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The Relationship between Heritage Language Fluency Loss
and the Cultural Value of Filial Duty: An Indo-Canadian Hindu Perspective

Nootan Kumar

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in
The Department
of
Education

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ABSTRACT

The Relationship between Heritage Language Fluency Loss and the Cultural Value of Filial Duty: An Indo-Canadian Hindu Perspective

Nootan Kumar

It is common belief that language and culture are inexorably linked (Edwards, 1997), yet the precise nature of this relationship remains elusive. This study investigated one hypothesis about this relationship, that a loss in language signals a loss in culture if language is considered a central value (Smolicz, 1985). This hypothesis was tested by examining whether Hindi represents a central value to the North-Indian culture in Canada and thus predicts its loss or maintenance in this context.

The relationship between language and culture was investigated by rating the Hindi (L1) and English (L2) proficiency of 30 first- and second-generation Indo-Canadian Hindi speakers (15 parent-child pairs) and correlating these to their reactions to culturally-charged scenarios in a matched-guise task (featuring English and Hindi versions of the same scenario recorded by the same speaker). The scenarios targeted one aspect of North-Indian culture—the value of filial duty—in two contexts (marriage, career). It was hypothesized that if language loss triggered culture loss, then speakers losing their L1 (second-generation speakers), but not those maintaining it (first-generation speakers), would react to scenarios differently according to language.

Findings revealed that a language shift has taken place in the North-Indian community and that the beginnings of a cultural shift in filial duty are underway, which may or may not be mediated by this language shift. Implications of these findings are discussed with respect to heritage language and culture maintenance, the language-

culture relationship, the South Asian diaspora, Canada's multiculturalism policy, and other issues including group identity construction.

To

Mom and Dad,

*for teaching me the true
language of communication*

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[Culture] is as living as the human beings to whom it belongs ... no culture ... can afford to be without change, exchange, and movement. It is possible that in this process, a certain culture may succumb and ... change its very basis and thus lose its identity.

On the other hand, there is also the possibility ... that while a culture stands firm on its basic concepts, it may reinterpret them ... and adopt some new ones which are not inconsistent with its fundamentals. (Diwakar, 1980, p. 26-27)

CHAPTER 1: STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

...in a sense, *the mother tongue is itself an aspect of the soul*, a part of the soul, if not the soul made manifest. (Fishman, 1989c, p. 276; emphasis in original)

Introduction

What does it mean to learn another language? For the majority of people living in North America, learning a new language generates the notion of adding a new experience to one's repertoire of experiences. One may then draw upon this new experience to further one's opportunities in life, or to add to the richness of one's life. This scenario, of course, implies that one has a choice in learning this new language. What of those people, however, who have not been granted the luxury of choice; those born of immigrants living in a host country, for example, who are required to learn the language of the host country from a very young age in order to abide by the laws of the land as well as to access societal opportunities? For these people, learning a new language also implies learning a whole new culture – the culture of school, the culture of mainstream society – that is, the culture of the host country and, one could claim, depending on the origin of the people in question, the culture of the *hemisphere* at large.

Many second generation immigrant children living in Canada find themselves in this situation. Their parents have immigrated from their homelands speaking a language and holding onto a culture that may be vastly different from the mainstream language and culture of their new country. Meanwhile, having been raised for the most part, if not born, in Canada, the second generation are exposed to both their parents' heritage language and culture as well as those of the mainstream from a very early age. The question of interest is how these second generation children manage to reconcile the two

languages (three languages, in the case of Quebec) and the two (or three) cultures. Do these children generally tend to maintain their heritage language and heritage culture? Or do they tend to linguistically assimilate to the dominant language, as well as acculturate to the mainstream culture? For those who do lose their heritage language – that is, their *mother-tongue* – does it follow that they automatically lose their heritage culture – their *mother's* culture – as well, becoming fully “Canadian” instead?

To put it more succinctly, on what does the likelihood of heritage cultural maintenance hinge? Do these children acculturate to the mainstream so rapidly (by means of the educational environment, the media, the need to belong with their peers, for example) that their heritage language loss is merely a symptom of their cultural loss? Which comes first, language loss or cultural loss?

These same questions can be rephrased in academic terms: Do linguistic assimilation and cultural assimilation occur independently from or simultaneously with each other, or does one occur as a result of the other? In the case of the latter, is it linguistic assimilation that causes cultural assimilation or the other way around? Of central focus in all these questions is the complex relationship that exists between language and culture. “Culture” can include both the concept of identity as well as the value system for both the ethnolinguistic group as a whole and the individual member.

Despite the common belief in North America and the West at large that language and culture are inexorably linked (Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Chisholm, 1987; Fishman, 1989a), the precise nature and direction of this relationship remains elusive. Although some groups place great emphasis on the central role of language in the socialization of future generations as a means for survival as a culturally distinct entity (such as the

Australian-Greeks in Smolicz, 1985), others manage to retain their culture without necessarily retaining their language (the Northern Ireland Irish in Northover & Donnelly, 1996; the Indian-Persians in Pandharipande, 1992; and the Australian-Italians in Smolicz, 1981). Still others compensate for losing their heritage language by actually reinforcing their cultural identity through other means, such as through a strong adherence to religion (Pandharipande, 1992). The question relevant to the current thesis study, then, is can a group's cultural maintenance (or assimilation) be related and linked to the same group's language maintenance (or shift)?

Before attempting to predict whether a particular group's language shift can cause a corresponding shift in the group's culture, it is first necessary to understand what language shift entails. In the next section the phenomenon of language shift will be briefly defined, followed by an explanation of why language shift should be studied.

Language Shift

In contact situations between minority groups and mainstream society, linguistic assimilation of the minority group occurs at the point when the language of the majority culture (L2) has replaced the heritage language of the minority group (L1) in all domains previously reserved for the L1, especially that of the home (Edwards, 1997; Fishman, 1989b; Landry & Allard, 1996; Shameem, 1994). Language shift from the L1 to the L2 can occur rapidly within one generation, or more gradually between generations. In the case of the latter, transmission of the L1 from the first generation to the second generation usually fails, resulting in imperfect learning of the L1 by the second generation (Hulsen, de Bot & Weltens, 2002; Shameem, 1994). By contrast, language maintenance refers to the successful transmission of at least the oral language from one

generation to the next, and cannot usually occur without the crucial use of the L1 in the home (Edwards, 1997). Although there are exceptions, such as the case of Greeks who have maintained their language in Australia (Yagmur, de Bot & Korzilius, 1999), the general trend among ethnolinguistic minority groups is towards language shift rather than maintenance (Landry & Allard, 1996; May, 2001; Shameem, 1994).

Why Study Language Shift?

Although the current trend in socio-linguistics seems to be focused on the danger concerning the disappearance of minority languages around the world (May, 2001; Myhill, 1999), is language shift in and of itself necessarily a “bad thing”? In his overview of language maintenance, Edwards (1997) points out that the notion that linguistic diversity is inherently “good” is taken for granted. Both scholars and the public alike advocate for the preservation of minority languages without necessarily seeing the bigger picture. Historically, Edwards argues, linguistic change occurs as the norm for pragmatic reasons on a global scale. The drive for “mobility and modernization” (p. 35) generally overrides the need to preserve a particular language, regardless of whether the group in question is a large empire, a small minority group or any group in between.

On the much more localized scale of the family unit, scholars such as Mouw and Xie (1999) argue that if parents can manage to communicate effectively in any language or a mix of languages, effective communication with children, and the children’s access to parental and community social capital, is still possible. Specific concern over the maintenance of the heritage language as an issue in itself is therefore secondary to the socialization of the child by means of any language available. A similar point of view is

echoed by Rodriguez (1982). He argues that the change in intimacy that occurred in his family due to the language shift from Spanish to English as a Mexican immigrant family in the United States was bound to happen anyhow, as it does in most families simply by passage of time. Instead the level of intimacy that his family did manage to retain was credited to the emotions and binds linking the members together, rather than to a particular language.

Although compelling in its logic, this alternative view that heritage language is inevitably lost and that it is not necessary for the socialization of children, nor even to family intimacy, leaves an uncomfortable feeling that there may still be *something* lost that cannot, and should not, be overlooked. In terms of family intimacy alone, Gupta and Yeok's (1995) ethnographic study of a Singaporean Chinese family demonstrates that the extremely rapid language shift within one generation has directly resulted in the inability of the grandparents and grandchildren to communicate together. This communication barrier has caused a loss of contact between these two generations, thus robbing the whole family of its ancestral and emotional richness.

In terms of the socialization of children, Wong Fillmore's (1991) study of the language shift experienced within households of various ethnic minority groups in the United States documents a number of cases in which child and parent feel more and more alienated from each other as the child acculturates to the English language, the school environment, and the dominant society at large. This alienation between parents and children is not just an exacerbation of the generation gap, and a great one at that, but a severe handicap in the parents' ability to transmit their cultural and personal values to

their own children (Gupta & Yeok, 1995; Moag, 1999). With the parents sometimes unable to express their principles and values adequately in the children's dominant language, and the children seldom able to understand these principles and values expressed in the heritage language, the direct result is an extremely diluted form of personal values and culture being transmitted to the children (Moag, 1999).

Furthermore, there is a theoretical belief that early child bilinguality influences the development of personal identity (Hamers & Blanc, 2000). As Hamers and Blanc report, studies have shown that the exposure to two languages and their associated cultures does not necessarily imply that the bilingual child will identify with all the features of both cultures. In fact, the bilingual child does not develop two simultaneous identities but, rather, creates a single, integrated identity that is unique to the child's personal experiences. This unique identity is also heavily influenced by the parents' and society's attitudes towards bilingualism and biculturalism. Those bilingual children in whose experience biculturalism is well received are likely to develop a positive, integrated identity. Just as the child experiences additive bilingualism whereby the heritage language is maintained, so the child forms an additive identity whereby features of both cultures are well integrated together. In the case of language shift, however, the bilingual and bicultural experience is not well received and the child undergoes subtractive bilingualism. In this situation, the child will either choose to identify with one culture over the other or reject both. When both cultures are rejected, anomie and low self-esteem are likely to occur. Anomie is characterized by a lack of norms and values present in the individual, leading to a state of disorientation, anxiety and loss of identity.

Although anomie is the most dire outcome of a subtractive bilingual experience, the socio-psychological consequences of choosing to align oneself with one culture rather than with the other cannot be easy for the child to cope with, particularly if the heritage language that the child has lost is intimately tied to the heritage culture of the child's parents. Losing the heritage language in this case and being socialized in the language of the majority would likely cause the child to adopt the culture of the majority and reject the heritage culture. This, in effect, would be a rejection of the personal values, norms and customs of the child's parents. Rejection, or perceived rejection of the parents' culture cannot be without its socio-psychological consequences on both parents and child.

To summarize why there is a need to study language shift, as Wong Fillmore (1991) points out, it is hard to believe that there are no ramifications for losing one's heritage language and with it, perhaps, one's heritage culture and identity. Indeed, in Ryon's (2002) poetic words with reference to the loss of Cajun French in Louisiana, psychological aspects of language shift "are still the 'dark continent' of sociolinguistic research on linguistic minorities" (p. 287-288).

Goal of Thesis Study

Having established that there is a legitimate need to study language shift among ethnolinguistic minority groups, one could logically assume that once language shift has been documented for a particular group, the next step would be to investigate the consequences of this shift on the culture of this group. From the previous sections of this chapter it can be seen that some of these consequences could include changes (or loss, as the case may be) to the heritage culture of the group (Smolicz, 1985). Other

consequences could be psychological changes that occur within the individual who is coping with this loss in heritage language (Gupta & Yeok, 1995; Hamers & Blanc, 2000; Moag, 1999; Wong Fillmore; 1991).

However, by virtue of stating that there are *consequences* of language shift on the heritage culture or on the individual, the assumption is already being made that language and culture are inherently linked. Before making this assumption, however, there is a crucial step in between documenting language shift and investigating corresponding changes in culture, a step that cannot and should not be overlooked. That is, it is absolutely necessary to first investigate the precise nature of the relationship between language and culture (to the degree that this may actually be possible in reality) before one can begin addressing ramifications of language shift on culture. In other words, in the language shift-consequences equation, the variable that links the two components of the equation together is the crucial and fundamental language-culture link. Or, seen from another perspective, once having documented language shift, one could investigate any cultural change in the group being studied, and then attempt to create a causal relationship between the two “shifts” measured.

The overall goal of this study, therefore, is to investigate the role that language plays in group culture. By situating language in group culture it would be theoretically possible to predict cultural change outcomes on the basis of language change within the group. That is, for those groups who rely on language to maintain their culture, a language shift would certainly lead to a cultural “shift” away from their heritage culture towards that of the mainstream host society. For those groups who do not equate their heritage language

with their heritage culture, a language shift would not have any measurable impact on their efforts towards cultural maintenance. In this light, the study of the language-culture relationship would have theoretical implications for both the language maintenance field as well as the cultural maintenance field. Furthermore, an empirical investigation of the language-culture link would have implications for Canada's multiculturalism policy, which is based on the assimilation-multiculturalism dichotomy that is prevalent in heritage language and cultural maintenance ideology (Taylor, 1991). Finally, this language-culture examination could lead to the possibility of interpreting the role of language not only at the group level but at the psychological level of identity construction, for if language is found to be key to the group, then it is possible that it is also salient to the individual who belongs to this group.

Thus the main aims of this thesis study are to 1) measure and document heritage language shift for a particular ethnolinguistic group in Canada; 2) measure and document changes in heritage cultural maintenance for the same group; and 3) attempt to link the language shift and cultural "shift" together by way of empirically testing the language-culture equation for this group.

Target Ethnolinguistic Group

The group chosen for investigation into the language-culture link in this thesis study is the North Indian Hindu community of Montreal. According to Coward and Botting's (1999) reference to the Canadian 1991 Census, the total Hindu population in Canada at the time was just over 150 000. The majority of the Hindu population had immigrated from India in the 1960s, just after Canada's immigration policy opened up. This group of Hindu immigrants was and still is made up of largely urban middle class professionals,

many of whom are Hindi-speaking and originally come from North Indian regions such as Uttar Pradesh.

Because it is a relatively new addition to Canada's landscape, the North Indian Hindu community is in its "infancy" stages of adjustment to Canada and North America at large when compared to other groups, such as the Eastern Europeans and Italians, for example. Furthermore, Hindus in Canada, according to Coward and Botting (1999), are not as much in the public eye as other similar ethnic groups such as the Sikhs and Muslims. As such, this group of people is relatively understudied in terms of both their linguistic experience as well as their cultural experience in Canada and North America.

The North Indian Hindu community of Montreal is not an isolated ethnolinguistic minority; it can be classified under the larger Indian diaspora group as well as another, larger umbrella minority group in Canada and North America: the South Asian diaspora. The region of South Asia consists of the seven nations of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Maldives and Bhutan. Although grouped together geographically, the effort to create a South Asian identity among these nations began only as recently as 1985, when the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was established by the seven Heads of State (SAARC, 2005). Despite the fact that the South Asian identity has not necessarily been adopted yet by the citizens of these countries and is currently a hot topic of debate among these countries (Lal, 2003), the sociolinguistic and cultural literature available in North America, as well as Britain, to date tends to group the peoples who have immigrated from this region together as the South Asian diaspora. Thus it is more common to find literature that lumps together Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims from both India and Pakistan, for example (Punetha, Giles & Young, 1987;

Wakil, Siddique & Wakil, 1981), rather than to find literature that focuses only on one specific group in particular. For this thesis study, therefore, the literature review in the following chapter that examines what has been documented in terms of language shift and cultural change for the North Indian Hindu community, in fact refers to the greater body of literature on the South Asian diaspora as a whole.

Summary

This chapter has identified the need for the documentation of language shift, as well as the corresponding need to empirically test the language-culture relationship. This chapter has also presented the overall goal of this study, which is to document language shift and test the language-culture relationship for the North Indian Hindu group in particular, a group that falls under the umbrella of the South Asian diaspora.

The following chapter begins by exploring how the language-culture equation has been researched thus far in the bilingualism and socio-linguistic fields. It then investigates the South Asian diaspora in detail in terms of the documentation of language shift, cultural shift and the language-culture link, if any. Finally, it critically examines the quantitative methodology that has been used to study the language-culture equation thus far, and then proposes that the matched-guise methodology be modified to serve the purpose of this thesis study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides a summary of the literature addressing the language-culture relationship. It then provides a detailed account of the literature available on the South Asian diaspora, including those studies that have documented language shift, a general description of the cultural experience of the diaspora in North America, a review of the studies documenting the degree of acculturation of the diaspora and those attempting to situate the role of language in the South Asian culture.

This chapter then addresses the need for a better quantitative methodology to investigate the language-culture relationship and briefly outlines the characteristics of the methodology proposed for this thesis study. Finally, this chapter explains how the proposed methodology was set up specifically to target the North Indian Hindu culture, by summarizing how the cultural value of filial duty was chosen to represent the culture at large. The chapter ends with the two main research questions of the thesis study.

Language and Group Identity

The notion that language is intimately tied to group identity has existed, at least in the West, since German romantic nationalism took root in early 19th century (Edwards & Chisholm, 1987; Fishman, 1989a; Myhill, 1999; Northover & Donnelly, 1996). Although the link between language and group identity is generally taken for granted in the lay population, few empirical studies have actually been conducted to test this relationship (Edwards & Chisholm, 1987). Recently, however, some researchers have begun to investigate to what degree language and group identity can be equated for various ethnolinguistic groups.

Morris's (1996) qualitative study of Puerto Ricans demonstrated that, due to the historical and political evolution of language policy in Puerto Rico, Spanish is indeed central to the Puerto Rican identity. Northover and Donnelly's (1996) quantitative study of the impact of learning Irish on Irish identity in Northern Ireland, however, revealed that the Irish language is no longer central to the Irish identity, as English now fulfills all communicative as well as cultural functions. Finally, Edwards and Chisholm's (1987) quantitative study on language and identity for Canadians living in Nova Scotia, many of whom were of Scottish descent, revealed that those who had lost their original group language nonetheless perceived themselves as belonging to the Scottish ancestral group.

In light of the varied relationships demonstrated by different groups with their languages in the sample of language-group identity studies examined here, it can be suggested that language, in and of itself, is not a key issue in group identity (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1990; May, 2001). Rather, the key issue is language *salience*, which should be the focus of studies attempting to ascertain the relationship between language and group identity. That is to say, for some ethnic groups, language operates as a critical dimension that governs group membership and preservation. For other ethnic groups, however, means other than language may function sufficiently in determining group membership and preservation. Finally, for ethnolinguistic minority groups surrounded by the dominant language and culture of the host country, the language of the ingroup tends to attain a higher degree of salience to the group's identity as a distinguishing feature as well as a demarcated boundary that separates (and protects) this group from others (May, 2001).

Language as Core Value of Culture

Identification of which groups hold language as key to their identity is perhaps facilitated using Smolicz's (1981) core value framework. If a given ethnolinguistic group considers language one of its core values, then it will hold language as central to its identity. That is, for those groups who feel they cannot maintain their cultures without maintaining their language, language becomes one of their core values. Smolicz defines core values as those which provide the very foundation to a given group's culture and which govern ingroup membership. A rejection of the group's core values is a rejection of membership to that group.

In his cross-cultural comparison study, Smolicz identifies the Greeks, Poles and Latvians as language-centered cultures (Smolicz, 1985; Smolicz, Secombe & Hudson, 2001). While for Greeks their language is intimately tied to the Orthodox religion, the Poles and Latvians consider language their core value due to a long history of linguistic and cultural persecution. It is, in fact, under conditions of threat that a group reveals what its core values are as it fights to retain its culture and identity. In a plural society, while a group may not face threat of persecution, it may nonetheless face the threat of assimilation to the majority culture. Regardless of the nature of the threat, when forced to defend itself, a group may rank one core value higher in priority than the rest and choose to focus its efforts on this value. Such is the case of the Southern Italians and Chinese in Australia, for example, for whom the value of family or "family collectivism" outweighs the maintenance of the Italian and Mandarin languages, respectively (Smolicz et al., 2001). For these two groups, what matters is that communication within the family is facilitated, regardless of whether the family language is pure dialect or a mix between the

dialect and the majority language. Using this argument it can be understood why Australian Italians and Chinese are shifting towards English more rapidly than the Greek Australians (Gibbons & Ashcroft, 1995; Smolicz, 1981; Smolicz et al., 2001; Yagmur et al., 1999).

The best example of a culture that can be maintained regardless of language is the Jewish culture, in which the three top-ranked core values are considered to be “religion, peoplehood and historicity” (Smolicz, 1981, p. 77). This culture has survived due to efforts placed on maintaining these three values, rather than on efforts to unify all Jews under one language. Although the Yiddish and Hebrew languages certainly aid the transmission of these values in certain regions, Jews who do not speak these languages are considered Jews nonetheless.

It can be summarized that a group that considers language a core value will maintain its culture through its language and, will, therefore, lose its culture when that language is lost. On the other hand, the group for whom language is not a core value will maintain its culture (or lose it, as the case may be) by means other than language and will not lose its culture despite undergoing a loss of language. According to Smolicz, the predictor of whether a group will lose its core values and thus its culture rests in the degree of divergence of these core values from the core values of the host society in which the group lives. Therefore a language-centered immigrant group is at risk of losing its language (and culture) if the core values of the host society do not allow for multilingualism.

So how might the linguistic and cultural experiences of the North Indian Hindu community of Montreal in Canada – the target population studied in the present thesis

study – be predicted? Does this community hold its heritage language, Hindi, as a core value to its culture? In order to begin exploring the North Indian Hindu experience, it is necessary to first contextualize this community within the umbrella group of the South Asian diaspora.

Language Shift in the South Asian Diaspora

Two studies examine language shift among the South Asian diaspora: the Indo-Fijians (Shameem, 1994) and the Singapore Indians (Gupta & Yeok, 1995). While the Indian communities of Fiji resemble more the immigration profiles of the South Asian diaspora in Trinidad, British Guyana, Mauritius and even Britain to a certain extent, the Singapore Indians resemble more the immigration profile of the North American Indian community and are therefore more relevant to the research study at hand.

Although Gupta and Yeok (1995) did not study in great detail the Indians of Singapore, they attributed the somewhat high risk of heritage language loss within this group to the sheer diversity of Indian languages within the group, a legacy from the group's country of origin, India. While Singapore recognizes Tamil as the official Indian heritage language to be taught in the school system, it does not recognize the other, non-Tamil languages spoken by various Singapore Indian sub-groups. When a minority group is further sub-divided into its many language or dialect sub-groups, it has to work much harder to resist the pressures of linguistic assimilation.

In addition to the lack of cohesion of the Singapore Indian group at large, many members of the Indian parental generation were, themselves, already fluent in English. Many were professionals who had completed their studies in English at university before leaving India (Fasold, 1984; Wakil et al., 1981). It is likely that this group of people had

introduced English into their homes as the language of upward mobility much earlier than had other Singapore middle class parents, who would have to have waited until they, themselves, were first proficient. The Indians in Canada are similar to the Singapore Indians, in that the parental generation also belong largely to the professional upper-middle class, are highly proficient in English and speak, all together, a highly diverse number of languages (including, for example, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali and Gujarati, according to Wakil et al., 1981).

The Cultural Experience of the South Asian Diaspora in North America

Due to the fact that the South Asian diaspora is relatively young in North America, there is little research material available that documents this ethnic group (Sala, 2002). The majority of the research that is available originates in Britain, where the South Asian presence has been expanding since the time of colonization. The body of South Asian literature in North America is growing, however, out of which much of the cultural research that is emerging is qualitative. The qualitative study that stands out in particular is that of Moag (1999), which is perhaps the most comprehensive discourse on the South Asian diaspora to date. It is also the most relevant to this thesis study, in that it provides a detailed, sensitive account of the North American experience of not just the first generation or the second, but of *both*.

The first wave of South Asian immigrants to the U.S. came in the 1960s and were, as Moag (1999) stated, almost exclusively members of the educated, professional classes. The corresponding wave of South Asian immigrants in Canada were indeed exclusively professional, according to Wakil et al. (1981). This was due to the fact that Canada's immigration policy had just expanded in the 1960s with the particular purpose of

attracting such professionals from Asia. According to Moag, this first generation of South Asian immigrants was generally treated with respect by surrounding North American society, due to their elevated status. It was this status that allowed this generation to live relatively sheltered from negative stereotyping, and provided the families with a prosperous and comfortable lifestyle where homes in upper middle class suburbia were the norm. This elevated status of the first wave of South Asian immigrants is in sharp contrast to the newer waves, who largely belong to the business class or who are refugees, and who tend to congregate together in concentrated enclaves. This group of first generation South Asian immigrants is much more susceptible to negative stereotyping and faces a larger challenge in moving forward in society.

The irony of the elevated status and prosperity of the pioneer wave of first generation immigrants is that their second generation children were more subject to negative stereotyping – even though they were either born in Canada or came as infants – than the parents were, who were new to the country. This is due to the fact that the families belonging to this professional wave were spread out in suburbia. As such, the children grew up isolated from the other South Asian children and were more than likely the only brown-skinned youths in the neighbourhood and school. In addition to negative stereotyping, the second generation children were also subjected to intense peer pressure as well as greater forces of assimilation than were the parents, due to their age and the need to belong, but also largely due to the fact that they were alone and isolated in the midst of the surrounding suburban society. In direct contrast, the children of the newer waves of South Asian immigrants may face economic and class challenges in their quest for survival in North America but, because they tend to live in enclaves with other South

Asian families, they may be less likely to be influenced by peer pressure to acculturate to mainstream society.

Regardless of when the first generation came to North America, however, Moag (1999) has provided a sensitive description of the general outlook that seems to be common to all South Asian parents with regards to their children's upbringing. He describes the first generation as being confronted with a whole host of conflicting and confusing emotions and sentiments, the most significant of which are the following: the sense of guilt at having left behind their own parents and siblings in South Asia, the resulting loneliness of living in a strange country oceans apart from their immediate families, the confusion regarding lack of clear gender roles in North American society and, finally, the contrast between the morals of their homeland, perpetually frozen in time in their minds, and the perceived morals of Western society. Moag asserts that these emotional factors drive the first generation's desire and need to protect their children within their own culture and resist the pressures to assimilate to North American society.

As for the second generation, Moag (1999) describes them as conflicted and "compartmentalized" for much of their teenage and young adult lives. They are conflicted largely due to their exposure to mixed messages, especially during their years of schooling. That is to say, the peer pressure as well as the negative stereotypes of South Asia that still tend to be prevalent in the Western education model (Peetush, 1999; Rosser, 1999) serve to convey the message to the South Asian youth to conform, all the while the parents are urging the youth not to conform. Here begins the inner conflict that torments South Asian youths – the desire, on one hand, to fit in and belong with their peers and society at large, and the desire on the other hand to remain loyal and

emotionally close to their parents. Thus also begins the drive to compartmentalize their identities and lives; outside the home, the second generation children behave as mainstream children and inside the home, they behave as “genuine” South Asians.

As can well be imagined, there are several areas for potential conflict between the two generations. In addition to Moag’s (1999) comprehensive study, various studies by Brah (1978), Ghuman (1991a, 1991b), Pearson (1999), Peetush (1999), Sala (2002), Thompson (1974) and Wakil et al. (1981) reveal that the second generation South Asian youth of Britain, the United States and Canada grapple with the value systems of two distinct and, for the most part, conflicting cultures. The parents of these second generation young adults were socialized in the “old country” values: the importance of family, hierarchy of authority, conformity to traditions and societal norms and the system of arranged marriage – all of which stem from a collectivist construct (to be discussed in detail below). The second generation children of these parents, however, have been socialized in the largely individualistic culture that is embedded in the educational system as well as in the media and social fabric of the host country. While the differences and disagreements that inevitably arise between the two generations tend to center on the more controversial areas of dating and marriage, Wakil et al. (1981) note that *any new idea* the children present that does not conform with traditional South Asian values is likely to be interpreted automatically by the parents as a *rejection* of their culture and heritage.

The areas of conflict between the generations that have been identified by the various South Asian studies as the cause of difficulties at their mildest, and downright damage at

their worst, are the following (Brah, 1978; Ghuman, 1991a, 1991b; Moag, 1999; Pearson, 1999; Peetush, 1999; Sala, 2002; Thompson, 1974; Wakil et al., 1981):

- gender roles and the equality of the sexes;
- dating and marriage;
- educational and career choices;
- factors involved in choosing a spouse (whether by oneself or by the choice of the parents) such as religion, language and caste/socio-economic class;
- deference/obedience to parents and family honour/duties (both nuclear and extended family);
- participation in religion;
- participation in the cultural community (such as community events and functions);
- token aspects of culture such as food, clothing and media; and finally,
- language.

Upon reflection, this is indeed an extensive list of areas of conflict that, for all intents and purposes, pervades *all* aspects of life. Underlying this vast array of conflicts is the fundamental conflict between East and West; that is, the tension between collectivism and individualism. From his study of the dimensions of national cultures, in which he surveyed employees of the IBM multinational corporation in 50 countries around the world, Hofstede (1991) places the label of “collectivism” on one end of the spectrum (of one dimension of culture) in opposition with the label “individualism”. A society that is individualistic is one in which every individual is expected to take care of the concerns of herself and, at most, her immediate family only. In contrast, a society that is collectivist is

one in which people are socialized into cohesive units or ingroups. These ingroups are maintained throughout life by means of an exchange of group protection for the individual in return for individual loyalty to the group. While North America and the majority of Western Europe have long been assumed to be individualistic, India has been traditionally assumed to be collectivist (Voronov & Singer, 2002).

The tension between collectivism and individualism, and between East and West, is nowhere better exemplified than in the arenas of marriage and career (Peetush, 1999), which probably explains why each South Asian study cites these two issues as the most explosive between parents and children. According to Peetush, whereas the North American conception of the self is rooted in the individual as autonomous and authoritative, the South Asian (specifically the Hindu, in her study) is not an individual but, rather, a person with overlapping identities forged by overlapping relationships. Major decisions such as marriage and career, therefore, cannot be rooted in individual choice as would be more appropriate for the North American. Rather, these decisions are approached more democratically and require the participation of the whole family, as all family members will be affected by these decisions.

Marriage and career therefore provide optimum research opportunities for cultural shift assessment in the South Asian diaspora, as these two arenas best highlight the philosophical differences between East and West at large. As the majority of the South Asian literature is qualitative, however, little data that are generalizable to the various South Asian communities are available that document any cultural shift that may be taking place in the South Asian diaspora, whether based on the two gauge points of marriage and career choices or otherwise.

Cultural “Shift” in the South Asian Diaspora

Ghuman’s (1991a) study is possibly the only quantitative study in South Asian literature that attempts to measure and compare the degree of acculturation among Hindu, Sikh and Muslim adolescents living in Britain. Using a Likert-type acculturation scale that the author, himself, constructed and piloted in 1974, this study surveyed 465 girls and boys from three multi-ethnic middle schools in the West Midlands of England. Items on the acculturation scale were constructed to reflect the individualism-collectivism dimension that generally marks the difference between the South Asian groups and the norms of current British society. There were over 100 items, of which cultural content focused on the domains of food and clothing, the role of women, religion and, finally, entertainment and community life.

Within-group comparisons revealed that the South Asian girls as a whole tended to acculturate (that is, shift from their culture to the mainstream) more than the boys, and that Hindus and Sikhs as a whole tended to shift more than Muslims. Another interesting find from this study is that socio-economic class was taken into consideration. It was found that adolescents from “non-manual” backgrounds tended to shift more than those from “manual” backgrounds. Overall, however, the sample of South Asian adolescents exhibited a positive, bicultural outlook, in which they supported preservation of some heritage cultural practices but rejected others in favour of a more mainstream attitude. Finally, a noteworthy result of Ghuman’s (1991a) study is that an astonishingly high number of the South Asian adolescents reported themselves to be speaking both English as well as their heritage language in the home; 90% of the girls and 85% of the boys. Although Ghuman did not break down the numbers into language or religious groups,

and although it is not known to what degree the adolescents were actually proficient in their heritage language, the high percentage of adolescents who reported a bilingual practice in the home was a promising result. What remains to be seen or tested for these adolescents is whether their bilingualism in the home could be responsible for their bicultural outlook.

Language-Culture Link for the South Asian Diaspora – Does Language Mediate Culture?

Recalling the extensive list of conflict areas between South Asian parents and their children, language is cited simply as another conflictual element on par with or even incidental to other, more explosive issues such as dating and marriage. Brah (1978), Ghuman (1991a, 1991b) and Wakil et al. (1981) all point out that the second generation South Asians are seemingly more comfortable speaking English than their heritage language, just as Moag (1999) explicitly attributes the exacerbation of the generation gap to the language shift between the generations. However, few research attempts have actually been made to assess whether any of the South Asian cultures in fact depend on their language for their sustainability. Three South Asian studies that did examine the relationship between language and culture will be discussed; the first two are qualitative, and the third, quantitative.

In Mills' (2004) qualitative study of 10 multilingual Pakistani mothers in Britain, the mothers were found to be fluent in English as well as either Punjabi or Mirpuri, depending on which region they came from in Pakistan. In addition, some had knowledge of Arabic in order to read the Qur'an, while some also had proficiency in Urdu, Pakistan's official language. Despite the fact that the mothers identified themselves as having multiple identities due to the numerous languages they spoke, one clear outcome

emerged from their interviews: that the mother-tongue, that is, the heritage language, was a crucial component of their identity. To these women, language was an essential element in what defined being Pakistani. To use Smolicz's (1981) terminology, the participants of Mills' study viewed their mother-tongue as a core value to their Pakistani culture and identity. By adhering to the mother-tongue, the women believed that their children would retain and develop their respect for the other core values of the Pakistani culture, which were family, community, religion and moral behaviour. So deep was the belief in the mother-tongue as the core value of their culture, that some of the mothers beheld their language as "...the epitome of some of the aspirations...for their children" (Mills, 2004, p. 179).

In their study of how Chinese- and Punjabi-Canadian teachers constructed their family-language (heritage language) identities, Beynon, Ilieva, Dichupa and Hirji (2003) found that the relationship between language and identity differed between these two groups. While the Chinese participants cited literacy as a vital component to their Mandarin or Cantonese identity, for the Punjabi participants it was their communicative abilities that were more crucial. For these participants, the Punjabi language was important for two reasons: religion and family. The Punjabi language is essential to the Sikh religion, and oral proficiency in Punjabi is essential for family intimacy. What is interesting, however, is that although the Punjabi language is necessary for religious participation, the Punjabi participants stated that literacy in the language was not required. Furthermore, although several of the 20 Punjabi participants stated that oral proficiency in Punjabi was important for family communication, their level of proficiency did not have to be perfect. Despite their self-professed "far from perfect" (p. 14)

command of the language, and despite the lack of importance attributed literacy skills in Punjabi (in contrast with the Chinese participants' emphasis on literacy), the Punjabi-speaking teachers overall expressed confidence in their language and religious identities.

These two small-scale qualitative studies demonstrate that language plays an elusive role among the South Asian diaspora. On the one hand the heritage language is clearly tied to the Pakistani culture insofar as the mothers were concerned in Mills' (2004) study. On the other hand, although in Beynon et al. (2003) the heritage language was viewed as important by the Punjabi-speaking teachers to their family life and religious identities in general, further discussion revealed that they had, in fact, a less than perfect command of the language and felt that this was acceptable. Perhaps the quantitative study discussed next can shed more light on how language may operate for the South Asian diaspora.

The Punetha et al. (1987) study is a unique South Asian study that recognizes language as a contributing factor to cultural change, and actually attempts to capture the role that language plays in the espousal of personal value systems. First generation participants from the South Asian Hindu, Sikh and Muslim communities of Britain were afforded the choice of language between either their own heritage language (for Hindus: Hindi and Gujarati; Sikhs: Punjabi; Muslims: Urdu) or English when completing a modified version of the Rokeach Value Survey (RVS). The indigenous, monolingual British group, used as a reference for mainstream British cultural values, completed the same survey in English. The RVS requires that the respondents rank the values provided in a list in order to capture a snapshot of their value system hierarchy. The researchers predicted that immigrants choosing the language of the ingroup would rank higher those values that corresponded more to the ingroup culture, while those choosing English

would resemble more the British sample in the values they espoused. The results indicated that, on the whole, the South Asians ranked those values pertaining to collectivism higher than those values pertaining to individualism, while the indigenous British group did the reverse, as expected.

When the South Asian participants chose more collectivist values overall, they were choosing values such as “family security”. This was in contrast to the British indigenous group who chose more individualist values overall, such as “happiness” and “freedom”. For the South Asians, these collectivist values were ranked highly, irrespective of the language in which the RVS was completed. However, the language choice afforded to the South Asian participants did indeed impact their value ranking in general. This was particularly true for the Sikh and Muslim participants. Those who chose their heritage language converged on values that were more South Asian, such as “obedient”, while those who chose to complete the questionnaire in English tended to converge towards more “anglo” values, such as “independence”.

Only amongst the Hindus did the language choice have a moderate effect. Those who chose to complete the Hindi version only moderately converged with South Asian collectivist values, and those who chose English only moderately converged with anglo individualist values. According to the researchers, the very nature of Hinduism explains the Hindus’ ambivalent value choices. Contrary to Sikhism and Islam, Hinduism is a vast, decentralized religion (Coward & Botting, 1999; Punetha et al., 1987). There is not one core text, founder, leader, language or value path to unite all Hindus, thus making their religion and culture more permeable than the other two South Asian religions featured in the survey. This suggests the likelihood of more accommodation towards the host culture

amongst the Hindus than amongst the Sikhs and Muslims. However it does not necessarily imply that Hindus are willing to completely assimilate either, because those in the Punetha et al. study who did converge towards anglo values in the English version of the RVS only did so moderately. One might be tempted to conclude from this study that the Hindu culture is less stable compared to other South Asian cultures and thus more susceptible to cultural shift, regardless of whether the various Hindu minority groups manage to maintain their heritage languages.

There are some problems with the Punetha et al. (1987) study, however, which prevent such definitive conclusions and confident predictions. Firstly, whereas all first generation Sikhs in the study spoke Punjabi and all the Muslim participants spoke Urdu, not all the Hindus spoke Hindi. The study included Hindus who spoke Hindi as well as Hindus who spoke Gujarati. Given that the researchers discussed the results by grouping participants together according to their religion and not their heritage language, the researchers, in effect, implied that religion and language are correlated in a one-to-one relationship. While this may be true for the Sikh and Muslim participants, it is not so for the Hindus. From this study, it is not possible to tease apart the effect of heritage language as a mediating factor in Hindu value systems – the Hindus were all grouped together regardless of heritage language. It is therefore not possible to conclude that language functions as a core value for all Hindus. Furthermore, given the ambivalence of the Hindu group, it is also not possible to conclude that language is *not* a core value. The Hindus emerged as neither clearly Western, nor clearly South Asian in either English or their ingroup language. It is not well understood, then, how the Hindu value system operates or how it is governed. Is it enough to assume that its inherent vastness,

decentralization and lack of unifying language make the Hindu culture intrinsically unstable, permeable and weak? Or could there have been other factors at play that may have affected the responses of the Hindu participants, factors perhaps in the RVS itself?

It has been stated by Bond (1983) and Ng (1982) that caution must be used when employing the RVS for cross-cultural value system comparisons. In his use of the RVS with Hong Kong Chinese bilinguals, Bond demonstrated that the value survey is inherently ethnocentrically Western in both its compilation and its wording of values. Respondents from a more Eastern tradition are therefore forced to rank order values that in reality could have very little meaning for them. Ng similarly suggests that the values listed in the RVS do not necessarily correspond to and encompass all values available to every culture being compared. For this reason, the RVS is more suitable for *intra*-group rather than *inter*-group comparison.

It would seem from the Punetha et al. (1987) study and the criticisms aimed at the RVS that to better understand and capture the Hindu value system in particular, and the relationship between language and culture in general, a different, more refined methodology would have to be employed to test whether language does indeed function as a core value of a particular culture. For this thesis study, therefore, it was decided that another methodology would be used in order to properly test whether language mediates the North Indian Hindu culture in Canada.

Improving Quantitative Language-Culture Study Design

There are some issues and problems that present a challenge to any researcher wishing to empirically investigate the language-culture relationship using quantitative methodology, particularly with respect to the Hindu culture. As it was discussed above,

the major difficulty with the Hindu culture is that it is based on a vast, ancient, decentralized religion, compared with the more defined Sikh and Muslim religions that help shape the Sikh and Muslim cultures (Coward & Botting, 1999; Punetha et al., 1987). It is harder, therefore, to capture the Hindu culture and then measure it.

In addition, the concept of culture itself is at once vast and elusive and, moreover, *dynamic*. In his critical assessment of the social psychological issues surrounding assimilation and multiculturalism, Taylor (1991) criticizes in general the empirical social studies that limit the measurement of heritage cultural maintenance to just one snapshot in time. These studies fail to recognize changes that occur in culture over time, as well as failing to account for the complex layers and subtle dimensions underlying the culture. Furthermore, Taylor asserts that the over-simplification of the assimilation versus multiculturalism paradigm fails to recognize and capture the fact that the group being studied may very well state that they wish to maintain their heritage culture, but in reality could be choosing to retain some aspects while dropping others. The dynamic nature of culture therefore needs to be better captured in quantitative studies such as this thesis study.

It is not just the concept of culture that is dynamic; language, too, is dynamic. As de Vries (1992) suggests in his overview of the problems of measurement involved in language shift and maintenance studies, it is preferable to include three points in time for language change measurement. Moreover, these three points in time should be chosen to reflect critical junctions at which the language may have changed significantly, such as with the onset of school or upon entering the job market. As is the usual practice with language shift studies, out of the three points in time only at present time (t_3) can

language skills actually be assessed with an oral proficiency test, for example. Because language shift studies tend not to be longitudinal, only a retrospective assessment can be made by the participants themselves to measure language change at the two earlier points in time, t_1 and t_2 . Although this thesis study will incorporate these three points in time, because the first two points are retrospective, it is still a snapshot view. Therefore one way to ensure that de Vries' suggestion for capturing the dynamics of time in language change is implemented is to measure language shift across the three points in time for *two* generations of the same community.

Finally, in terms of designing a study that not only measures the dynamics of culture and language but also the language-culture relationship, a methodology is required that has been demonstrated to effectively tease language apart from the cultural component. This methodology would not simply ask the participants to state their own beliefs, but put their beliefs to the test by somehow measuring their behaviour. Also, in order to be more universal and applicable in the research field, this methodology would be replicable and valid for cultures other than the ones for which it was originally created. As discussed earlier, although the effect of translating the RVS into different languages enabled Punetha et al. (1987) to empirically test the role of language in the construction of personal value systems, the RVS itself failed to appropriately target the strikingly different cultures being compared. That is to say, the RVS itself was not culturally valid for Eastern cultures because it was found to be ethnocentrically Western in its construct (Bond, 1983). Therefore a methodology to investigate the language-culture relationship in general would require a behaviour-testing component that somehow captures the role of language in a culturally-valid and dynamic cultural measure.

One methodology seems to be a likely candidate that would satisfy the criteria of a language-culture relationship methodology: the matched-guise technique. Originally created by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum in 1960 to evaluate the effect of accented spoken language on listeners' stereotypes of class, ethnicity, gender and personality, this technique has since been used in several socio-psychological bilingualism studies to reveal patterns of inter-group contact and accommodation (Bourhis, Giles & Lambert, 1973; Bourhis & Giles, 1977; Gatbonton, 1975; Gatbonton, Trofimovich & Magid, in press). An example of one such study was that by Gatbonton (1975), recently replicated with similar results by Gatbonton et al. (in press), in which participants revealed the nature of the relationship between L2 accent and the perceived loyalty to the L1 ethnic group. Specifically, the more native the English accent of the recorded French-Canadian speaker, the less loyal the speaker was judged to be to the French-Canadian group by the French-Canadian listeners. As can be seen from this example, the matched-guise technique allows for a measure of the language-culture relationship that captures behavioural consequences which could very well mimic real life situations.

For this thesis study, the proposed quantitative methodology aims to meet the following specifications:

- 1) It would sample only one highly specific population; one region, one language, one religion, in order to avoid the pitfalls of cross-cultural comparisons. For this study this would mean a Hindi-speaking sample of the North Indian Hindu community of Montreal.

- 2) It would be a within-culture study rather than a cross-cultural study. As such, it would involve the inclusion of two generations of participants belonging to the same ethnolinguistic minority group. This would better capture the dynamics of both linguistic and cultural change. For this particular study this would mean including both the first generation immigrant parents and their second generation, adult-age children of the North Indian Hindu community of Montreal.
- 3) It would include heritage language (L1) fluency and host language (L2) fluency measures for both generations at three different points in time. For this thesis study this would mean including the point in time demarcating the second generation's entry into elementary school as the critical juncture in their linguistic experience.
- 4) It would employ a highly specific measure of culture of the group in question, limited to as few cultural values as possible – even one – so long as they are tailored to and appropriate to the given culture. To capture the complex dimensions of the North Indian Hindu culture, this value would have to be explored in depth from a variety of perspectives. In this thesis study this would mean limiting the cultural measure to a value or principle that best represents the North Indian Hindu culture at large, and then contextualizing the value in a culturally-appropriate situation.
- 5) It would incorporate an experimental component that tests for both generations their degree of adherence to the specific cultural measure according to language. For this thesis study this would mean adapting the matched-guise technique to

measure the North Indian Hindu participants' attitudes or behaviour to the cultural value in question, according to language.

Choice of Value as Measure of North Indian Hindu Culture

What may be some of the main values of the North Indian Hindu culture that could serve to represent the culture at large? Beginning with Hofstede's (1991) dimension of individualism-collectivism (I-C), India is generally viewed as collectivist (Voronov & Singer, 2002). In addition, according to Coward and Botting (1999), the Hindu definition of the self is more collective than individual, where a Hindu is more likely to define herself as "we-self", as symbolic of the extended family, rather than the Canadian Constitution's definition of the "I-self", where the self is equated with the individual.

To use "collectivism" as the value that represents the North Indian Hindu culture at large would not be feasible, however, as it is too vast a notion to measure. Furthermore, a recent critique of Hofstede's I-C dimension by Voronov and Singer (2002) has stated that this dichotomous comparison of cultures is drastically over-simplified and does not do justice to the complexity of the culture being studied. Therefore, although this I-C dimension is used throughout the thesis study as a general differential marker between East and West, it is understood that by no means can either the Indian culture or the North American culture be viewed so simplistically. To use "collectivism" as the representative value of North Indian Hindu culture would thus be a mistake.

Breaking "collectivism" down further, it would seem that a defining value of the North Indian Hindu culture is the sense of family. Indeed, in her interviews with Hindu mothers and daughters living in Ontario, Pearson (1999) identified several elements of the Hindu culture that the second generation daughters wished to retain, out of which the

top three were “respect for elders”, “family closeness” and “familial solidarity” (p. 440).

Moag (1999) as well identified the importance of family as *the* primary tenet of the South Asian and Indian culture. The strongest support comes from the Punetha et al. (1987) study, which provides empirical proof that the value ranked highest among all Hindus, *regardless of language of questionnaire*, was, in fact, “family security”.

Because “family” in all its aspects of security, solidarity and identity is still too vast a notion to be used as a cultural measure that represents the North Indian Hindu culture at large, this concept must again be broken down further. In order for there to be family closeness, there must be some degree of loyalty between the parents and children. Indeed Moag (1999) suggested that many South Asian children experience conflict between heritage culture maintenance and the pressure to assimilate precisely because they felt loyal to their parents. Without this sense of loyalty, there would be no issue and the children would simply acculturate to mainstream society. Re-stated in perhaps more formal terminology, this sense of loyalty can be viewed as a sense of duty to one’s parents.

As many second generation North Indian Hindu children living in North America may attest, the sense of duty one feels, and is taught to feel, towards one’s parents presents one of the most challenging and enduring conflicts to be contended with. The notion of “duty” is generally associated with a sense of moral obligation, responsibility, conscience and even allegiance, and is defined by the International Webster New Encyclopedic Dictionary (1971) as follows:

That which a person is bound by any natural, moral, or legal obligation to do or perform...an act of obedience or respect, esp. *respectful conduct towards one’s parents* [italics added] or elders. (p. 308)

While individuals may feel a sense of duty to many similar institutions across cultures, such as a sense of duty to one's family and one's nation, for example, some cultures may emphasize the role of duty more saliently than others. In the Hindu culture, the concept of duty for each individual at every level of society is outlined explicitly in the *Manu Smriti*, one of the sacred Hindu texts that focuses solely on "dharma", or duty. In this text, duty towards one's parents ranks as one of the top major debts one must honour throughout one's lifetime, second only to duty towards the Brahman, or World Spirit (Basham, 1967; Klostermaier, 1994). Put simply, because the parents have literally given *life*, which means giving a part of themselves to the child, the child owes her very existence to her parents and should therefore honour her parents throughout life. Aside from prescribing the performance of a daily offering in prayer, the *Manu Smriti* leaves the social manifestation of duty towards parents open to interpretation.

Although there are some extreme cases, "duty towards parents" is not a blind obedience to the authority of autocratic parents. Rather, as exemplified by a popular recurring theme in Bollywood films, filial duty is meant to be interpreted as *joyfully* placing the parents' desires and happiness over one's own, of willingly sacrificing the self for the welfare of the whole family. Nowhere is the latter interpretation better demonstrated than in the *Ramayana*, one of the most sacred Hindu texts for North Indian Hindus in particular. As can be seen in the following quote from an English version of the *Ramayana*, the central theme to this text is man's sense of duty – first and foremost to his parents:

The right type of son is the one who fulfils a father's desire even without being asked to do so. The middling type is the one who does so, when requested. And the degenerate one is the son who fails to do so even when asked. Such a son is designated as 'dirt'. (Swami Tapasyananda, n.d., p.63)

Furthermore, because the parents are the first people to love as well as socialize the child, the parents are considered the child's first gurus, or sacred and spiritual teachers. As such, Hindu religious ceremonies by convention begin by first invoking the mother and father, followed by the guru, and only then followed by the chosen deity, as follows in Sanskrit: "matra devo bhava, pitra devo bhava, guru devo bhava, ..." (T. S. Rukmani, personal communication, July 18, 2005).

Based on the literature and Hindu dharma, it seems reasonable to choose "duty towards parents" as the one value that may be used as a measure of the North Indian Hindu culture at large in this language-culture thesis study. In terms of manifesting this value, based on Moag (1999) and Peetush's (1999) identification of the two arenas in which East and West, collectivism and individualism, and parents and children clash with each other head-on, it would seem reasonable to situate the value of filial into the two contexts of "marriage" and "career".

Research Questions

The literature presented and reviewed culminates with the specific goal of this thesis study, which is to document language shift as well as cultural shift within the North Indian Hindu community of Montreal, and to investigate whether this cultural shift (if any) is related to the language shift. The language-culture link will be tested using an adapted form of the matched-guise methodology, in which the content of the guises will

target the North Indian Hindu cultural value of filial duty. As such, the following are the two research questions that this thesis study aims to answer:

1. *Is there a language shift in Hindi between two generations of a North Indian Hindu community in Montreal?*
2. *If so, how does this language shift relate to the two generations' perceptions of North Indian Hindu culture, particularly of filial duty?*

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Participants

Selection Criteria

The participants consisted of 30 North Indian Hindu individuals in total, 15 from each generation. The generations were matched such that a first generation parent was paired with his or her offspring in the data analyses. All participants were required to sign a consent form, a sample of which can be seen in Appendix A.

The first generation participants were all born and raised to adulthood in a North Indian state and spoke Hindi as at least one of their mother-tongues. All immigrated to Canada at roughly the same time, in the 1960s when Canada relaxed its immigration laws and opened its borders to professionals (Wakil et al., 1981).

The second generation participants all came from North Indian Hindu households in which Hindi was one of the languages they were exposed to early on. All were of adult age (between 21 and 37 years old) and were socialized for the majority of their lives in Canada; that is, from roughly before the age of puberty.

Biographical Profile of Participants

The biographical information about each participant reported here were collected through the Biographical Questionnaire (Appendix B).

First Generation

The first generation participants consisted of 10 women and 5 men, with a mean age of 56 years. All were born in North India save one, who was born in Kenya. Except for one participant who had been in Canada for only 15 years at the time of the study, all

participants had been in Canada for 30+ years, having immigrated from India between 1965 and 1975.

The 15 first generation participants were university educated, 2 having completed their post-secondary education outside of India. With the exception of 3 participants, all of whom were women, the rest of the participants were practicing professions such as accounting (1), business (3), dentistry (1), engineering (2), library sciences (2), medicine (1) and teaching (2) at the time of the study.

The first generation participants reported household incomes ranging from \$55 000 to more than \$100 000 and were therefore considered well educated and belonging to the upper-middle socio-economic class.

Second Generation

The second generation participants also consisted of 10 women and 5 men, and had a mean age of 28 years at the time of testing. The eldest second generation participant was born in 1968 while the youngest was born in 1984. Twelve participants were born in Canada, specifically 11 in the greater Montreal area and 1 in Ontario. Of the remaining 3, 1 was born in North India, 1 in Saudi Arabia and 1 did not indicate any place of birth. The participant born in North India immigrated to Canada at the age of 6 and had been here for 15 years at the time of the study. The participant born in Saudi Arabia was 5 at the time of immigration and had been in Canada for 18 years.

Six of the 15 second generation participants were still studying at university at the time of the study, while the remaining 9 had already completed their education and were practicing some type of professional career. The various fields studied or practiced by the

participants included accounting, commerce, computer science, engineering, international development, management, medicine and public relations.

In terms of household income, one second generation participant reported a household income between \$35 000 and \$55 000, 5 reported a household income between \$55 000 and \$100 000, and the remaining 9 reported an income of more than \$100 000. It is not surprising that they reported these levels of income, since the majority of the second generation participants reported that they were still living with their parents at the time of the study and took their parents income as their household income. Overall the second generation participants were also well educated and belonged to the upper-middle socio-economic class.

Language Background of Participants

All language background data of the participants were collected through the Language Background Questionnaire (Appendix C).

First Generation

As mentioned in the biographical profile section, 14 of the 15 first generation participants were born and raised in North India and spoke Hindi as one of their major languages, if not as their mother-tongue. Indeed, 8 of the participants identified Hindi as their mother-tongue. The mother-tongue languages reported for the other 6 participants born in North India were as follows: Punjabi (3), both Multani and Punjabi (1) and both Hindi and Punjabi (2). The one participant who was born outside of India reported both Hindi and Punjabi as his mother-tongue languages.

Out of the total 15 participants, 12 had learned Hindi by the age of 5, while 2 learned it later in school at the ages of 10 and 11, and 1 did not answer the question. On a ten-

point Likert scale (1 = “I have no proficiency in Hindi; 10 = “I have native proficiency in Hindi), these participants self-rated their overall proficiency in Hindi at the time of the study to be an average of 8.5.

Seven of the 15 first generation participants reported learning English by the age of 8, 5 at the age of 10, and 3 after the age of 10. The mean self-rated overall proficiency in English at the time of the study was 8.2 for the group.

Second Generation

Thirteen of the participants identified English as their mother-tongue, with only 1 reporting Hindi and the other reporting Punjabi. This is despite the fact that 9 participants had learned Hindi by the age of 6. Five participants reported learning Hindi after the age of 6 and 1 left the question blank. The mean overall proficiency level of Hindi as self-rated by the participants at the time of testing was 5.5 on a ten-point scale.

All 15 second generation participants reported learning English by the age of 3. Their mean overall self-rated proficiency in English at the time of the study was 9.9 on a ten-point scale.

Materials

The data collection instruments for this study consisted of two sets of materials. The first set included questionnaires seeking background information about the participants. These were a Biographical Questionnaire, a Language Background Questionnaire, a Cultural Profile Questionnaire, and a Hindi and English Oral Proficiency Task. The second set, called Experimental Task, consisted of a Behavioural Questionnaire and Audio Recordings, designed to be used together in a matched-guise data gathering procedure.

Background Information

Biographical Questionnaire

The Biographical Questionnaire (Appendix B) sought personal information regarding the participants such as their age, gender, place of residence and family description (identification of primary caregivers, siblings and children). It also sought information on the participants' educational, career and marriage choices in detail in order to provide a more culturally-rich background. It included questions adapted from the Lambert, Mermigis and Taylor (1987) and Moghaddam and Taylor (1987) surveys on multiculturalism in Canada seeking information on (a) how well particular ethnic labels described the participants and (b) how strongly the participants felt about minority groups maintaining their traditions in Canada. This last section employed a ten-point Likert scale. Endpoints 1 and 10 for the ethnic labels question were "does not describe me at all" and "describes me perfectly", respectively. Endpoints for the maintenance of minority group traditions were 1, "groups should totally *give up* traditional ways of life" and 10, "groups should totally *maintain* traditional ways of life".

Language Background Questionnaire

The Language Background Questionnaire (Appendix C) was a detailed survey of the participants' language background. Due to the linguistic complexity of the participants' "motherland", India, as well as that of Quebec, Canada, the survey asked the participants to identify their mother-tongue as well as indicate the age when they began to learn it. The questionnaire was designed to be sensitive to the typical Indian linguistic context in which one may have learned a regional language such as Punjabi first in life, but chooses to identify as one's mother-tongue a national language such as Hindi, which one learns at

a later age (Fasold, 1984). It was also designed to reflect the Indian situation in a Quebec-Canada context, in which a participant may have learned Hindi first in the home, but chooses to identify English or French as her mother-tongue due to the majority of her socialization and education being conducted in this medium.

Participants were asked to self-rate their usage and proficiency in three languages, Hindi, English and French, and to do so over three points in time: before beginning schooling, during schooling and at present time. The “before schooling” period in the questionnaire sought information about the language patterns of the home environment before the child began attending school. The “during schooling” period allowed a glimpse into how the language pattern changed for the individual from the home to school environment.

Participants also self-rated their current Hindi, English and French proficiencies in all the four skills: speaking, understanding, reading and writing. For the two other points in time, those of “before schooling” and “during schooling”, they self-rated their overall proficiency only. Proficiency rating was done on a ten-point Likert scale, where the endpoints 1 and 10 were “I have no proficiency in Hindi/English/French” and “I have native proficiency in Hindi/English/French”, respectively.

Language usage was measured in percentage from 0 (none of the time) to 100 (all the time) in order to describe the amount of time participants spent using this language on a regular basis at “before schooling”, “during schooling” and present time periods. Participants were also asked to estimate the percentage of time their caregivers spent speaking to them in this language on a regular basis over the same three points of time.

Finally, for the Hindi language, participants were asked to indicate how committed they were to passing this language onto their children. The level of commitment was measured on a ten-point Likert scale with 1 representing “not at all committed” and 10 representing “completely committed”.

Cultural Profile Questionnaire

The Cultural Profile Questionnaire (Appendix D) assessed an aspect of the participants’ cultural value system by asking them to rate how traditionally “Indian” their households were, and how important certain Indian values were to the raising of girls and boys. Of utmost interest was how the participants rated the importance of “duty towards parents”. The question was asked separately for girls and boys and was phrased as follows:

Rate the extent to which you think the following aspects of Indian culture are important to a traditional Indian household in raising *girls*:

duty towards parents:

Not at all important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Most important
and

Rate the extent to which you think the following aspects of Indian culture are important to a traditional Indian household in raising *boys*:

duty towards parents:

Not at all important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Most important

In addition, the questionnaire asked participants explicitly to rate how central the Hindi language was to North Indian culture, as seen below:

How central do you think the Hindi language is to North Indian culture?

Not at all central 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Completely central

Participants' views expressed in the Cultural Profile Questionnaire on the value of "duty towards parents" and the centrality of the Hindi language to the North Indian Hindu culture were put to the test in the Experimental Task described in a later section.

Hindi and English Oral Proficiency Task

The final component of the background information materials consisted of a Hindi and Oral Proficiency Task, in which all participants were asked to respond to one question in English and one question in Hindi for 1 minute each. In English, they were asked to talk about their plans for the following summer or Christmas, while in Hindi they were asked to describe their previous trip to India or another destination (see the Testing Protocol in Appendix E).

Participants were recorded directly onto a computer using *CoolEdit* (Syntrillium Software Corporation, 2000), and these recordings were later rated by two native speakers of each language. English raters filled out a Likert scale from 0 to 10, with endpoints "not a native English speaker" and "a native English speaker", respectively, while Hindi raters did likewise with the endpoints "not a native Hindi speaker" and "a native Hindi speaker". Similar questions were asked for the participants' fluency and ease of communication in each language. The rating scales for Hindi and English can be seen in Appendix F.

The Hindi raters who rated each participant's oral proficiency in Hindi were the same two Hindi native speaker raters who helped choose the Hindi-English bilingual Indo-Canadian woman, out of the three volunteers who recorded the three experimental conditions for the matched-guise (see the Audio Recordings section below). Of the two English raters, one was 27 at the time of the study and had come from Edmonton to study

at Concordia University. The other was 30 and was born and grew up in Montreal and was of North Indian origin. Both were native English speakers.

Experimental Task

The second data gathering procedure in this study was a modified matched-guise task (Lambert et al., 1960) designed to test whether language functions as a core value to North Indian Hindu culture. It was also designed to reveal the participants' view of the traditional North Indian Hindu value of "duty towards parents" in a situation more practical and real than provided by the Cultural Profile Questionnaire.

For this task, audio recordings of adult Hindi-English bilinguals describing personal conflicts they were facing concerning various cultural issues were prepared. A Behavioural Questionnaire was also developed which would be used by the listeners of these audio recordings to indicate their reactions to the dilemmas described.

Audio Recordings

The audio recordings (Appendix G) comprised of a number of voices of speakers describing 7 scenarios in English and their translations in Hindi. The Hindi versions were translated from English by a professional interpreter, a 55 year old Hindi-Punjabi-English trilingual who had been in Canada for 36 years at the time of the thesis study.

Three of the 7 scenarios were recorded by one Hindi-English bilingual individual and made up the matched-guise portion of the data collection instruments. Of these 3 matched-guise scenarios, 2 contextualized the value of "duty towards parents" in situations of marriage and career, while the third served as a control for the language-culture relationship and addressed shoplifting. Each scenario was recorded in both English and Hindi, making a total of 6 recorded voices for the matched-guise component.

The remaining 4 of the 7 scenarios were fillers, 2 emotionally charged fillers and 2 neutral fillers. The 4 fillers in English were recorded by 4 different English native speakers, while the 4 translation fillers in Hindi were recorded by 4 different Hindi-speakers for a total of 8 filler voices.

There were thus an overall total of 14 voices in the audio recordings used for the experimental task. All 14 scenarios were digitally recorded using *CoolEdit* (Syntrillium Software Corporation, 2000).

The person who recorded the 3 matched-guise scenarios, those of marriage, career and shoplifting, was a 28 year old Hindi-English Indo-Canadian bilingual. She was chosen as the most native sounding in Hindi among 3 Indo-Canadian bilingual women who recorded their voices in both Hindi and English. The 3 Indo-Canadian volunteers were rated by 2 Hindi native speakers. One of the Hindi raters was the research assistant hired to collect the data from the participants of the study. The other was a 30 year old Hindi speaker who was born in Bihar, North India and had been in Canada for 2 years at the time of the study.

Marriage recording.

The marriage scenario presented an Indo-Canadian woman experiencing a conflict regarding on the one hand her desire to marry for love and on the other, her desire to do her duty towards her parents by marrying sooner rather than later. Because she was already 30 years old, for this woman to marry later rather than sooner would place a burden on her parents. The choice of the word “burden” implies emotional concern on the parents’ part that their daughter continues to remain unsettled in life. This concern comes from the four stages of Hindu life as prescribed by the *Manu Smriti*, wherein a Hindu

cannot progress to the next level of her spiritual growth if the previous stage lingers too long (Basham, 1967; Klostermaier, 1994). In the case of a child's marital status, for example, if she chooses to remain unmarried or cannot marry at a reasonable age, she is not only holding herself back from her own spiritual progress, she is also holding her parents back from their next spiritual stage in life, which is to relinquish all concerns of the material household once their children are settled and turn to a lifestyle dedicated to spiritual progress.

Career Recording.

The career scenario was structured similarly to the marriage scenario with the same 30 year old Indo-Canadian character. In this scenario she would be placing a burden on her parents if she were to give up her successful computer engineering career in favour of pursuing her dream to be a musician. In this case the burden on her parents could be interpreted as financial as well as emotional.

Control Recording.

The shoplifting scenario revolved around a topic considered to be more culturally neutral than marriage and career, in that shoplifting is an act that does not involve the value of "duty towards parents", nor does it involve any other value particular to Indian or Canadian culture. For this reason it served as a control for the language-culture relationship measure. Whereas participants may have reacted differently to the marriage and career scenarios according to the language of the recording, for the shoplifting scenario participants should have reacted similarly across both languages.

Upon hearing each recording summarized above, the participants were required to indicate their reactions by filling out the Behavioural Questionnaire described in the next section.

Behavioural Questionnaire

The Behavioural Questionnaire (Appendix H) contained a series of questions that the participants answered as they listened to the voices of Hindi-English bilinguals speaking in either Hindi or English while discussing various personal conflicts. The questionnaire was designed to measure the degree of the participants' espousal of traditional Indian views regarding the value of "duty towards parents", which was chosen to represent North Indian Hindu culture at large.

After listening to each recording, participants were asked to indicate their agreement on a ten-point Likert scale to an extremely biased statement opining what the Indo-Canadian woman should do in order to resolve her conflict. The bias inherent in the statement erred on the side of fulfilling one's duty to one's parents. An example of the biased statement for marriage is as follows:

What do you think she should do?

She should get married soon so that she does not become a burden to her parents.

Strongly disagree Strongly agree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

For career, the biased statement read:

What do you think she should do?

She should keep her job so that she does not become a burden to her parents.

Strongly disagree Strongly agree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

In addition to responding to the above type of question in which the participants were asked to put forth their opinion about a woman who is unknown to them, participants were also forced to put themselves in the same situation. Examples of this more personal perspective can be seen in the following questions taken from the marriage context:

If she were your daughter, what do you think she should do?

She should get married soon so that she does not become a burden to her parents.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

as well as:

What would you do?

I would get married soon so that I would not become a burden to my parents.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

The same pronoun substitutions were made for the corresponding questions and statements in the career context.

In asking the participants to react to the prompts first as the objective observer (in “what should the woman do”), followed by as a parent (in “what should she do if she were your daughter”) and finally as themselves (in “what would you do if this were you?”), the questionnaire was designed to force the participants to reveal not only their “desirable” values but their “desired” values as well. Hofstede (1991) defines “desirable” values as absolute or ideological, useful for ascertaining the general direction a value may take. However, this value may not reflect what is actually practiced in real, everyday life. For a more accurate portrait of what the participants actually practiced themselves, the “desired” values were used as a measure of the intensity of their values, and were

presented in language more personal to the individual, thereby tapping more into their personal view. By having participants respond to both perspectives, it was assumed that their behaviour in reality could be assessed as closely as possible without actually observing them in the intimacy of their households.

The effect of language on the cultural value of “duty towards parents” was measured by comparing the participants’ responses to the same content across the matched-guise Hindi and English audio recordings. If both the first and second generation participants reacted consistently to the prompts regardless of the language in which it was presented, their value of “duty towards parents” would be independent of language. This would imply that this value would survive regardless of whether there was a language shift from Hindi to English in the participants’ linguistic lives. If, however, the participants – most likely those from the second generation who lost their Hindi – reacted differently according to the language of the prompt, it might be said for them that language mediated their value of “duty towards parents”. In this case the retention of this value, a representative of the culture at large, would be seriously threatened by any deterioration in the use and proficiency of the Hindi language over the course of future generations of this group in Canada.

Data Collection Procedure

The procedure for testing was outlined in a protocol (Appendix E) for the research assistant and was piloted with the Hindi-English bilingual woman who recorded her voice for the matched-guise portion of the experimental task. The research assistant was a 39 year old mother-tongue Hindi speaker who was born in Uttar Pradesh, North India. Having been in Canada for only 2 years at the time of the study, he was unknown to the

established Montreal North Indian Hindu community, therefore providing a neutral testing atmosphere free from performance pressure. Furthermore, as a “fellow” Indian immigrant who could conduct the procedure in authentic Hindi, he was capable of engaging the first generation participants, while using his high English proficiency and his student status at Concordia University to help make the second generation feel more at ease.

The research assistant was asked to meet the participants either in parent-child pairs or individually at their convenience. The participants began with completing the consent form and then filling out the Biographical Data and Language Background Questionnaires. They filled out the Behavioural Questionnaire while listening to the Audio Recordings. With a parent-child pair only one participant at a time was able to listen to the Audio Recordings and complete the Behavioural Questionnaire. The last questionnaire for the participants to fill out was the Cultural Profile Questionnaire. At the final stage of the data collection process the participants were asked to respond verbally to the English and Hindi Oral Proficiency Task and were recorded by the research assistant. The entire data collection process took roughly one hour for each participant, or an hour and a half for a parent-child pair.

Data Analysis

Descriptive Statistics

General biographical, language background and cultural value profile data were reported and presented by means of descriptive data.

Inferential Statistics

In order to compare both generations, most data were analyzed using analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedures, followed by pair-wise comparisons. Because the participants were hand-picked as parent-child pairs from each family, matched-pairs *t*-tests were conducted in order to assess differences between the generations. Within-generation comparisons consisted of one-way repeated measures ANOVA analyses.

Other inferential statistical analyses consisted of correlations between concepts represented across the different questionnaires, most notably between Hindi language proficiency and the behavioural responses of the participants to the notion of “duty towards parents” invoked in the experimental task.

Details of all the statistical analyses will be presented, where relevant, in the following chapter.

Dependent Variables

Language Shift from Hindi to English

Language shift from Hindi to English was measured in 4 ways; the first three measures were taken from the Language Background Questionnaire and the final measure from the Oral Proficiency Task:

1. the difference in the level of the second generation’s self-rated proficiency in Hindi relative to that of the first generation;
2. the difference between second generation’s self-rated active use of Hindi and that of the first generation;
3. the change over time between the self-rated overall proficiency in and active use of Hindi for the second generation; and

4. the difference in objective oral proficiency scores between the first and second generations as rated by native English and Hindi speakers.

Cultural Shift away from the North Indian Hindu Culture

From the Behavioural Questionnaire in the Experimental Task, cultural shift away from the North Indian Hindu culture was measured by the degree of espousal of the traditional views regarding the value of “duty towards parents”. Espousal of the traditional view was equivalent to an agreement with the biased statements indicating that the Indo-Canadian woman should act in a way that would relieve the burden from her parents (corresponding to a rating of 5 and above on a ten-point Likert scale with endpoints: 1 = “strongly disagree”; 10 = “strongly agree”). A cultural shift away from the traditional view of this value was therefore operationalized by a disagreement with the biased statement, equivalent to any rating below 5. Furthermore, a significant difference between the first and second generations in their agreement ratings, regardless of the actual rating, was taken to indicate a cultural shift between the two generations.

From the Cultural Profile Questionnaire, a rating of 5 and above on a ten-point scale in the importance of “duty towards parents” in raising girls and boys in a traditional Indian household (endpoints: 1 = “not at all important”; 10 = “most important”) was indication of the participants’ espousal of this value. Therefore a cultural shift away from the traditional view of this value was operationalized as any rating below 5. Furthermore, a significant difference between the first and second generations in their rating of “duty towards parents”, regardless of the actual rating, indicated a cultural shift between the two generations.

Language as Core Value of North Indian Hindu Culture

From the Cultural Profile Questionnaire, any rating of 5 and above on a ten-point scale (endpoints: 1 = “not at all central”; 10 = “completely central”) indicated that the participants considered the Hindi language as central to their North Indian culture.

From the Experimental Task, a change in response according to language to the same content presented in the marriage and career contexts would provide evidence that language mediated the value of “duty towards parents” and therefore the culture at large.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

The first part of this chapter presents the results to the two research questions posed in Chapter 2. For the first research question on language shift, results will be reported from the Language Background Questionnaire and Oral Proficiency Task. For the second research question, which investigates whether the language shift relates to the two generations' perceptions on culture, results will be reported from the Experimental Task. All results are summarized in Tables I1-I9 in Appendix I.

The second part of this chapter presents the results of supplementary analyses conducted to provide additional information that could help explain the findings for the research questions. All supplementary analysis results are summarized in Tables I10-I18 in Appendix I.

Research Question 1

Is there a language shift in Hindi between two generations of a North Indian Hindu community in Montreal?

The first aim of this thesis study was to establish whether a language shift from Hindi to English has, in fact, occurred within the North Indian Hindu community of Montreal. To realize this objective, the participants' responses on the Language Background Questionnaire (Appendix C) and Oral Proficiency Task (from the Testing Protocol in Appendix E) were analyzed. These measures sought information on:

1. the level of the second generation's self-rated proficiency in Hindi relative to that of the first generation;
2. the second generation's current active use of Hindi relative to that of the first generation;

3. the actual oral proficiency of the first and second generations as rated by independent judges in the Oral Proficiency Task; and
4. the change over time in proficiency in and the active use of Hindi for the second generation.

Each measure for Hindi had its counterpart for the English language; these will be reported alongside each other. The aim of the English measures was to assess whether the language shift away from Hindi in the second generation, if any, is accompanied by a language gain in English, thus demonstrating a complete shift from Hindi to English in the community.

It was predicted that the second generation would demonstrate less overall proficiency, both self-rated as well as listener-scored, and less active use of Hindi than the first generation. It was also predicted that the second generation would demonstrate a decline in self-rated proficiency as well as active use of Hindi with time.

Self-Rated Proficiency in Hindi & English between the 1st & 2nd Generations

Participants were asked to rate their overall proficiency in Hindi on a ten-point scale ranging from 1, “I have no proficiency in Hindi”, to 10, “I have native proficiency in Hindi”. The same question was asked for English with endpoints referring to proficiency in the English language.

A matched-pairs *t*-test, in which the responses of each parent and those of the child from the same family were paired, was first used to compare Hindi proficiency self-ratings between the two generations. This test revealed that the first generation was significantly different from the second generation. This suggests that the first generation ($M = 8.5$) did indeed self-rate their overall Hindi proficiency significantly higher than the

second generation did ($M = 5.5$), $t(14) = 5.13$, $p < .001$. This result contrasts starkly with the self-rated overall proficiency in English reported by both the first and second generations. The matched-pairs t -test revealed that for English the second generation ($M = 9.9$) self-rated their overall English proficiency significantly higher than the first generation ($M = 8.3$), $t(14) = 2.99$, $p < .05$. Figure 4.1 below illustrates the difference in overall proficiency levels of the two groups in Hindi and English.

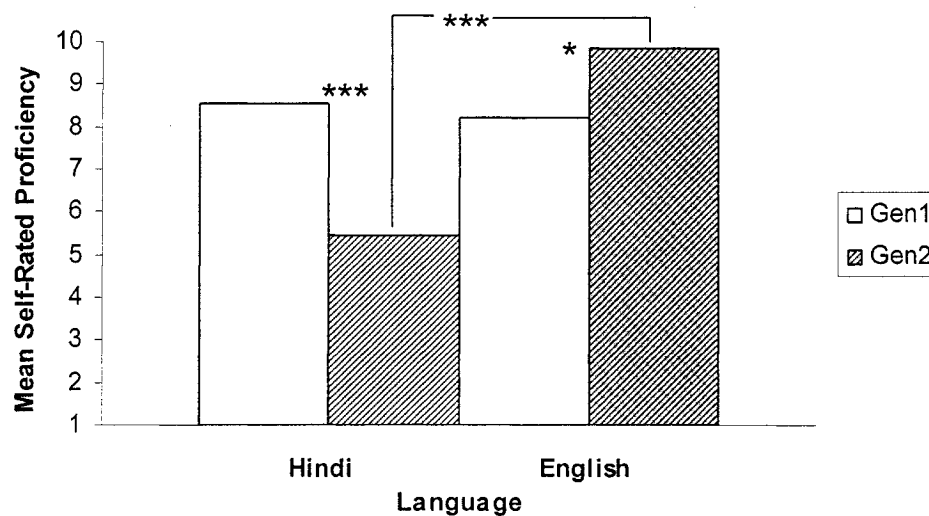


Figure 4.1. Mean self-rated proficiency of both generations for Hindi and English (* $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$).

Further analysis was conducted to compare the overall proficiency between Hindi and English within each generation. A matched-pairs t -test conducted on the first generation's Hindi and English proficiency self-ratings revealed that their overall proficiency in Hindi ($M = 8.5$) was not significantly different from that in English ($M = 8.2$). For the second generation a similar matched-pairs t -test revealed that the second generation rated themselves significantly higher in English proficiency ($M = 9.9$) than in Hindi ($M = 5.5$), $t(14) = 8.55$, $p < .001$.

Self-Rated Active Use of Hindi & English between the 1st and 2nd Generations

Participants rated their active use of Hindi on a ten-point scale from 0 to 100, where 0 represents “none of the time” and 100 “all of the time”. The same question was asked for the active use of English.

A matched-pairs *t*-test comparing Hindi use ratings between the first and second generations revealed that the first generation ($M = 52.7\%$) used Hindi more on a regular basis than did their second generation counterparts ($M = 24.7\%$), $t(14) = 4.09$, $p < .001$. Similar to the overall proficiency results, the contrast between the active use of Hindi between the two generations and that of English was sharp. A matched-pairs *t*-test comparing English use ratings between the first and second generation revealed that the second generation ($M = 92.0\%$) self-rated their use of English as significantly greater than did the first generation ($M = 60.7\%$), $t(14) = 4.18$, $p < .05$. Figure 4.2 below illustrates the difference between the two groups’ active use of Hindi and English.

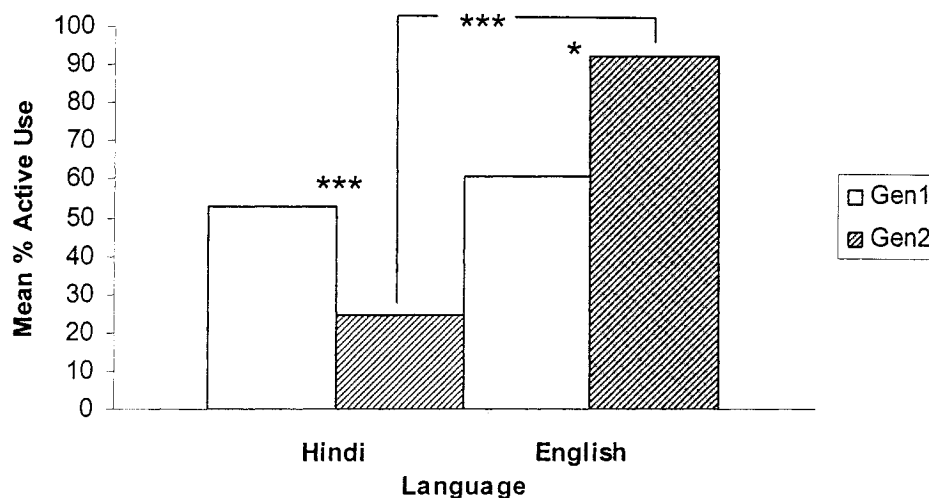


Figure 4.2. Mean self-rated active use of Hindi and English by both generations (* $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$).

Further analysis was conducted for intra-generational language use differences. For the first generation, a matched-pairs *t*-test revealed no significant difference between their use of the two languages (Hindi $M = 52.7\%$; English $M = 60.7\%$). However for the second generation a matched-pairs *t*-test revealed that they self-rated their use of English ($M = 92.0\%$) as greater than that of Hindi ($M = 24.7\%$), $t(14) = 15.25$, $p < .001$. These results can be seen in Figure 4.2 above.

Oral Proficiency Task Scores in Hindi & English for 1st & 2nd Generations

The participants' recorded oral production in Hindi and English was rated by native speakers of each language on a 0-10 fluency scale, where 0 represented "not at all fluent in Hindi/English" and 10, "extremely fluent in Hindi/English". A matched-pairs *t*-test comparing Hindi oral proficiency scores between the first and second generations revealed that the first generation ($M = 8.8$) demonstrated higher fluency skills than the second generation ($M = 4.8$) in Hindi oral production, $t(14) = 3.34$, $p < .001$. The inter-rater reliability between the two Hindi raters was $\alpha = .92$.

In contrast, a matched-pairs *t*-test comparing the English oral proficiency scores of the first and second generations revealed that the second generation participants ($M = 9.2$) had better skills in English oral production than the first generation participants ($M = 7.1$), $t(14) = 5.72$, $p < .001$. The two English-speaking judges demonstrated an inter-rater reliability of $\alpha = .78$. Figure 4.3 that follows illustrates the difference between the two groups in their oral production scores in Hindi and English.

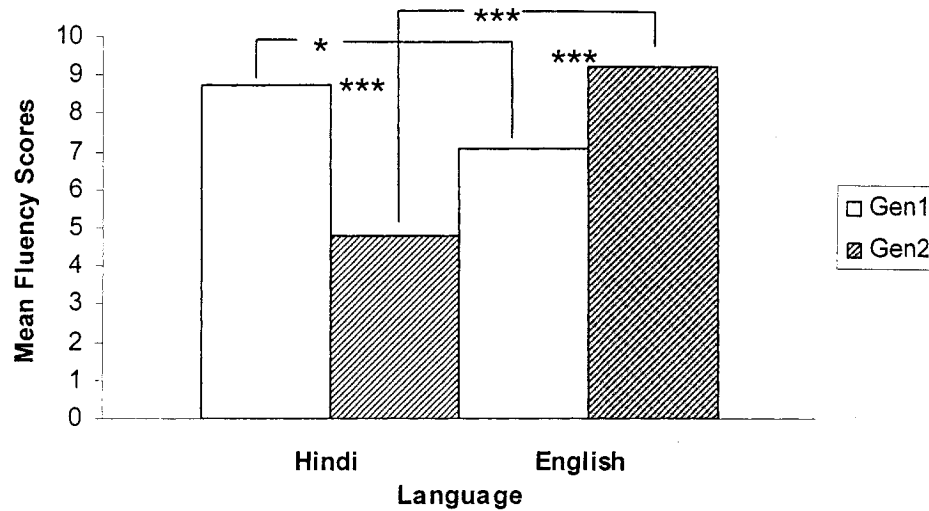


Figure 4.3. Mean fluency scores of both generations in Hindi and English oral production (* $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$).

Further statistical analyses were conducted in order to compare each generation's proficiency skills in their two languages. For the first generation a matched-pairs t -test conducted on their Hindi and English scores revealed that their Hindi scores ($M = 8.8$) were significantly higher than their English scores ($M = 7.1$), suggesting that they performed significantly better in Hindi than in English, $t(14) = 3.55, p < .05$. In contrast, a matched-pairs t -test conducted on the second generation's Hindi and English proficiency scores revealed that their English scores ($M = 9.2$) were significantly higher than their Hindi scores ($M = 4.8$), suggesting that the second generation performed significantly better in English than in Hindi, $t(14) = 7.14, p < .001$.

Change in Overall Proficiency & Active Use of Hindi & English over Time for 2nd Generation

Because this thesis is concerned with differences in language behaviour in the second generation with respect to the first generation, the reference or baseline was the first

generation, itself. Therefore the change in overall proficiency or active use of Hindi and English was measured for the second generation only in order to capture the change in their language patterns as a result of their introduction to schooling.

Change in Overall Proficiency over Time

To find out if there was change over time in overall language proficiency for the second generation participants, their self-rated proficiency in Hindi was subjected to a one-way repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA), with responses at different times (“before schooling”, “during schooling” and “present time”) as within-subjects factor. This analysis yielded no significant main effect of time. This result means that the overall proficiency in Hindi as rated by the second generation did not change with time (“before schooling” $M = 4.07$; “during schooling” $M = 4.2$; “present time” $M = 5.47$).

A one-way repeated measures ANOVA with time (“before schooling”, “during schooling” and “present time”) as within-subjects factor compared the second generation participants’ ratings of their overall English proficiency over time. This analysis yielded a main effect of time, $F(2, 28) = 14.69, p < .001$. The significant effect of time was explored using pairwise comparisons, which revealed that the second generation experienced a significant gain in English proficiency between the “before schooling” and “during schooling” periods ($p < .01$), and an overall gain in English proficiency between the “before schooling” period and “present time” ($p = .001$). There was no significant gain in English proficiency between the “during schooling” and “present time” periods. This result conforms to the expected language shift pattern towards English as the lingua franca for the second generation with the onset of schooling. Figure 4.4 that follows

illustrates the contrast between Hindi and English in the second generation's change in self-rated proficiency over time.

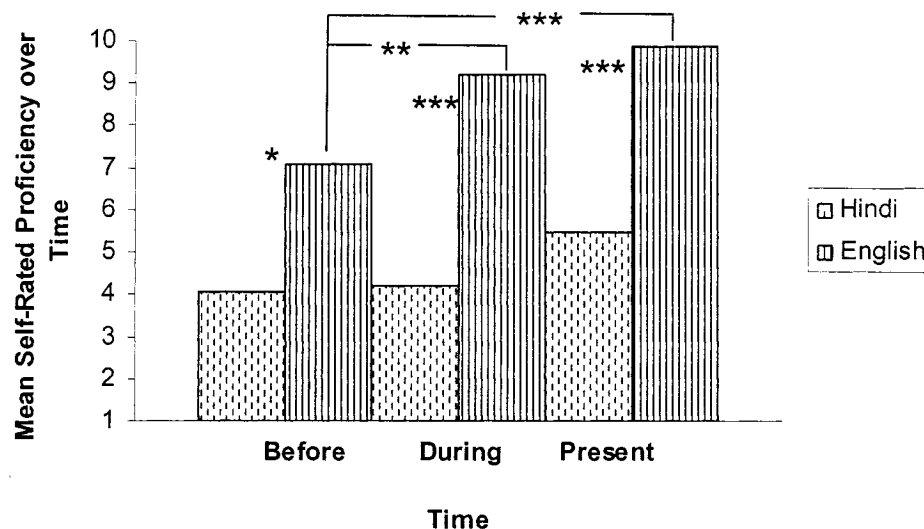


Figure 4.4. Mean self-rated proficiency over time of second generation for Hindi and English (* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p \leq .001$).

Matched-pairs t -tests comparing the Hindi and English self-rated proficiencies over all three time periods within the second generation revealed significant differences in favour of English for each time period. This means that the second generation had a greater overall English proficiency than that in Hindi at each period of the participants' lives: "before schooling" period, $t(14) = 2.66$; $p < .05$; "during schooling", $t(14) = 9.86$; $p < .001$; and "present time", $t(14) = 8.55$; $p < .001$.

Change in Active Use over Time

A one-way repeated-measures ANOVA with time ("before schooling", "during schooling" and "present time") as the within-subjects factor compared the second generation participants' ratings of their regular use of Hindi over time. This analysis yielded no effect of time ("before schooling" $M = 30.67\%$; "during schooling" $M = 28\%$;

“present time” $M = 24.67\%$). A one-way repeated measures ANOVA with time (“before schooling”, “during schooling” and “present time”) as the within-subjects factor compared the second generation participants’ ratings of their active use of English over time. This analysis did yield a main effect of time, $F(2, 28) = 4.65, p < .05$. The significant effect of time was explored using pairwise comparisons, which revealed that the second generation used English significantly more actively overall between the “before schooling” and “present time” periods ($p < .05$). Figure 4.5 below illustrates the contrast between Hindi and English in the second generation’s change in self-rated active use over time.

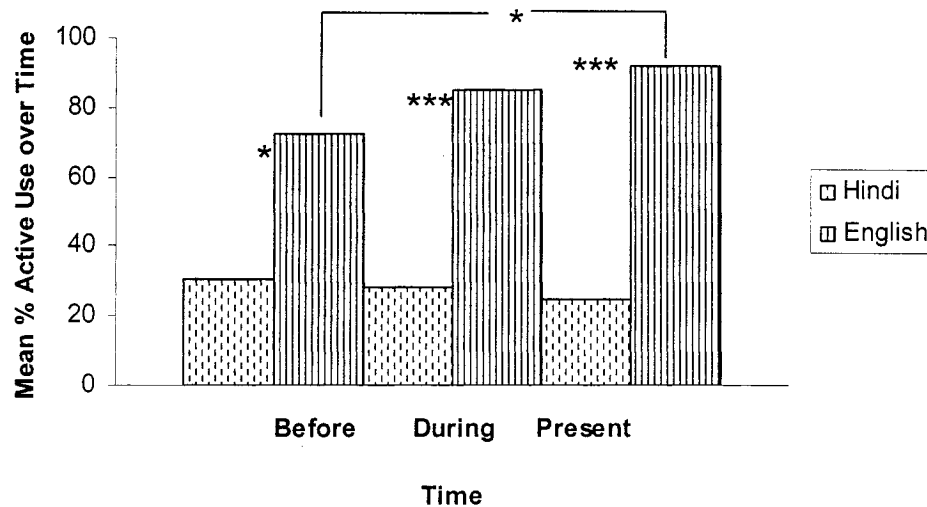


Figure 4.5. Mean self-rated active use over time of Hindi and English by second generation (* $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$).

Matched-pairs t -tests comparing the self-rated active use of Hindi and English over all three time periods within the second generation revealed significant differences in favour of English for each time period. This means that the second generation’s use of English increased significantly more than their Hindi use at each period of the

participants' lives: "before schooling" period, $t(14) = 2.94; p < .05$; "during schooling", $t(14) = 8.44; p < .001$; and "present time", $t(14) = 15.25; p < .001$.

Summary of Results for Research Question 1

From all four measures listed for language shift, it can be seen quite clearly that a language shift from Hindi to English has taken place from the first generation to the second generation in the North Indian Hindu community of Montreal. English has taken over completely as the dominant language for the second generation.

Research Question 2

How does this language shift relate to the two generations' perceptions of North Indian Hindu culture, particularly of filial duty?

The Experimental Task, consisting of Audio Recordings used in conjunction with a Behavioural Questionnaire, was designed to allow the researcher to assess the participants' behaviour without having to observe them in the privacy of their own lives. After listening to the narration of each experimental condition ("marriage", "career" and control, all described in Chapter 3), participants were asked fill out the Behavioural Questionnaire, indicating their agreement on a ten-point Likert scale to an extremely biased statement professing what the Indo-Canadian woman in the recording should do in order to resolve her conflict (endpoints: 1 = "strongly disagree"; 10 = "strongly agree"). The bias inherent in the statement erred on the side of fulfilling one's duty to one's parents.

Participants were asked to respond to the statement from several different perspectives: an unknown woman, their own daughter, an unknown man, their own son and they, themselves (see any scenario in Appendix H for specific wording of all

perspectives, and Chapter 3 for an explanation on “desirable” versus “desired” directions of personal values). While these several perspectives allowed for a richer understanding of the participants’ view of the value of “duty towards parents”, only those perspectives which produced statistically significant results will be reported. All results for the control, “marriage” and “career” conditions, including those perspectives found to be non-significant, can be found in Tables I4-I9 in Appendix I.

Inter-generational differences in the degree to which participants agreed to the biased statement would indicate a cultural shift in the community with respect to the value of “duty towards parents”, thus answering *one* part of research question 2, that on inter-generational perceptions on culture. It was predicted that the first generation would agree overall with the biased statements and thus demonstrate a strong sense of filial duty, while the second generation would disagree, demonstrating a weak sense of filial duty and thus a cultural shift.

The other part of research question 2, whether the language shift in this community relates to their cultural shift, was addressed in the Experimental Task. The matched-guise design of this task allowed for a true test of the centrality of the Hindi language to the North Indian Hindu culture. If both the first and second generation participants reacted consistently to the prompts regardless of the language in which it was presented, their value of “duty towards parents” would be considered to be independent of language. If, however, the participants reacted differently according to the language of the prompt, language could be seen as mediating this value. More specifically, it was predicted that the first generation would demonstrate a strong sense of filial duty regardless of the language in which they listened to the conflict described in the “marriage” and “career”

contexts. For the second generation it was predicted that while they would demonstrate a weak sense of filial duty when presented with the English voice, they would express a stronger sense of duty towards their parents when listening to the same voice in Hindi.

The control scenario included in the Experimental Task was designed in order to ensure that the matched-guise functioned correctly. This scenario was built around what was considered by the researcher to be a culturally-neutral conflict, shoplifting (see Appendix G for the English transcript). That is, neither North American Canadian culture nor North Indian Hindu culture condones shoplifting. Therefore, it was not expected that there would be any effect of language on the degree to which participants of either generation reacted to the biased statements.

The first results to be reported will be those of the control scenario, followed by the “marriage” and “career” scenarios.

Control

Participants were asked to rate their agreement to a statement expressing the opinion that the woman narrating the scenario should confront her friend about having witnessed her shoplifting. A two-way ANOVA with generation (1st, 2nd) as between-subjects factor and language (English, Hindi) as within-subjects factor compared the participants’ agreement to the statement. This analysis yielded a significant generation effect, $F(1, 28) = 5.37; p < .05$, but no significant effect of language and no significant generation \times language interaction.

This analysis also revealed no significant difference between Hindi and English for either generation. That is to say, both generations tended to agree with the statement that the woman should confront her friend about the shoplifting whether they heard the

woman speak in Hindi or in English. This was true across all perspectives, from an unknown person to the participants, themselves, being faced with this dilemma. Figure 4.6 below represents the results for the first perspective, that of the unknown woman, as an example for the participants' behaviour on all perspectives.

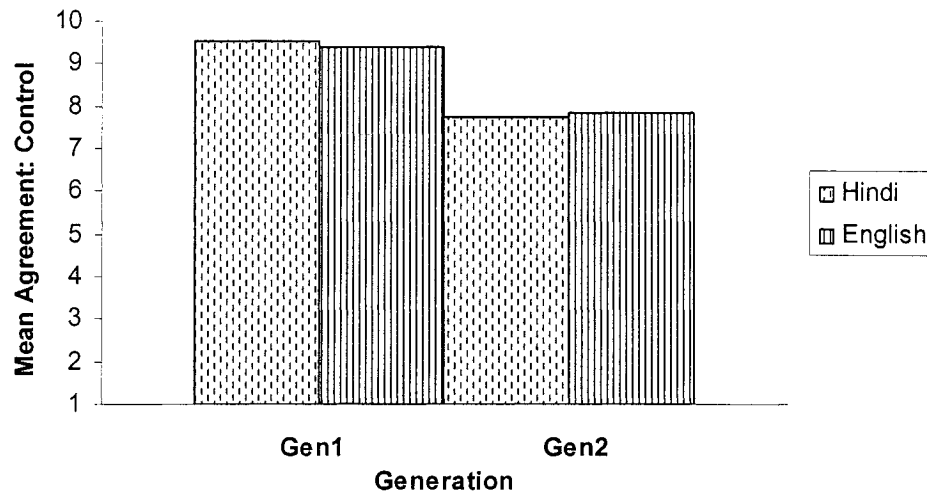


Figure 4.6. Mean agreement by both generations to statement that woman should confront friend about shoplifting.

These results indicate that the matched-guise design for the Behavioural Questionnaire functioned as intended, in that language made no difference to the participants' behaviour.

"Marriage"

All participants listened to the recorded scenario on marriage, the transcript of which can be read in Appendix G.

“Unknown Woman” Perspective

In the “unknown woman” perspective, participants were asked to state an opinion about what the woman they heard in the recording should do with regards to her conflict concerning marriage.

A two-way ANOVA with generation (1st, 2nd) as between-subjects factor and language (English, Hindi) as within-subjects factor compared the participants’ agreement to the statement that the woman should marry soon. This analysis yielded a significant language effect, $F(1, 28) = 6.92$; $p = .01$, but no significant effect of generation and no significant generation \times language interaction. The significant language effect was explored using pairwise comparisons. These analyses revealed that participants’ reactions in response to English were different from their responses to Hindi, but only in the second generation. This means that the second generation tended to agree more with the statement that the woman should marry soon in English ($M = 3.1$) than in Hindi ($M = 2.7$), $p < .05$.

The non-significant generation effect indicates that there were no inter-generational differences in how the generations responded to the statement that the woman should marry soon to relieve the burden from her parents. Both the first and second generation reported means ranging between 2 and 3 out of 10 for both languages, as shown in Figure 4.7 that follows. These low means are striking, because they suggest that neither generation expressed agreement with the statement that the woman should marry soon – both generations in fact *disagreed*. This suggests that neither generation expressed a strong sense of filial duty, and this was true across both Hindi and English.

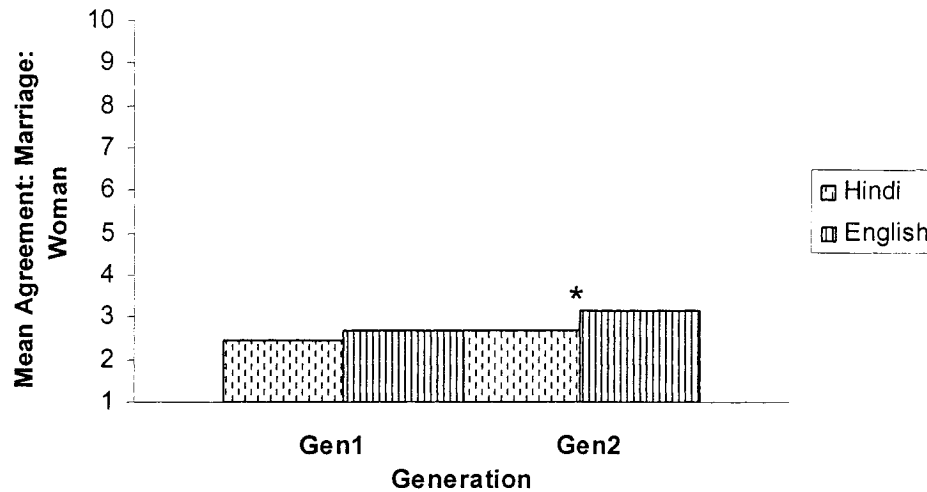


Figure 4.7. Mean agreement by both generations to statement that woman should marry soon ($*p < .05$).

However, as reported from the 2-way ANOVA results, there was a significant language effect in the second generation. As can be seen in Figure 4.7 above, when the second generation heard the voice in English, they were more likely to agree with the statement that the woman should marry soon than they were in Hindi. So despite the overall weak sense of filial duty expressed by an overall disagreement with the biased statement, the second generation demonstrated a significantly stronger sense of duty in English than in Hindi.

“Daughter” Perspective

In the “daughter” perspective, participants were asked to state an opinion about what the woman should do with regards to her conflict concerning marriage, if that woman were in fact the participants’ own daughter.

A two-way ANOVA with generation (1st, 2nd) as between-subjects factor and language (English, Hindi) as within-subjects factor compared the participants’ agreement

to the statement that the woman (“daughter”, in this case) should marry soon. This analysis yielded a significant language effect, $F(1, 28) = 6.00; p < .05$, but no effect of generation and no significant generation \times language interaction. The significant language effect was explored using pairwise comparisons. These analyses revealed that the participants’ response to the woman when she was heard in English were different from their response to her when they heard her in Hindi. However, this response was only found for the second generation. The results of the pairwise comparisons indicate that the second generation tended to agree more with the statement that the woman (“daughter”) should marry soon in English ($M = 3.3$) than in Hindi ($M = 2.5$), $p < .05$.

Similar to the “unknown woman” perspective, the “daughter” perspective yielded no inter-generational differences in how they responded to the biased statement. Both generations reported means between 2 and 3 out of 10, thus implying that neither generation felt a strong sense of filial duty even when it concerned their own daughter. This can be seen in Figure 4.8 below:

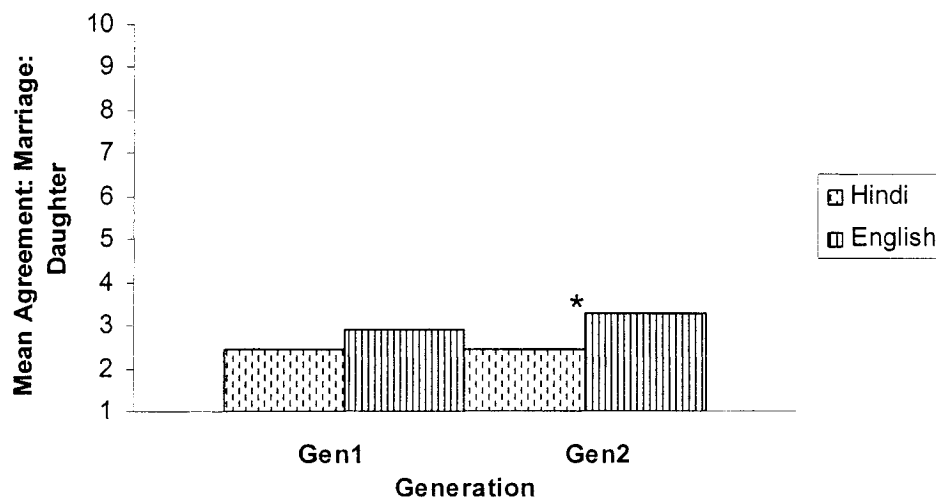


Figure 4.8. Mean agreement by both generations to statement that “daughter” should marry soon (* $p < .05$).

Again, similar to the “unknown woman” outcome, the significant language effect in the second generation for the “daughter” perspective was in the opposite direction as originally predicted. Rather than expressing a stronger sense of filial duty when hearing the voice in Hindi, the second generation professed a stronger sense of duty when they heard the voice in English.

Summary of “Marriage” Context

From the marriage context the Experimental Task results indicate that there was no cultural shift from the first to the second generation, in that both generations were equally likely to disagree with the statements involving the person marrying soon to benefit the parents. Thus neither generation professed a strong sense of value of “duty towards parents” as manifested in the marriage context.

In terms of the role of the Hindi language in the generations’ perceptions on culture, the language effect was seen only in the case of the second generation’s reaction to the marriage context described in English and not when described in Hindi. In other words, it was the English language scenario that produced a significantly different response in the second generation rather than the Hindi language scenario. The second generation expressed a stronger sense of duty in response to the prompt in English than to that in Hindi. From this result of the “marriage” context, it does not seem possible to conclude whether the Hindi language functions as a central tenet of the North Indian Hindu culture, at least with respect to the value of “duty towards parents” in a “marriage” situation.

“Career”

All participants listened to the recorded scenario on career which can be read in Appendix G.

“Unknown Woman” Perspective

In the “unknown woman” perspective, participants were asked to state an opinion about what the woman they heard in the recording should do with regards to her conflict concerning her career.

A two-way ANOVA with generation (1st, 2nd) as between-subject factor and language (English, Hindi) as within-subjects factor compared the participants’ agreement to the statement that the woman should keep her current job. This analysis yielded a significant effect of generation, $F(1, 28) = 4.36; p < .05$. There was no significant language effect, nor was there a significant generation \times language interaction. The significant generation effect was explored using pairwise comparisons. These analyses revealed that the first generation (English $M = 5.5$; Hindi $M = 5.9$) tended to agree more with the statement that the woman should keep her job than did the second generation (English $M = 3.6$; Hindi $M = 4.1$), $p < .05$.

The significant effect of generation can be seen in the mean responses of both generations to the biased statement that the woman should keep her current job to relieve the burden from her parents. Illustrated in Figure 4.9 that follows, the first generation’s mean responses ranging from 5.5 to 6 on the ten-point scale clearly suggest that they agreed overall with the biased statement. This contrasts with the second generation’s mean responses ranging from 3.5 to 4.1, suggesting that this generation in fact disagreed with the statement. These inter-generational differences indicate that the second

generation expressed a significantly weaker sense of filial duty than their first generation counterparts, thus suggesting a cultural shift for this perspective in the “career” context.

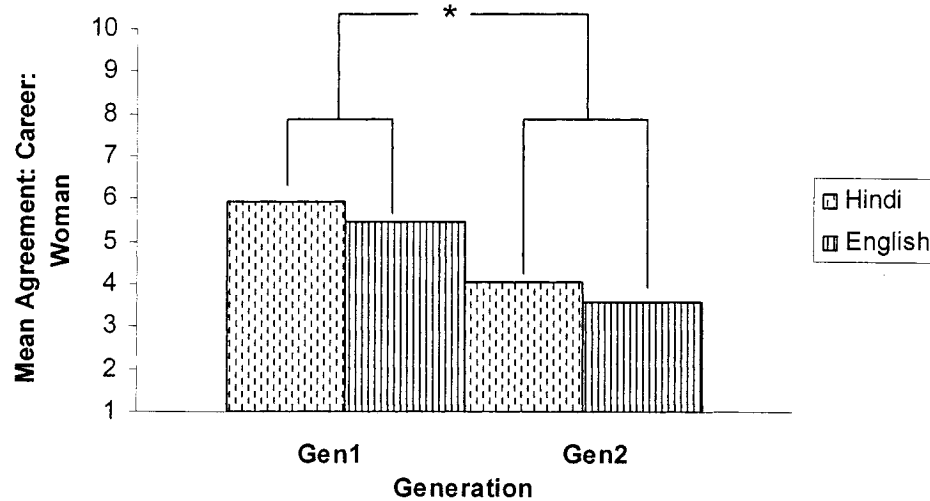


Figure 4.9. Mean agreement by both generations to statement that woman should keep her job (* $p < .05$).

The fact that there was no significant effect of language nor a significant generation \times language interaction suggests that the language in which the value of “duty towards parents” is expressed does not necessarily mediate the cultural shift demonstrated by the second generation for this perspective.

“I” perspective

In the “I” perspective, participants were asked to state an opinion about what the person should do with regards to her conflict concerning career, if that person were in fact the participants, themselves.

A two-way ANOVA with generation (1st, 2nd) as between-subject factor and language (English, Hindi) as within-subjects factor compared the participants’ agreement to the statement that the participants, themselves, would keep their current job. This analysis

yielded a significant effect of generation, $F(1, 28) = 5.51; p < .05$. There was no significant language effect, nor was there a significant generation \times language interaction. The significant generation effect was explored using pairwise comparisons. These analyses revealed that the first generation (English $M = 6.7$; Hindi $M = 7.1$) tended to agree more with the statement that they would keep their job than did the second generation (English $M = 4.4$; Hindi $M = 4.8$), $p < .05$.

Just as in the “unknown woman” perspective, the “I” perspective yielded significant inter-generational differences suggesting a cultural shift away from the value of “duty towards parents” in the second generation. These inter-generational differences can be seen in Figure 4.10 below:

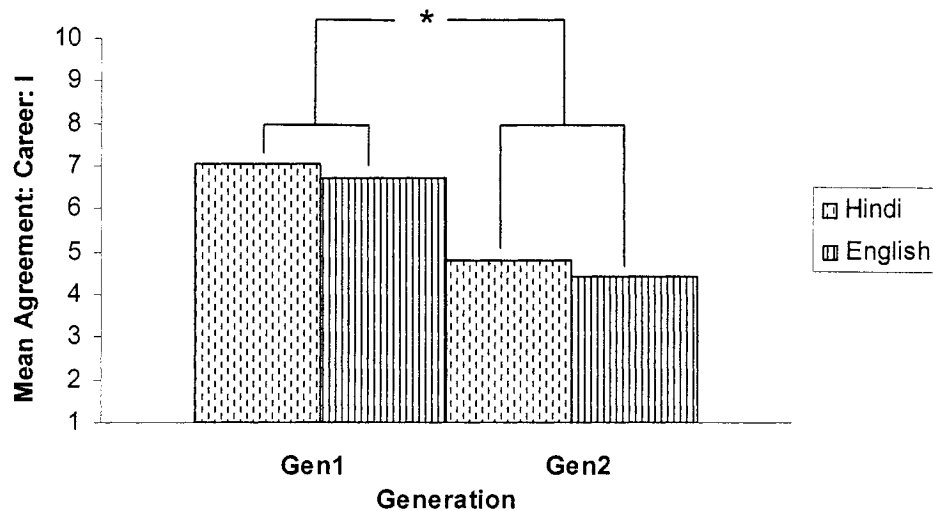


Figure 4.10. Mean agreement by both generations to statement that participants, themselves, would keep their job (* $p < .05$).

Also similar to the “unknown woman” perspective was the non-significant effect of language, further suggesting that the cultural shift demonstrated by the second generation

in the “career” context appears to be independent of the language in which the value of “duty towards parents” is expressed.

“Unknown Man” Perspective

In the “unknown man” perspective, participants were asked to state an opinion about what the person should do with regards to his conflict concerning career, if that person were a man.

A two-way ANOVA with generation (1st, 2nd) as between-subjects factor and language (English, Hindi) as within-subjects factor compared the participants’ agreement to the statement that the man should keep his current job. This analysis yielded a significant language effect, $F(1, 28) = 5.34$; $p < .05$, but no effect of generation and no significant generation \times language interaction. The significant language effect was explored using pairwise comparisons. These analyses revealed that the participants’ reactions in response to the Hindi prompt were different from their reactions in response to the English prompt, but only in the first generation. That is to say, the first generation tended to agree more with the statement that the man should keep his job in Hindi ($M = 6.1$) than in English ($M = 5.4$) $p < .05$.

The “unknown man” perspective yielded a pattern of results somewhat different from the previous two perspectives, those of “unknown woman” and “I”. For the “unknown man” perspective, the effect of generation was non-significant. However, when examining Figure 4.11 that follows, despite this non-significant result it can be seen that the first generation still agreed overall with the man keeping his current job (with means in both English and Hindi above 5), while the second generation still disagreed overall with this opinion (both English and Hindi means below 5). The sense of filial duty

expressed by the first generation was not expressed by the second generation. Therefore, despite the non-significant difference between the two generations, the beginnings of a cultural shift can still be seen.

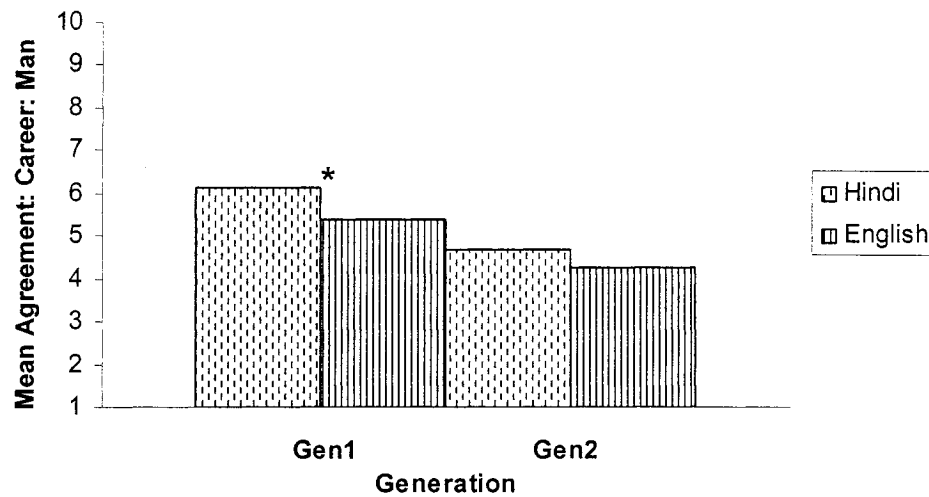


Figure 4.11. Mean agreement by both generations to statement that “man” should keep his job (* $p < .05$).

Also dissimilar to the previous perspectives in the “career” context is the significant language effect, as reported from the 2-way ANOVA results. Instead of this language effect taking place in the second generation, as was originally predicted, it took place in the first generation, who responded differently according to language. As shown in Figure 4.11 above, when the first generation heard the voice in Hindi, they were more likely to agree with the statement that the man keep his current job than they were when they heard the voice in English. The first generation therefore expressed a significantly stronger sense of duty for the “unknown man” in Hindi rather than in English.

Summary of “Career” Context

The results of the “career” context of the Experimental Task demonstrate the beginning of a cultural shift from the first to the second generation in how they express “duty towards parents”. While the first generation consistently agreed that the person concerned should keep their current job and thus do their duty towards their parents, the second generation consistently disagreed with this option.

In terms of the role of the Hindi language in the generations’ perceptions of culture, the language effect was seen only in the case of the first generation’s reaction in the “unknown man” perspective, where the Hindi language “dictated” that it was even more imperative that the man keep his job. The second generation’s reactions did not differ as a function of the prompt language, Hindi or English. From the “career” context, therefore, it cannot be concluded whether the Hindi language functions as a central tenet of the North Indian Hindu culture.

Summary of results for research question 2

Research question 2 must be answered in two parts. The first part is the two generations’ perceptions on culture, and the second part is whether the Hindi language played a role in their perceptions.

While there were no inter-generational differences demonstrated in the “marriage” condition of the Experimental Task, significant inter-generational differences were observed in the “career” context. Therefore it can be said that the North Indian Hindu community of Montreal is beginning to experience a cultural shift in the value of “duty towards parents”, but only in a specific aspect of this value; the manifestation of this value in career choices.

In terms of the role of language, the only effect of language observed for the second generation was that of English rather than Hindi evoking a stronger sense of filial duty (in the “marriage” scenario for both the “unknown woman” and “daughter” perspectives). The only instance in which Hindi evoked a stronger sense of filial duty was in the case of the first generation responding to the “career” scenario for the perspective of an “unknown man”. To answer the second part of the research question, it is not clear from the results of the Experimental Task whether the Hindi language in fact mediates the value of “duty towards parents” when manifested in “marriage” and “career” contexts.

Supplementary Analyses

This part of the chapter focuses on results from supplementary analyses conducted to help explain the findings of the research questions reported in the first part. Supplementary analysis results will be presented in the following order: those taken from the Language Background Questionnaire to help explain research question 1, those taken from the Cultural Profile Questionnaire to help explain research question 2 and, finally, correlations conducted across questionnaires between a variety of independent variables and the participants’ Hindi fluency scores as well as their self-rated proficiency in Hindi.

Language Background Questionnaire

1st Generation Parents’ Active Use of Hindi and English with 2nd Generation Children

In order to understand what was happening at home to shape the language patterns of the second generation, participants were asked to estimate the percentage of time their parents spoke to them in Hindi on a regular basis at three periods of time: “before schooling”, “during schooling” and at present time (endpoints 0 = “none of the time”; 100 = “all the time”). A one-way repeated measures ANOVA with time (“before

schooling”, “during schooling” and “present time”) as the within-subjects factor compared the second generation participants’ ratings of the percent of time their parents spoke to them in Hindi on a regular basis. This analysis yielded no significant main effect of time. This result indicates that the percentage of time first generation parents spoke to their second generation children on a regular basis in Hindi did not change with time (“before schooling” $M = 54.7\%$; “during schooling” $M = 52\%$; “present time” $M = 52.7\%$).

The same question was asked about the first generations’ usage of English in the home at all three time periods. A one-way repeated measures ANOVA with time (“before schooling”, “during schooling” and “present time”) as within-subjects factor compared the second generation participants’ ratings of the percentage of time their parents spoke to them in English on a regular basis. This analysis also yielded no significant main effect of time. This result suggests that the percentage of time first generation parents spoke to their second generation children on a regular basis in English did not change with time (“before schooling” $M = 60\%$; “during schooling” $M = 67.3\%$; “present time” $M = 58.7\%$). Although second generation participants consistently perceived their first generation parents to have spoken to them in English for a higher percentage of time on a regular basis than in Hindi for each time period, a matched pairs t -test revealed no significant difference between the two languages for any time period.

Level of Commitment to Transmitting Hindi to Future Generations

Participants were asked to rate their level of commitment to transmitting the Hindi language to future generations on a ten-point scale (endpoints: 1 = “not at all committed; 10 = “completely committed”). A matched pairs t -test yielded no significant difference

between the two generations' level of commitment to passing on the Hindi language. However, both generations rated their level of commitment to the Hindi language highly, with the first generation at a mean of 7.3 and the second generation *even higher* at a mean of 8.2.

Cultural Profile Questionnaire

Importance of Values in Raising Girls and Boys in a Traditional Indian Household

“Duty towards parents”.

Participants were explicitly asked to rate how important the value of “duty towards parents” is when raising girls and boys in a traditional Indian household. The question was asked separately for girls and boys, and the ten-point scale for each had endpoints of 1 and 10 representing “not at all important” and “most important”, respectively. It should be noted that this questionnaire was administered after the participants had already completed the Experimental Task to avoid creating any bias or priming effect.

A two-way ANOVA with generation (1st, 2nd) as between-subjects factor and gender (female, male) as within-subjects factor compared the participants' degree of importance accorded to the value of “duty towards parents”. This analysis yielded no significant effect of generation or gender, nor a significant generation \times gender interaction. That is, both the first and second generation rated “duty towards parents” equally highly and made no differentiation in the importance of this value for either girls or boys.

Because the value “duty towards parents” can be viewed as a general, overarching value, it was broken down further into its sub-component cultural manifestations of “marriage” and “career”. The same phrasing that was used to ask the importance of “duty

towards parents” for girls and boys was used to ask the importance of “marriage” and “career”, also for both girls and boys on the Cultural Profile Questionnaire.

“Marriage”.

A two-way ANOVA with generation (1st, 2nd) as between-subjects factor and gender (female, male) as within-subjects factor compared the participants’ degree of importance accorded to the value of “marriage”. This analysis yielded a significant effect of generation, $F(1,28) = 5.41, p < .05$, but no significant gender effect or generation \times gender interaction. The significant effect of generation was explored using pairwise comparisons. These analyses revealed that the first generation participants rated the value of “marriage” significantly higher for both girls ($M = 9.2$) and boys ($M = 9.3$) than did the second generation participants (girls $M = 8.3$; boys $M = 8.5$), $p < .05$. This can be seen in Figure 4.12 below:

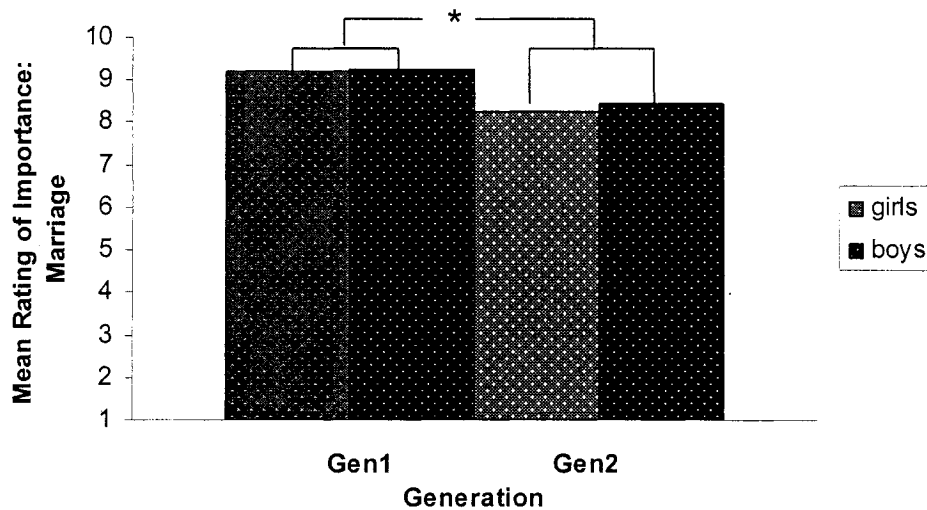


Figure 4.12. Mean rating of importance of “marriage” by both generations when raising girls and boys (* $p < .05$).

“Career”.

A two-way ANOVA with generation (1st, 2nd) as between-subjects factor and gender (female, male) as within-subjects factor compared the participants’ degree of importance accorded to the value of “career”. This analysis yielded a significant gender effect, $F(1, 28) = 5.61$; $p < .05$, but no main effect of generation and no significant generation \times gender interaction. The significant effect of gender was explored using pairwise comparisons. These analyses revealed that the first generation participants rated the value of “career” significantly higher for boys ($M = 9.7$) than they did for girls ($M = 8.8$), $p < .05$. This can be seen in Figure 4.13 below:

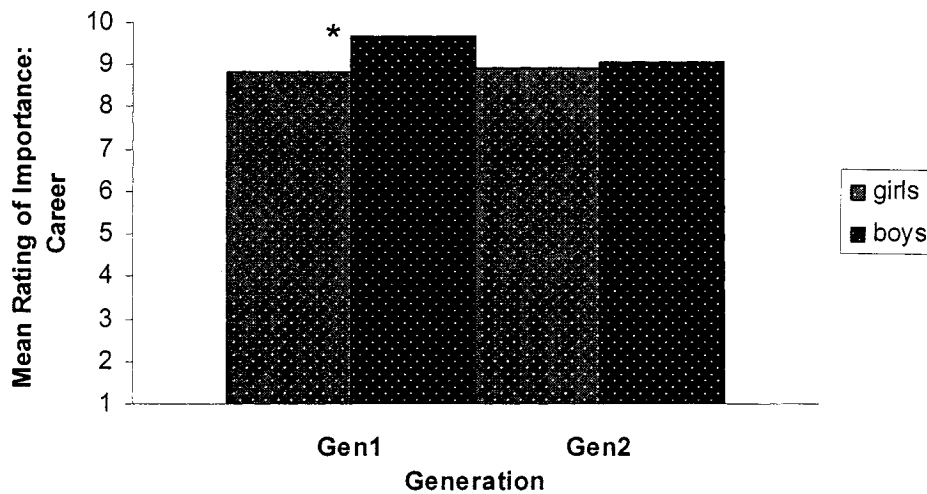


Figure 4.13. Mean rating of importance of “career” by both generations when raising girls and boys (* $p < .05$).

Role of Hindi Language in North Indian Culture

Participants were asked three questions to gauge their opinion on the centrality of the Hindi language to the North Indian culture. The first question explicitly asked the participants to rate how central they think the Hindi language is to the North Indian

culture. On a ten-point scale, 1 represented “not at all central” and 10 represented “completely central”.

A matched pairs *t*-test was conducted to compare the two generations’ rating of the centrality of the Hindi language to the North Indian culture. This analysis revealed that the second generation rated the Hindi language as significantly more central to the North Indian culture than did the first generation, $t(14) = 2.14, p = .05$. More important, however, is that both generations in fact rated the Hindi language as central overall, with the first generation responding with a mean of 6.6 and the second generation with a mean of 8.1 on a ten-point scale. This can be seen in Figure 4.14 below:

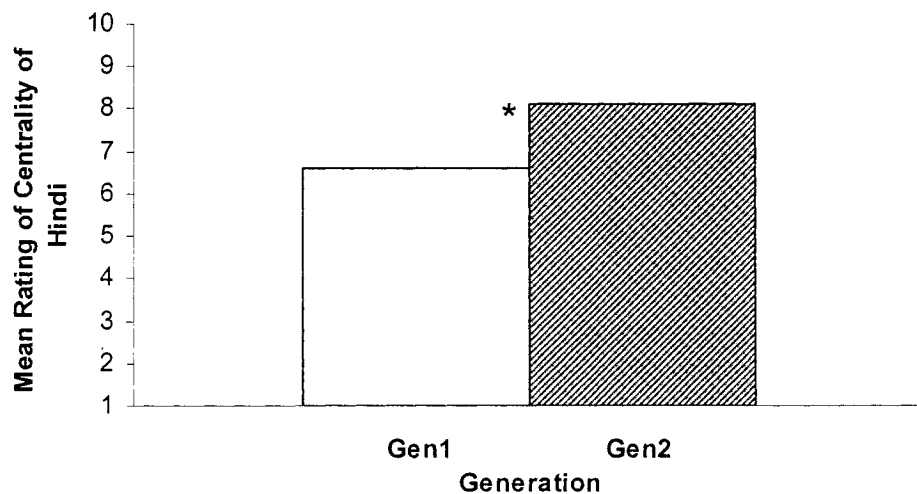


Figure 4.14. Mean rating of centrality of Hindi language to North Indian culture by both generations (* $p \leq .05$).

The second question addressing the role of language in culture on the Cultural Profile Questionnaire employed a more indirect phrasing than the first question. Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they agreed with the statement that a person born to Hindi-speaking parents but who no longer speaks Hindi can still be considered by

other Indians to be a true North Indian. On the ten-point scale, 1 was “strongly disagree” and 10 “strongly agree”.

A matched pairs *t*-test between the two generations revealed no significant difference in the way they responded to this question. Both generations, in fact, agreed with the statement (Gen1 $M = 7.1$; Gen2 $M = 6.7$) that a person born to Hindi-speaking parents but who no longer speaks Hindi is still considered by other Indians to be North Indian. This would suggest that both generations do not in fact tend to equate the Hindi language with the North Indian culture.

The third question on the Cultural Profile Questionnaire asked participants to rate the extent to which they agreed with the statement that a person born to Hindi-speaking parents who speaks better English or French than Hindi is considered by other Indians to be more Canadian than Indian (endpoints: 1, “strongly disagree”; 10, “strongly agree”).

A matched pairs *t*-test between the two generations revealed no significant difference in the way they responded to this last question. Just as with the previous questions, however, both generations agreed overall with the statement (Gen1 $M = 5.4$; Gen2 $M = 7.1$) that a person born to Hindi-speaking parents who speaks English or French better than Hindi is considered by other Indians to be more Canadian than Indian. This would suggest that both generations *do* in fact equate language with culture, but perhaps only when it concerns a North American language and cultural context.

Correlational analyses

Pearson bivariate correlational analyses were conducted to explore the relationship between the participants’ self-rated overall Hindi proficiency as well as their Hindi

fluency scores and a variety of variables relevant to the research questions. These variables were obtained from the four questionnaires administered to the participants.

From the Language Background Questionnaire, these variables include their commitment to transmit Hindi, their active use of Hindi before and during schooling and at present time, and, finally, their parents' use of Hindi with them before and during schooling and at present time. From the Biographical Questionnaire, the variables that were correlated with the participants' Hindi fluency scores and their own self-rated overall proficiency were the participants' ratings of preference for three different identity labels. From the Cultural Profile Questionnaire, the variables for correlational analyses include the participants' rating of the traditionality of their households, the importance of a range of cultural values in raising girls and boys, and, finally, the centrality of language to culture. Lastly, from the Behavioural Questionnaire that accompanied the Audio Recordings in the Experimental Task, correlational variables include all of the participants' responses to the marriage and career scenarios, including all perspectives (such as "daughter", "man", etc), as well as the degree of their sympathy with the narrator and the degree of their comprehension of the scenarios in Hindi.

Only significant correlations will be reported; all Pearson correlation coefficients including those that are not significant can be found in Tables I15-I18 in Appendix I.

Language Background Questionnaire

From the Language Background Questionnaire the variables that were found to correlate significantly with the participants' Hindi oral fluency scores were the following: the participants' active use of Hindi during schooling, their self-rated proficiency of Hindi during schooling and their self-rated ability in all four language skills: speaking,

understanding, reading and writing. The variables that were found to correlate significantly with the participants' self-rated Hindi proficiency were the following: the participants' active use of Hindi during schooling, their self-rated proficiency in Hindi during schooling, their active use of Hindi at present time, and all four language skills.

These correlations suggest that the higher the participants' Hindi fluency scores and their own, self-rated Hindi proficiency, the better they self-rated their performance in speaking, understanding, reading and writing Hindi (which is an indication of the accuracy of the participants' self-ratings). Furthermore, the more the participants spoke Hindi on a regular basis during their schooling, the better their Hindi fluency scores and the better they, themselves, rated their Hindi proficiency. Finally, the more the participants reported speaking Hindi on a regular basis at present time, the higher their self-rated proficiency in Hindi. These correlations are logical, in that the more the participants used their heritage language on a regular basis in their youth, the higher their fluency and proficiency at the present time, and the better their four language skills.

All Pearson correlation coefficients for the Language Background Questionnaire are listed in Table 4.1 that follows:

Table 4.1
*Pearson Correlation Coefficients for Language Background
 Questionnaire Variables*

Variable	Hindi fluency score	Self-rated Hindi proficiency
Active use of Hindi during schooling	0.84*	0.66*
Prof. ^a in Hindi during schooling	0.86*	0.71*
Active use of Hindi present time	0.54	0.63*
Speaking skills	0.81*	0.89*
Understanding skills	0.64*	0.76*
Reading skills	0.69*	0.72*
Writing skills	0.66*	0.75*

Note. ^aSelf-rated proficiency

* $p < .0005$ Bonferroni

None of the correlations involving the participants' perceptions of their parents' use of Hindi to them before schooling, during schooling or at present time were found to be significant. That is, a relationship could not be established with the participants' performance in Hindi or their self-rated proficiency and the amount of time that their parents spoke to them in this language at any point in their lives.

Biographical Questionnaire

The only significant correlation found with the participants' Hindi fluency scores and variables from the Biographical Questionnaire was the participants' perception of being labeled "Indian" by other members of the Indian community ($r = -0.64$; $p < .001$ adjusted for Bonferroni). Interestingly, this correlation is negative, implying that the higher the participants' Hindi fluency score, the less they perceived the Indian community to describe them as "Indian". That is to say, the better the participants spoke Hindi, the less they felt that they are perceived as "Indian" by other Indians. This is contrary to what would be expected, that the better someone speaks Hindi, the more they are perceived by fellow Indians to be "Indian" themselves.

No significant correlations were found between the participants' fluency scores and their perceptions of being "Canadian" or "Indo-Canadian". Likewise, no significant correlations with these variables were found involving the participants' self-rated proficiency in Hindi.

Cultural Profile Questionnaire

Of the variables from this questionnaire that were correlated with Hindi fluency scores and self-rated Hindi proficiency ratings, the only variable that was found to correlate significantly was the value of "sense of family" in raising boys (fluency score: $r = .65$; $p < .001$; self-rated proficiency: $r = .62$; $p < .001$; both adjusted for Bonferroni). This means that the higher the participants' Hindi fluency scores and own, self-rated Hindi proficiency, the more important they rated the value of "sense of family" in raising boys in a traditional Indian household.

Behavioural Questionnaire

From the two contexts of "marriage" and "career" in this questionnaire, the only variable that correlated significantly with the participants' Hindi fluency scores was their listening comprehension of the scenario ($r = 0.57$; $p < .001$ adjusted for Bonferroni) in "marriage". Logically, the higher the fluency score, the greater was the participants' comprehension of the Hindi scenario.

No significant correlations were found between the participants' Hindi fluency scores or self-rated proficiency in Hindi and the participants' responses in the "marriage" and "career" scenarios. That is, there were no significant correlations found with any of the variables that indicated the participants' agreement to the biased statement that the woman should marry soon, in "marriage", or with any of the variables that indicated the

participants' agreement that the woman should keep her job, in "career". This finding appears to indirectly suggest that language is not related to the perception of filial duty. If there was some centrality of language to culture in the Experimental Task (that is, if language mediated the responses), one would predict some relationship between the participants' self-rated proficiency/fluency scores in Hindi and the responses one would give to biased statements.

Summary

This chapter summarized both the main findings of this thesis study as well as additional analyses conducted to help explain these findings. Overall, the main findings revealed that a language shift has taken place in the North Indian Hindu community of Montreal, and that the cultural shift that is beginning to be seen, in terms of the value of "duty towards parents" as manifested in a career context, may or may not in fact be mediated by this language shift.

Additional analyses revealed that although a language shift has occurred in the second generation, their level of commitment to transmitting the Hindi language has remained high, as has their belief that the Hindi language is central to the North Indian Hindu culture. These analyses also revealed that the second generation perceived their first generation parents to speak to them in Hindi only about 50% of the time throughout their childhood and formative years.

In terms of cultural shift, the findings from the additional analyses suggest that although both generations rated the value of "marriage" high for both girls and boys, there was a significant generational difference whereby the first generation considers "marriage" more important than the second generation. For "career", although both

generations rated it highly important, in the first generation the importance was higher for boys than for girls. These two findings indicate differences in how these two cultural values were being perceived by the two generations. There was no significant difference in how the two generations' perceived the importance of the value of "duty towards parents" in raising girls and boys.

Finally, the absence of significant correlations between Hindi fluency scores or self-rated proficiency and any of the cultural measures seems to be in line with the inconclusive findings from the Experimental Task, wherein it could not be definitively stated that language was related to the perceptions of culture represented by the value of filial duty.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

The first part of this chapter discusses the results of this thesis study in terms of the four main findings: the language shift experienced within the North Indian Hindu community of Montreal, the beginnings of a cultural shift between the first and second generation of this community, the role of language in mediating the cultural shift that emerged from this study and, finally, the participants' own beliefs regarding the role that Hindi plays in the North Indian Hindu culture, and their commitment to both the language and the culture.

Language Shift

It was hypothesized that the second generation of the Montreal North Indian Hindu community would be less proficient in Hindi than the first generation. The findings from all four measures used to assess Hindi proficiency and active use of Hindi by both generations indicate that, indeed, a language shift from Hindi to English has taken place within the second generation.

However, the language shift pattern exhibited by the second generation deviates from the more typical language shift pattern observed in immigrant communities, in which the replacement of the heritage language (L1) by the second language (L2) in all domains culminates in taking over the home domain (Edwards, 1997; Fishman, 1989b; Landry & Allard, 1996; Shameem, 1994). This view of language shift assumes that the second generation children of immigrants are fairly proficient in their L1 and use it regularly until they are introduced to the L2 *outside their home*, usually at school. Findings from this thesis study, however, indicate that the second generation of this particular

community never in fact had sufficient command of their L1, Hindi, to begin with, *in their own homes*.

According to their self-ratings in the Language Background Questionnaire, the second generation reported a mean overall proficiency in Hindi of 4.1 on a ten-point scale and used it on a regular basis for only 30.7% of the time for the “before schooling” period. This suggests that the first generation did not transmit their L1 within the home domain before even sending their children to school. This was confirmed by the second generation’s report of how regularly their first generation parents spoke to them in Hindi in the “before schooling” period. Unfortunately, there was no question included in the Language Background Questionnaire that allowed the first generation participants to confirm the second generation’s perceptions by estimating the percentage of time that they, themselves, as parents spoke to their children in Hindi on a regular basis. For this thesis study, then, the only measure estimating parental use of Hindi was that from the perspective of the second generation children. The mean percentage of time the second generation participants perceived their parents speaking to them in Hindi on a regular basis was only 54.7% before they started their schooling. Over time, this figure did not change.

In language attrition research, which studies language shift from the perspective of the individual rather than the group, several factors have been identified to be involved in predicting L1 attrition (Hansen, 2001). These are age, length of time of exposure, proficiency, literacy and attitude and motivation. With respect to age and time of exposure, the more time spent in the L1 environment, the better the retention of L1 linguistic knowledge in the L2 environment. The age factor here therefore refers to the

age at which exposure to the L1 ceased. Also, the higher the L1 proficiency, the more L1 knowledge the individual retains. Confounded with age, time of exposure and proficiency is the issue of literacy; the higher the literacy skills, both of reading and writing, the more stable the L1. Finally, the more positive the attitude towards the L1 and the motivation to maintain it, the better the likelihood is of actually retaining it.

In light of these language attrition variables, it is clear that the second generation in this thesis study “lost” something that they *never even had* in the first place. They were never sufficiently exposed to Hindi from an early enough age such that this exposure would allow them to develop a proficiency level stable enough to resist English when school began. In fact, English had already entered their homes even before the second generation participants began school. They reported their parents speaking to them in English roughly 50% of the time before their schooling began. This suggests that the first generation, themselves highly educated and highly proficient in English, may have already recognized this language as the language of upward mobility and introduced it to their children early on. This linguistic behaviour of the first generation is in line with what has been observed in middle class homes of ethnolinguistic minorities around the world (de Klerk, 2000; Dorian, 1981; Gupta & Yeok, 1995; Moag, 1999; Shameem, 1994; Yagmur et al., 1999). The parents’ behaviour is best illustrated in the following quote from Moag’s (1999) comprehensive study of South Asian youths in the United States:

Parents have a real ambivalence about their children's linguistic needs. A part of them wants desperately to pass on the heritage language to their offspring. For most, however, this desire collides headlong with the pragmatic knowledge that ability in English is all-important for success in the educational and career arenas. Hence in the reality of everyday life they do whatever they can to encourage their children to use the dominant tongue, frequently reverting to English themselves. (p. 275)

From his observations of South Asian youth, Moag coined the term "semi-native speaker" (1999, p. 275) to denote the passive L1 competence of the second generation that is a consequence of their linguistic environment. The semi-native speaker is one who is of South Asian descent born in North America, belongs to the upper-middle class, and is a "normally illiterate skewed bilingual whose L-1 learning atrophied during pre-school years" (p. 279). As skewed bilinguals, Moag states that these semi-native speakers neither see themselves as competent speakers of their L1, nor do they see themselves as capable of transmitting their heritage culture. For a complete list of Moag's characteristics of a semi-native speaker, see Appendix J.

It would seem appropriate to define the second generation participants of this thesis as semi-native speakers by Moag's (1999) definition. They reported themselves to be illiterate in Hindi, with means of 2.3 for reading and 2.0 for writing on a ten-point scale. It is already known that their Hindi proficiency is weak and that they use English as their dominant language. If they fit in with Moag's linguistic description, then do they also fit in with his description of their view of themselves as incompetent transmitters of their heritage culture?

Cultural Shift

It was hypothesized that the second generation would express a weaker sense of filial duty than would their first generation counterparts in both contexts of "marriage" and

“career”. The findings of the Experimental Task indicate that a cultural shift has begun in the second generation away from the traditional sense of filial duty. This weaker sense of filial duty, however, is seen only in the context of “career”.

There are interesting phenomena going on in the “marriage” context with respect to the culture of the first generation. The first generation was expected to agree with the opinion that the woman should marry soon to relieve the burden from her parents. Their agreement would be in line with their more collectivist upbringing in India (Brah, 1978; Ghuman, 1991a, 1991b; Moag, 1999; Pearson, 1999; Peetush, 1999; Sala, 2002; Thompson, 1974; Wakil et al., 1981), whereby children are expected to marry at a “reasonable” age and stage in their life, not only for their own welfare and spiritual progression but for their parents’ as well. In contrast, the second generation was expected to disagree with the statement (Brah, 1978; Ghuman, 1991a, 1991b; Moag, 1999; Pearson, 1999; Peetush, 1999; Sala, 2002; Thompson, 1974; Wakil et al., 1981). This disagreement would be in line with their upbringing in Canada in which they were assumedly socialized in a more individualist mentality, whereby they would be more concerned with the impact of marriage on their own lives, rather than on that of their parents.

However, the results in Chapter 4 indicate that while the second generation did disagree as expected so, too, did the first generation! By implication, their disagreement with the statement that the woman should marry soon to relieve the burden from her parents suggests that the first generation is agreeable to the woman marrying whenever she wants, no matter how much time that may take (if she marries at all). This means that it is the first generation that culturally resembles the second generation, *not the other way*

around. To put it more succinctly, there may be a cultural shift in the “marriage” context, but it could be the first generation who is making the shift. To make definitive conclusions about the first generation’s shift in terms of filial duty as manifested in the “marriage” context, one would need baseline data from the first generation’s peers in India, or data from the first generation, themselves, at the point of their immigration to Canada. Because these data were not available, this conclusion must remain tentative. However, there is evidence from the body of South Asian literature that the first generation, in general, espouses more traditional views regarding filial duty in the circumstances of marriage (see below for more details).

Further evidence of the possible cultural shift in the first generation may be seen in their response to a question on the Biographical Questionnaire asking them if they would allow a “love match” for their children. Thirteen of the 15 first generation participants marked “yes”. This is despite the fact that 13 of them were themselves married in an “arranged match” in India. In Indian terminology a “love match” denotes the type of approach to marrying that allows open dating and courtship periods before choosing one’s life-mate for oneself. In contrast, an “arranged match” for modern, urban, middle class Indians implies the involvement of the parents in introducing a series of suitable potential life-mates to their children and then having the children decide for themselves which one to marry. In an “arranged match” the parents and the children are more in control of when and how a life-mate will be found. In the case of a “love match”, there is no control over the timing and process of falling in love. It is precisely this issue of timing that forms the premise for the conflict regarding filial duty in the “marriage” scenario; the time it takes for the child to settle down in marriage should not be delayed

beyond a reasonable point, such that the parents are held back from loosening their ties to household matters and entering the next phase of their lives.

In stating that they were amenable to their children's marrying by "love match" on the Biographical Questionnaire, and in disagreeing with the opinion that the woman should marry soon in the Experimental Task, the first generation was demonstrating that they are quite different from many other first generation Hindu (and South Asian) parents in North America and Britain (Brah, 1978; Ghuman, 1991a, 1991b; Moag, 1999; Pearson, 1999; Peetush, 1999; Sala, 2002; Thompson, 1974; Wakil et al., 1981). Literature on this topic, summarized in Chapter 2, inevitably identifies marriage (and its precursor, dating) as one of the most, if not *the* most, explosive conflicts between South Asian parents and children living in North America or Britain. Although there are exceptions, the general trend is for the first generation to desire the retention of the tradition of "arranged matches" for their children and for the children to resist in preference for "love matches".

All of this suggests that the first generation in this thesis study may, themselves, have already shifted away from what is considered their traditional cultural upbringing in India. In this sense, this cultural shift with respect to marriage could be considered as their own gradual acculturation to mainstream culture, since they have been in North America for over 30 years (Ghuman, 1991a; Moag, 1999). In fact, in his study of the South Asian diaspora in the U.S., Moag (1999) found that in the interests of preserving family unity, it is the first generation parents who tend to accommodate more towards mainstream culture and to be more permissive with their children over time, rather than the children compromising in order to remain culturally close to their parents.

Now that a cultural shift may be said to have taken place within the first generation in this thesis study, it is no longer possible to assess whether a shift has taken place independently within the second generation in the “marriage” context. That is to say, it was assumed for this study that the first generation would form the cultural baseline against which the second generation’s behaviour would be compared. Without the first generation as a stable reference, the second generation’s disagreement with the statement that the woman should marry soon can at best be viewed only as a shift that has taken place alongside that of the first generation. That is, both the first and the second generations may have shifted together away from their heritage culture.

In the “career” context, the case for a cultural shift in the second generation with respect to the first can be more appropriately made, because both generations did behave as expected. In agreeing with the statement that the woman should stay in her current job and give up her dreams of being a musician, the first generation was affirming the value of a stable career. The belief in a stable career is in line with the first generation’s more collectivist upbringing in India, wherein the financial security and status that a stable career affords the whole family outweighs the personal interest of the individual. In contrast, by disagreeing with the statement, the second generation was, in effect, giving the woman the go-ahead to pursue her dreams even if it meant giving up a secure livelihood. By choosing an opposite course of action from their parents, the second generation is demonstrating a cultural shift.

The body of South Asian literature highlights career as another explosive topic between parents and children that can rank as high as marriage (Ghuman, 1991b; Moag, 1999; Peetush, 1999; Sala, 2002; Thompson, 1974; Wakil et al., 1981). Moag (1999)

explains that the educational path and choice of profession are actually viewed as preparation for marriage in the South Asian culture. Therefore parents traditionally have as much say in their children's careers as they do in their children's choice of marriage partners. Probably due to their own, understandable, preoccupation with survival in a new country as well as the drive for upward mobility, parents tend to favour those occupations which fulfill practical needs and enhance status over the personal interests their children may hold. In cases of conflict between the parents' desires and the children's personal interests, the majority of the children compromise by remaining in their profession but pursuing their personal interests on the side. Furthermore, because the parents hold the traditional belief that men are the providers and the women are the caregivers of the family, if anyone in the second generation might have more freedom of career choice, it would be the women.

This gender distinction on the part of parents in the South Asian literature was indeed confirmed when the participants were asked to rate the importance of "career" in raising girls and boys in a traditional household. Although both generations rated "career" equally important as each other, the first generation rated it higher for boys than for girls, whereas for the second generation gender made no difference. Furthermore, the first generation demonstrated a stronger sense of filial duty when they responded to the "career" scenario in the Experimental Task for the "unknown man" perspective; that is, when they were asked to imagine a man speaking. The fact that the first generation distinguished between boys and girls in the importance of "career" indicates a cultural belief that is more traditional, a belief that was not transmitted to the second generation.

Due to the fact, then, that the first generation indicated a higher importance of “career” for boys than girls, while the second generation made no distinction, and that the first generation clearly agreed with the statement that the woman (and man, as it were) should keep her current job, while the second generation clearly disagreed, it is clear that a cultural shift has occurred in this sample population.

Having established a cultural shift in the “career” context, can the role of language in this shift be established as well? That is to say, can the Hindi language be empirically demonstrated as mediating the North Indian Hindu culture?

Role of Language in Cultural Shift

It was hypothesized that the second generation would express a weaker sense of filial duty than would their first generation counterparts and that this weaker sense of duty would be determined by the language of instrumentation – Hindi would trigger a stronger sense of filial duty than would English.

The findings from the matched-guise task indicate that it was the English guises that evoked a stronger sense of filial duty in the second generation than the Hindi guises (even though overall the second generation still expressed a weak sense of filial duty), in the “marriage” context. In the “career” context the only effect of language was that on the first generation, whereby they expressed a stronger sense of filial duty in Hindi for the perspective of a man than they did in English. Because the language effect was in the reverse direction for the second generation than what was hypothesized for the “marriage” context, and because there was no language effect at all on this generation in the “career” context, it cannot be said definitively whether the Hindi language mediated the cultural expressions of the second generation.

Does this imply that language does not mediate culture for this group and that the Hindi language is therefore not central to the North Indian Hindu culture? Just as in the case of the Punetha et al. (1987) RVS study, there may be a temptation to state such a conclusion, but to do so might be hasty. In the Punetha et al. survey the very nature of the instrumentation cast doubt on the findings particular to the Hindu group, in that the values that participants were asked to rank were not necessarily appropriate or relevant to the Hindu religion and culture.

In her study of Hindu mothers and daughters living in Ontario, Pearson (1999) states that Canadian sociological studies have demonstrated that religion is a major constituent of the South Asian ethnic cultural identity. Since the Hindu religion has been found to be too vast to pinpoint in comparison to the Muslim and Sikh religions (Coward & Botting, 1999; Punetha et al., 1987), it is possible that the whole Hindu religion and its culture may not be justly represented by the one value used for this thesis, that of “duty towards parents”. In addition, it is possible that the “marriage” and “career” scenarios constructed to target this value did not quite capture its true essence. Therefore before any conclusion can be drawn about the role of language in Hindu culture, it is clear that a better and deeper understanding, representation and operationalization are required of the Hindu religion and its associated culture. This is best illustrated by the following quote:

It is true that culture is not wholly identifiable with what is today called religion. Religion has a very restricted meaning. But at the same time, culture includes religion and oftentimes the religious and philosophical ideas of a people are the mainsprings of their culture. It is especially so in the case of India. This is known as the land of religions and of spirituality. It is therefore not a matter for surprise to find that it was the religious ideas that inspired all the cultural and other activities of life in this country. (Diwakar, 1980, p. 28)

Finally, because there can be no definitive conclusions regarding the relationship between the Hindi language and the North Indian Hindu culture based on the Experimental Task, it is worth exploring the participants' own beliefs regarding the role that their heritage language may play in their heritage culture. In language and group identity literature, Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal (1981) recognize the psychological component of group vitality, as reflected in the individual's perceptions and beliefs regarding the heritage language and culture (referred to as subjective ethnolinguistic vitality). The term ethnolinguistic vitality in general can be described as the impetus or likelihood of a particular ethnolinguistic group's behaving in such a way as to distinguish themselves from other groups in inter-group situations (Bourhis et al., 1981). When combined with the objective vitality of the group, which refers to its social, political and economic status, the individual's psychological disposition towards the ingroup language and culture can affect the group vitality as a whole. In fact, Bourhis et al. go so far as to claim that the individual's subjective ethnolinguistic vitality is a strong predictor of language maintenance outcomes in a group. Therefore, in this thesis study, the participants' own perceptions concerning the role of the Hindi language in their culture may be just as important as any empirical evidence that this relationship exists.

Participants' Beliefs

Role of Language in Culture

Perhaps the most striking outcome of this thesis study is that both the generations, the second generation in particular, believe the Hindi language to be central to their culture. On a ten-point scale on the Cultural Profile Questionnaire measuring how central they felt Hindi to be to their culture, the second generation reported a mean of 8.1, which was

significantly higher than the first generation's mean of 6.6. This suggests that while the first generation perhaps only moderately feels that the Hindi language is central to their culture, the second generation definitely feels that this is so!

The response of the first generation could explain their linguistic behaviour when raising their children in both Hindi and English at home, before putting their children in school. To the first generation parents, since the Hindi language was only moderately central to their culture, in speaking English to their children they were only moderately endangering their cultural transmission. This more pragmatic attitude of the first generation could be indicative of the multilingual reality of India from which they immigrated, wherein it is perfectly normal and even considered easy to learn to speak several languages fluently (Beynon et al., 2003). For this generation, what seems to matter more is the solidarity of the family, which can still be maintained with an imperfect command of the heritage language, so long as there is a language spoken in common between parents and children (just as in the case of the Italian-Australians in Gibbons & Ashcroft, 1995; Smolicz et al., 2001). This latter view of the family language is in line with that suggested by Mouw and Xie (1999), by which the choice of language (or mix of languages) spoken within the family is important only to the extent that socialization of children by the parents is possible.

For the second generation, however, their high rating of the centrality of Hindi reveals their belief that their heritage language is indeed a central constituent of their heritage culture. This could be, perhaps, simply due to the fact that they have been brought up in North America where language tends to be equated with ethnicity and culture (Edwards & Chisholm, 1987; Fishman, 1989a; Myhill, 1999; Northover &

Donnelly, 1996), at least in the lay population, in contrast to India where it is normal, as mentioned earlier, to have knowledge of several languages and still maintain membership to one's ethnolinguistic group.

There could be another theory that might explain the second generation's strong belief that Hindi functions as a central component to the North Indian Hindu culture. It has been established that the second generation has shifted from Hindi to English. Furthermore, by virtue of participating in this study and having to undertake the oral proficiency test in Hindi, the second generation participants might have become *aware* that they have lost Hindi (if they were not already aware of this). It is also possible that over the course of their own lives, the second generation is becoming aware of the cultural shift that has taken place in some aspects of their lives, such as in their sense of filial duty in certain contexts such as "career", as the data indicate. As they begin to mature into full adulthood (not the legal notion of adulthood at age 18 but rather the notion of preparing to "settle down"), they are perhaps entering what Moag (1999) calls the third stage of identity construction for South Asian youths. This is the stage of reconciliation, which comes after spending most of their lives trying to distance themselves or even rebel from their heritage culture. With the majority of the second generation participants being of age 25 and older at the time of the study (12 out of 15), it is quite likely that the time of rebellion is behind them and that they are becoming ready to reconcile with their heritage culture.

In entering this phase of life, they are perhaps becoming aware that they may have shifted away or rebelled from their heritage culture in their youth; that is to say, they are perhaps beginning to perceive themselves as incompetent heritage culture transmitters (as

suggested by Moag, 1999, in his description of the semi-native speaker). In the effort to reconcile with their heritage culture, they attempt to identify the most tangible aspect of what they have lost, something they can actually, potentially recapture: their heritage language. Therefore, it is possible that for the second generation participants of this thesis study, their heritage language, Hindi, has become not only central to their culture, but it has also become a “re-entry point” to the culture, one that presents them with a real opportunity to reclaim the rights to their heritage.

This being said, does the second generation’s belief in the centrality of the Hindi language to the North Indian Hindu culture actually translate into decisions regarding ingroup membership? In order to put their belief to the test, so to speak, two more questions were asked on the Cultural Profile Questionnaire that targeted the language-culture relationship. Modified from Gatbonton et al.’s (in press) study on ethnic group affiliation, the first question asked the participants to agree or disagree with the statement that a person born to Hindi-speaking parents who no longer spoke Hindi him/herself could still be considered by other Indians to be a true North Indian. The second generation reported a mean agreement of 6.7 on a ten-point scale. This means that despite their strong belief in the centrality of Hindi to the North Indian culture, a North Indian person who no longer speaks the language *can still retain membership* in this group. The second question asked the participants to agree or disagree with the statement that a person born to Hindi-speaking parents, who now speaks better English than Hindi, would be considered by other Indians to be more Canadian than Indian. The second generation reported a mean agreement of 7.1 on a ten-point scale. This means that on the one hand, the person who has lost Hindi can still be considered by other Indians as North Indian,

while on the other hand, in speaking better English than Hindi, presumably the *same* person is considered, still by other Indians, as more *Canadian* than North Indian!

The ambivalence towards the language-culture relationship demonstrated by the second generation, and indeed by the first generation who reported a similar pattern of results, reveals that this group may not quite see or understand the role that language may play in their culture, *when they are forced to make decisions regarding group membership*. It is possible, then, that this sample, representative of the North Indian community of Montreal at large, sees their language as central to their culture solely in symbolic terms (Edwards & Chisholm, 1987). If this is the case, if this group truly does not become aware that believing the Hindi language as central to the North Indian culture entails making decisions governing ingroup membership, it may be harder to predict how this community will behave when they are confronted with real, day-to-day issues of maintaining their language and their culture. However, is it safe to assume that this group even wants to, *intends* to, maintain their language and culture? Or, in the terminology of Moag's (1999) theory regarding the stage of reconciliation, is it safe to assume that the second generation truly does wish to reconcile with their heritage language and culture?

Commitment to Hindi Language

Perhaps the next most striking outcome of this thesis study is the fact that, despite their insufficient command of Hindi throughout their lives, even as children, the second generation participants seem highly committed to passing the Hindi language on to future generations. From the Language Background Questionnaire asking them to rate their level of commitment, the second generation reported a mean of 8.2 on a ten-point scale.

It is not clear from the data available in this thesis how the second generation participants will actually manage to transmit Hindi to the next generation, given their own limited linguistic knowledge. It is possible that they may enroll themselves in university-level Hindi classes, as Moag (1999) found many South Asian young adults doing in the stage of reconciliation. One major obstacle in trying to re-learn Hindi as an adult according to Moag, however, is the limited number of Hindi classes available at a limited number of North American universities. In addition, because the second generation reported themselves as illiterate in Hindi, it would take a full additional university year devoted to learning and mastering the Devanagari script, just in order for the participants to read the class materials! This additional time and effort required may impede the second generation's genuine desire to re-learn their language, particular when the Hindi classes would compete with the daily demands of the participants' careers, for which the Hindi language would rarely be valued.

Given the unlikelihood of the second generation actually re-learning their heritage language, how will they transmit their heritage culture? The second generation may have to find means other than language to preserve and transmit their culture, such as religion, as suggested by Pandharipande (1992). The problem with turning to religion, however, is that most Hindu religious ceremonies and even personal devotional practices are conducted in Sanskrit, the sacred, ancient language of Hinduism (Coward & Botting, 1999; Fasold, 1984). Those aspects of Hinduism that are rendered in Hindi such as weekly discourses at local Hindu temples, translated Hindu texts and TV adaptations of the Mahabharata and Ramayana epics (Pearson, 1999), are usually done so at such a high level of Hindi that it is still virtually incomprehensible to the second generation. In

recognition of the enormous linguistic barrier standing between the second generation and their own religion, many North American Hindu temples and other community institutions have begun to conduct their services and functions in English (Moag, 1999). Just how accurately and to what depth the vast and ancient Hindu religion can be preserved and transmitted in the English language remains to be seen. However, before the loss of the Hindu religion can be lamented along with the already certain loss of the Hindi language within this group in North America, it is first necessary to ascertain if the participants of this thesis study even desire to retain, preserve and transmit their heritage culture.

Commitment to North Indian Hindu Culture

The fact that the second generation in this thesis study does indeed intend to preserve their culture is revealed through their responses on the Biographical Questionnaire. Though a question on heritage culture maintenance was never asked explicitly, participants responded to a question on Canada's multiculturalism policy (replicated from Lambert et al., 1987), which asked them whether they think their Indian community should give up or maintain their traditional ways of life. On a ten-point scale, the second generation replied with a mean of 7.1 in favour of their own group maintaining their traditional way of life. Furthermore, the participants were asked to indicate their preference of ethnicity and religion in choosing a future life-mate in marriage. Three of the second generation participants were already married at the time of the study, and all 3 were in fact married to an Indian. Of the 12 unmarried participants, 11 stated that they wished to marry Indian. In terms of religion, 2 of the 3 married participants were married to a Hindu, and 11 of the 12 unmarried participants expressed the desire to marry a

Hindu. Finally, 13 out of the total 15 second generation participants reported their intention to raise their children in the Hindu religion.

Thus it would seem that the second generation indeed wishes to preserve and transmit their heritage culture. However, given their limited linguistic knowledge in Hindi, and very likely their limited cultural and religious knowledge as explained in the section above, the form of culture they will in reality transmit to the next generation will probably be a diluted version of the original. Coward and Botting (1999) have already begun to document the extent of the dilution of the Hindu religion in Canada. They state that personal devotional practice in the home, which is considered the fundamental place of worship in Hinduism, has been diminished and grossly over-simplified, while temple practice is being reduced to nominal proportions as well. Surrounded by the pressures of a secular society, Hindu practice is destined to secularize increasingly and thus its future in Canada is severely threatened.

It is therefore probable that this ethnolinguistic group may remain distinct in Canada (and North America at large) only in symbolic terms (Moag, 1999). This symbolic heritage cultural maintenance or sense of “Indianness” may reflect a limited form of expression of what is a genuine desire on the second generation’s part to retain a sense of their Indian heritage (Moag, 1999), or it may be merely lip-service being paid to retain the language and culture, as has been shown among other ethnolinguistic minority groups in Canada (Edwards & Chisholm, 1987).

Perhaps this symbolic distinction is the way of the future, however, for a multicultural society such as Canada and the rest of North America. It has been suggested by Taylor (1991) in his assessment of issues of assimilation and multiculturalism, that rather than

focusing on what he feels are over-simplified ideologies of assimilation and multiculturalism at the group level, it is more pertinent to focus on identity construction at the level of the individual instead. On this level, he argues, the psychological motives for maintaining heritage culture are purely for the sake of a better self-understanding. In this view, heritage culture is important so long as it provides the individual with a structured foundation or environment from which to negotiate her interactions with the surrounding society. What becomes salient to the individual, then, is her unique interpretation of her heritage culture that helps build her unique identity, much like the uniquely integrated bilingual identity suggested by Hamers and Blanc (2000), where a mixture of some of the features of both cultures have been internalized. This view of individual identity is in line with what has been called a hybrid identity in the poststructuralist theoretical approach to the identity construction (Beynon et al., 2003; Harris, 2003; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). In this approach, language and even nationality and ethnicity are just some of the potential dimensions with which the individual may choose to identity herself. Along with other dimensions such as gender and class, the individual is constantly negotiating her identity at any given time in any given situation in such a way as to most benefit her self-esteem (Hamers & Blanc, 2000) and her social rewards (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1990; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004).

Perhaps evidence of this hybrid identity amongst the participants of this thesis study can be taken from their preference for the term “Indo-Canadian” as the label that describes them best on the Biographical Questionnaire. This term was significantly preferred over the labels “Indian” and “Canadian”, not only by the second generation, but

by the *first* as well. The fact that the first generation chose the term “Indo-Canadian” over the other two labels demonstrates that they, too, have developed a hybrid identity, by virtue of now having lived in Canada for over 30 years.

The term “Indo-Canadian” could come to denote much more than the average Indian individual’s personal preference for a particular label as indicative of their personal interpretation of their culture and ethnicity, however. It can perhaps be translated to the group level and define a whole new culture, wherein aspects of this culture can still be related to the original homeland culture, while other aspects can be linked to the group’s new home, the host society in which the group has come to settle permanently. Using the theoretical framework of emergent culture proposed by Williams (1977), a culture that is in the process of change can be broken down into its dominant elements (its core elements that remain stable), its residual elements (those elements that are historically grounded in the past or in the homeland culture, but that are still active in the current context), and emergent elements (new interpretations of original values and practices, or adopted elements from the new home culture which may or may not be at odds with the original culture).

Therefore the North Indian Hindu community of this thesis study could be in the process of creating a whole new culture of “Indo-Canadian”, where the value of filial duty may be one aspect, for example, in which both residual and emergent elements of North Indian and Indo-Canadian cultures are operating together at the same time. This next quote can perhaps be used as inspiration for the North Indian Hindu community of Montreal, in that the need to create its own unique culture in the Canadian context is

valid, and is a process that need not be impeded in fear (or guilt) of contradicting the homeland culture from whence it originated:

...as historians and scholars will agree, dialogue and integration is not something new to Hinduism. An interesting feature of most varieties of Hindu thought...is its openness and malleability to different approaches to life. Hinduism carries with it the kind of inclusive universalism....As a Hindu, one is not constrained to follow only one mode of being, but rather, is open to a variety of approaches in developing and sustaining different practices. Hinduism, in most of its history, has been tolerant and accepting of different interpretations and practices. Herein...lies an avenue to adaptation and change for young Hindu diaspora. (Peetush, 1999, p. 208)

In this new paradigm of hybrid individual identity and emergent culture, not only would it no longer be appropriate – or even applicable – to compare the second generation individual's unique interpretation or experience of the heritage culture with the original culture of the homeland, but it may not even be appropriate to compare her culture with the culture of her own first generation parents. Nor would it be appropriate to compare the first generation's experience of the heritage culture with their *own* peers in India. It is quite likely that rapid changes are happening as well within the first generation's own reference group in India – that is, among their own friends and relatives back home. Moag (1999) suggests that the first generation parents living in North America carry with them a frozen picture of what their culture was when they left India. They are therefore unaware of the changes – mostly towards Westernization – that are currently taking place among the upper middle classes of large urban centres such as Delhi and Mumbai. The very activities the first generation parents usually prohibit for their children in North America, such as dating, attending parties and love marriages, are becoming commonplace occurrences among the second generation's own cousins back home in India.

So where does this leave the North Indian Hindu culture as a distinct entity, whether in Canada and North America as a minority culture, or even in its own homeland of India? Does it have a future anywhere? Perhaps the following quote can answer this question, and with it end this section:

Indian [Hindu] culture has proved that it has rare vitality, an uncanny sense of realism, marvellous [*sic*] adaptability which is as elastic as life itself, and fundamental bases which are firm, comprehensive and rooted deeply in human consciousness. That is the reason why it has been possible for it to remain true to its fundamental concepts, to stick to some of its old forms after discarding many of them and also to adopt from time to time new ways of manifestation without losing its individuality. (Diwakar, 1980, p. 27)

Summary

It can be summarized that the North Indian Hindu community of Montreal has experienced a language shift in the second generation from Hindi to English. There is also evidence of the beginnings of a cultural shift taking place, as represented by the value of filial duty in situations involving career decisions, where the second generation demonstrated a more individualist view of career choices than did the first generation.

While this cultural shift can clearly be seen in the second generation, there is also a hint of a cultural shift having taken place in the first generation. Although there was no reference included in this thesis study with which to compare the first generation's view of filial duty in marriage situations, when compared to the body of South Asian literature on first generation views on marriage, the first generation's views could be interpreted as a shift from their homeland culture.

No clear empirical evidence emerged from this thesis study that the Hindi language mediated the cultural shift taking place in the second generation. However, both generations, but particularly the second generation, explicitly rated the Hindi language to

be central to their culture and demonstrated a high commitment in transmitting this language to the next generation. This belief in the role of their heritage language with respect to their heritage culture was not supported or reflected in their behaviour, though, insofar as their “behaviour” and, indeed, the cultural value of filial duty, were measured in the Experimental Task.

Due to the second generation’s lack of Hindi proficiency and seemingly ambivalent view of the role of the Hindi language in retention of the North Indian Hindu culture, it is likely that the North Indian Hindu community in Montreal may remain distinct from other groups only symbolically. That they do wish to retain a sense of “Indianness” and “Hindu” is clear from their expressed desire to marry Indian and Hindu and to raise their children as Hindus. However, just what form and extent of “Indianness” and “Hinduism” is actually practiced and transmitted in everyday reality may be too diluted or too unique to each individual belonging to the group to justify making a comparison with their original, ancestral culture, which itself might be in the process of changing.

CHAPTER 6: IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter presents comments on the implications and applications of the findings, the limitations of the study and potential areas for future research.

Implications and Applications

As stated in Chapter 1, this thesis was conducted in response to the need to gather more information as well as empirical data on the South Asian diaspora of Canada, specifically in terms of language shift and cultural shift. In addition, the study was conducted to examine the nature of the language-culture relationship, one that is either taken for granted, assumed or simply unexplored, using a modified matched guise methodology. Potential applications of the findings were identified for Canada's multiculturalism policy, as well as for the fields of education and counseling.

North Indian Hindu Community

This study has presented empirical evidence of a language shift as well as a cultural shift that might be occurring within the North Indian Hindu community of Montreal. In terms of language shift, the findings have shown that the in second generation Hindi has been fully replaced by English as their dominant language. In terms of the culture of this community, the findings have demonstrated that the second generation seems to be shifting away from upholding the traditional view of the value of filial duty with regards to career decisions. Furthermore, although the first generation seems to be upholding the traditional value of filial duty in career decisions, they seem to perhaps be shifting away from this value in marriage situations. These findings suggest that certain aspects of the North Indian Hindu culture, such as filial duty in marriage and career situations, may be undergoing a transition in Canada.

There are two possible outcomes for the North Indian Hindu community that can be predicted based on this study's findings of language and cultural shift. The first possible outcome is rather bleak. In terms of language, the second generation has already fully replaced Hindi with English. Furthermore, their own parents speak to them not in Hindi but in English roughly 60% of the time. If the linguistic pattern of language use of the two generations continues, one way to view these findings is to suggest that very little Hindi linguistic input would, in time, be available to the third generation of this community. The consequence of this limited Hindi input may be that this particular community would undergo a full and complete language shift by the third generation.

In terms of culture, one could also easily speculate that the culture of this community, in some aspects at least, is undergoing change that might eventually lead to erosion. This speculation is based on the observation that the change has already started in the first generation as well, as implied by the weak sense of filial duty that the members of this generation have displayed with regards to the marriage situations. If this is indeed the case, and if the trend continues, it is possible that the group could very well cease to remain distinct (beyond a merely symbolic distinction) in Canada as rapidly and as early as the third generation. Overall, then, this first possible outcome predicts a bleak future for the North Indian Hindu community as an ethnolinguistically distinct entity in Canada.

A more optimistic outcome is possible, however. It was found that the second generation expressed a high level of commitment to transmitting the Hindi language onto the next generation. Although not specifically spelled out, this commitment could be interpreted as an intention to revive the Hindi language and reverse the language shift. In terms of culture, taking Williams' (1977) theoretical framework of cultural change as

discussed by Harris (2003) with respect to South Asian youths in Britain, rather than lamenting the disappearance of the North Indian Hindu culture as a distinct entity in Montreal, one could view this community as in the process of building an emergent culture instead. That is, because both the first and second generation participants preferred to describe themselves with the label “Indo-Canadian” rather than “Indian”, it can be interpreted that this community is in the midst of re-defining itself and creating a new, unique identity and culture. This culture, which could be denoted as “Indo-Canadian”, may retain some dominant elements of the North Indian Hindu culture, such as the preference to marry within the culture and religion (as the second generation participants expressed), as well as some residual elements, such as the overall belief in the value of filial duty (as expressed by the participants as well). Both these dominant and residual elements may be operating simultaneously or even syncretically with new, emergent elements, such as a new interpretation of filial duty in the North American context (such as a sense of filial duty that is “negotiable” through dialogue between parents and children, for example). In this light, this community is not necessarily doomed to extinction, but rather could be in the process of creating its own unique brand of culture.

What is still not clear is whether the Hindi language actually does mediate or “govern” the North Indian Hindu culture for this community. It is difficult to predict, then, how this community will evolve in Canada according to their language experience. Perhaps it can be conjectured that if this community is indeed in the process of creating an emergent culture of its own, then this new culture may manage to survive as a unique and distinct entity without the Hindi language. It could also be conjectured that this

emergent culture will forge links with other South Asian emergent cultures around the world (see below for an explanation of the “South Asian” identity), a process that could expose this community to other South Asians who could be managing to maintain their heritage languages to some degree. This renewed awareness and reminder of heritage language maintenance could in turn reconnect this community to their own heritage language of Hindi.

It would be worth investigating this language-culture relationship with this same community, the North Indian Hindus of Montreal, within the upcoming decades in order to observe how the third generation is carving out their linguistic and cultural niche in Canada in comparison to other South Asian groups in North America.

South Asian Literature

As there seem to be only two studies to date documenting language shift in the South Asian diaspora, (Gupta & Yeok, 1995; Shameem, 1994), this thesis study adds a third documentation, one that is situated in the North American context. The finding that none of the second generation was speaking Hindi in the home reflects the larger pattern found in the U.S. 1990 Census, which revealed that only 14.5% of South Asians reported speaking their heritage language at home (Moag, 1999). Furthermore, the finding that the second generation participants in this study did not report any firm grounding in Hindi right from the start but had mastery of English instead, suggests that their parents must have made the choice early on that their children would be better off having a language for faster upward mobility than a language for heritage maintenance. As discussed in Chapter 5, deliberately choosing to encourage proficiency in the language of upward mobility at the cost of the heritage language is a phenomenon that commonly occurs

within the homes of urban middle class ethnolinguistic minority families around the world (de Klerk, 2000; Dorian, 1981; Gupta & Yeok, 1995; Moag, 1999; Shameem, 1994; Yagmur et al., 1999). This is especially true for South Asian diasporic families in which the parents, themselves, tend to have a high level of education and practice professions for which a high level of English proficiency is required.

In terms of impact on general South Asian cultural studies, this study seems to be among the first to provide empirical evidence of cultural shift. By demonstrating that the first and second generations perceive issues similarly to each other in the case of marriage and differently from each other in the case of career, this study confirms that marriage and career are two areas of South Asian culture worth continuing to explore in more detail. It is these two arenas that the qualitative studies such as Moag (1999) and Peetush (1999) suggest as the most striking manifestation of differences between not only South Asian parents and their children, but between the East and West at large with their conflicting ideologies of collectivism and individualism, respectively.

Another implication of the cultural aspect of this study on South Asian cultural literature is the emergent “Indo-Canadian” culture of the Montreal North Indian Hindu community. In Britain, Harris (2003) and Rampton (2004) are documenting new ethnicities that are emerging among the South Asian youth who no longer desire to tie themselves down with old notions of national, regional and linguistic definitions. Closer to home, Moag (1999) has observed in his qualitative study on South Asian youths in the U.S. that in the third stage of identity formation, that of reconciliation with the heritage culture, they are not necessarily fully returning to and wholeheartedly adopting their traditional culture and its boundaries. Rather, many of the South Asian youths are

discarding their regional and linguistic differences in favour of an over-arching identity of “South Asian”. The participants were never asked in this thesis study to consider labels of identity beyond “Indo-Canadian”. It is possible that had they been asked to rate their preference of “South Asian”, they may have chosen this instead. Perhaps soon regional and linguistic or religious terms like “North Indian” and “Hindu” will hold less and less meaning among the diaspora in North America and Britain and elsewhere around the world. Rather, future diaspora generations might well choose to define themselves as simply “South Asian”.

An interesting tangent of this emerging “South Asian” identity among the diaspora is the effect it may have on the original homeland South Asian countries. In Lal’s (2003) online article entitled “The necessary manufacture of South Asia”, one argument for a plural “South Asian” identity beyond a mere geo-political grouping is the fact that the diaspora is *already* bound together under this umbrella. This diaspora identity influencing the geo-political homeland identity is a fascinating phenomenon that will be worthwhile to observe in the coming decades, for who can predict how this trans-continental identity will influence the lives of the millions who belong to it across the globe, and what impact it might have on the rest of the world.

The final implication of this thesis study for South Asian literature is from the language-culture relationship. The results of the language-culture equation tested in this thesis study for the North Indian Hindu community supports the one other quantitative study testing the same equation for a variety of South Asian groups (Punetha et al., 1987), in that no clear relationship emerged for the Hindu group. These findings mark the Hindu group to be different from its Muslim and Sikh South Asian counterparts, for whom a

language-culture relationship has been empirically established for both British Muslims and Sikhs in the Punetha et al. study, and qualitatively revealed for Canadian Sikhs in the Beynon et al. (2003) and Coward and Botting (1999) studies. For the Muslim and Sikh South Asian diaspora, their cultural maintenance can be much more easily predicted based on their heritage language maintenance than for the Hindu diaspora, it would seem.

As stated in the earlier section on the implications for the North Indian Hindu community of Montreal, the language-culture relationship merits further investigation in order to thoroughly explore linguistic and cultural change in depth within any given South Asian group, as well as cross-culturally across the entire South Asian diaspora.

Language Maintenance Research

The most significant implication of this thesis study for the literature on general language maintenance research is the recognition that first generation immigrants are not necessarily helpless victims of global sociological pressures (that is, of social, political and economic inequalities) that influence language shift, but are themselves active agents for promoting this shift (Harris, 2003; May, 2001). That is to say, researchers in the fields of bilingualism and socio-linguistics may continue to advocate the preservation of minority languages, as is the current trend (Edwards, 1997; May, 2001; Myhill, 1999), despite the possibility that the very people whose language they are trying to save may well be the ones who are consciously, even deliberately allowing the language shift to take place for reasons of upward mobility. This is particularly the case for upper middle class South Asian parents, such as the North Indian Hindu parents in this thesis study, who have themselves been educated for the most part in English in South Asia before coming to North American soil. For Indians from India, moreover, the incredibly

pragmatic view of language learning in the everyday reality of multilingualism (Beynon et al., 2003; Fasold, 1984; Pandharipande, 1992) perhaps allows them to regard heritage language loss with less emotion or attachment than would other ethnolinguistic minority groups who immigrate from monolingual countries. For these first generation immigrants, emotional attachment to the heritage language may be consciously over-ridden by pragmatic concerns of the dominant language as the means for upward mobility.

Although this thesis study demonstrates that first generation immigrants are active agents in language change (Harris, 2003; May, 2001), perhaps the second generation children can still be viewed as the helpless victims of language shift, since the linguistic decisions were probably made by their parents without their involvement. However, it is the second generation children who in fact feel committed to the heritage language and wish to transmit it. This would imply that language maintenance for the second generation is indeed a legitimate concern. Therefore, it is important for researchers to take inter-generational differences in perspectives on heritage language maintenance into account when attempting to argue for and find means to support minority language preservation.

Cultural Research Methodology

The methodological approach taken in this thesis study could be useful in general research on culture for a variety of ethnolinguistic groups. By narrowing the field of culture down to one or two representative values and building contexts that manifest these values could be more culturally valid for study of a particular group than other quantitative methods used thus far, such as the Rokeach Value Survey used in Punetha et

al. (1987). This latter approaches may be inherently Western ethnocentric in their very construction (Bond, 1983). Furthermore, by restricting the choice of values to represent the culture being studied, it is possible to explore these values in more depth and in a variety of situations or perspectives that better reveal their subtle nuances. Thus there is less risk of over-simplifying an entire culture or falling into the trap of stereotyping the culture being studied.

Language-Culture Relationship Research Methodology

Although there is extensive scholarly interest in the relationship between language and culture (or language and ethnicity, language and identity, and language and nationality, as the case may be), there are few studies that attempt to test this relationship empirically. The quantitative study conducted by Northover and Donnelly (1996) on the role of the Irish language in Northern Irish identity was based on the theoretical framework of Identity Structure Analysis and is therefore of interest to researchers investigating the role of language in identity. Meanwhile, the Punetha et al. (1987) quantitative study, based on the Rokeach Value Survey, may be more relevant to language in culture studies, but is beset with problems associated with cultural validity. This thesis study, then, is one of the few quantitative studies testing the role of language in culture, specifically, and in doing so, one of the few that can provide a culturally valid methodology.

By restricting the choice of cultural value to be studied, the researcher can also go in depth and allow for the subtle nuances of the culture to be revealed through the contexts that are created to manifest these values. Furthermore, by constructing an accompanying questionnaire that accounts for Hofstede's (1991) "desirable" versus "desired"

dimensions of the intensity of cultural values expressed by the participants, the culturally-appropriate values can be explored from a variety of perspectives. Finally, the matched-guise technique established in inter-group contact and accommodation studies (Bourhis et al., 1973; Bourhis & Giles, 1977; Gatbonton, 1975; Gatbonton et al., in press), and used in this thesis study to test the language-culture relationship can be replicated across a variety of ethnolinguistic groups.

Although the findings of this thesis study did not allow for definitive conclusions regarding the actual relationship between language and culture for this population sample, the data gathered through the Experimental Task indicate that the matched-guise technique functioned well as a test for the effect of language on culture. Whereas the control condition (a culturally-neutral context) of the matched-guise demonstrated that there was no language effect on either generation, in both contexts of “marriage” and “career” manifesting filial duty, the language of the guise was indeed instrumental in evoking different responses by the first generation in their responses to the “marriage” context, and by the second generation to “career”. Overall, therefore, the findings suggest that the matched-guise technique is a sound empirical test measuring the effect of language on the culture, and is worth refining and replicating in order to fully exploit empirical language-culture testing possibilities.

Identity Construction

The main focus of this thesis study was to ascertain the role that language plays in group culture, rather than individual identity. However, in the process of interpreting the results, and due, in turn, to the very nature of the intrinsic relationship between culture

and identity, it was inevitable that findings of this study would impact the field of identity construction.

On the socio-psychological level of identity construction theory, wherein language and ethnicity or group culture are considered as a one-to-one correlation by advocates of this approach (according to Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), the methodology created for this thesis study to empirically test the language-culture relationship can be used to predict not only bi/multi-lingualism outcomes, but bi/multi-cultural identity outcomes. For example, as Hamers and Blanc (2000) suggested, individual members belonging to a group that is shown by this methodology to be language-dependent will be more likely to form an additive identity in an environment that promotes bi- or multilingualism, whereas they will be predicted to undergo a subtractive identity process or worse, anomie, in an environment that enforces monolingualism at the expense of the heritage language. For the specific community studied in this thesis, however, there can be no concrete predictions on identity outcomes based on linguistic outcomes, due to the lack of a definitive language-culture relationship that emerged.

What did emerge from this thesis study was that the participants of the North Indian Hindu community described themselves as “Indo-Canadian” and seemed to be in the process of re-interpreting their heritage culture in order to carve out an existence that is satisfactory and unique to their North American environment. That is to say, this population sample seemed to define themselves as neither Indian in the more authentically Indian sense, nor as Canadian in the mainstream sense. Therefore they cannot be said either to be truly maintaining their heritage culture or to be assimilating to mainstream culture. On a psychological level of identity construction, then, these

participants seem to fall in line with the poststructuralist theoretical approach to identity, which allows for a much more complex understanding of identity and opens up options for multiplicity and hybridity (Beynon et al., 2003; Harris, 2003; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Rampton, 2004). This thesis study provides empirical evidence of the “third space” that poststructuralists designate as necessary for exploring new and alternative identities (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Furthermore, in choosing to identify themselves as “Indo-Canadian”, the participants are demonstrating the assertion that identities can and do traverse boundaries as well as geo-political frontiers, wherein the same individual can belong to several “homes” at once and yet not one particular “home” at all (Harris, 2003).

The identity outcomes for the participants of this thesis study therefore support the challenge being put forth by identity scholars to the outdated notions of monolingual and monolithic nations, cultures and groups that have hitherto dominated the fields of bilingualism and socio-linguistics with their over-simplified ideologies of maintenance and assimilation (Hamers & Blanc, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Rampton, 2004; Taylor, 1991).

Canada's Multiculturalism Policy

In the political sphere, the empirical evidence for cultural shift in the North Indian Hindu community, and language shift as well, could have implications on Canada's multiculturalism policy. Briefly, according to Berry's (1984) framework of Canada's multiculturalism policy, there are four main components at work: group maintenance and development, group acceptance and tolerance, inter-group contact and sharing and, finally, learning of official languages. The inherent assumption of the policy is that fostering the cultural security of one's own group (group maintenance and development)

can not only lead to the cultural security of other groups, but also lead to greater acceptance and tolerance. Group maintenance and development can also inspire a sense of confidence, which can then lead to increased interaction amongst groups and can further reinforce tolerance. Interaction between groups is made possible through learning both of Canada's official languages, which should be *accommodating* to the group's heritage language and should not be accomplished at its expense, based on the theoretical principle of additive bilingualism. When extended to the overall policy, additive bilingualism becomes additive *culturalism*, in that not only can a second language be added without expense to the heritage language, a second *culture* can be added without expense to the heritage culture, such that both cultures can co-exist peacefully. If each component and the links that connect them function as intended, the multiculturalism policy should benefit both individual and inter-group harmony and, thus, general Canadian society at large.

Given the precepts forming the basis of the multiculturalism policy, the fact that this thesis study documents the beginnings of a cultural shift and a certain language shift within the North Indian Hindu community of Montreal suggests two possibilities about the effectiveness of the policy for this group. The first possibility, one that may be easier to jump to as a conclusion, is that Canada's multiculturalism policy simply is not working for this community. The second possibility, which allows for more complexity and perhaps better reflects reality, will be explored after the first possibility has been outlined.

The first possibility, that the policy is simply not effective for this group, is explained as follows. While it is understood that this thesis study only explored one aspect of the Hindu culture, that of filial duty, South Asian literature has highlighted this particular

aspect of culture as one of its most defining traits when contextualized in marriage and career situations. Therefore, the fact that a shift in this value was observed in the second generation, with respect to career, and hinted at in *both* the first and second generations, with respect to marriage, in this thesis study calls into question just how this group is actually maintaining its culture as the multiculturalism policy would have it. If this group is gradually losing their culture in the process of acculturating to Canadian mainstream culture, where is the additive cultural experience? Furthermore, if the policy states that learning the official languages of Canada should not be at the expense of the heritage language, how is this basic tenet reflected in the fact that this particular community has clearly and most rapidly shifted from Hindi to English over two generations in a span of only 30 years? In effect, the evidence of the cultural and language shifts taking place within the North Indian Hindu community of Montreal reveals that despite its official multiculturalism policy, Canada is in reality no different than any other multicultural country in which no such policy exists.

The second possibility regarding the effectiveness of Canada's multiculturalism policy with respect to the North Indian Hindu community of Montreal, is that multiculturalism in Canada manifests itself in complex ways that may be dependent on the particular community studied. Furthermore, the manifestation of multiculturalism in any given community may not necessarily be predictable through the relatively uni-dimensional constructs of the policy, as suggested by Taylor (1991). Taylor's critique of the policy is based on what he asserts is the over-simplification of the notion of heritage cultural maintenance in the currently predominant assimilation-multiculturalism ideology. Rather than the "yes/no" dichotomous approach to assimilation versus heritage

cultural maintenance, which robs the heritage culture of its numerous and subtle dimensions, Taylor argues for a thorough investigation into the multidimensional psychological motives that underlie heritage cultural maintenance. By examining these motives, one might begin to appreciate that some features of the heritage culture may be retained while others are deliberately let go. The question to ask, then, is not whether the given group wants to maintain its heritage culture, but rather *which features* it chooses to retain and *why*.

Taylor's (1991) critique of the multiculturalism ideology in addition to the findings of this thesis study, that despite Canada's multiculturalism policy the North Indian Hindu community is losing its language and heritage culture, together indicate that perhaps the time for a paradigm shift has come. In view of the emergent poststructuralist approach to identity construction as discussed above, as well as the observations of South Asian minority group youths around the world negotiating their identities and coming up with something that is entirely different and unique in hybridity (Harris, 2003; Moag, 1999; Rampton, 2004), perhaps Canada's multiculturalism policy is as outdated as are the notions that cultures and communities are homogenous, and that identities, interests and boundaries of these groups are easily defined (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Rampton, 2004). Perhaps, then, this thesis study could be replicated for other ethnolinguistic minority groups in Canada, with the specific purposes of testing the effectiveness as well as the *validity* of Canada's multiculturalism policy in modern times, where trans-national cultures and trans-cultural identities are becoming the new norm.

Practical Applications

There are potential practical applications of this study for the fields of education and counseling. For education, if a language-culture relationship can be empirically established for a particular ethnolinguistic group, educators and administrators can be made aware of the serious impact a language shift could have on the home culture and psychological identity formation of their individual students belonging to these groups. They can then take steps to ensure that their students are aware of the importance of heritage language maintenance at least in the home domain, as the case may be, and can even go beyond by stressing the value of the students' heritage language on their multilingual repertoires (which would also include the two official languages) and on their multicultural competence (in that heritage language maintenance can lead to "a greater ability to manage multiple cultural and linguistic identities" May, 2001, p. 149). For the North Indian Hindu students in particular, since it is not possible to know this precise language-culture relationship, perhaps educators and administrators can err on the side of caution by encouraging this group to maintain the Hindi language at home.

The application for counseling comes from the strictly cultural aspect of this thesis study. The cultural data revealing inter-generational differences could serve to identify potential conflict areas that face teenagers and young adults, which could benefit counselors in their professional practices. It has been suggested (Williams, 2003) that counselors who endorse individualism as their worldview may simply not be equipped to deal with the issues tormenting those who may be struggling with the conflicting ideologies of collectivism-individualism on a daily basis. In the case of the North Indian Hindu community and South Asians at large, counselors could be made more aware and

sensitive to the complex layers and nuances involved in decisions regarding marriage and career, for instance, where an over-simplified, outdated colonial attitude of the “us versus them” and “modern/liberal versus traditional/backwards” approach (Peetush, 1999) would simply be inappropriate and ultimately unhelpful.

Limitations of Study

This thesis study has several methodological limitations, two of which will be discussed as the most significant.

Operationalization of the North Indian Hindu Value of Filial Duty

The first methodological limitation of this thesis study is how the value of filial duty, chosen to represent the North Indian Hindu culture at large, was operationalized. This value was operationalized not only in the “marriage” and “career” scenarios recorded for the matched-guise but also in the Cultural Profile Questionnaire, to which the participants responded after they had already completed the Experimental Task.

On the Cultural Profile Questionnaire, participants were explicitly asked to rate how important they felt the values of “duty towards parents”, “marriage” and “career” were to raising children in a traditional household. This question was modified from Moghaddam and Taylor’s (1987) study, in which the researchers asked their participants to rate the importance of “traditional values” in general, along with other such items as “language”, “religious ceremonies”, “clothing” and so forth. This type of question was included in this thesis study in order to provide an idea of the participants’ personal beliefs and, thus, a basis for understanding how the participants would behave in the Experimental Task. Results from the Cultural Profile Questionnaire, however, revealed a discrepancy between how the participants rated the value of filial duty and its related values of

“marriage” and “career” when asked explicitly, and how the participants responded to filial duty when contextualized in the “marriage” and “career” scenarios in the Experimental Task.

Specifically, the participants’ responses on the Cultural Profile Questionnaire suggested that both the first and second generation held the value of filial duty in equally high importance overall. The participants demonstrated an inter-generational difference, however, in how they regarded the value of “marriage”, where the first generation declared it significantly more important than the second generation. This significant inter-generational difference in the importance rating of the value of “marriage” on the questionnaire differed from the “marriage” scenario results of the Experimental Task, in which there were no significant inter-generational differences found. That is to say, while the first generation participants rated the value of “marriage” as significantly more important than the second generation on the questionnaire, they disagreed equally with the second generation to the statement that the woman should marry soon in the Experimental Task. Also, the participants’ responses on the Cultural Profile Questionnaire for the value of “career” suggested that both generations equally viewed this value as important. This result differed from their reactions to the “career” scenario in the Experimental Task, however, in which the participants demonstrated significant inter-generational differences. In the Experimental Task it may be recalled that the first generation participants agreed to the statement that the woman should keep her job, whereas the second generation disagreed. This significant inter-generational difference in the Experimental Task did not correspond, therefore, with the equal importance both generations gave to the value of “career” on the questionnaire.

There are two possible explanations of the discrepancies between the results of the two methods used to operationalize filial duty. The first possibility is that the Cultural Profile Questionnaire presented the three values of filial duty, “marriage” and “career” as separate and distinct from each other. It also presented these values in a decontextualized – and perhaps vague – manner to the participants. This is in contrast with the Experimental Task, which was designed *specifically* to provide “real life” contexts for the value of filial duty. Because these “real life” contexts were designed as the “marriage” and “career” scenarios, the value of filial duty was inherently enmeshed with the concepts of marriage and career, respectively. Whereas in the questionnaire “marriage” and “career” were presented as *values*, in the Experimental Task they were presented as *contexts* for the value of filial duty. Therefore, it would appear that the two methods used to operationalize filial duty and its related concepts of “marriage” and “career” were not comparable.

The second possible explanation of the difference in results between the Cultural Profile Questionnaire and the Experimental Task is that, at least with regards to the value of filial duty only, the two methods may have actually succeeded in highlighting the difference between the participants’ beliefs and their actual behaviour. Both generations equally rated the value of filial duty as *highly important* on the questionnaire. In the Experimental Task, however, when this value was put to test in two “real life” situations, the second generation demonstrated a weak sense of filial duty in the “career” context, while both generations demonstrated a weak sense in the “marriage” context. Therefore, it is possible that the Experimental Task was successful in forcing the participants to

reveal that their overall belief in the importance of the value of filial duty may not be reflected in their actual behaviour when confronted with “real life” dilemmas.

This being said, however, there is a limitation in how the value of filial duty was operationalized in the Experimental Task. The construction of the “marriage” and “career” scenarios to contextualize and manifest the value of filial duty in the Experimental Task may not have succeeded in truly capturing the essence of this value. Although the choice of “marriage” and “career” contexts for filial duty were justified by the South Asian literature investigating areas of conflicts between parents and their children, it is possible that there were other factors involved in these issues that confounded the value of filial duty.

An example of one such factor could be that the participants of this study could legitimately view the concepts of marriage and career purely from a practical point of view and not see the conflict presented by the narrator as “a big deal”. Indeed Moag (1999) and Peetush (1999) have both observed qualitatively that some second generation South Asian youths they interviewed had no problems with having their own marriages arranged. Similarly, Moag observed that some second generation South Asian youths end up compromising their personal interests in the favour of a more stable career. Put simply, perhaps the anguished conflict presented by the narrator is just not an issue for these participants, and so when they responded, they did so not out of a sense of filial duty (or lack thereof), but out of pure pragmatism.

Another example of a factor that could have confounded the value of filial duty in the marriage context, specifically, is one that more concerns the first generation participants. When confronted with having to state their opinion about whether a person, be it an

unknown woman or their own daughter, should get married soon, the first generation might be likely to disagree with this statement in fear of the increasingly accessible option for divorce (N. Kumar, personal communication, August 16, 2005; Sala, 2002). That is to say, the first generation may have disagreed with the “marriage” statement not out of a lack of the traditional sense of filial duty, but out of fear that pushing their children to marry soon may result in divorce later down the line.

Perhaps a different context could be chosen that focuses solely on the value of filial duty to the exclusion of all other possibilities, or perhaps the same “marriage” and “career” contexts could be narrowed even further to just one specific aspect that involves only filial duty and nothing else. An example of the latter option in the “marriage” scenario could be not the question of whether to marry in general out of filial duty, but whether to marry a specific person that the parents would feel is more compatible with the family. Perhaps this would better target the value of “duty towards parents” rather than the vast notion of marriage and all the issues that accompany it.

Related to the need to narrow down the focus of the context in order to better manifest the value of filial duty is the fact that religious elements of filial duty were mixed together with cultural elements in both the “marriage” and “career” scenarios. Rather than mixing the two, perhaps it would have been better to focus solely on *either* the cultural manifestation of the value of filial duty *or* the religious manifestation. An example of a specific cultural manifestation has already been mentioned (suitability of marriage partner to the whole family). If a religious manifestation is chosen as the context, then a greater and deeper study of the Hindu religion would be required. A thorough study of the religion might be required regardless of whether the context chosen

is cultural or religious, however, since the Hindu culture is, to a large extent, based on the Hindu religion (Diwakar, 1980). A deeper understanding of the religion would help to ensure that the value of filial duty is contextualized in such a way that explicitly manifests and better captures its true essence.

Participant Sample

The second major set of methodological limitations of the study pertains to the participant sample studied. One limitation was the small number of participants included in the study. With 30 participants consisting of parent-child pairs, there were only 15 participants from each generation. Ten out of the 15 were women and 5 men in both generations, which did not allow for gender to be exploited fully as a factor potentially mediating cultural values. Furthermore, due to the difficulty in recruiting participants from the North Indian Hindu community, the final population sample ended up with some participants citing not only Hindi as their mother-tongue, but Punjabi as well. While it is anecdotally understood that Punjabi-speaking Hindu parents, in general, tend to speak to their children in Hindi and not Punjabi (for reasons of passing on the language of the Hindu religion rather than their so-called mother-tongue), there is no empirical proof of this linguistic pattern for the Punjabi-speaking Hindu diaspora in Montreal. The inclusion of Punjabi mother-tongue speakers rendered the sample of the participants to be less linguistically homogenous than expected.

In addition, the participant sample studied was extremely homogenous in terms of immigration pattern and its confound, socio-economic class. This uniformity may have been helpful in better understanding the background of this particular subset of the community, however it did not allow for exploration into the different experiences of the

newer waves of North Indian Hindu immigrants. The newer immigrants tend to belong to a different class that seems to congregate in ethnic enclaves, and therefore preserves the language and culture in different ways and degrees than the pioneer immigrants (Ghuman, 1991a; Moag, 1999; Nowikowski & Ward, 1979). Also, by mixing newer immigrants and their younger children with the pioneer group and their older children, it would have been possible to test the validity of Moag's three stages of settlement in the first generation parents between which the degrees of acculturation significantly differ, as well as the accompanying three stages of identity formation in the second generation children.

Future Research

The direction of future research is based on the limitation of the study just described above; that is, to replicate the study with a much larger population sample studied. There are several possible permutations for such future research.

The first line of research could be a replication of this thesis study with the same North Indian Hindu Hindi-speaking community, with the exception that stricter linguistic homogeneity criteria should be enforced with Hindi as the sole mother-tongue of the group. This would enable the researcher to refine the matched-guise methodology that has already been designed for the two languages of Hindi and English. It would also enable the researcher to explore and perfect the contextualization of the value of filial duty in order to better capture its essence and thus better represent the North Indian Hindu culture at large.

Built into this new study should be the design of a screening process to ensure that all participants (the second generation, in particular) have a minimum level of listening

comprehension in Hindi, so that they could fully understand the Hindi scenarios in the matched-guise. Although this was not an issue with this thesis study (second generation participants reported a mean listening comprehension in Hindi of 8.1 on a ten-point Likert scale, as well as a mean understanding rating of 9.1, also on a ten-point Likert scale, for all three “marriage”, “career” and “control” scenarios), because listening comprehension plays such a crucial role in the matched-guise methodology, steps must be taken in the next phase of research to account for it in a more principled manner.

Finally, this replication should include participants from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds. That is, more newly-arrived North Indian Hindu immigrants and their younger children should be included along with the pioneer immigrants and their older children. This cross-section would allow for a more complex and dynamic measure of cultural change, with a wider scale of acculturation stages to observe in the first generation, and similarly a wider range of identity formation stages to observe in the second generation.

In another line of research, a variety of other regional and linguistic North Indian Hindu groups could be studied. For this option, the cultural value would remain the same because it is still grounded in Hinduism, the common religion to the North Indian groups participating. However, the matched-guise would be offered in several languages in conjunction with English, such as Punjabi, Gujarati, Bengali and Marathi; where the Gujarati-speaking participant would listen to the matched-guise in Gujarati and English, for example. Opening up the research to include regional and linguistic variety would enable the researcher to ascertain differences in language and cultural maintenance

between the regional-linguistic groups of the North Indian Hindu diaspora, and test the language-culture relationship for each group.

The next line of research could include the South Asian diaspora at large. The challenge in replicating this research design with the South Asian diaspora would be to choose a common South Asian cultural value that links all the groups together. This value cannot be grounded in religion, as now the population sample would include Muslims and Sikhs as well as Hindus. However, South Asian literature already tends to treat these groups together as one and, as such, has identified common areas of cultural experience. The value of “respect for elders”, for example, seems to cut across all South Asian groups and would therefore be interesting to examine. In conducting this research on the South Asian diaspora, it would be possible to provide empirical evidence for the notion of a “South Asian” identity that manages to cross not only national, regional and linguistic borders, but more importantly, religious borders. In times of religious unrest such as these modern times, a unifying “South Asian” identity might prove beneficial not just to North America or the South Asian region, but to the world at large.

The ultimate phase in future research could be to replicate this research methodology across a variety of ethnolinguistic groups in Canada in order to compare them with the South Asian groups already mentioned. These groups would be similar to the North Indian Hindus, and South Asians in general, in terms of immigration patterns and socio-economic class. Examples of such groups could include the Filipino and Iranian groups in Canada. Investigating a variety of groups would provide empirical data that could be used to: 1) document language shift and cultural shift for each group; 2) test the effectiveness and overall validity of Canada’s multiculturalism policy; 3) compare language shift

patterns of these groups with the North Indian and South Asian groups; and finally, 4) compare cultural shift patterns of these groups with the North Indian and South Asian groups in terms of rate of acculturation, emergent cultures and hybrid identities, most particularly within the second and third generations.

Closing Comments

This thesis was motivated by the need to identify and situate the role of language in culture for a particular ethnolinguistic minority community in Canada. This entailed not only an in-depth investigation into the group's language patterns as well as their espousal of a specific aspect of their heritage culture, but also adopting an entirely new methodology to test the language-culture link. In the process, logistical concerns and constraints relegated the approach of this investigation to the socio-psychological approach of language and culture, wherein a community and its language are viewed from a somewhat monolingual, monocultural perspective (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). While maintaining this approach for methodological purposes, it was understood that reality is far more complex and that multiplicity and hybrid identities are more the norm, especially for immigrant groups who are not only living in multilingual, multicultural environments, but who themselves were already multilingual (at least in the case of the community in this study) before immigrating to the host country.

As it turns out, of course, the findings of this thesis study did indeed reveal the complexity that exists not only in how this particular group defines and perceives themselves, but that exists as well in the very notions of language, culture and the language-culture link. That is to say, the findings of this study seem to empirically support the need to account for multiple, hybrid identities in which language and culture

can no longer be viewed through the old monolingual, monocultural, monolithic lens (Harris, 2003; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Rampton, 2004).

While it may be tempting to end with a remark stating simply that future research in the fields of bilingualism, socio-linguistics and psychology must take into account this multidimensional complexity and allow for data to reveal multiple, hybrid identities at the individual level, the logistics of this kind of quantitative research could very well present an insurmountable challenge to the researcher. At some point the individual must be situated within some sort of collective context, and this context must at some point be demarcated by boundaries.

One way to contextualize the individual within boundaries that are defined by means other than the traditional lines of nation, ethnicity, language or region, could be to use the emergent culture framework first proposed by Williams (1977). With this framework it is still possible to group together a number of people, but rather than doing so on the basis of the traditional dimensions just listed, this can be done based on the dominant and residual elements of the heritage culture that these people still maintain in common with each other. Therefore a particular group might still be labeled under the heritage culture name from which they came, but this would be done with the explicit understanding that they are called thus only for methodological purposes, and only so far as this label remains true for the dominant and residual elements that bind them together. Furthermore, it would be explicitly understood that this label is not to be confused with the original culture of this group, despite the same label. This would prevent the comparison between the group's emergent culture with its original homeland culture, a

comparison that is no longer appropriate and valid in modern times of trans-global migration (Harris, 2003; Taylor, 1991).

This new approach to bringing together a group of people for the purposes of quantitative research still allows for the exploration of multiple and hybrid identity, by way of the third component of Williams' (1977) framework: the emergent elements, those representing the new ways in which the group (and the individual) negotiate their identities and culture in their surrounding environment. By operating simultaneously or syncretically with the dominant and residual elements of the heritage culture, the emergent elements provide the "third space" required for the exploration of identity alternatives (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004).

In summary, the present thesis study, with its methodology for the study of the language-culture relationship, may inspire future research that is at once socio-psychological and sociological, *as well as* psychological. That is to say, by bringing together a group of people defined by boundaries that are more flexible and fluid than the traditional socio-psychological approach, and then allowing this group to reveal how they negotiate their emergent culture based on the interaction of dominant, residual and emergent elements, the result would be a quantitative study that reveals the role of language and culture at the both the socio-psychological and psychological levels. In the spirit of this thesis study as well as the anecdotal experience of the North Indian Hindu second generation immigrant children living in between two cultures, this new research paradigm could indeed succeed at bringing together "the best of both worlds".

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APPENDIX A
CONSENT FORM

If at any time you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact Adela Reid, Research Ethics and Compliance Officer, Concordia University, at (514) 848-7481 or by email at areid@alcor.concordia.ca

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THIS AGREEMENT. I FREELY CONSENT AND VOLUNTARILY AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

NAME (please print): _____

SIGNATURE: _____

DATE: _____

APPENDIX B
QUESTIONNAIRE 1
(Biographical)

QUESTIONNAIRE 1

Contact Information

1. Full name:
2. Phone number:
3. Email address:

Background Information

1. Gender: Female ____ Male ____
2. Date of birth:
3. Primary caregivers (you may check off more than one answer for this question):
 Father ____ Mother ____
 Grandparent(s) ____ Other (please specify) ____

 a. Mother's full name (after marriage):

 b. Father's full name:
4. Family members:
 - a. How many siblings do you have? (please mark 0 if you do not have any)
 - b. Ages of siblings (please leave blank if you do not have any):
 - c. How many children do you have? (please mark 0 if you do not have any)
 - d. Ages of your children (please leave blank if you do not have any):

5. Place:

a. in which you were born:

Country _____ Province/State _____

City _____

b. in which you completed your elementary education:

Country _____ Province/State _____

City _____

c. in which you completed your secondary education:

Country _____ Province/State _____

City _____

d. in which you completed/are completing your post-secondary education:

Country _____ Province/State _____

City _____

e. in which you currently reside:

Country _____ Province/State _____

City _____

6. Region of India:

a. in which your mother was born:

State _____

City _____

b. in which your father was born:

State _____

City _____

c. from which your mother emigrated to Canada:

State _____

(please leave blank if your mother remained in India)

City _____

d. from which your father emigrated to Canada:

State _____

(please leave blank if your father remained in India)

City _____

7. Residence in Canada:

- a. Date of arrival in Canada (please leave blank if you were born in Canada):
- b. Date of arrival of your mother in Canada (please leave blank if your mother remained in India):
- c. Date of arrival of your father in Canada (please leave blank if your father remained in India):
- d. Were there any major interruptions (longer than one year) during your residence in Canada?
Yes _____ No _____
- e. If yes, please indicate from which year to which year you were absent from Canada:
- f. During those years away from Canada, where did you live?
- g. How often on average do you visit India?
- h. How long on average are your visits to India?

8. Education:

- a. Are you currently studying?
Yes _____ No _____
- b. If studying, in what field are you studying?
- c. If studying, what degree will you obtain upon completion of studies?
Bachelors _____ Masters _____
Phd _____ Other (please specify) _____
- d. If not studying, what is the highest degree you have obtained (please check only one answer)?
Bachelors _____ Masters _____
Phd _____ Other (please specify) _____
- e. If not currently studying, in which field was your highest degree obtained?

f. Highest degree obtained by mother (please check only one answer):

Bachelors _____ Masters _____
Phd _____ Other (please specify) _____

g. Country in which mother's degree was obtained:

h. Highest degree obtained by father (please check only one answer):

Bachelors _____ Masters _____
Phd _____ Other (please specify) _____

i. Country in which father's degree was obtained:

9. Occupation:

a. Are you currently working?

Yes _____ No _____

b. If not currently working, what are you doing?

c. If working, are you doing the job for which you were trained at school?

Yes _____ No _____

d. If not working in the job you trained for at school, in what field are you currently working?

e. Whether or not you are currently working, what is your ideal career that you would practice, regardless of your training?

f. What career would you like your children to pursue if it were your decision (whether or not you presently have children)?

g. What is/was your mother's main occupation throughout life?

h. What is/was your father's main occupation throughout life?

10. Marriage:

a. Marital status (please check only one answer):

Single _____ Married _____ Separated _____

Divorced _____ Widowed _____ Other _____

b. If married/co-habiting, at what age were you married or did you begin co-habiting?

c. If married, was it a love match?

Yes _____ No _____

d. If not married, do you want a love match for yourself?

Yes _____ No _____

e. If married/co-habiting, what is the ethnic background of your spouse/partner?

f. If not married/co-habiting, indicate which ethnic background you would prefer your spouse/partner to be from:

g. Would you allow a love match for your children, whether or not you have any children presently?

Yes _____ No _____

11. Income:

a. Are you currently living with your family (i.e. with your parents/spouse/children)?

Yes _____ No _____

b. If you are living with your family, please check off your estimated total gross family annual income (\$CDN):

Under \$35 000¹ _____ \$35 000 - \$55 000 _____ \$55 000 - \$100 000 _____

Above \$100 000 _____

c. If you are living alone (i.e. without other family members), please check off your own personal gross annual income (\$CDN):

Under \$20 000² _____ \$20 000 - \$55 000 _____ \$55 000 - \$100 000 _____

Above \$100 000 _____

¹ Low-income cut-off for family adapted from Canadian Council of Social Development (2002).

² Low-income cut-off for single person adapted from Canadian Council for Social Development (2002).

12. Religion:

a. your own (please check only one answer):

Hindu _____ Agnostic _____ Atheist _____
None _____ Other (please specify) _____

b. of your mother (please check only one answer):

Hindu _____ Agnostic _____ Atheist _____
None _____ Other (please specify) _____

c. of your father (please check only one answer):

Hindu _____ Agnostic _____ Atheist _____
None _____ Other (please specify) _____

d. of your spouse/partner if married/co-habiting (please check only one answer):

Hindu _____ Agnostic _____ Atheist _____
None _____ Other (please specify) _____

e. if not married, mark which religion you would prefer your spouse/partner to be from (please check only one answer):

Hindu _____ Agnostic _____ Atheist _____
None _____ Other (please specify) _____

f. in which you are raising or intend to raise your children (please check only one answer):

Hindu _____ Agnostic _____ Atheist _____
None _____ Other (please specify) _____

13a. Using these labels, how would you describe yourself?

i. *Canadian*

Does not describe me at all Describes me perfectly
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

ii. *Indian*

Does not describe me at all Describes me perfectly
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

iii. *Indo-Canadian*

Does not describe me at all Describes me perfectly
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

13b. Using these labels, how would your own Indian community describe you?

i. *Canadian*

Does not describe me at all Describes me perfectly
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

ii. *Indian*

Does not describe me at all Describes me perfectly
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

iii. *Indo-Canadian*

Does not describe me at all Describes me perfectly
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

14. There is an important debate in Canada about ethnic minority groups. Some people believe that ethnic minority groups should *give up* their traditional ways of life and take on the Canadian way of life, while others believe that ethnic groups should *maintain* their traditional ways of life as much as possible when they come to Canada.³

a. State your own personal stand on this issue with respect to *your own Indian community*:

Groups should
totally *give up*
traditional ways
of life

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Groups should
totally *maintain*
traditional ways
of life

b. State your own personal stand on this issue with respect to *all ethnic groups in Canadian society*:

Groups should
totally *give up*
traditional ways
of life

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Groups should
totally *maintain*
traditional ways
of life

³ Replicated from Lambert, Mermigis and Taylor (1987).

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE 2

(Language Background)

QUESTIONNAIRE 2

Name: _____

I. General

1. What is/are the very first language(s) you ever learned?
2. Which language do you consider to be your mother-tongue?
3. At what age did you start learning your mother-tongue (see question 2)?

II. Hindi

1. At what age did you start learning Hindi?
2. What percentage of the time do you spend using Hindi on a regular basis?

None of the time 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 All the time

3. What percentage of the time do your primary caregivers speak to you in Hindi on a regular basis?

None of the time 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 All the time

4. How would you rate your overall proficiency in Hindi?

I have no proficiency in Hindi 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I have native proficiency in Hindi

5. How would you rate your ability to speak Hindi?

I can't speak Hindi at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I speak Hindi perfectly

6. How would you rate your ability to understand spoken Hindi?

I can't understand spoken Hindi at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I understand spoken Hindi perfectly

7. How would you rate your ability to read in Hindi?

I can't read in Hindi at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I read in Hindi perfectly

8. How would you rate your ability to write in Hindi?

I can't write in Hindi at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I write in Hindi perfectly

9a. Prior to beginning schooling (e.g. before beginning daycare/preschool) what percentage of the time did you spend using Hindi on a regular basis?

None of the time 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 All the time

9b. Prior to beginning schooling (e.g. before beginning daycare/preschool) what percentage of the time did your primary caregivers speak to you in Hindi on a regular basis?

None of the time 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 All the time

9c. Prior to beginning schooling (e.g. before beginning daycare/preschool) how would you rate your overall proficiency in Hindi?

I had no proficiency in Hindi 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I had native proficiency in Hindi

10a. During your schooling (elementary/secondary/post-secondary) what percentage of the time did you spend using Hindi on a regular basis?

None of the time 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 All the time

10b. During your schooling (elementary/secondary/post-secondary) what percentage of the time did your primary caregivers speak to you in Hindi on a regular basis?

None of the time 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 All the time

10c. During your schooling (elementary/secondary/post-secondary) how would you rate your overall proficiency in Hindi?

I had no proficiency in Hindi 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I had native proficiency in Hindi

11. How committed are you to passing Hindi on to your children?

Not at all committed 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Completely committed

III. English

1. At what age did you start learning English?

2. What percentage of the time do you spend using English on a regular basis?

None of the time 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 All the time

3. What percentage of the time do your primary caregivers speak to you in English on a regular basis?

None of the time 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 All the time

4. How would you rate your overall proficiency in English?

I have no proficiency in English 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I have native proficiency in English

5. How would you rate your ability to speak English?

I can't speak English at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I speak English perfectly

6. How would you rate your ability to understand spoken English?

I can't understand spoken English at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I understand spoken English

7. How would you rate your ability to read in English?

I can't read in English at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I read in English perfectly

8. How would you rate your ability to write in English?

I can't write in English at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I write in English perfectly

9a. Prior to beginning schooling (e.g. before beginning daycare/preschool) what percentage of the time did you spend using English on a regular basis?

None of the time 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 All the time

9b. Prior to beginning schooling (e.g. before beginning daycare/preschool) what percentage of the time did your primary caregivers speak to you in English on a regular basis?

None of the time 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 All the time

9c. Prior to beginning schooling (e.g. before beginning daycare/preschool) how would you rate your overall proficiency in English?

I had no proficiency in English 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I had native proficiency in English

10a. During your schooling (elementary/secondary/post-secondary) what percentage of the time did you spend using English on a regular basis?

None of the time 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 All the time

10b. During your schooling (elementary/secondary/post-secondary) what percentage of the time did your primary caregivers speak to you in English on a regular basis?

None of the time 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 All the time

10c. During your schooling (elementary/secondary/post-secondary) how would you rate your overall proficiency in English?

I had no proficiency in English 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I had native proficiency in English

IV. French

1. At what age did you start learning French?

2. What percentage of the time do you spend using French on a regular basis?

None of the time 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 All the time

3. What percentage of the time do your primary caregivers speak to you in French on a regular basis?

None of the time 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 All the time

4. How would you rate your overall proficiency in French?

I have no proficiency in French 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I have native proficiency in French

5. How would you rate your ability to speak French?

I can't speak French at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I speak French perfectly

6. How would you rate your ability to understand spoken French?

I can't understand spoken French at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I understand spoken French perfectly

7. How would you rate your ability to read in French?

I can't read in French at all
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I read in French perfectly

8. How would you rate your ability to write in French?

I can't write in French at all
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I write in French perfectly

9a. Prior to beginning schooling (e.g. before beginning daycare/preschool) what percentage of the time did you spend using French on a regular basis?

None of the time
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 All the time

9b. Prior to beginning schooling (e.g. before beginning daycare/preschool) what percentage of the time did your primary caregivers speak to you in French on a regular basis?

None of the time
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 All the time

9c. Prior to beginning schooling (e.g. before beginning daycare/preschool) how would you rate your overall proficiency in French?

I had no proficiency
in French 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I had native proficiency
in French

10a. During schooling (elementary/secondary/post-secondary) what percentage of the time did you spend using French on a regular basis?

None of the time
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 All the time

10b. During schooling (elementary/secondary/post-secondary) what percentage of the time did your primary caregivers speak to you in French on a regular basis?

None of the time
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 All the time

10c. During your schooling (elementary/secondary/post-secondary) how would you rate your overall proficiency in French?

I had no proficiency
in French 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I had native proficiency
in French

APPENDIX D
QUESTIONNAIRE 4
(Cultural Profile)

QUESTIONNAIRE 4

Name: _____

1. How would you describe the household in which you grew up⁴?

Not at all traditionally Indian	Very traditionally Indian
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	

2. How would you describe the household in which you currently live⁵?

Not at all traditionally Indian	Very traditionally Indian
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	

3. Rate the extent to which you think the following aspects of Indian culture are important to a traditional Indian household in raising *girls*⁶:

i. the Hindi language:

Not at all important	Most important
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	

ii. sense of family:

Not at all important	Most important
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	

iii. marriage:

Not at all important	Most important
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	

iv. higher education:

Not at all important	Most important
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	

v. professional career:

Not at all important	Most important
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	

vi. financial security:

Not at all important	Most important
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	

⁴ Replicated from Starks, Taumoeofolau, Bell and Davis (in press).

⁵ Replicated from Starks, Taumoeofolau, Bell and Davis (in press).

⁶ Adapted from Moghaddam and Taylor (1987).

vii. duty towards parents:

Not at all important												Most important
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		

viii. respect towards elders:

Not at all important												Most important
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		

4. Rate the extent to which you think the following aspects of Indian culture are important to a traditional Indian household in raising *boys*⁷:

i. the Hindi language:

Not at all important												Most important
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		

ii. sense of family:

Not at all important												Most important
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		

iii. marriage:

Not at all important												Most important
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		

iv. higher education:

Not at all important												Most important
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		

v. professional career:

Not at all important												Most important
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		

vi. financial security:

Not at all important												Most important
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		

vii. duty towards parents:

Not at all important												Most important
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		

viii. respect towards elders:

Not at all important												Most important
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		

⁷ Adapted from Moghaddam and Taylor (1987).

5. How central do you think the Hindi language is to North Indian culture?

Not at all central

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Completely central

6. A person born to Hindi-speaking parents who no longer speaks Hindi him/herself can still be considered by other Indians to be a true North Indian⁸.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

7. A person born to Hindi-speaking parents who speaks better English/French than Hindi is considered by other Indians to be more Canadian than Indian⁹.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

⁸ Adapted from Gatabonton, Trofimovich and Magid (in press).

⁹ Adapted from Gatabonton, Trofimovich and Magid (in press).

APPENDIX E
TESTING PROTOCOL

TESTING PROTOCOL

- 1) Greet participants – use English consistently with all of them.
- 2) Ask them to turn off their cell phone/pager.
- 3) Inform them that this is a general cultural study, and that at the end they may ask more details about the study.
- 4) Consent form – each participant keeps one copy.
 - a. EMPHASIZE NON-DISCLOSURE AGREEMENT.
- 5) Questionnaire 1 – help them if need be.
 - a. For the question on income, tell them that it is for the purposes of comparing the overall status of the Indian community to other ethnic communities of Canada (to assess their prosperity with respect to other ethnic groups)
- 6) Questionnaire 2 – help them if need be.
- 7) Experimental task:
 - a. Tell participants they're going to listen to 14 different voices and must respond to questions immediately following each voice.
 - b. Questionnaire 3 – do NOT help them, and make sure they only answer the questions in each section AFTER listening to the entire scenario.
 - i. hand them one page of questions at a time.
- 8) Questionnaire 4 – do NOT help them, they must interpret these items for themselves.
- 9) Proficiency task:
 - a. Use CoolEdit to record participant.
 - i. use headset.
 - ii. volume check quickly by having participants read 1 sentence from the consent form.
 - iii. save their response - filename should contain their name and language of response.
 - b. For first participant, ask English question first and then Hindi, then for next participant, switch to Hindi first then English.

- c. Keep switching order with each subsequent participant.
- d. When switching between English and Hindi inform the participant that you're switching – make sure to warm them up in Hindi a little first before launching into the Hindi question.
- e. Say as little as possible to keep them talking and record participant for about 1 minute.
- f. English question:
 - i. What are your plans for the summer holidays/next Christmas holidays? (if there's not enough to keep them talking ask about their "5 year plan" in life)
- g. Hindi question:
 - i. When was the last time you visited India? Describe your visit in as much detail as possible (if they've never been to India ask them to describe their more recent vacation anywhere in detail).

10) END OF TESTING

11) Can debrief participants at end if they want, but again, EMPHASIZE NON-DISCLOSURE.

12) Ask them if they could give you more contacts who may be interested in participating in study – get names and coordinates.

APPENDIX F

RATING SCALES FOR HINDI/ENGLISH SPEECH DATA

RATING SCALE FOR HINDI SPEECH DATA

Please rate each sample of Hindi speech (the first 15 seconds of each recording) using the following three scales (please make use of the entire scale when making your judgement – endpoints are 0 and 10):

1) This person is:

not a native Hindi speaker	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	a native Hindi speaker
-------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

2) This person is:

not at all fluent in Hindi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely fluent in Hindi
-------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	------------------------------

3) This person has:

great difficulty communicating in Hindi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	no difficulty communicating in Hindi
-----------------------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------------------------------------------

RATING SCALE FOR ENGLISH SPEECH DATA

Please rate each sample of English speech (the first 15 seconds of each recording) using the following three scales (please make use of the entire scale when making your judgement – endpoints are 0 and 10):

1) This person is:

not a native English speaker	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	a native English speaker
---------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------------------------

2) This person is:

not at all fluent in English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely fluent in English
---------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------------------------------

3) This person has:

great difficulty communicating in English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	no difficulty communicating in English
-------------------------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----------------------------------------------

APPENDIX G
STIMULUS SCENARIOS

STIMULUS SCENARIOS

1) Marriage

I am a 30 year old Indo-Canadian woman. I am still single and unmarried, which is beginning to worry my parents quite a bit. They want nothing more than to see me happily settled and secure in my own life, and marriage is the surest way to achieve that. But I don't want to marry just for the sake of marrying – I want to marry for love. But if I don't meet someone and get married soon, I will become an emotional burden to my parents – I'll be holding them back from their primary purpose in life as parents, which is to marry off their children and move onto the next phase of their life. I love them so much and want to make them happy, but I also want to make myself happy. I just don't know what to do.

2) Career

I am a 30 year old Indo-Canadian woman. I am a successful computer engineer and have a reasonably secure career but I am not happy and want to quit my job, but that will really worry my parents. They want nothing more than to see me financially secure, and what better profession than engineering to achieve that security? But I don't want to work just for the sake of making money – I want to do something fulfilling, I want to be a musician. But if quit, I'll stop being financially secure and I'll become a burden to my parents again. I'll hold them back from their major purpose in life as parents, which is to help their children become financially independent and then move onto the next phase of their life. I love them so much and want to make them happy, but I also want to make myself happy. I just don't know what to do.

3) Control

I am a 30 year old Indo-Canadian woman. I went shopping the other day with a good friend and actually saw her steal something from the store, and it's really stressing me out now. I want nothing more than to protect my friend's dignity as well as the integrity of our friendship, but what she's done poses a threat to that integrity. I realize she's tight for money these days, but in my eyes nothing justifies stealing. If I confront her, I risk humiliating her and potentially ruining our friendship. But if I don't confront her, I'll be compromising my own principles, and it's not like I can just forget that it ever happened. I love her so much and I want our friendship to endure, but I also need to be true to myself and my principles. I just don't know what to do.

4) Neutral Filler 1

I am a 30 year old Indo-Canadian woman. I have worked a ridiculously busy schedule this year and feel close to a burnout any moment. I'm dying to take a vacation, but I'm having a hard time justifying the expense. It would be more prudent to use the money to pay off my student loans instead, and also to save up to buy a condo or a house, something I've been thinking about for a while now. But I desperately need this vacation, and now's the time to take it, when I'm still young and single. I hate having to choose between doing something that will make me happy today and doing something that will make better sense and make me happy tomorrow. I just don't know what to do.

5) Neutral Filler 2

I am a 30 year old Indo-Canadian woman. I'm usually very careful with my health and with my money, which is why most nights I stay home and cook for myself. But

tonight I'm absolutely exhausted – not only have I been working overtime and my job, but I've also been studying for my university course. I just don't have the energy to cook. Normally I allow myself to eat out on the rare occasion, but I just can't justify going out for dinner tonight – I've been spending way too much money on social obligations lately, and I've been losing control on my diet with all the rich food at these occasions. I feel so guilty spending the money and eating takeout, which is basically junk food, but I really, really don't feel up to cooking. I just don't know what to do.

6) Charged Filler 1

I am a 30 year old Indo-Canadian woman. I'm pregnant with my first child and am thinking of what to name it. After growing up as a second generation immigrant who stood out from the crowd and never felt like I belonged anywhere, I really want to raise my child differently – I want to raise it fully Canadian with a Canadian name and a Canadian identity. But I know that this will hurt my parents and most of the family – they'll take it as a slap in the face to their culture and heritage. But I really don't see the point in hanging onto a culture that is no longer really our own – we are living in Canada after all, and intend to stay here over the generations. Who would have thought that naming my baby would be this complicated? I just don't know what to do.

7) Charged Filler 2

I am a 30 year old Indo-Canadian woman. I feel so disgusted with the current state of affairs between India and Pakistan regarding Kashmir. I have the unique opportunity to join an organization that is pushing for India to give up Kashmir and hand it over to Pakistan – something I personally agree with, since it was India in the first place who

didn't hold up their promise on giving the Kashmiris the vote to choose between India and Pakistan, after India and Pakistan won their independence. But I know that by supporting this organization and through it Pakistan, I'll be hurting my parents and community – they personally witnessed the violence committed during the India – Pakistan division and can never forgive Pakistan for it. It will be a slap in their face if I participated in something that would benefit Pakistan at India's expense. But this is where my principles and beliefs lie. I just don't know what to do.

APPENDIX H
QUESTIONNAIRE 3
(Behavioural)

QUESTIONNAIRE 3

Name: _____

VOICE #1

1a. What do you think she should do?

She should give her child an Indian name.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

1b. If she were your daughter, what do you think she should do?

She should give her child an Indian name.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

1c. If it were a man speaking, what do you think he should do?

He should give his child an Indian name.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

1d. If he were your son, what do you think he should do?

He should give his child an Indian name.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

1e. What would you do?

I would give my child an Indian name.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

1f. How sympathetic do you feel towards the person whose voice you heard?

Not at all sympathetic

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Very sympathetic

1g. Did you understand what this person is saying?

Not at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Perfectly

1f. Briefly describe why this person is feeling conflicted:

VOICE #2

2a. What do you think she should do?

She should save money to reduce her financial burden.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

2b. If she were your daughter, what do you think she should do?

She should save money to reduce her financial burden.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

2c. If it were a man speaking, what do you think he should do?

He should save money to reduce his financial burden.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

2d. If he were your son, what do you think he should do?

He should save money to reduce his financial burden.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

2e. What would you do?

I would save money to reduce my financial burden.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

2f. How sympathetic do you feel towards the person whose voice you heard?

Not at all sympathetic

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Very sympathetic

2g. Did you understand what this person is saying?

Not at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Perfectly

2f. Briefly describe why this person is feeling conflicted:

VOICE #3

3a. What do you think she should do?

She should get married soon so that she does not become a burden to her parents.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

3b. If she were your daughter, what do you think she should do?

She should get married soon so that she does not become a burden to her parents.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

3c. If it were a man speaking, what do you think he should do?

He should get married soon so that he does not become a burden to his parents.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

3d. If he were your son, what do you think he should do?

He should get married soon so that he does not become a burden to his parents.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

3e. What would you do?

I would get married soon so that I would not become a burden to my parents.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

3f. How sympathetic do you feel towards the person whose voice you heard?

Not at all sympathetic 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Very sympathetic

3g. Did you understand what this person is saying?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Perfectly

3f. Briefly describe why this person is feeling conflicted:

VOICE #4

4a. What do you think she should do?

She should make the effort to cook.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

4b. If she were your daughter, what do you think she should do?

She should make the effort to cook.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

4c. If it were a man speaking, what do you think he should do?

He should make the effort to cook.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

4d. If he were your son, what do you think he should do?

He should make the effort to cook.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

4e. What would you do?

I would make the effort to cook.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

4f. How sympathetic do you feel towards the person whose voice you heard?

Not at all sympathetic 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Very sympathetic

4g. Did you understand what this person is saying?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Perfectly

4f. Briefly describe why this person is feeling conflicted:

VOICE #5

5a. What do you think she should do?

She should stay away from this organization and support India instead.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

5b. If she were your daughter, what do you think she should do?

She should stay away from this organization and support India instead.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

5c. If it were a man speaking, what do you think he should do?

He should stay away from this organization and support India instead.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

5d. If he were your son, what do you think he should do?

He should stay away from this organization and support India instead.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

5e. What would you do?

I would stay away from this organization and support India instead.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

5f. How sympathetic do you feel towards the person whose voice you heard?

Not at all sympathetic

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Very sympathetic

5g. Did you understand what this person is saying?

Not at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Perfectly

5f. Briefly describe why this person is feeling conflicted:

VOICE #6

6a. What do you think she should do?

She should relieve her burden by confronting her friend about shoplifting.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

6b. If she were your daughter, what do you think she should do?

She should relieve her burden by confronting her friend about shoplifting.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

6c. If it were a man speaking, what do you think he should do?

He should relieve his burden by confronting his friend about shoplifting.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

6d. If he were your son, what do you think he should do?

He should relieve his burden by confronting his friend about shoplifting.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

6e. What would you do?

I would relieve my burden by confronting my friend about shoplifting.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

6f. How sympathetic do you feel towards the person whose voice you heard?

Not at all sympathetic

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Very sympathetic

6g. Did you understand what this person is saying?

Not at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Perfectly

6f. Briefly describe why this person is feeling conflicted:

VOICE #7

7a. What do you think she should do?

She should save money to reduce her financial burden.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

7b. If she were your daughter, what do you think she should do?

She should save money to reduce her financial burden.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

7c. If it were a man speaking, what do you think he should do?

He should save money to reduce his financial burden.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

7d. If he were your son, what do you think he should do?

He should save money to reduce his financial burden.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

7e. What would you do?

I would save money to reduce my financial burden.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

7f. How sympathetic do you feel towards the person whose voice you heard?

Not at all sympathetic 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Very sympathetic

7g. Did you understand what this person is saying?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Perfectly

7f. Briefly describe why this person is feeling conflicted:

VOICE #8

8a. What do you think she should do?

She should get married soon so that she does not become a burden to her parents.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

8b. If she were your daughter, what do you think she should do?

She should get married soon so that she does not become a burden to her parents.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

8c. If it were a man speaking, what do you think he should do?

He should get married soon so that he does not become a burden to his parents.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

8d. If he were your son, what do you think he should do?

He should get married soon so that he does not become a burden to his parents.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

8e. What would you do?

I would get married soon so that I would not become a burden to my parents.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

8f. How sympathetic do you feel towards the person whose voice you heard?

Not at all sympathetic 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Very sympathetic

8g. Did you understand what this person is saying?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Perfectly

8f. Briefly describe why this person is feeling conflicted:

VOICE #9

9a. What do you think she should do?

She should make the effort to cook.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

9b. If she were your daughter, what do you think she should do?

She should make the effort to cook.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

9c. If it were a man speaking, what do you think he should do?

He should make the effort to cook.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

9d. If he were your son, what do you think he should do?

He should make the effort to cook.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

9e. What would you do?

I would make the effort to cook.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

9f. How sympathetic do you feel towards the person whose voice you heard?

Not at all sympathetic

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Very sympathetic

9g. Did you understand what this person is saying?

Not at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Perfectly

9f. Briefly describe why this person is feeling conflicted:

VOICE #10

10a. What do you think she should do?

She should keep her job so that she does not become a burden to her parents.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

10b. If she were your daughter, what do you think she should do?

She should keep her job so that she does not become a burden to her parents.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

10c. If it were a man speaking, what do you think he should do?

He should keep his job so that he does not become a burden to his parents.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

10d. If he were your son, what do you think he should do?

He should keep his job so that he does not become a burden to his parents.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

10e. What would you do?

I would keep my job so that I would not become a burden to my parents.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly agree

10f. How sympathetic do you feel towards the person whose voice you heard?

Not at all sympathetic 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Very sympathetic

10g. Did you understand what this person is saying?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Perfectly

10f. Briefly describe why this person is feeling conflicted:

VOICE #11

11a. What do you think she should do?

She should give her child an Indian name.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

11b. If she were your daughter, what do you think she should do?

She should give her child an Indian name.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

11c. If it were a man speaking, what do you think he should do?

He should give his child an Indian name.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

11d. If he were your son, what do you think he should do?

He should give his child an Indian name.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

11e. What would you do?

I would give my child an Indian name.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

11f. How sympathetic do you feel towards the person whose voice you heard?

Not at all sympathetic

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Very sympathetic

11g. Did you understand what this person is saying?

Not at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Perfectly

11f. Briefly describe why this person is feeling conflicted:

VOICE #12

12a. What do you think she should do?

She should relieve her burden by confronting her friend about shoplifting.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

12b. If she were your daughter, what do you think she should do?

She should relieve her burden by confronting her friend about shoplifting.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

12c. If it were a man speaking, what do you think he should do?

He should relieve his burden by confronting his friend about shoplifting.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

12d. If he were your son, what do you think he should do?

He should relieve his burden by confronting his friend about shoplifting.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

12e. What would you do?

I would relieve my burden by confronting my friend about shoplifting.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

12f. How sympathetic do you feel towards the person whose voice you heard?

Not at all sympathetic

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Very sympathetic

12g. Did you understand what this person is saying?

Not at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Perfectly

12f. Briefly describe why this person is feeling conflicted:

VOICE #13

13a. What do you think she should do?

She should keep her job so that she does not become a burden to her parents.

Strongly disagree Strongly agree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

13b. If she were your daughter, what do you think she should do?

She should keep her job so that she does not become a burden to her parents.

Strongly disagree Strongly agree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

13c. If it were a man speaking, what do you think he should do?

He should keep his job so that he does not become a burden to his parents.

Strongly disagree Strongly agree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

13d. If he were your son, what do you think he should do?

He should keep his job so that he does not become a burden to his parents.

Strongly disagree Strongly agree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

13e. What would you do?

I would keep my job so that I would not become a burden to my parents.

Strongly disagree Strongly agree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

13f. How sympathetic do you feel towards the person whose voice you heard?

Not at all sympathetic Very sympathetic

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

13g. Did you understand what this person is saying?

Not at all Perfectly

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

13f. Briefly describe why this person is feeling conflicted:

VOICE #14

14a. What do you think she should do?

She should stay away from this organization and support India instead.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

14b. If she were your daughter, what do you think she should do?

She should stay away from this organization and support India instead.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

14c. If it were a man speaking, what do you think he should do?

He should stay away from this organization and support India instead.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

14d. If he were your son, what do you think he should do?

He should stay away from this organization and support India instead.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

14e. What would you do?

I would stay away from this organization and support India instead.

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Strongly agree

14f. How sympathetic do you feel towards the person whose voice you heard?

Not at all sympathetic

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Very sympathetic

14g. Did you understand what this person is saying?

Not at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Perfectly

14f. Briefly describe why this person is feeling conflicted:

APPENDIX I

RESULTS TABLES

Table II

Matched-pairs t-Test Results Comparing First and Second Generations in English and Hindi

Source	Gen1		Hindi		Gen2		English		Gen2		Gen1		Gen2	
	mean	t		p	mean	t	mean	t	mean	t	p	t	p	
Prof. ^a	8.5	5.13		p < .001	5.5	8.2	2.99	p = .01	9.9	0.42	n.s.	8.55	p < .001	
Use ^b	52.7	4.09		p = .001	24.7	60.7	4.18	p = .001	92.0	0.87	n.s.	15.251	p < .001	
Native ^c	9.1	6.9		p < .001	4.7	3.4	18.77	p < .001	9.5	15.29	p < .001	7.26	p < .001	
Fluency ^d	8.8	6.34		p < .001	4.8	7.1	5.72	p < .001	9.2	3.55	p < .01	7.14	p < .001	
Ease ^e	9.2	6.69		p < .001	4.9	7.3	4.86	p < .001	9.0	4.09	p = .001	6.02	p < .001	

Note. ^aSelf-rated proficiency, measured on a 10-point scale (1="I have no proficiency in Hindi/English"; 10="I have native proficiency in Hindi/English"). ^bSelf-rated active use, measured on an 11-point scale (0="None of the time"; 100="All of the time"). ^cOral proficiency test "native" score, measured on an 11-point scale (0="Not a native Hindi/English speaker"; 10="A native Hindi/English speaker"). ^dOral proficiency fluency score, measured on an 11-point scale (0="Not at all fluent in Hindi/English"; 10="Extremely fluent in Hindi/English"). ^eOral proficiency "ease of communication" score, measured on an 11-point scale (0="Great difficulty in communicating in Hindi/English"; 10="No difficulty communicating in Hindi/English").

$df = 14$.

Repeated Measures for Effect of Time on Second Generation Proficiency and Active Use

Note. ^a“Before schooling” period. ^b“During schooling” period. ^c“Present time” period. Means in the same column that share the subscript _a differ at $p = .001$ in pair-wise comparisons from the one-way repeated measures test. Means in the same column that share the subscript _b differ at $p < .01$ in pair-wise comparisons. Means in the same column that share the subscript _c differ at $p < .05$ in pair-wise comparisons.

Table I3

Matched-pairs t-Test Results Comparing Second Generation Proficiency and Active Use in Hindi and English over Time

Source	Hindi mean	Overall Proficiency		English mean	Hindi mean	Active Use		English mean
		<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>			<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	
Before ^a	4.1	2.66	$p < .05$	7.1	30.7	2.94	$p < .05$	72.7
During ^b	4.2	9.86	$p < .001$	9.2	28.0	8.44	$p < .001$	85.3
Present ^c	5.5	8.55	$p < .001$	9.9	24.7	15.25	$p < .001$	92.0

Note. ^aBefore schooling" period. ^bDuring schooling" period. ^cPresent time" period.
 $df = 14$.

Table I4

Analysis of Variance for All Perspectives in "Control" Context

Source	df	"woman"			"daughter"			"man"			"son"			"I"		
		F	p	df	F	p	df	F	p	df	F	p	df	F	p	df
Generation(G)	1,28	Between			Between			Between			Between			Between		
		5.37	$p < .05$	1,28	5.31	$p < .05$	1,28	7.17	$p < .05$	1,28	6.46	$p < .05$	1,28	6.03	$p < .05$	1,28
Language (L)	1,28	Within			Within			Within			Within			Within		
		0.00	n.s.	1,28	1.61	n.s.	1,28	1.97	n.s.	1,28	2.40	n.s.	1,28	2.62	n.s.	1,28
G x L	1,28	1.58	n.s.	1,28	3.15	n.s.	1,28	0.71	n.s.	1,28	0.44	n.s.	1,28	0.00	n.s.	1,28

Table I5

Mean Responses for First and Second Generations in "Control" Context

perspective	Gen1		Gen2	
	English	Hindi	English	Hindi
woman	9.4	9.5	7.9	7.7
daughter	9.5	9.9	8.1	8.0
man	9.5	9.8	7.7	7.7
son	9.5	9.9	7.7	7.9
I	9.5	9.7	7.7	7.9

Table I6

Analysis of Variance for All Perspectives on "Duty Towards Parents" in "Marriage" Context

Source	df	"woman"			"daughter"			"man"			"son"			"I"		
		F	p	df	F	p	df	F	p	df	F	p	df	F	p	df
Generation(G)	1,28	Between			Between			Between			Between			Between		
		0.16	n.s.	1,28	0.05	n.s.	1,28	0.46	n.s.	1,28	0.59	n.s.	1,28	1.03	n.s.	1,28
Language (L)	1,28	Within			Within			Within			Within			Within		
		7.69	$p = .01$	1,28	6.00	$p < .05$	1,28	3.46	n.s.	1,28	2.02	n.s.	1,28	3.18	n.s.	1,28
G x L	1,28	1.23	n.s.	1,28	0.42	n.s.	1,28	0.15	n.s.	1,28	0.22	n.s.	1,28	3.18	n.s.	1,28

Table I7

Mean Responses for First and Second Generations in "Marriage" Context

perspective	Gen1		Gen2	
	English	Hindi	English	Hindi
woman	2.7	2.5	3.1	2.7
daughter	2.9	2.5	3.3	2.5
man	2.6	2.1	3.0	2.7
son	2.5	2.7	3.2	2.7
I	3.7	3.7	2.9	2.5

Table I8

Analysis of Variance for All Perspectives on "Duty Towards Parents" in "Career" Context

Source	df	"woman"			"daughter"			"man"			"son"			"I"		
		F	p	df	F	p	df	F	p	df	F	p	df	F	p	df
Generation(G)	1,28	Between			Between			Between			Between			Between		
		4.36	$p < .05$	1,28	0.13	n.s.	1,28	1.71	n.s.	1,28	1.58	n.s.	1,28	5.51	$p < .05$	1,28
Language (L)	1,28	Within			Within			Within			Within			Within		
		2.71	n.s.	1,28	2.32	n.s.	1,28	5.34	$p < .05$	1,28	2.04	n.s.	1,28	3.43	n.s.	1,28
G x L	1,28	0.00	n.s.	1,28	0.58	n.s.	1,28	0.46	n.s.	1,28	0.51	n.s.	1,28	0.03	n.s.	1,28

Table I9

Mean Responses for First and Second Generations in "Career" Context

perspective	Gen1		Gen2	
	English	Hindi	English	Hindi
woman	5.5	5.9	3.6	4.1
daughter	5.2	5.8	4.0	4.2
man	5.4	6.1	4.3	4.7
son	5.4	6.0	4.4	4.6
I	6.7	7.1	4.4	4.8

Table I10

Repeated Measures for Effect of Time on Second Generation's Perception of Parental Active Use of Hindi

Source	Hindi			English		
	df	F	p	df	F	p
Δ parents' active use	2,28	0.14	n.s.	2,28	1.41	n.s.

	Before ^a	During ^b	Present ^c	Before ^a	During ^b	Present ^c
means (%)	54.7	52.0	52.7	60.0	67.3	58.7

Note. ^a,"Before schooling" period. ^b,"During schooling" period. ^c,"Present time" period.

Table I11

Matched-pairs t-Test Results Comparing Second Generations' Perceptions of Parental Active Use of Hindi and English over Time

Source	Parents' Active Use with Children			English mean
	Hindi mean	t	p	
Before ^a				
	54.7	0.36	n.s.	60.0
During ^b	52.0	1.56	n.s.	67.3
Present ^c	52.7	0.53	n.s.	58.7

Note. ^a,"Before schooling" period. ^b,"During schooling" period. ^c,"Present time" period.

df = 14.

Table I12

Analysis of Variance for Importance of Values in Raising Girls and Boys

Source	duty towards parents			marriage			career		
	df	F	p	df	F	p	df	F	p
Generation	1,28	Between		1,28	Between		1,28	Between	
		0.06	n.s.		5.41	$p < .05$		0.28	n.s.
Gender	1,28	Within		1,28	Within		1,28	Within	
		4.07	n.s.		0.77	n.s.		5.07	$p < .05$
Gener. x Gender	1,28	1.81	n.s.	1,28	0.19	n.s.	1,28	3.01	n.s.

Table I13

Mean Responses for First and Second Generations on Importance of Values in Raising Girls and Boys

Source	Gen1		Gen2	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Duty towards parents	8.5	8.6	8.5	8.9
Marriage	9.2	9.3	8.3	8.5
Career	8.8	9.7	8.9	9.1

Table I14

Matched-pairs t-Test Results Comparing First and Second Generations' Responses on Centrality of Language

Source	Gen1 mean	t	p	Gen2 mean
Centrality ^a	6.6	2.141	p = .05	8.1
Indian ^b	7.1	0.31	n.s.	6.7
Canadian ^c	5.4	1.415	n.s.	7.1

Note. ^aCentrality of Hindi to North Indian Hindu culture, measured on a 10-point scale (1="Not at all central"; 10="Completely central"). ^bA person born to Hindi-speaking parents who no longer speaks Hindi him/herself can still be considered by other Indians to be a true North Indian, measured on a 10-point scale (1="Strongly disagree"; 10="Strongly agree"). ^cA person born to Hindi-speaking parents who speaks better English/French than Hindi is considered by other Indians to be more Canadian than Indian, measured on a 10-point scale (1="Strongly disagree"; 10="Strongly agree").

df = 14

Table I15

Pearson Correlation Coefficients between Hindi Fluency/Self-Rated Proficiency and Language Background Variables

Variable	Hindi fluency score	Self-rated Hindi proficiency
commitment to transmit Hindi	0.13	0.36
active use of Hindi before schooling	0.55	0.50
self-rated proficiency in Hindi before schooling	0.48	0.46
active use of Hindi during schooling	0.84*	0.66*
self-rated proficiency in Hindi during schooling	0.86*	0.71*
active use of Hindi present time	0.54	0.63*
parents' active use of Hindi before schooling	0.26	0.08
parents' active use of Hindi during schooling	0.36	0.21
parents' active use of Hindi present time	0.11	0.15
speaking skills	0.81*	0.89*
understanding skills	0.64*	0.76*
reading skills	0.69*	0.72*
writing skills	0.66*	0.75*

* $p < .0005$ Bonferroni

Table I16

Pearson Correlation Coefficients between Hindi Fluency/Self-Rated Proficiency and Identity Labels

Variable	Hindi fluency score	Self-rated Hindi proficiency
participants' perception of self		
Indian	-0.47	-0.35
Canadian	0.23	0.46
Indo-Canadian	0.05	0.13
Indian community's perception of participant		
Indian	-0.64*	-0.42
Canadian	0.39	0.44
Indo-Canadian	0.00	0.25

* $p < .001$ Bonferroni

Table I17

Pearson Correlation Coefficients between Hindi Fluency/Self-Rated Proficiency and Cultural Profile Variables

Variable	Hindi fluency score	Self-rated Hindi proficiency
traditionality of household		
while growing up	0.37	0.32
currently living in	0.18	-0.09
* $p < .002$ Bonferroni		
importance of value in traditional Indian household raising girls		
Hindi language	-0.03	-0.05
sense of family	0.46	0.48
marriage	0.34	0.25
higher education	0.02	0.39
professional career	-0.16	0.14
financial security	0.17	0.23
duty towards parents	-0.04	-0.04
respect towards elders	0.30	0.33
* $p < .001$ Bonferroni		
importance of value in traditional Indian household raising boys		
Hindi language	-0.21	-0.18
sense of family	0.65*	0.62*
marriage	0.37	0.34
higher education	0.05	0.28
professional career	0.02	0.28
financial security	-0.02	0.15
duty towards parents	-0.08	-0.01
respect towards elders	0.36	0.37
* $p < .001$ Bonferroni		
role of language		
centrality of Hindi language to North Indian culture	-0.25	-0.13
person born to Hindi-speaking parents but who no longer speaks Hindi still considered true North Indian	-0.05	0.29
person born to Hindi-speaking parents but who speaks better English/French than Hindi considered more Canadian than Indian	-0.42	-0.21
* $p < .002$ Bonferroni		

Table I18

Pearson Correlation Coefficients between Hindi Fluency/Self-Rated Proficiency and Behavioural Responses to Hindi Guise

Variable	Hindi fluency score	Self-rated Hindi proficiency
marriage (Hindi)		
unknown woman	-0.01	-0.21
daughter	-0.01	-0.20
unknown man	-0.05	-0.21
son	0.01	-0.17
I	0.19	-0.16
sympathy	0.02	0.02
comprehension	0.57*	0.50
career (Hindi)		
unknown woman	0.32	0.45
daughter	0.29	0.39
unknown man	0.31	0.40
son	0.27	0.35
I	0.41	0.37
sympathy	-0.31	-0.15
comprehension	0.36	0.35

* $p < .001$ Bonferroni

APPENDIX J

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SEMI-NATIVE SPEAKER

Characteristics of the Semi-Native Speaker

Moag (1999, p. 279-280):

Definition

Someone of South Asian ancestry who has limited competence in the heritage language. If not born in North America, they have immigrated at an early age with their parents from India or Pakistan, or from another part of the world where South Asians have settled. A few have come as international students, without their families, directly from Singapore, Trinidad, or other post-indenture country.

Characteristics

Socioeconomic: Generally upper-middle class

Linguistic

Normally illiterate skewed bilingual whose L-1 learning atrophied during pre-school years

1. Limited Aural-oral skills

- A. Fair, if fuzzy, comprehension of everyday speech
- B. Derives meanings from roots rather than endings
- C. Heavy dependence on body language and cues
- D. Incomplete phonology, syntax, and lexicon
- E. Very little comprehension in formal style
- F. Lack of confidence and inclination to speak
- G. Unable to repeat sentences verbatim

2. Literate skills in classroom

- A. Employs guessing strategy in reading from the outset
- B. Pays little heeds to endings
- C. Spelling mistakes persist throughout two-year course sequence
- D. Resistance to learning anything beyond existing knowledge

Sociolinguistic

- A. Uses English with all peers, in school, at home and outside
- B. Non-reciprocal language use with elders within family and within family's social and cultural networks
- C. Ethnic language in domain of entertainment, but heavy dependence on action and body language for meaning

Results

- A. Not attain confidence to see self as competent L-1 speaker
- B. Fail to fulfill parents' desire for them to know high culture
- C. Not see themselves as competent transmittor of culture