's view as part of the process rather than seeing researcher objectivity as important. The question of 'insider' and 'outsider' researcher positions, therefore, is an important one in ethnography. Most ethnographers recognise that both these positions have important contributions to make to the ethnographic process and either of these positions, or, as is my case, a mixture of both, are considered possible, as long as, as part of the analysis, the researcher systematically develops an awareness of their own subjectivity and the role that this plays in the research process. Rampton et al (2014:3), drawing on Hymes, state that

'ethnography recognises the ineradicable role that the researcher's personal subjectivity plays through the research process.'

On the one the hand, familiarity of the insider position can allow the researcher to make culturally astute comments and analyses. On the other hand the outsider might notice things that the insider takes too much for granted. As Copland and Creese (2015: 13) point out, 'the institutions we know best, the routines we practice most and the interactions we repeatedly engage in are so familiar that we no longer pay attention to them'.

In my project my 'outsider' position allowed me to be curious about aspects that an 'insider' may not have noticed. For example the salience of the notion of 'English as an international language' as an unquestioned truth, struck me immediately as an area worthy of investigation.

3.3 My study

I will now go on to describe the way in which I drew upon Linguistic Ethnography to conduct my research. I will discuss data collection and fieldwork, the data analysis process and my own role as researcher before outlining some limitations of my study.

Data collection and interviewing

My main method of data collection was interviews. There are a lot of advantages to using interviews for researching understand attitudes and beliefs. According to Kvale (2007:13), 'qualitative interviews are increasingly employed as research method' and a key venue for exploring the ways in which subjects experience and understand their world'. Seale (1998:202) also points out that as well as being a very economical way of collecting data, 'the researcher can also use an interview to find out about things that cannot be seen or heard, such as the interviewees inner state- the reasoning behind their actions, and their feelings.'

In total I collected approximately 500 minutes of interview data over a period of 2 months. Most interviews were paired and lasted for a minimum of 30 minutes. All the interviews were semi structured around a set of prompt 'questions' (see appendix 3). I used both very open questions and some very direct ones and both types of questions produced interesting results. I also drew on some secondary data to support the interview data. These were: language diaries written by some of the participants, classroom transcripts provided by the other teacher, an interview with the other teacher and written work produced by the participants as part of their studies. Although this data was secondary and additional, it was useful to have other sources to draw on other than the interview data. In a larger ethnographic study it would have been necessary to have collected this kind

of data more systematically and incorporated it more fully into the central data analysis.

My role as researcher.

Crucial to using linguistic ethnographic methods was the access I have to the social world of my participants along with knowledge of issues of concern in their lives. Although it cannot be said, by any means, that I am an 'insider' to this group, I do share some important biographical experiences with them. I too migrated to Italy in the 1990s and lived in the area where there was a large number of Bangladeshis. I also worked alongside many Bangladeshi activists as part of a migrants' rights and solidarity campaign. Indeed, on interviewing one of my participants we discovered that we had actually met before in Rome in the mid-nineties.

Currently, my position as ESOL teacher, also gives me a certain degree of participation in their lives. I have been teaching four of my participants for three days a week for the past academic year time and I also taught three of the other participants in previous years. I met four participants for the first time as part of this research. My role as an ESOL teacher was crucial in the interviewing and analysing the data as I was able to fully understand their use of English. This may have been a barrier to another researcher, unfamiliar to working with second language speakers. Although, not a Bengali speaker, many years working with students with this language

background has allowed me to develop awareness of features of Bengali which are often transferred to English and could potentially cause communication problems. Where my participants' use of English may be unclear in the excerpts and examples I use, I will clarify the meaning using footnotes.

Of course there are many limitations to these shared experiences and biographies. I do not share their position as ethnic minority ESOL students. My position in the society in which we are all currently a part, is one of relative privilege as a middle class white women. I do not share their religious beliefs, nor parts of their linguistic repertoires, nor their cultural Bangladeshi heritage. These factors most certainly mean huge gaps in my own contextual understanding. However as someone who has taught and lived in this community for 18 years, sharing the same institutions, and services as well as many personal ties, I do have a degree of understanding of the issues they face. When interviewing the group I felt completely comfortable and felt that I had both a position of trust as a teacher and a position of familiarity due to many shared experiences, particularly in Italy.

 Another aspect of the interviews to take into account is how my own role as researcher influenced the data produced in the interviews. From a more macro level perspective, my role as teacher may have influenced some of the discussions, as participants may have been keen to portray themselves as particular kinds of language users. Most certainly what the participants

were prepared, whether consciously or unconsciously, to share with me would have been influenced by my 'insider' or 'outsider' position. For example they may have foregrounded the importance of English and as opposed to religion when talking about reasons for migration. Additionally, my own linguistic contributions to the unfolding of the interviews will have influenced the data. According to Mischler (cited in Copland and Creese 2015:36), the interview is, "a socially situated speech event in which interviewer(s), interviewee(s) make meaning, co construct knowledge and 'participate in social practice'. They go on to say that the researcher/ interviewer needs to recognise how, 'his/her , questions, assumption, attitudes and ideas both affect both the construction of the interview and the findings ' (Ibid: 37). As part of the analytical process I tried to be aware of how my questioning, interventions, choice of language and ideological stances, voice tone and other prosodic features may have influenced the data. Although there is not scope within this study to do an in-depth analysis of the researcher position across the whole data set, I found it useful nevertheless to reflect on the potential impact of this on the data. Some of my own ideologies that came to the fore when looking at my role in the interviews were: my own attachment to Italian; the rejection of standard languages versus varieties ideology and a pro-mother tongue schooling for children. These ideologies emerged not so much from explicit remarks, as I tried in my interview technique to not push my own view, but from prosodic features to show surprise or sadness embedded in my

questions and responses and repetition of certain questions when replies did not match my own attitudes. In a longer ethnographic study, it would be important to do a more systematic analysis of these processes.

Framework of analysis

The first part of my analysis consisted of drawing out themes from the data. After having completed all the interviews, I listened to each interview intensively. At this stage I didn't do any transcribing but jotted down notes on emerging themes and areas of interest after listening to each interview. The second stage of my analysis consisted of transcribing the each interview and then more closely identifying key themes. At this stage I revised the themes from stage one and spent more time making sure the emerging themes were closely tied to my research questions. About half way through transcribing the interviews in this way I arrived at four emerging themes which were closely linked both to the data and the research questions. As the interviews proceeded, so did my own reading and understanding of the field and although I hadn't realised this at the time, the interviews become more focused as a result. For me this reflected very much the dialogic process that occurred between reading and data collection and how both these processes fed into my approach to the analysis. Finally, after

transcribing or partly transcribing each interview I established the final set

of core themes around which I would conduct my analysis. The first three

themes concern the main named languages in the participants repertoire

and explore the ideologies underpinning their accounts of these:

 1) 'English international language is bright futures': Investment or

misrecognition?

 2) 'Bengali is my mother language': Ideologies of one nation one language.

3) 'Italian is only in Italy, useless': Hierarchies of languages.

 The final theme, 'Mix up': communicative repertoire versus whole

languages, looks at how the participants orient to the idea of

communicative repertoire, both explicitly and in accounts of their language

practices.

In the third stage of the analysis I read through all my transcripts and coded

the interviews numerically. I was looking for chunks that either particularly

exemplified a theme or which appeared to contradict a theme. I also looked

for areas of particular creativity. Once I had established the themes

emerging form the interviews I use the same numerical codes to analyse the

other secondary data.

After I had completed the thematic analysis, I went back to the highlighted

sections and, for parts that appeared to particularly exemplify a theme, I

used discourse analytic tools in order to interpret as accurately as possible

the meanings contained within each part. Linguistic elements highlighted

include presupposition, prosodic features, use of metaphor, paralinguistic

features, pronominalisation, collocation, lexical chains, repetitions and

choices of vocabulary. Looking at the more micro features in parts of the

text allowed me to obtain more depth to my understanding of the themes.

I also drew on the key theoretical concept of indexicality (Rampton et al

2014:8).

Limitations of my study.

There are a number limitations in my study. Firstly, there was an

overreliance on interview data. Although this was the most efficient method

of data collection in in the time I had available, the project would have

benefited from more systematic participant observation in the classroom

and by some interactional data. With more interactional data I would have

been able to do more comparison between stated ideologies and ideologies

revealed in actual practice. This is important in a study on language

ideologies because normative language ideologies are very pervasive and

tend to be part of explicit discourse, even when everyday language practices

show something very different. In order to compare the stated attitudes

and beliefs about language to their actual practice I mainly had to rely on

what they *told* me about their actual practice rather than observing it

myself. Such data must be used with due caution as Codó (2008:161) points

out: 'declarative data can never be employed as a substitute for data on

speakers actual linguistic behaviour. Self or other reports of [bilingual]

language practice may not match observed conduct since many phenomena

related to performance, like code switching, operate on a subconscious

level'.

I have tried to mitigate against this limitation in my interview technique by

striving to give the interviews a dual purpose, as interview data and also as

interactional data. Codó (Ibid:158) also observes this point out that, 'as a

verbal event, the interview is also an authentic communicative situation in

which naturally occurring talk is exchanged. Interviews may then be studied

as forms of social interaction and as sources of real language data, again as

long as the researcher is aware of the limitations.'

Secondly, there was limited scope for detailed micro analysis. As I was

working with a larger data set, my focus was mainly on breadth and drawing

out themes. Very detailed micro analysis would have been beyond the

scope of this project but more time to spend on this would have definitely

added to the understanding and insights gained.

Chapter 4. Analysis and discussion

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will focus on description and interpretation of the data. I will begin this analysis with a descriptive account, selecting relevant examples from the data and locating patterns relating to the four themes described on page 42. I will follow this with an interpretive section entitled 'discussion.'

According to Jaffe (2009:391), 'We find empirical traces of language ideologies in multiple types and levels of data. Language ideologies are reflected in explicit statements about language in metalinguistic discourse; they are refracted in practices that orient towards or draw upon ideologies as resources, and are also embedded as presuppositions of discourse.' Although investigation of my data led me to mainly comment on uptake, contestation and circulation of language ideologies, where possible I also commented on the production, where these ideologies may have been shaped. I looked for how far the participants contested normative ideologies, any contradictions in the data and ways in which they appeared to make use of language ideologies in their day to day lives.

4.2 'English international language is bright futures'

English language migrants

This section investigates the ideology that first led me to be interested in the 'Bangladeshi Italians'. That is, the belief that knowledge of English itself

is the key to a successful life. The migrants in my study do not describe themselves as 'economic migrants', nor refugees, nor migrating to join family. Instead they appear to describe themselves as, 'English language migrants', migrating to the UK expressly for language purposes. As I have said, when I first met people from this group in 2012, I was struck by the constant repetitions of reference to English as a global language as a reason for migration. I found it unusual for English to be talked about so categorically as the reason for coming to the UK. I had not heard this from other Bangladeshi students over the years, or indeed other nationalities. However, every person I came into contact with said the same thing and it was clear that this was a very powerful belief circulating in their social circle. In this study this appears again and again right across the data set. The following examples are just a snapshot but the full transcripts show the distribution and reproduction and production of this ideology.

In the extract that follows I am asking Muna and Ayesha why they migrated to the UK:

1. Becky: You both left Italy, what was the biggest reason for leaving?
2. Muna : I think **everbody** language1

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1 I think that everybody's reasons are for [English] language

Here, Muna believes she is not just describing her own reasons but *everbody's.* Similarly, the next extract sees Moriam misunderstand my question in line 3 and appears to churn out almost a stock answer.

1. **Becky:** when did you first think about moving to the UK? If you can

2. Remember

3. **Moriam**: Remember is language (…)English2

4. **Becky**: Ok, that's another question but my question is **when** (…)

5. when did you first think about it?

Farhana was the only participant who didn't cite English as being the main reason for migration, as we can see in the following extract.

Farhana: English no enough (..) my religion big subject. My children can go to the mosque (..)school is not enough

However, she frames her reasons in counter position to the 'English language migration' discourse. By doing so she highlights her awareness of the dominance of this discourse and makes it clear that hers is the unmarked response. She equates English with education here and states that this would not be a big enough reason for her to migrate, 'school is not enough'.

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2 I remember it was because of language- English

Another interesting point occurs in the data when Ayesha describes being

questioned by a local Sylheti woman about her reason for moving to the UK.

Her comment, 'People don't believe we came for English', presupposes that

she believes they did, in fact, come for English. Again, the use of **we** indexes

that English is perceived as the main reason for migration among all the

'Bangladeshi Italians.' These examples of presupposition give extra weight

to the more direct responses as they show how the ideology is deeply

embedded.

 Investment in children's future

There are a lot of references in the data to the current ideology of English

associated with upward social mobility, deferred to sometime in the future.

The most salient aspect of this particular discourse is the use of the 'bright'

metaphor. This was particularly evident with the 'bright futures' collocation

which was used by every single participant, and many used it on multiple

occasions. Below, we see Nazma describing her reasons for migration.

Nazma: I came to UK for bright future for my children first of all.

The next extract shows Moriam using the same metaphor over and over

again,

You know that Italian language you can go past the border, useless (..)

nobody speak Italian (..) only in Italy Italian language but is future bright (…)

bright futures is English international language (..) everywhere use and

every parents think her children future bright (..) a bright future.

There is an uncritical acceptance across the board of status of English and

the ability of the language to fulfil social aspirations. It is interesting

however to notice that the comments lack specific reference to any

economic advantage. Although three of the participants mention fear of the

decline of the Italian economy, they do not counter that with perceptions

about the strength or otherwise of the UK economy. They appear to be

saying it is the English Language rather than the UK economy which will give

them the bright future they hoping for. The bright future metaphor

contrasts starkly with the descriptions of the current reality of their lives,

which are anything but bright. All my participants describe having left

economic security, and in some cases, what they portray as a very

comfortable life in Italy for a life of economic hardship in the UK.

The following extract shows this very clearly

1. **Becky:** Do you feel poor?

2. **Ayesha:** yeah yeah yeah

3. **Becky:** how does that feel? cause that's a big change isn't it?

4. **Ayesha**: [yeah]

5. **Muna:** yeah

6. **Muna:** we feel poor (..)poor people

7. **Ayesha:** poor and poor

8. **Muna:** we are not (xxxxxxx) (<u>Bengali</u>) 3 freedom

9. **Ayesha**: we have not freedom

10. **Muna:** we haven't freedom yeah

11. **Becky:** and can you see that changing in the future? how long do you think

12. you're going to be in this situation for?

13. **Ayesha**: I don't know (laughs)

14. **Muna:** If our children is good find one good job I think we are free and this

15. is our success, if our children is good education and get one good job

16. that's our everything who I am I lost, it doesn't matter

17. **Ayesha:** If our children is good I think we win our life

18. **Becky:** but you're patient, you're waiting for that

19. **Muna:** waiting for our children, their future, bright future, for their

20. bright future, if they good(…) if they don't good (..) I don't know (laughs)

In this extract we can see very clearly from the repetition of *poor*, the

juxtaposition between their perception of their current situation they find

themselves in, and the hope that their children will find a good job in the

future. If this happens, says Muna, then the losses they themselves have

sustained will make sense. This extract is a rare moment in the data-set in

which one of the participants attempts to construct an argument, however

vague, linking 'English is Bright futures' with a concrete idea of what this

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3 She used Bengali to ask Ayesha for a translation of the word *freedom*.

means in real terms, i.e children getting a good job and supporting the family. In most other examples, what 'bright futures' actually means is unqualified. This suggests that it is indeed the case, as suggested by Seargeant and Erling, (2011:8) 'this belief in global English is now mostly accepted as a 'done deal'. Indeed, it is an attitude that is so entrenched in contemporary thinking and has become […] a commonsensical notion.' In other words the ideology is so embedded it does not need any further explanation.

Risk

There is, however, evidence that this certainty and the 'commensensical notions of English,' are beginning to unravel when faced with the difficulties of life in the UK. Across the data set, there is a prevalence of metaphors that can be linked to a recognition of the risks the participants have taken in their investment in 'English.' In the previous extract on pages 50 and 51 we can understand a sense of nervousness with the laughing that accompanies expressions of hope in lines 13 and 20. In line 20 Muna says they are, 'waiting for our children, their future, bright future, for their bright 20. future, if they good(…) if they don't good (..) I don't know (laughs).'

The understanding of risk and uncertainly is also evident in the following extract where we see Moriam talking about her losses since moving to the UK.

1. **Becky:** So you've given up your life.

2. **Moriam**: yes we are suffering our life , we have *lost* everything.

3. **Becky:** what have you *lost*? Can you tell me a bit more about that?

4. **Moriam:** We have *lost* job. I worked in school, interpreter, mediatrice

5. mediazione for people at the school with children.

6. **Moriam:** My husband works[worked] in Philips company ….it's good job.

7. **Becky:** so you've given up a lot to move here

8. **Moriam:** yes house, car money.

Here she talks of what she has 'lost' (lines 2 and 4). The metaphor of winning and losing implies less agency than, for example, 'give up', which I use in my questions. It gives more a sense of victimhood and far less a sense of personal responsibility than 'gave up'. They ***lost*** rather than consciously gave up what they had. On the other hand, the agentive 'to give something up', also implies more clarity of motivation and therefore more hope. This sense of real hope actually appears to be lacking, despite repetition of the 'bright futures' collocation.

Another metaphor used by Muna and Ayesha is the idea of poverty as a trap they are caught in.

1. **Ayesha:** we have not ***freedom***

2. **Muna:** we haven't ***freedom*** yeah

Later they talk about not being able to afford to go out and about in London on day trips with their family like they used to in Italy and we get a real sense of them feeling trapped in their current economic situation.

English has no borders

What was particularly interesting about the data relating to English, was that very few participants mentioned the UK directly as the *place* they wanted to migrate to. Most spoke about 'English language' as a reason for migration rather than any benefits afforded by migrating to the UK, although there are some exceptions to this that I will describe later on page 32. English therefore seems to be viewed by my participants as not necessarily linked with a geographical space. Rampton (2009:702), talks about this describing the results of post war commodification of English resulting in an, 'isolable structural entity that is much more aligned with the universals of mind than anchored in the specifics of culture'. Their view of English clearly relates to the idea of English in a globalised world. Although participants do mention on two occasions that English is useful for them in London, they are much less focussed on this than the fact that it is a global language, 'spoken everywhere' (Roushon), 'international' (all participants) and 'allows you to work everywhere' (Nazma). A typical example of this comes from Rakib, when asked to choose the most important aspect of his repertoire. He said, 'most important English (..) English is ***all*** countries good.' Here he could have said many things to qualify his choice of English.

For example, that it is useful for work, or for getting by socially in the UK, or for helping his children at school. Instead he focusses very clearly on the advantages for mobility.

The following three extracts give further weight to this argument.

Extract 1.

1. **Muna**: 'I think **everbody** language, language is English, it is international …
2. I think they are never going back Bangladesh but we have some asset yeah
3. and sometimes we handle our asset but our children don't don't English,
4. they don't know Bengali [….]our country have English also.'

Here we see Muna talk about the importance of English, not for life in the UK, but for managing contacts with Bangladesh. In line 4, she points out that English is spoken widely in Bangladesh, 'our country have English also'. The 'international' status of English make this possible, although there also appears to be a throwback to colonialism here.

Extract 2

Roushon: 'They speak Italian, big big problem when they go to Bangladesh (..)all table silent.'

Roushon talks here about needing English for managing aspects of social life in Bangladesh and describes the communication difficulties with relatives when her children could only speak Italian. This aspect is mentioned a number of times across the data set by four of the participants.

Other reasons for migration

Although, as we have seen English was cited by all participants as the main, or a major reason for migration most participants also mentioned religion and Islamic education as being an important factor. At one point Roushon contradicts [her own] 'bright futures' discourse saying, 'actually **most** people came so when children grow up, traditional religious'. Again she includes others in this interpretation by the use of *most*. All the participants, with the exception of Syeda mentioned religion as an important reason for migration. Moriam says, 'one thing is very good (…) our religion I think, you know that Italy is very hard.' Indeed, most participants spoke about the difficulties practising Islam in Italy. Farhana says she did not feel able to wear a niqab in Italy as she felt it wasn't socially acceptable. Others talk about lack of mosques, lack of a serious Islamic education and children showing a lack of interest in Islam, influenced by their Italian peers. Although this comes across very clearly in all the interviews, in most cases religion is positioned as secondary to 'English' as a reason for migration. In fact, in the interviews we see that religion is often mentioned in second position, sometimes directly after their 'English is bright futures' comments.

Only one participant, Nazma, says clearly that religion was the main reason for moving to the UK, but even she contradicts this in a later interview. Nevertheless, life in London, in the heart of the Bangladeshi community, certainly does appear to open up material possibilities that were lacking in Italy and most of the participants talk about being much happier in London from a religious point of view. In this sense their hopes for a better life most certainly have materialised, although only in religious terms, certainly not in economic terms.

4.3 English is bright futures but Bengali is my mother tongue….

The next part of my analysis focuses on the how my participants orient to the very established 'one nation one language' ideology. As we have seen in section 2.4, ideas pertaining to standard Bengali have been traditionally deeply rooted in Bangladeshi national consciousness since the war of 1971 which marked the birth of the national state of Bangladesh. In my data however it appears that the position and status of Standard Bengali in Bangladesh is being contested and this links very strongly to the recent rise of the status of English in Bangladesh along with the rise of English medium education internationally, described by the British Council as, 'a growing global phenomenon' (2014 front cover).

English Medium Schools

Comments in the data suggest that middle class parents are choosing to send their children to private English medium schools rather Bengali medium schools (see Dearden 2014). This change appears to have come about very recently and relates to the generation of my participants' children. Although, all my own participants were all schooled in Bengali, five out of the nine participants had chosen to send their own children to English medium schools in Bangladesh. This involved very complicated family arrangements whereby mothers travelled from Italy to Bangladesh during the school term to have their children schooled in English.

In this extract we see Syeda explaining her son's education. After migrating to Italy in 2003, from 2008 to 2012 she lived between Italy and Bangladesh as her son was at school in Bangladesh. As a result, we can see in line 8, he cannot write standard Bengali.

1. **Syeda:** When my son was five years he went to Italian school one or two

2. years and then we go to Bangladesh.

3. **Becky:** and you said he studied in an English Medium School, why was that?

4. **Syeda:** because so we know English

5. **Becky:** So he studied in English so his English is very good

6. **Syeda:** yes

7. **Becky:** and his Bangla?

8. **Syeda:** Bangla he is speak but he can't write

Roushon also talked about English medium school. She explained that she felt under pressure from her family in Bangladesh to have her children schooled in English, even though she was living in Italy. She goes on to explain the current climate in Bangladesh regarding education, 'most of family, Bengali university family, they think English medium is good.' When she questioned her sister's choice to send her children to English medium school and her sister had replied, 'most of family admission English medium, how can I admission Bengali school4?'

Two interesting things emerged from these discussions about English medium schools. Firstly, unlike Sylheti children in the UK, many children born and schooled in Italy do not speak Bengali and secondly even when they do speak Bengali, they do not read and write it. In addition to this, English medium education in Bangladesh also means that Bengali children speak English better than their European cousins, creating some kind of competitiveness within families. Some of my participants' comments, however showed that they do not uncritically accept the new 'English Medium' discourse and they contested both the move to English medium education and also their children not speaking Bengali. There remains a

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4 If most of my family are accessing English medium schools, how can I possibly send my son to a Bengali medium school

strong attachment to both the mother tongue and to Bengali as the language of education. When talking about her daughters' lack of Bengali, Nazma expresses sadness. 'My mother tongue is covered 5'. She talks about moving to the UK as an attempt to recover her children's fluency in Bengali, 'If I don't come here I have to go to Bangladesh for my daughters because they weren't speaking Bengali'. Roushon calls the recent English medium education trend in Bangladesh, 'a mentality problem'. Others clearly feel strongly about their own mother tongue identity but seem to be resigned to that fact that their children have a different language profile.

The children who were schooled in Italy seem also not to have maintained Bengali. Muna's eldest son also struggles with Bengali and she reports her husband shouting during a row between himself and their son. 'You know before most of Bengali word, now you forget everything why? Because you don't use that's why'. Although her son has already completed his Italian GCSE and A' level, Bengali GCSE would be beyond him according to Muna.

This is a contested area therefore with a lot of variation in the data but overall it appears that the participants talk foregrounds the necessity of English over the mother tongue.

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5 My mother tongue has been smothered

4.4 Hierarchies of languages,

'Italian is only in Italy, useless':

As is clear from the sections above, there is a distinct hierarchy of languages emerging from the data with English at the top. When asked to rank their languages, most of my participants chose either English or English and Bengali together, as the most important for them personally. Not one of the participants said Italian, although it is clear by comments they made about Italian that speaking Italian was a big part of their lives. Nevertheless, it was described as 'useless' and often collocated with adverbs and adjectives indexing low worth such as *just*, *only*. Most, when asked, said they didn't care if they or their children forgot Italian. Interestingly, aspects of the data seemed to contradict these statements. Many participants seemed to have an emotional attachment to Italian. This was particularly so for Muna, Moriam, Rakib and Syeda, who had lived for many years in Italy, although all said English was now more important to them. When I asked Syeda if she thought she might forget her Italian her switch from English to Italian strengthens her rejection of the very idea. 'I non dimenticare (..)Io parlo bene l'Italiano.'

For Rakib, who lived in Italy for 23 years, his comments about Italian were at discord with his practices. Although keen to switch from Italian to English after moving to the UK, Rakib says he finds the 'English only' policy at work hard to stick to. Most of the employees in the restaurant where he works

are Italian speaking. 'we always speak Italian.' For Moriam, Italian holds a strong emotional attachment, it was, after all the first language her children spoke to her in, and the language of her first job. Another example is the descriptions family language practices. In six of the households Italian was the main language spoken, despite it being described as 'useless' across the data set.

However, it is clear that Italian indexes something that they have rejected in favour of something better. In an interesting mirrored parallel with English, it seems that they have rejected Italian rather than Italy. Italy is throughout described as 'good' and 'bello' and Italians as welcoming and friendly and many participants tell stories about exceptional stories of friendships and welcoming from the local Italian population. These descriptions are juxtaposed with descriptions of the Italian language which, as we have seen above, is described across the board as 'useless'. The repetition of references to Italy as spoken 'just' in Italy or 'useless' in other countries again points to the high value attached to the mobility of languages. The fact that Italian has low mobility and above all, is not spoken in Bangladesh, makes it 'useless'.

4.4 'Mix up': communicative repertoire versus whole languages.

In this final section of the analysis, I focus on the whole communicative repertoire, as opposed to breaking it down into constituent parts. I

investigate how my participants orient to this idea and whether the data shows any challenge to the hegemonic notion of whole, unitary, named languages. This is particularly interesting to look at with a group of people who so strongly foreground the named language 'English' as so relevant to their life choices

The first thing to notice is the length and breadth of the participants' linguistic repertoire. The repertoires include: English, Standard Bengali (Bangla), Sylheti, Dakaiya, Arabic, Hindi, and Italian in terms of named languages and as, also includes specific 'bits' of language: genres, styles registers and accents (Blommaert and Backus 2011)'. As well as the whole languages mentioned above, they mention varying degrees of competency relating to these, forgotten languages, varieties of a standard and languages accessed only in one situation, for example the use of Hindi for watching Bollywood movies or Arabic for Quranic classes. The overarching picture is one of life being carried out using many linguistic resources with very little attempt to control or border the different aspects of the repertoires. There were both overt positive comments about having a larger repertoire along with a general sense of embracing a larger repertoire and no negative evaluations. For example, when Ayesha and Muna originally described their repertoire, they limited it to the three main languages, English, Bengali and Italian. Ayesha included Italian without prompting even though she said subsequently that she didn't speak very much and had forgotten a lot of it

since arriving in the UK. Although they didn't originally include Hindi, when I suggested it in the first interview Muna showed no resistance to adding it to her repertoire and indeed in subsequent interviews continued to refer to her use of Hindi.

Codeswitching and translanguaging

As Blommaert (2013:47) points out, 'Superdiversity forces us to consider forms of "multilingual language mixing" as default elements of communication.' Cogo (2012:290) points out, that translanguaging practices, 'involve the use of various sociolinguistic resources for the purpose of making meaning, constructing deeper understanding, but also, seemingly, for no purpose at all.'

Indeed, the most salient feature emerging from the data regarding repertoire is the fact that in descriptions of their day to day language use my participants do not operate with strict boundaries around the various parts of their repertoire. This is overwhelmingly the case across the data set and includes both switching from one language to another as well as 'translanguaging' or fuzziness of boundaries across languages where elements of what are traditionally considered part of one named languages are incorporated into another. For example in the following extract Nazma

makes this very explicit when I ask her about her husband's language mixing
practices.

1. **Becky:** and when he speaks Bengali does he put bits of English and bits of
2. Italian?
3. **Nazma:** yeah me also (…) not me (….) **all** of Bengali people.

In this extract we see the use of *all* to generalise the experience and this
shows her perception of the extent of language mixing. This is confounded
by the multiple ways she used to emphasise this. Firstly she uses contrast,
not me, followed by the lexical choice of *all* including prosodic emphasis on
the word all. This is not just practice but widespread but, as Blommaert
(2013:47) suggests, the default.

Repertoires and family life

A useful lens on these practices was to ask about family life and how
languages were spoken in the family. In the following extract we see Muna
talk about the language practices in her family.

'My elder and younger boy they every time used to Italian, they talk me
Italian and I answer Italian. If they talking English I try to answer English. If I
don't understand I ask Bengali.'

Farhana's family practices are similarly multilingual:

I speak Bengal and English my children (..) also sometimes Arabic (..)my children learn (..) I learn English with my daughter.

These two examples are echoed across the data set, with just minimal variations. Some families use English and Bengali. Others use Italian, English and Bengali. This data is supported by data from the language diaries which asked the participants to track their language use over a seven day period.

One entry from Salma's diary read:

'Today morning when I awake up from the bed I saw my kids make noise. Both of them are quarrelling in the bed and they said, "questo è mio". Another little son said, "questo è mio". I said, "stop, stop". Then in Bangla Language I said, "If you didn't stop I will call the police."

There are only couple of examples which contradict this pattern and instead focus on bordering and clear demarcations of language use. Interestingly all the examples of policing of language borders refer to husbands and children. For example

Farhana talking about her son's attitudes to language mixing says:

'In the home Bengali and English both the two smaller children and my son he says just Bengali in the home and another side is English.'

Two participants speak about conflict with their husbands regarding the policing of language in the home. Nazma talks about her husband's insistence that they speak Italian at home when they first moved to Italy.

'My husband give me little bit pressure.' 'When we came my husband said, you have to, me and my daughter, you both **have** to speak Italian language.'

Despite these cases, the overwhelming evidence throughout the data was one of 'mix up', and flexible boundaries within the repertoires.

Language mixing is fun and funny. 'Don't butta this one.'

As well as patterns of multiple language use in the family, there is a lot of evidence of default translanguaging or language mixing, both in their descriptions and in their actual language use and this reveals a lot creativity and language play. This playfulness has been noted by Wei and Hua (2013:532) who point out, 'especially in a transnational context, multilingual students' access to linguistic, cultural, and social resources and networks are vast and complex, often leading to creative translanguaging practices. Translanguaging is not simply the mixing of linguistic forms from diverse language sources. It also involves a variety of identity articulations and negotiations within newly created social spaces.' In my data I discovered not only did the participants incorporate elements of their repertoire within other elements, described by Muna as 'mix up', but also found this practice very amusing. Muna and Ayesha joked about this in the following extract.

The playfulness with which they talked about these language practices

contrasted noticeably with the often rather serious aspects of the

interviews related to economic or social conditions. Language therefore,

and the existence of flexible repertoires in their lives indicated something

light, and positive. The following excerpts were amongst the most light-

hearted across the data set and showed the participants as creative and

playful.

1. **Muna:** Some words we use Italian(…) most of speaking Bengali but some

2. things we adjust, like sometimes we said *buttare* [(laughs)] never said

3. dustbin always we use

4. **Ayesha:**   (laughs)

5. **Muna:** *buttare*

6. **Ayesha:** sometimes we say 'don't *butta* this one'They go on to explain that

   'everybody who lived in Italy' uses *buttare*

Metalanguaging

The final observation in this section concerns the large amount of

'metalanguaging' (Wei and Hua 2013) or metapragmatic commentary across

the data set. In my observations of the Bangladeshi Italians it most certainly

appears that their daily lives involve intense thinking about language and

language choices and their talk reflects this. Across the interviews and in my

observations of conversations I have had with the participants in my class,

the salience of metapragmatic commentary is noteworthy. This is mainly in

relation to language always being linked to migration as discussed in 4.3. The following example is typical of this.

Nazma: I came to UK for bright future for my children first of all. Bright future means **I don't like Italian language.**

Another example comes from Sabana. I have just asked her to tell me a bit about her life in Italy. As this question doesn't relate to language necessarily, the metalanguaging in line 3 can be seen as an unmarked choice, or one of many choices the she could have made.

1. 'Life in Italy it was good but I wasn't comfortable (…) I thought it's
2. different language and different culture and my child she can't do
3. anything in another country even my country (…) only Italian
4. language

4.5   Discussion

In this section I will provide an interpretive account of the data. The process of interpreting this data has not been an easy one and certainly more ethnography would be required to get a clearer picture of the key issues emerging in this study. However, although this was a small case study, many patterns appeared uniformly across the whole data set. This has allowed me to hint at certain aspects of

ideologies strongly circulating among the Italian Bangladeshis, and possibly, among other migrants with transnational identities in a globalised world.

Although there is inevitably some overlapping, I will organise my discussion around my three research questions. The first question,

What are the language ideologies underpinning explicit and implicit comments made in my participants' discussions about their own communicative repertoires?

was the focus of the analysis in 4.1-4.4, as it mainly requires descriptive accounts, but there are still a couple of interpretive comments I would like to make.

Overall, what transpires in the study is a complex profile, with individuals drawing on a range very different language ideologies. They adhere to normative language ideologies such as language hierarchies, especially with relation to English and Italian. However, some of my findings hint that new social, economic and political configurations in the age of globalisation are leading to new language ideologies, alongside the unravelling of some more established ideologies. For example, aspects in the data relating to Bengali hint at a reduced focus on the very established 'one nation one language ideology'. It seems that the strong sense of language hierarchy emerging in the data, with English very much at the top of the ranking, eclipses not only Italian, but also the mother tongue, Bengali. Most families appear to have

accepted that their children do not speak Bengali as their first language and have minimal Bengali literacy. Except for one family, no one adopted mother tongue maintenance practices such as Bengali only in the home, and for the people I interviewed, except one, this was not highlighted as particularly problematic.

Partially, the focus on Bengali in the data stems from my own ideological underpinnings of the importance of developing and maintaining mother tongue literacy in migration contexts, relating to my training as a teacher. Interestingly this ideological model was also expressed by Nazma, another teacher, who said 'if someone doesn't speak his/her mother tongue, they can't speak another language.' Looking at the transcripts, it was me constantly posing questions about Bengali and asking why the children didn't speak their mother tongue with confidence. The participants were much less focussed on this. Of course, it is not unusual for migrant families to lose their mother tongue through the migration process, but recent ideological underpinnings relating to pedagogy have stressed the importance of mother tongue maintenance. This appears to be being challenged in my data and I was made aware of my own ideological focus in this regard.

Another challenge to established language ideologies can be seen by the evidence of fuzzy boundaries between languages in my participants' repertoire. This indexes a challenge to the ideology of existence of whole,

named languages. This was not an explicit form of resistance to the idea of whole named languages but emerged in discussions about language practices. I will discuss this further on page 75 in relation to the third research question.

The second research question links ideologies to choices regarding migration.

How far can these language ideologies be seen to have impacted on their migration trajectories?

This study very strongly points to language ideologies having an impact on migration trajectories. This appeared overwhelmingly in the data. It is language, rather than economic or other factors, that is used to talk about migration. Language is central to my participants' lives and central to discourses about migration. It is useful to refer back to Heller's suggestion (2013:359) that the globalised new economy, 'has among its consequences, new conditions for the production of language practices and forms and new challenges to current ways of thinking about language'. She also states that, and this is particularly key for this study, 'Individuals worry about what kind of linguistic repertoire they need in order for their children to profit from current conditions' (ibid). The 'bright futures' in my study corresponds to the investment my participants have made in belief that education in the prestige language of English is better than education in Italian. Although this

sense of sacrifice for your children is, of course, not new in migration processes, what is new is that this is attached specifically to beliefs about language.

Another thing that complicates this for my participants is that access to the language resources they want has brought them to migrate permanently to the UK. This is a very different scenario than, for example, accessing English medium education in Bangladesh. In this study ideological orientations of the participants are 'global' but have now been transported to a location where attitudes to English have a different focus. Looking at the existing data, their ideological models appear to be appropriated from those circulating in discourses in Bangladesh but are also, I argue, related to their transnational experience of migration. This is undoubtedly particularly strong in this study as they are new migrants to the UK with little time to absorb local ideologies related to English. It would be interesting to see how this might change over time.

In addition, while my participants have all accepted that they have sacrificed their own jobs and economic stability in Italy for the sake of their children's' futures, they don't appear to have taken in to account the difficulties of actually living in the UK and how this might affect them. For example, some of their Italian speaking children will initially find themselves at a disadvantage in the UK education system. Although they will learn English very quickly at school, in relative terms, the process of learning a new

language also entails falling behind in the curriculum compared to other children in the UK or compared to themselves in Italy. Other factors are the expense of a university education in the UK, the stress of poverty on family life and children's education, racial discrimination in the UK, rising unemployment and the housing crisis in London. The 'bright futures English International language' could be a very high risk strategy for these migrants. A deeper understanding of this would necessitate more research, particularly into the class identities of the Bangladeshi Italian migrants and how their class aspirations link to English as a prestige language. Here we are reminded of Kroskrity (2000:8) who argues, 'a member's notions of what is , "true," "morally good", or "aesthetically pleasing" about language and discourse are grounded in social experience and often demonstrably tied to his or her political-economic interests.' For example, whether their class aspirations linked knowledge of English to particular career paths for their children. The focus in the data on English medium secondary instruction in Bangladesh, a growing phenomenon among wealthy Bengalis, also gives an indication of the importance of class identities in this group.

It is most certainly the case that my all my participants believe that the potential or future opportunities offered to them by English, are of greater worth than the actual existing opportunities they had in Italy and this forms the most common stated reason for migration. As we know, (Woolard 1998), ideas about language normally index other ideas or beliefs but in this

case it has been quite difficult to fully understand what these ideas might be. Other possible reasons for migration are hinted at in the data. It could be that the 'bright futures' discourse is a safety discourse that circulates unconsciously partially as a proxy for a religious discourse. It is possible that scapegoating of Muslims across Europe may mean that a discourse of religion is more difficult to sustain than the discourse of English as an International language. Again, further research into identities would be useful to gain a better insight.

The final part of my interpretation looks at whether my participants' language ideologies are affected by their transnational lives.

> *How far can experiences of migration or transnationalism be seen to impact on explicit or implicit beliefs about language?*

Firstly, as I have highlighted in chapter 4, the profile of my participants very much recalls Vertovec's picture of migration in the age of super-diversity, with communication technology allowing them to link their day to day lives with both Italy and Bangladesh. This also affects their access to different discourses circulating about language. As I have said the focus on English is strongly influenced by new discourses circulating in Bangladesh. As Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:6) point out, 'in many postcolonial contexts, English, French, or Portuguese, are appropriated as means of expressing

new national, ethnic and social identities, rather than as a means of assimilating to former colonial powers.'

Secondly, it is clear that my participants show great flexibility towards language boundaries. This is at odds with normative ideologies, especially in the UK, whereby translanguaging practices are often viewed negatively and are seen to signal reduced language competence. My participants, it appears, have embraced the advantages afforded to them by a large communicative repertoire and their descriptions of family practices certainly reflect Blommaert's (2013:47) assertion that language mixing is the default. This flexibility towards translanguaging also seems to sit with the reduced orientation to the 'mother tongue', or 'one nation, one language ideology' discussed above.

Interestingly, the 'useless' language Italian is actually an important of the repertoire, not least because it is the language most widely spoken among the older children in the families. This indicates how often stated ideologies are at discord with actual language practices. Similarly, although there is a stated focus on English, the majority of participants do not insist on English with their children, preferring a language mix where English is just a part. These findings suggest that their own language practices, related to migration and transnational identities, have influenced their attitudes towards languages, even when this means contesting, albeit unconsciously, some of the more dominant language ideologies. More research into other

secondary migration patterns would help to understand whether new

language ideologies can be seen to be developing among transnationals. In

addition, sociolinguistic research into the language practices of the Italian

Bengali youth and the effects of language socialisation processes, both on

their repertoires and on the repertoires of the Sylheti youth, would

contribute to research on communicative repertoire.

The final point I would like to make in relation to the language ideologies of

this group relates to the salience of 'metalanguaging' or metapragmatic

commentary in their talk. In part this could be because they are aware that

my research concerns 'language' and indeed I am often asking specific

questions about language. However, I argue that the instances of

metalanguaging need more explanation. I suggest that metalanguaging is

also related to the transnational experience of the participants and the

identities they have constructed as a result. Language looms large in their

talk and is a larger component of their lives than for people in contexts

which are linguistically more straightforward. The process of migration itself

is, in all cases, being talked about in terms of language. This suggests that

language and language ideologies are at the forefront of people's lives,

rather than being tacit and embedded. It is useful to refer again to Heller

(cited in Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004:11) here who argues that

'conventional language practices represent relatively stable power relations.

In contrast, in the context of socio-political change […] in the place of

unconscious or semi-conscious use of language in everyday life, is an extreme awareness' of language'.

In this study I have focused on the language ideologies of a particular group of migrants in order to understand the intricacies of migration processes and related language practices. Above all, what transpires is the mutual effects of language ideologies on migration and on migration on local language ideologies.

My interpretations can be summarised as follows.

- Discourses relating to English as a global language circulate widely.

- Language and the pursuit of language resources, rather than economic or other factors, is used overwhelmingly to talk about migration.

- Ideological focus on English is global and not related to life in the UK

- Languages are valued and ranked using 'mobility' as prime criterion

- There is reduced orientation to 'one nation and language' ideology both in evaluative comments about language and language use.

- Metapragmatic commentary is very diffused in the discourse

- There is strong orientation towards communicative repertoire and language mixing, 'or translanguaging' is the default.

Conclusion.

In a political climate so horrifically opposed to the movement of people, one thing linguists can offer is a detailed picture of real people's lives. Ethnographic studies have a particular role to play here and can contribute to countering homogenising discourses relating to people who, for whatever reason, have moved countries. As Blommaert (197:10) argues, sociolinguistics has everything to win by being comprehensive, detailed, nuanced and balanced in its accounts and judgements of language in society, and by providing the right diagnoses for social justice and inequality. In times of globalisation this becomes an ever more pressing challenge.'

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Appendices

1. Transcription conventions

[.......]   overlap

(xxxxxxx)   unintelligible

(.)   micropause

(pointing)   paralinguistic information

bold   Speaker emphasis

2. Participant profile

Name	Age	Education	Length of time in Italy	Moved to UK	Children/marital status	Work Italy	Work UK	Husband's work Italy	Husband UK
Moriam	43	Secondary	16 years	2 years	Married 2 children	Mediatrice/interpreter	None	Philips factory supervisor	Restaurant
Syeda	34	Secondary	6 years	2 years	Married 1 child	Own business, shop	None	Own business	Restaurant employee
Shirin	41	Degree/Masters	17 years	1 year	Married 3 children	Science teacher in Bangladesh	None	Zinc factory	Restaurant employee
Panna	32	Secondary	7 years	8 months	Married 3 children	None	None	Metal mechanic	Restaurant employee
Farhana	30	Degree	10 years	4 years	Married 3 children	None	None	Chef	Restaurant employee

Ayesha	29	Secondary	8 years	1 year	Married 1 child	None	None	Unknown	Minicab driver
Muna	3	Secondary	15 years	10 months	Married 2 children	Underwear factory	None	Factory	Minicab driver
Rakib	44	Secondary	22 years	4 years	Married 3 children	None	Restaurant employee	Chef	
Salma	30	Started degree but interrupted	8 years	1 year	Married 2 children	None	None	Own business, shop	Restaurant employee
Roushon	40	Secondary	15 years	3 years	Married 2 children	Restaurant	None	Chef	Minicab driver
Nazma	32	Degree	9 years	1 year	Married 3 children	Teacher in Bangladesh	None	Builder (own business)	Restaurant employee

3. Prompt interview questions

1) Background

Why did you go to Italy?

Describe your life in Italy.

Did you have any experiences of racism?

Why did you leave Italy for the uk?

When did you first think about moving to the UK?

Did you speak to anyone in Italy about moving?

Did you know anyone doing the same thing?

How did you imagine UK before you came?

What did you imagine your life to be like here?

Has that changed?

What have your experiences been so far in the UK?

Has your life changed for the better or worse?

How do you see your life in 5 or 10 years?

2) Feelings about languages

How many languages do you speak?

What percentage of your time do you speak your languages (daily estimate)?

What determines which language you speak. E.g person, context, topic.

What value do you think each language has (in the world), (in your life) (in your family) (in the community) (in college).

What helps you identify with a language? What makes you feel a language is 'yours'?

Describe your day to day language practices, here/in Italy

 Why is English so important?

3) Integration

Do you think you are more integrated into UK society than Italy?

What factors are important?

Did you have Italian friends?

Do you have any non-Bengali English friends?

How have you mixed in with the local Sylheti community?

What language differences are there?

Have you had to make any changes to 'fit' in with the local Sylheti community?

4) Transnationalism

What are your links with Bangladesh? Italy

How do you communicate? How often and in what language?

Interview transcripts