

Linguistic Choices and Perceptions in Multilingual Spheres: The Case of the Indo-Yemenis

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to investigate language choice and attitudes among the Indians of Yemen. Two research questions concerning domains of language use and attitudes towards each language guided the study. The eighty-six-participant sample was selected on grounds of convenience where they responded to a language questionnaire. Results showed that despite the passage of 170 years of settlement in Aden, the Indian ethnic languages were still alive in several settings most significantly at home. In addition, the Indians of Yemen possessed positive attitudes towards the Indian ethnic languages and towards Arabic.

Keywords

Language Choice, Language Perception, Indians, Yemen, Sociolinguistics

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1. Introduction

Group immigration, either voluntary or involuntary movements of people speaking one language into the territory of people speaking another, takes place due to various reasons. The most common reasons of involuntary immigration are political (e.g. wars, conquests and the colonial policies), and natural disasters such as draught and famine. The reasons behind the voluntary immigration can be religious (e.g. the immigration of some Persians to the Arabian Peninsula due to the spread of Islam) or economic as in the case of the immigration of Yemenites to the USA.

Throughout history, a variety of group immigration cases in the Middle East took place such as the Chechen, Armenian, Circassian, Persian and Indian cases. Different sources reported that the Indian immigration to Aden took place throughout the nineteenth century. Bawazir (2001) reported that Indians had come to Aden before the British colonization in 1839. The second wave of Indian arrivals to Aden occurred

in 1849 when the British government allowed Indians to move to the city of Aden. Taher (1997) reported that the number of Indians doubled to reach about 40% of the citizens of Aden in 1849 transforming the city into an Indian one. The third wave of immigration occurred in 1850 when Aden was totally governed by the Indian government and was declared a free zone. It was also reported that the Indian immigration to Aden continued till the 1920s.

When two languages are in contact, one of these languages may influence the status of the other language. Consequently, one of these languages may dominate the other or both languages may be used in diglossic settings. Therefore, the study examined the languages being used by the Indians of Yemen in different situations such as home, neighborhood, school, workplace... etc. and to outline their attitudes towards both the ethnic language(s) and Arabic. In order to accomplish the aforementioned objectives, the researchers attempted to answer the following questions:

1. In what domains do the Indians of Yemen use each language?

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2. What are their attitudes towards each language?

There is already an extensive literature on the language choice and attitudes in multilingual settings all over the world. Nonetheless, there is shortage of studies performed in this area in the Middle East, especially in Yemen. Although many researchers such as Dweik (2000), Al-Khatib (2001), Dweik and Kittaneh (2011), Dweik, Nofal and Qawasmeh (2014), Dweik and Al-Obeidi (2014) and Dweik and Qawar (2015) investigated the issue of immigrant languages in contact with native languages, very few studies were conducted in the Arab world. Consequently, the current study may help fill this gap.

Additionally, the significance of this study stems from the fact that the selected population is rarely investigated. Thus, this study may hopefully fill another gap in the literature. Also, the methodology used in this investigation includes a hybrid synergy of both qualitative and quantitative analyses. Consequently, this gives the current study more significance. Moreover, the current study is significant as it highlights the language behavior of the fourth and fifth generations of the Indians of Yemen. Last but not least, the current study is beneficial for scholars, historians, language planners as well as members of the selected community.

2. Review of Literature

Theoretically, Fishman (1989) elaborated on the three potential resolutions of languages in contact. He pointed out that some immigrant languages could dominate the situation and defeat the host language like English in the United States and Canada. The second resolution referred to the situation when the immigrant language is defeated as the case of some ethnic immigrant languages in the United Kingdom. The third possibility could involve a diglossic relationship where each language is used in certain domains and each language has positive attitudes by its speakers.

Clyne (2001) elaborated on the importance of home in language maintenance, especially grandparents, pointing out that “grandparents rather than parents play an increasing role in the intergenerational language maintenance.”(p.367).

Empirically, Sridhar (1985) studied the phenomenon of language maintenance and language shift among the Asian Indian speakers of Kannada in New York within the first generation of settlers in the United States. Data were collected from a sample of twenty-one Indian families. The researcher established a community profile to the community under treatment to collect historical and sociological data. Besides, he distributed a fifty-five-item questionnaire among 21 families so as to obtain data about parents' and children's language proficiency, domains of language use and attitudes

towards the ethnic language. The study showed that the Asian Indian speakers of Kannada used their native language in different domains, especially in the home and with friends.

Likewise, Hatoss & Sheely (2009) examined the Sudanese community in a regional settlement in South-East Queensland in Australia. The study aimed to explore attitudes, perceptions and the actual use of the mother tongue (Dinka) in a refugee context among adolescent and young adult secondary school learners from the Sudanese community. Sixty-seven Sudanese students served as subjects for the study. They responded to an open-ended questionnaire. The researchers concluded that the Sudanese refugee community in Australia was strongly attached to their mother tongue (Dinka). However, due to pragmatic reasons, other languages are replacing the mother tongue in various private and public domains. The researchers concluded that while the study aimed to explore the potential impact of the refugee identity on language maintenance and shift, the researchers hypothesized that the desire to exit the refugee identity parallels with the desire to ‘exit’ the mother tongue. This study did not find evidence for this connection. Instead, the Sudanese refugee youth reported a strong ethnic identity and a strong attachment to their language (p. 143).

In Palestine, Dweik and Kittaneh (2011) investigated language use and language attitudes among the Palestinians of 1948. The researchers distributed the questionnaire to 70 participants. Results revealed that the Palestinians of 1948 use both languages, i.e. Arabic and Hebrew, side by side in different situations in their daily life. Arabic was used at home, mosque, school, neighbourhood, media and inner speech. On the other hand Hebrew was highly used officially at work and for business transactions. Additionally, results showed that the participants had positive attitudes towards both languages.

In Iraq, Dweik and Al-Obaidi (2014) explored the domains where the Chaldo-Assyrians of Baghdad used their ethnic language, Syriac, and the mainstream language, Arabic, and their attitudes towards both languages. They selected a sample that consisted of (135) participants who served as interviewees and respondents to a sociolinguistic questionnaire. Results indicated that the Chaldo-Assyrians of Baghdad used Syriac in various domains mainly in the home, in religious settings and in their inner speech; and used it side by side with Arabic in many other social domains such as neighborhood, place of work, media and other public places. The study showed that the participants' attitudes towards Syriac and Arabic were highly positive.

In Canada, Dweik, Nofal & Qawasmeh (2014) investigated language use and language attitudes among the Muslim Arabs living in Vancouver, Canada. A sample comprising

seventy participants was selected purposefully. The main instrument used in this study was a sociolinguistic questionnaire that comprises three sections. Results revealed that "Arabic is used in the interaction between family members and relatives. It is also used in religious activities and supplications after praying; in Arabic schools; in media; in inner speech and in domains outside workplaces. Yet, English is mostly used in the domain of work." (p. 94).

The researchers also pointed out that the participants were proud of their Arabic identity and their Arabic language and culture and that Arabic was still being maintained among the second generation of Muslim Arabs in Vancouver. Additionally, they indicated that "English symbolizes their Canadian identity and is considered a good instrument for achieving their educational and financial aspirations." (p. 94).

Similarly, Dweik and Qawar (2015) investigated language choice and attitudes among Arabs of Quebec– Canada. The researchers selected a convenience sample of (100) Arab respondents residing in Quebec, Canada. Copies of a sociolinguistic questionnaire were administered to the respondents to uncover the settings where Arabic, English and/or French were used and outline their attitudes towards each language. Results indicated that Arabs of Quebec– Canada had positive attitudes towards Arabic, English and French. They showed use of their Arabic language in the home and with family members, in worship places and when listening to the radio. In addition, they used English and French in official spheres (e.g. government offices) and in educational institutions. Furthermore, results showed that Arabs of Quebec mix these languages in the domain of neighborhood, with friends, and media.

3. Methodology

The population of the study was the Indians of Yemen, who came originally from India in the nineteenth century and settled in the city of Aden and became citizens of the Republic of Yemen after the British withdrawal in 1967.

From this population, the researchers selected a purposive sample that consisted of 100 Indians living in the city of Aden. The selected sample covered several important demographic variables, namely, different gender, age, place of birth, educational backgrounds, occupation, marital status, origin of spouse, type of school respondents attend and residential distribution.

To accomplish the objectives set for this study, the researchers designed the sociolinguistic questionnaire, based on Dweik (2000), Dweik & Kittaneh (2011) and Dweik, Nofal & Qawasmeh (2014), after its validity and reliability had been achieved.

The questionnaire consisted of three sections. It started with the participant's demographic data. The second section of the questionnaire aimed at finding out the domains in which the respondents use each language. Eight domains of use for each language were suggested including the home domain, the neighbourhood, school, workplace, media, religion, emotional self-expressions and other different situations. This section consisted of thirty-four items which were distributed to the eight domains as follows: Five items focused on language use in the home domain with different family members such as father, mother, brother, sister, grandfather, etc... in different occasions. The neighbourhood part contained four items focusing on language use with neighbours, relatives, etc..., in the neighbourhood. Four items were allotted to the school domain. These items concentrated on language use with different people at school such as friend and teachers, etc... The workplace part contained five items which were centered on the use of language at work place with different people such as fellow workers, boss, etc... and in different activities like giving oral instructions. A set of four items was allotted to the use of language in media such as TV programmes, radio programmes, books and newspapers. The following four items focused on asking about language and religion (e.g. the language used with friend at the place of worship, when praying, etc...). The next three items asked about the use of language in different situations such as the language used with friend at parties, on social occasions, etc... The last part of this section consisted of five items which dealt with the use of language in inner speech and unconscious situations such as dreaming, expressing happiness, being angry, etc... In this section, respondents were asked to check off the language(s) they usually use when talking to different people at different places on different topics.

The third section of the questionnaire aimed at soliciting the respondents' personal attitudes towards the Indian ethnic language and Arabic. In this section the respondents were asked to check off only one response that reflects their personal opinion towards the given languages. This section consisted of nineteen items.

4. Findings

4.1. Findings Related to Language Use

Results reported in Table 1 show that 51% of the respondents are apt to use Arabic with their children, 47% of them use it with their brothers and 44% of them use it with their spouses. However, 9% of them use Arabic with their grandfathers.

With regard to the use of the respondents' Indian ethnic languages among family members, results show that the highest percentage 51% of the respondents use the Indian

ethnic languages with their grandparents and aunts (mother side), whereas using the Indian ethnic languages with their children shows the lowest percentage of respondents, 5%.

Results show that 30% of the respondents tend to use both Arabic and respondent's Indian ethnic language with their sisters, whereas 12% of them tend to use it with their grandfathers and aunts (mother side).

Results also show that when the respondents are asked about the language they use most with family members on the phone, 53% of them tend to use Arabic but 16% tend to use

the Indian ethnic languages. Moreover, results also reported that 47% hear Arabic most at home, whereas 28% report that they mostly hear the Indian ethnic languages at home and 23% report that they hear both languages.

Regarding meeting relatives in Yemen, 47% of the respondents indicate that they use Arabic when meeting their relatives face-to-face, whereas 35% indicate the use of both Arabic and the Indian ethnic languages and 16% indicate the use of the Indian ethnic languages.

Table 1. Language use at home.

Question	Arabic %	Ethnic language %	Both %	NR* %	Total %
I. What language do you use at home with your					
father?	33	42	21	4	100
mother?	30	47	19	4	100
brother?	47	14	28	11	100
sister?	42	19	30	9	100
spouse?	44	14	18	24	100
grandfathers?	9	51	12	28	100
grandmothers?	12	51	14	23	100
uncle (father side)?	28	44	19	9	100
uncle (mother side)?	33	47	14	6	100
aunt (father side)?	28	49	16	7	100
aunt (mother side)?	28	51	12	9	100
children?	51	5	16	28	100
What language do you use					
most with your family members on the phone?	53	16	28	3	100
with your relatives in Yemen when you talk to them face-to-face?	47	16	35	2	100
at family meetings?	40	23	35	2	100
when you write a personal letter to any member of your family?	79	7	5	9	100

*Key: NR= No Response.

Forty percent of the respondents indicate that they use Arabic to interact at family meetings, whereas 23% of them indicate that they use the Indian ethnic languages at family meetings and 35% of them use both languages. Similarly, results show that 79% use Arabic when they write personal letters to family members, whereas 5% and 9% use the Indian ethnic languages and both languages respectively.

Results reported in Table 2 below show that 86% of the respondents use Arabic with the Indian neighbours, whereas

none of them use the Indian ethnic language.

Again, results show that 81% indicate that Arabic is the language used when meeting friends in the neighbourhood. On the other hand, only 2% indicate that they use it with friends in the neighbourhood. Regarding meeting relatives in the neighbourhood, 63% of the respondents refer to Arabic as the language used but 14% of them refer to the Indian ethnic languages.

Table 2. Language use in the neighbourhood.

Question	Arabic%	Ethnic language%	Both %	NR*%	Total%
What language do you use					
with your neighbours?	86	0	12	2	100
when you meet friends in the neighbourhood?	81	2	14	3	100
when you meet your relatives in the neighbourhoods?	63	14	19	4	100
most in the neighbourhood?	86	0	12	2	100

*Key: NR= No Response.

When the respondents are asked about the language they hear most in the neighbourhood, 86% indicate Arabic. Besides, none of them report using the Indian ethnic language.

Results reported in Table 3 below show that the

overwhelming majority of respondents use Arabic at school. This is due to the fact that they attend Arabic public schools where Arabic is the language of instruction. When the respondents are asked about the language they use with friends at school, 86% use Arabic, and 91% use Arabic with

their teachers, and 91% when they are given school instructions and also 91% indicate Arabic as the language used in school curriculum. On the other hand, none of them report the use of the Indian ethnic language at school.

Table 3. Language use at school.

Question	Arabic%	Ethnic language%	Both %	NR*%	Total%
What language do you use when you meet friends at school?	86	0	5	9	100
when talking to your teachers?	91	0	2	7	100
when you are given school instructions?	91	0	0	9	100
in school curriculum?	91	0	0	9	100

*Key: NR= No Response.

Regarding language use at workplace, results reported in Table 4 show that the majority of the respondents use Arabic when interacting at workplace. 84% indicate that they use Arabic with their fellow workers. Similarly, 84% use Arabic

with customers, 88% use it with their bosses, 77% use it when writing business letters and 88% use it when giving oral instructions at workplace.

Table 4. Language use at workplace.

Question	Arabic%	Ethnic language%	Both %	NR*%	Total%
What language do you use with your fellow workers at work?	84	0	7	9	100
15. with your customers?	84	0	5	12	100
16. with your boss?	88	0	0	12	100
17. when you write business letters?	77	0	0	23	100
18. when you give oral instructions at your workplace?	88	0	0	12	100

*Key: NR= No Response.

Regarding using the respondents' Indian ethnic languages, none of the respondents indicate that they use their ethnic language at workplace. However, 7% report that they use both languages with their fellow workers and 5% use them with their customers. This result could be explained in light of the fact that these respondents codeswitch between Arabic and the Indian ethnic languages with the fellow workers and customers who belong to the Indian community.

Results reported in Table 5 below show that 67% of the respondents use Arabic when they listen to radios, whereas 7% indicate that they listen to Indian programmes. Regarding the languages used in the TV programmes that they watch, 53% indicate that they watch TV programmes in both languages i.e. Arabic and the respondent's Indian ethnic language. 30% of the respondents indicate Arabic and 14% use the Indian ethnic languages.

Table 5. Language use and media.

Question	Arabic%	Ethnic language%	Both %	NR*%	Total%
What language is used on the radio programmes that you listen to?	67	7	21	5	100
in the TV programmes that you watch?	30	14	53	3	100
in the books that you read?	72	7	14	7	100
in the newspapers that you read?	79	2	7	12	100

*Key: NR= No Response.

A high percentage of them, 79%, indicate that they like reading books in Arabic, whereas 7% like reading books written in the Indian ethnic languages. However, 14% show tendency to read books in both languages. Likewise, the majority of the respondents, 79%, prefer to read newspapers written in Arabic but 2% of them preferred to read

newspapers in the Indian ethnic languages.

Results reported in Table 6 below show that the great majority of respondents use Arabic in religious places. Eighty-six per cent of the respondents refer to Arabic as the language used when meeting friends in the place of worship, but none of them indicate that they use the Indian ethnic

language. Similarly, 88% of them use Arabic with the imam in the place of worship but 5% indicate the use of the Indian ethnic languages when talking to the imam in the place of worship.

Table 6. Language use and religion.

Question	Arabic%	Ethnic language%	Both %	NR*%	Total%
What language do you use when you meet friends in the place of worship?	86	0	12	2	100
with the imam/celebrant use in your place of worship?	88	5	7	0	100
when praying?	98	0	0	2	100
religious meetings outside your place of worship?	79	3	9	9	100

*Key: NR= No Response.

Results also show that the vast majority of the respondents use Arabic when praying, whereas none of them indicate that they use the Indian ethnic languages. Regarding religious meetings outside the place of worship, 79% indicate that they use Arabic, whereas 3% indicate that they use the Indian ethnic languages.

Results reported in Table 7 show that 49% of the respondents use the Indian ethnic languages to communicate with people

from other Indian ethnic groups and 35% of them use Arabic. However, 53% indicate that they use Arabic with friends at parties and 35% report that they use both Arabic and the respondent's Indian ethnic language, whereas 9% show tendency to use the Indian ethnic languages. Results also show that 56% use Arabic with friends on social occasion and 30% use both languages, whereas 5% indicate that they use the Indian ethnic languages.

Table 7. Language use in different social settings.

Question	Arabic%	Ethnic language%	Both %	NR*%	Total%
What language do you use with people from other Indian ethnic groups?	35	49	16	0	100
friends at parties?	53	9	35	3	100
friends on social occasions?	56	5	30	9	100

*Key: NR= No Response.

Results reported in Table 8 below show that 60% of the respondents use Arabic when they think and 14% of them use both Arabic and the respondent's Indian ethnic language, whereas 17% use the Indian ethnic languages. Meanwhile, 72% of them use Arabic when they are in a hurry and 16% use both languages, whereas 9% report using the Indian ethnic languages. Besides, 49% report that they use Arabic when they dream and 21% use both languages but 26%

report that they dream in the Indian ethnic languages.

A high percentage of them, 60%, report that they use Arabic when they are angry and 16% report that they use both languages. However, 42% of the respondents report using Arabic when expressing their happiness and 35% use both languages, whereas 16% report that they use the Indian ethnic languages.

Table 8. Language use and emotional self-expression.

Question	Arabic%	Ethnic language%	Both %	NR*%	Total%
What language do you use when you think?	60	17	14	9	100
When you are in a hurry?	72	9	16	3	100
When you dream?	49	26	12	13	100
When you are angry?	60	19	16	5	100
When you want to express your happiness?	42	16	35	7	100

*Key: NR= No Response.

4.2. Findings Related To Language Attitudes

Results reported in Table 9 below show that all respondents consider Arabic the most important language for religious practices. The vast majority, 95%, of them consider it the most important for work and suitable to be used at official

government offices, whereas 2% deem the Indian ethnic language important for their work and about 5% report that it is suitable for use at official government offices.

A high percentage of them, 91%, consider Arabic their national language while 9% consider the Indian ethnic languages their national language. Similarly, 91% consider it

a means of improving their economic status, whereas 9% consider the Indian ethnic languages a means of improving their economic status.

Table 9. Language attitudes.

Which language	Arabic %	Ethnic language %	NR %	Total %
1. is the most beautiful?	49	51	0	100
2. is the most useful to you?	74	26	0	100
3. is the most important to you?	84	16	0	100
4. is the most prestigious?	65	35	0	100
5. is your national language?	91	9	0	100
6. is the language of your childhood?	42	58	0	100
7. is most important in your work?	95	2	3	100
8. is the easiest for you to learn?	72	28	0	100
9. is suitable to be used at official government offices?	95	5	0	100
10. is a reflection of your identity?	65	35	0	100
11. is a reflection of your history?	53	47	0	100
12. is a reflection of your culture?	53	47	0	100
13. is a means of improving your economic status?	91	9	0	100
14. is considered the most important for religious practices?	100	0	0	100
15. is considered the most important for socializing?	81	19	0	100
16. is considered the most suitable for your children to learn?	81	19	0	100
17. is considered the most suitable for you to use in everyday speech?	86	14	0	100
18. is a source of pride to you?	37	63	0	100

*Key: NR= No Response.

When the respondents are asked about the language that makes them advance in the fields of knowledge, 88% of them indicate Arabic, whereas 12% of them refer to the Indian ethnic languages. Moreover, 86% report that Arabic is considered the most suitable for them to use in everyday speech. Contrasting sharply with this percentage, 14% indicate that the Indian ethnic languages are suitable for them to use in everyday speech. Although 84% of the respondents indicate that Arabic is the most important language to them, 16% of them consider the Indian ethnic language is more important to them. Moreover, when they are asked about the most important language for socializing, a high percentage of them, 81%, select Arabic, while 91% select the Indian ethnic languages.

Again, regarding the respondents' opinions on the most suitable language for their children to learn, 81% of them report that Arabic is the most suitable language for their children to learn, whereas 19% have chosen the Indian ethnic languages.

Moreover, 74% of them respond positively when they are asked about the usefulness of Arabic. On the other hand, 26% praise the Indian ethnic languages. Similarly, 72% consider Arabic the easiest language to learn, whereas 28% refer to the Indian ethnic languages. Again, 65% refer to Arabic as the reflection of their identity and the same percentage is

given when asked about the prestige of Arabic, whereas 35% of them refer to the Indian ethnic languages when they were asked about the language that reflects their identity as well as the most prestigious language.

Results reported in Table 9 also show that 53% of the respondents indicate Arabic as the language associated with their heritage and history, whereas 47% of them refer to the Indian ethnic languages. Positive attitudes towards the respondents' Indian ethnic languages appear when asked about the most beautiful language, the language of their childhood and the language they are proud of. Results show that the percentages of the aforementioned questions are 51%, 58% and 63% respectively, whereas the percentages of those who refer to Arabic when responding to the same questions are 49%, 42% and 37% respectively.

5. Discussions and Conclusions

5.1. Discussion of Findings Related to Language Use

Results related to domains of language use show that the Indians of Yemen use the host language, Arabic, and the immigrant language, the Indian ethnic language, to interact with different people at different places on different topics.

Results reported in Table 1 concerning language use at home

show that a great number of the Indians of Yemen use the Indian ethnic languages frequently at home with several members of the family, especially grandparents, parents and aunts and uncles. Some of them use both the Indian ethnic language and Arabic.

On the other hand, results also show that the majority use Arabic with spouses. In fact, this result can be explained by the fact that those who use Arabic with their spouses might be those whose spouses are not Indians or are Indians from other ethnic groups so that they cannot understand each other's language.

This result indicates a diglossic use of both the host language and the immigrant language in everyday speech among family members. It confirms Fishman's (1989) third resolution which stipulates that a diglossic relationship between the two languages where each language has certain domains of language use is likely to occur. Furthermore, this result corresponds with the finding of Sridhar (1985), Dweik & Al-Obaidi (2014), Dweik, Nofal & Qawasmeh (2014) and Dweik & Qawar who conclude that the native language is in different domains, especially for interaction between family members at home.

Also, results show that the vast majority of respondents use Arabic with their children, whereas only 5% use the Indian ethnic languages with their children. This result may reflect the positive attitudes towards Arabic. In other words, parents want their children to speak Arabic since it is the language used for religious practices, at schools, for work and it is a means for improving their economic status.

Results also show that the language choice differs among family members outside the home. The major respondents' language choice is Arabic in conversations on the phone, at family meetings and when writing personal letters. Writing personal letters to family members is a natural result due to the fact that they are not proficient in reading and writing the Indian ethnic languages. Members of the Indian community in Aden use the Indian ethnic languages with the family members except with children. This is an indication that children are likely to shift away from the Indian ethnic languages into the mainstream language. However, the Indians of Yemen switch between Arabic and the Indian ethnic language with all family members in all home contexts. This result matches the findings of Clyne (2001) who has elaborated on the importance of home in language maintenance, especially grandparents, pointing out that "grandparents rather than parents play an increasing role in the intergenerational language maintenance." (p.367) Results reported in Table 2 concerning language use in the neighbourhood show that Arabic is dominating the Indian ethnic languages in everyday conversations in the

neighbourhood. However, there is an indication that some respondents use the Indian ethnic languages with their relatives in the neighbourhood.

All in all, members of the Indian community use both Arabic and the Indian ethnic language side by side in the neighbourhood. Such result could be explained in light of the fact that the Indians of Yemen do not live in Indian neighbourhoods. Instead, they are scattered all over the city of Aden. The vast majority of the respondents live in Arab and mixed neighbourhoods. Consequently, Arabic dominates the Indian ethnic languages. This result agrees with Dweik & Al-Obaidi (2014) whose findings have proved language use for communication among participants in the neighbourhood.

Results reported in Table 3 concerning language use at school show that Arabic is the predominant language among the Indians of Yemen at school. Arabic is mostly used with friends and teachers and in school instructions and curriculum. This is natural since almost all respondents have attended Arabic schools whether public or private. There is no indication of the use of the Indian ethnic languages in school instruction or curriculum. However, some of them indicate that they use Arabic along with the Indian ethnic language when talking to friends and teachers. It is clear that when the interlocutors are Indians, they alternate between Arabic and the home language. Those who have not responded to the items regarding language use at school might be those who attend international schools or have studied during the British colonization when English was used for instruction and those who have not attended schools at all. Thus, one can infer that Arabic is the predominant language at school and there is an incomplete language shift in this domain of language use. This result corresponds with that of Dweik & Qawar (2015) who have concluded that the Arabs of Quebec use English and French at school.

Results reported in Table 4 concerning language use at workplace show that Arabic is the predominant language spoken at workplace. Results show that the respondents' language choice at work with their fellow workers, customers and bosses is mostly Arabic. However, some of them indicate a diglossic use of both languages with fellow workers and customers. This means that they use the Indian ethnic languages with Indian interlocutors at workplace. Such a result can be explained in terms of the place of work. It is obvious that the Indians of Yemen work in the public and private sectors. This indicates that they deal with other people of Yemen and their daily contact is not restricted to the Indians. This result is consistent with Dweik, Nofal & Qawasmeh (2014) and Dweik & Qawar (2015) in the fact that the ethnic language is not used at workplace for pragmatic purposes.

Results reported in Table 5 concerning language use and media show that Arabic is the language used mostly in the media. Although the respondents' choice of language in the radio programmes, television programmes, reading books and newspapers is predominantly Arabic, there is an indication that the Indian ethnic language is used. There is evidence from the respondents that the Indian ethnic languages are still alive in the media as they use them, even if not mostly, in all the suggested contexts in this domain with the highest percentage of 53% to the use of both languages in the TV programmes that they watch. Those who indicate preference to reading newspapers in the Indian ethnic language are the elderly people who have received education in their homeland and are proficient in reading and writing the Indian ethnic language.

Results reported in Table 6 concerning language use and religion show that Arabic is the predominant language spoken in the religious contexts. The respondents' choice of language is mostly Arabic. They predominantly use Arabic with friends, with the Imam (celebrant), when praying and at religious meetings outside the place of worship. However, the Indian ethnic languages are used along with Arabic in all the suggested contexts except when praying.

It is worth mentioning that those who have not responded to the item that deals with "language use when praying" might be those who are affiliated with other religions and do not want to reveal that. This result is in agreement with Dweik & Kittaneh (2011) Dweik, Nofal & Qawasmeh (2014 and Dweik & Qawar (2015) in that the religious affiliation of the majority of the respondents with Islam has had a crucial role in determining the language situation. On the other hand, the respondents' affiliation with Islam has helped Arabic to dominate the Indian ethnic languages.

Results reported in Table 7 concerning language use in different social settings show a diglossic use of both the host language (Arabic) and the immigrant language (the Indian ethnic language). It is clear that the Indians of Yemen use the Indian ethnic languages when interacting with other Indian ethnic groups, with friends at parties and on social occasions. In addition, a considerable number of the respondents use both languages in the suggested contexts. There is evidence from their responses that the Indians of Yemen are aware of the importance of the Indian ethnic languages. This stems from the fact that whenever they interact with Indian people, they have tendency to use the Indian ethnic languages or at least code switch between Arabic and the home language.

Results reported in Table 8 concerning language use and emotional self-expression show that Arabic is mostly used in psychological situations such as when thinking, when angry and happy. Almost the majority of respondents indicate the use of Arabic when they think, in a hurry or angry and when

they want to express happiness. However, some of them use the Indian ethnic languages and some use both languages interchangeably. It is clear that the Indian ethnic languages are still alive and used unconsciously by a few number of the community in different daily activities. This result is in the same line with Dweik and Kittaneh (2011) and Dweik, Nofal & Qawasmeh (2014) who have declared that the native language, Arabic, is used in inner speech and emotional self-expression.

5.2. Discussion of Findings Related to Language Attitudes

Results reported in Table 9 concerning language attitudes towards Arabic show that the Indians of Yemen have positive attitudes towards Arabic. They believe that Arabic is the most important for religious practices. This is because of the fact that they are all affiliated with Islam. They also perceive Arabic to be the most important for work, for improving their economic status and suitable for official use. This is due to the fact that they work in public and private sectors where Arabic is the official language. Since they have melted in the Yemenite national pot and viewed themselves as Yemenites, they perceive Arabic to be their national language, and it is suitable for everyday speech. More importantly, they consider Arabic a reflection of their history and culture. This is due to their belief that they are part of the Islamic world and Arabic is the language of the Holy Quran which reflects their Islamic history and cultural heritage.

Owing to the fact that about half of the respondents indicate that Arabic is their native language, they perceive Arabic to be the easiest for them to learn. They also deem Arabic as a means of advancing in the fields of knowledge. This feeling perhaps stems from the fact that Arabic is the language of instruction in the country they live in.

Again, they deem Arabic most suitable for children to learn. The reasons underlying such choice might be that they are Muslims and want their children to be well-educated in the language of their religion. They also want their children to be literate in order to have better chances of work in the country they live in.

Results reported in Table 9 concerning language attitudes towards the Indian ethnic languages show that the respondents possess positive attitudes towards the Indian ethnic languages. The majority of respondents consider the Indian ethnic languages the languages of their childhood. They also deem the Indian ethnic language a source of pride to them. This feeling perhaps stems from the psychological and emotional association with their childhood and ascendants' roots. Some perceive the Indian ethnic languages to be the most beautiful language and some perceive them to be a reflection of their history and cultural heritage.

It is obvious that the respondents' positive attitudes towards the Indian ethnic languages and Arabic went hand in hand. This can be explained due to the fact that they deem themselves a part of the Islamic world and Arabic reflects their history and culture. On the other hand, they are aware of their ancestors' history and culture. This result agrees with Hatoss & Sheely (1985) who have concluded that the participants are strongly attached to their identity and ethnic language. Furthermore, it confirms Dweik & Kittaneh (2011) and Dweik & Qawar (2015) who have found that both communities, the Palestinians and the Arabs of Quebec respectively, hold positive attitudes towards both languages.

5.3. Conclusions

Results of indicated that the Indian ethnic languages and Arabic were used side by side in a variety of situations. While Arabic, the mainstream language, was used for official and instrumental purposes, the Indian ethnic languages were used informally for inter-group interaction. The research questions could be answered as follows:

1. The Indians of Yemen used the Indian ethnic languages in several situations most significantly at home. They illustrated habitual use of the Indian ethnic languages with several members of the family such as parents, grandparents, brothers, sisters, aunts and uncles. Furthermore, they used the Indian ethnic languages in the neighbourhood, in the media and in emotional self-expressions.
2. The Indians of Yemen possessed positive attitudes towards the Indian ethnic languages and towards Arabic. They perceived the ethnic language to be a source of pride to them. To some of them, the ethnic language was the language of their childhood, and to some was the most beautiful. Positive attitudes towards Arabic were symbolized in their perception of Arabic as the most important language for religious practices and for work. The majority of them deemed Arabic suitable to be used at official government offices, their national language, and a means of improving their economic status.

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