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ON-SCREEN 'OTHERING' OF BILINGUAL SPEAKERS: BEING BILINGUAL IN ENGLISH AND AN ASIAN INDIAN LANGUAGE

A b s t r a c t. Analyses of bilinguals' speech patterns and related cultural stereotypes as portrayed in films have become relatively frequent in recent years. This paper focuses on the nature and amount of 'linguistic space' provided by the film industry for the sociolinguistic presence of the 'Other' in bilingual contexts. It represents an analysis of films in which bilingual characters (in English and one of Asian Indian languages[*]) are presented. The analysis focuses on on-screen produced stereotypes about such bilinguals, immigrants' struggles to assimilate to the English-dominant cultural and linguistic context, and patterns of code-switching between English and Asian Indian languages, i.e., contexts of usage of the two languages.

The first part of the analysis focuses on identifying patterns of recurring topics in the analyzed films as they are connected with different aspects of negotiating the identity of bilinguals in English and one of Asian Indian languages. Topics related to the conflict between homeland nostalgia and traditional values upheld by first-generation immigrants and a more noticeable cultural assimilation among second- and third-generation immigrants are reflected in the extent of linguistic assimilation among different generations of immigrants. The second part of the analysis focuses on instances of code-switching, i.e., specific contexts in which English and Asian Indian languages are used, as well as factors that contribute to such instances of code-switching. Sociolinguistic analyses of the portrayal of bilinguals in English and one of Asian Indian languages in film production might partially explain the nature of stereotypes about such bilingual speakers.

Key words: bilingualism; identity; code-switching; stereotypes; 'othering'; film industry.

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[*] The term 'Asian Indian languages' is used by scholars to refer to languages of India spoken in different contexts. For example, Sridhar (2002, 263–264) uses it to refer to languages of India spoken in New York State.

1. INTRODUCTION

It is without any doubt that in the twenty-first century bilingualism as a sociolinguistic phenomenon is gaining more ground than ever. Naturally, bilingualism and multilingualism have been pervasive in previous centuries as well. However, due to unprecedented rates of exchange of information on the global level and the changes in the contemporary way of life, bilingualism and multilingualism, especially those instances in which one of the languages is English, have witnessed a significant increase in frequency of occurrence in the twenty-first century. This, in turn, includes an increase in the amount of scholarly work that has been produced in the last several decades in order to provide a thorough insight into different patterns of bilingual and multilingual practices around the world. Such work frequently includes special focus placed on the analysis of patterns of code-switching between different languages and in different contexts.[1]

Various processes of 'othering' are discernible in many bilingual contexts. Using language to 'other' individuals is a sociolinguistic reality primarily because situations of language contact frequently include asymmetry in the extent of language use and status of both languages and their speakers, which may lead to language conflict. Additionally, it is also argued that what is presented as language conflict frequently includes other, non-linguistic struggles within a community (Nelde 1991, 61). This becomes especially evident if the encounter and conflict between two languages or language varieties is associated with the metaphorical concept of warfare existing in a specific social and cultural context, as indicated by Irvine and Gal (2000) in their discussion on the relationship between language ideologies and differentiation (p. 35).

Sociolinguistic implications of bilingualism can be analyzed on different levels and from various viewpoints. One such level is the presentation of specific patterns of code-switching in mass media, specifically the film industry. Since such mass media frequently blur the line between real and virtual worlds and make the distinction between the two extremely difficult to identify, it is possible to argue that the language used in films may have a significant role in processes of negotiating cultural and linguistic identities. This is especially true if the various aspects of analyzing migrant communities in relation to media are taken into consideration. According to Busch

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[1] See, e.g., the contributions in Jacobson (1998).

and Pfisterer (2011), such analyses have lately focused on "questions of construction of identities and . . . modes of representation" (p. 430). Generally speaking, it could be argued that more focus should be placed on investigating the relationship between languages in the media and the extent of multilingualism. It is quite evident that there is a specific correlation between the rapid development of different types of mass media and the movements of peoples across borders. The correlation is such that it might be argued that the movements of peoples have contributed to changes in the extent and ways in which different bilinguals are presented in the media. Therefore, the factors which might be taken into consideration in such analyses of the construction and presentation of bilinguals' identities are numerous, and may include factors contributing to patterns of code-switching, but also the amount of 'linguistic space' afforded to specific languages by different film industries.

Regardless of the fact that significant work has been done in this line of research,[2] there are still numerous areas of investigation which point to the fact that there is much more work to be done, especially in the context of different bilingual combinations presented on screen. One of such bilingual combinations is that of English and Asian Indian languages.

2. ASIAN DIASPORA IN THE US AND THE MEDIA

Migration has been a reality for many communities marked by colonial heritage. Colonial past is also one of the most important factors which have contributed to different waves of migration of Asian Indians (Agarwala 2015, 84). As far as immigration to the United States is concerned, the numbers of Asians started rising dramatically after 1965 since The Immigration and Nationality Act stopped the restriction of specific types of immigration, including the Asian one (Min 2006, 7; Chin and Villazor 2015, 1). Such a steady increase in the number of Asian immigrants has also included immigrants from India as their strong presence in contemporary American society is undeniable. Namely, according to the most recent data, there has been a remarkable increase in the number of Asian Indian immigrants in the United States in the last several decades (Zong and Batalova 2017).

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[2] See, e.g., the analysis of on-screen presentation of Spaniards in Anglo-American films by Inigo Ros (2007).

There has been a growing body of literature analyzing the relationship between different forms of media and diasporic communities. Echchaibi (2002) emphasizes the fact that diasporic media should be investigated not only as vehicles of sustaining cultural heritage, but also as factors relevant for possible reshaping of the identity of members of diasporic communities (p. 40). The relationship between Asian Americans and their portrayal in the media can be analyzed from various viewpoints and on the basis of different forms of media. For example, a very productive and insightful set of analyses stems from newspaper coverage of socially deviant behavior in which special focus is frequently placed precisely on the ways in which members of various ethnic backgrounds are presented as socially deviant individuals. For example, in her thorough analysis of news reports covering serial killers, Gregoriou (2011) discusses the case of Seung-Hui Cho, responsible for mass killings at Virginia Tech University in April, 2007 (37–54). Gregoriou's approach (2011) sheds light on how news reporters use different means to emphasize Cho's Asian background, thus implying that his 'ethnic otherness' might partially explain his 'criminal otherness' as well (p. 57). Although similar analyses of this and other forms of media certainly represent significant contributions to a better understanding of portrayal and stereotyping on the basis of ethnic origin, the focus of this paper is placed on the presentation of bilinguals in English and Asian Indian languages in a specific type of media – the film industry.

3. ON-SCREEN BILINGUALISM AND IDENTITY

Just as is the case in off-screen contexts, the contemporary film production reveals itself abundant in presentations of various combinations of bilingual and multilingual situations in which different patterns of code-switching provide an array of possibilities for analyses of specific cases of bilingualism. This is true not only of off-screen and on-screen contexts, but also of other 'spaces' available for such analyses other than the film industry. Along these lines Androutsopoulos (2007) notes that "linguistic diversity is gaining an unprecedented visibility in the mediascapes of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century" (p. 207). However, despite the fact that marginalized groups have been gaining more ground in the area of media production (Androutsopoulos 2007, 208), such a larger amount of 'space' provided for bilingual and marginalized social groups does not au-

tomatically imply a fairer representation of these communities. Moreover, it is precisely because of their increasing on-screen presence that detailed analyses of their representation in different types of media might reveal various stereotypical views of bilingual speakers. From the point of view of a more general, off-screen analysis of bilingualism, it is relevant to bear in mind the basic areas of investigation of bilingualism. According to Mackey (2000), these have to do with the degree of bilingualism, functions of the languages, the extent of language alternation, and the extent of language interference (p. 27). It is quite evident that bilingualism, as a sociolinguistic phenomenon, represents one of the most thoroughly investigated topics in the field. Due to its complexity, research on bilingualism has included not only reference to linguistic, social, cultural, and political factors that influence its nature and extent, but also an insight into different cognitive aspects relevant for its analysis.[3] There is yet another impression that might sometimes be gained from certain situations of on-screen bilingualism and other instances of bilingualism in different types of media, and that is that each of the two codes has more or less an equal amount of 'space' allocated to them. However, it seems that in most cases this is not so. Li (2000) provides an exhaustive list of different types of bilinguals that includes a minimal bilingual (pp. 6–7), and Androutsopoulos (2007) suggests that bilingual representations in the media very frequently involve cases of minimal bilingualism. This type of bilingualism can efficiently be analyzed in different forms of media, and Kelly-Holmes (2005) provides an insightful investigation of the different functions that the use of minority languages has in the field of advertising. If there is an asymmetry between the extent and type of presentations of each language as is found among minimal bilinguals, then it is possible to take into consideration various functions and values of languages. Languages have different functions that emphasize specific sociolinguistic subidentities related to (often marginalized) migrant communities, or, as Dabène and Moore (1995) point out: "the symbolic value attached to the languages in contact is an active component of identity reconstruction processes for the newly settled" (p. 26).

It is possible to identify a pattern of language use among migrants according to which the first generation is predominantly monolingual in the minority language, the second variably bilingual, and the third practically

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[3] See, e.g., Javier (2007) about the different factors which are taken into consideration in research on cognitive aspects of bilinguals.

monolingual in the majority language, i.e. the language of the country that they emigrated to (Milroy & Muysken 1995, 2). If minimal bilingual is defined as "someone with only a few words and phrases in a second language" (Li 2000, 6), minimal bilingualism among the youngest generation of immigrants who are born in the host country should involve a more extensive and elaborate usage of the majority language with the minority language presented more rarely and in the form of short and fixed utterances. However, it might be argued that both the extent of bilingualism among the second generation and the third generation's almost complete monolingualism in the majority language depend to a large extent on whether their parents perceive the need to preserve their minority (heritage) language, i.e., the extent to which they insist on their children using it. Analyses conducted in the last several decades that have included patterns of code-switching and factors influencing the process are relevant for the latest research on code-switching. Gumperz (1982) is mentioned by Zhu (2015) as the author of one of the studies proposing "that immigrants from East and South Asia in the UK regard English as the 'they-code' and prefer to use their ethnic community language (e.g. Cantonese, Urdu, Punjabi) for family interaction, whereas their British-born children consider English as 'we-code' and prefer it to the ethnic languages" (p. 118). The analysis of on-screen linguistic usage of different generations of bilingual characters conducted for the purpose of this paper will reveal whether this pattern is consistent in this context as well, and, if not, what the factors contributing to possible inconsistencies are.

3.1. PATTERNS OF ON-SCREEN PRESENTATION OF BILINGUAL SPEAKERS

Different forms of media present themselves as extremely significant and, what is more important, fastest and most effective means of production of different kinds of stereotypes. In the twenty-first century, apart from different types of print media and the Internet, the film industry seems to be the most prominent type of media where such stereotypical presentations find their way to the general public. The analyses of on-screen presentations of bilingual speakers reveal specific patterns which can be regarded as common to on-screen stereotyping of many bilingual combinations. In other words, the specific features of such presentations vary from one bilingual situation to another, depending on the majority and minority languages at question, but there are still some general patterns that can be identified.

It has been noted above that, regardless of its increasing presence, one of the features of on-screen bilingualism is that in comparison to majority languages, minority languages are almost always given less 'space' in the films and are, linguistically speaking, to a large extent restricted to shorter and fixed utterances. In the lines of that feature, previous research of on-screen 'othering' of bilingual speakers reveals "the parent generation using the home language with each other and with their children, but the younger ones using (an ethnolect of) the majority language with each other" (Androutsopoulos 2007, 220). Patterns of language choice among different generations are directly related to specific contexts of language use and types of stereotypes which are associated with different types of individuals. Namely, it has also been noted that emotionally loaded contexts and those embedded in the minorities' heritage reveal the use of minority languages, while the characters who realize the importance of shifting to the majority language are regarded more prosperous, linguistic assimilation being a key means of becoming accepted and climbing the social ladder (Androutsopoulos 2007, 220).

Additionally, it is also useful to take into consideration the basic features of accented films, most of them being bilingual or multilingual (Naficy 2001, 24), as they may be regarded as important locations where bilingual characters are most effectively analyzed. Naficy (2001) stresses that "sadness, loneliness, and alienation are frequent themes, and sad, lonely, and alienated people are favorite characters in the accented films" (p. 27). This is where the conflict between the feelings for the homeland and those for the newly founded communities in emigration usually originates from. In such contexts, the homeland is usually placed at the center of characters' struggles to assimilate and negotiate their newly created identities. Their survival depends on their ability to negotiate the conflicting identities. This is the reason why the concept of diaspora is very frequently interpreted in terms of transnational exchange and has become closely associated with "the process of maintaining and negotiating and in some cases reinventing cultural identities" (Fazal and Tsagarousianou 2002, 6).[4]

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[4] See Gilroy (1997) for an insight into the relevant dimensions of the relationship between diaspora and identity.

3.2. NEGOTIATING ASIAN INDIAN-AMERICAN IDENTITY
AS A SOURCE OF STEREOTYPES

Stereotypes have been defined by many authors working in different fields. Schneider (2004) provides a list of different authors' definitions of the term (pp. 16–17). What most of them contain is the notion of a set of features being associated with and ascribed to members of a specific group or a category. Furthermore, Hewstone and Giles (1997) note scholars' agreement regarding one of the most relevant characteristics of stereotypes, and that is that they may be considered "inherently 'bad' or 'wrong' because they are illogical in origin, resistant to contradiction, morally wrong, and so on" (p. 271). The basic functions of stereotypes have also been discussed by different authors. According to Tajfel (1981), from the social (collective) point of view, they can be analyzed as factors "in contributing to the creation and maintenance of group ideologies explaining or justifying a variety of social actions; and . . . in helping to preserve or create positively-valued differentiations of a group from other social groups" (p. 146).

Furthermore, what may also be investigated in the context of stereotyping bilingual speakers are the ways and the extent to which minority language use results in negative or unfavorable stereotypes towards their speakers. In the current analyses of social and cultural identities it is revealed that most of them are constantly being redefined and readjusted under different circumstances. Additionally, such identities present themselves as extremely intricate, which is associated with the fact that "the media play a crucial role in their construction" (Piller 2001, 153).

Negotiating minority identities requires negotiating various aspects and degrees of the overall identity of different minority communities. Namely, migrants may feel insecure if they do not adjust their cultural frameworks and linguistic behaviours to mainstream frameworks and behaviours of the country that they emigrated to. As Milroy and Muysken (1995) point out, most migrant groups try to coordinate and reconcile the assimilation process with the urge to preserve their own linguistic and cultural heritage (p. 2).

As far as education and occupation are concerned, according to the most recent data, Indian immigrants in the United States constitute a strong presence among the highly educated individuals, many of whom are engaged in different fields of science and technology (Zong and Batalova 2017). Khandelwal (2002) mentions education, high incomes, and English language skills as most relevant factors that might explain why certain members of the

Asian Indian migrant community in the United States seem to have become a part of the American society rather successfully (p. 10). However, a deeper inspection of specific sociolinguistic issues might reveal struggles over negotiation of various facets of the newly created sociolinguistic identity of such individuals.

For the Asian Indian minority community negotiation of identity in terms of their assimilation in the American community frequently includes the issue of religion. The religious aspect of the Asian Indian diaspora is rather important, and it is clearly emphasized, at times even to a higher degree than is the case with other minority communities in the United States. This becomes obvious when we take into consideration that "for most overseas Hindus, India, often depicted as 'Mother India', holds deep spiritual, symbolic and sentimental reverence that is renewed through regular visits and pilgrimages" (Singh 2003, 3). Along these lines, most on-screen representations of Asian Indian Americans should include the view of such bilingual characters as extremely religious individuals who, among other contexts, use their minority language in contexts of religious worshipping as well.

What also seems relevant for the analysis of on-screen presentation of Asian Indian-American bilinguals is the presentation of the two genders. In relation to movements of the Indian population, Jayaram (2004) states that "the emigration of Indians in the first instance has generally been a male phenomenon" (p. 23). This might mean that the negotiation of such an ethnic identity, at least in the first phases, primarily involved problems of negotiating the male Asian Indian identity. However, there is much to be said about the negotiation of the female Asian Indian identity, especially in contemporary contexts. Furthermore, the migrants' professional profile may be regarded as a substantial source of stereotypes. Namely, it has been noted that during colonialism Indians were regarded as 'coolies' by the British, and that such a stereotype seemed to follow them even in subsequent phases of migration when they started climbing the social ladder (Jayaram 2004, 28). The fact that Asian Indians originally came from an extremely multicultural background facilitated their transition and assimilation in yet another multicultural surroundings such as is the United States (Khandelwal 2002, 1). However, this still does not mean that the transition was effortless because we must consider that these are two completely different types of multicultural contexts. Such an exposition should also be revealed in the analysis of Asian Indian-American bilingual characters.

Moreover, further analysis of on-screen presentation of Asian Indian immigrants might also reveal several other stereotypical views of such individuals. What also needs to be taken into consideration is that the successfully assimilated, well-paid Indian immigrants in the United States started supporting the migration of their less-educated relatives in the last decades of the twentieth century (Khandelwal 2002, 6). This means that the on-screen representation of Asian Indian immigrants should include individuals of different social and occupational backgrounds.

4. CORPUS ANALYSIS

The corpus consists of eight films and the analysis includes the topics presented in the films, portrayal of Asian Indian women, language shift across generations, code-switching, and contexts of language use. These are:[5] *Bombay Boys* (1998, BB, Hindi); *Bride and Prejudice* (2004, BaP, Hindi); *East is East* (1999, EiE, Urdu)[6]; *Heaven on Earth* (2008, HoE, Punjabi); *Monsoon Wedding* (2001, MW, Hindi); *Parzania* (2005, P, Gujarati); *The Namesake* (2006, N, Bengali); and *Slumdog Millionaire* (2008, SM, Hindi).

4.1. CONFLICT, HOMELAND NOSTALGIA, AND ASSIMILATION

In accordance with the real, off-screen struggles of Asian Indian Americans to balance the conflict between homeland nostalgia and maintenance of their cultural, linguistic, and religious traditions on one hand, and the need to assimilate and negotiate, both culturally and linguistically, their newly created identities on the other, many topics presented in the analyzed films reflect similar patterns of struggle. When discussing the relationship between language and identity among diasporic communities, the concept of mother tongue naturally presents itself at the centre of such discussions, and this is especially true if immigrants to English-dominant countries originate

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[5] The list consists of the title of the film, followed by the year of production, the abbreviation of the film used in the subsequent analysis, as well as the language other than English that features in the film and in the analysis of contexts of use of different languages.

[6] Although the bilingual characters in the film are of Pakistani cultural background, the film is included in this analysis because the topics, contexts of use of English and a South Asian language, language shift across generations, code-switching, as well as the presentation of the expected roles of wives from the South Asian perspective are comparable to the same aspects in other analyzed films.

from extremely multicultural and multilingual contexts, such as is the Asian Indian one.[7]

The analysis of films reveals that homeland nostalgia is indeed one of the most frequently presented topics together with issues concerning cultural and religious practices of the homeland and presentation of bilingual characters as extremely religious individuals (who in contexts of religious worshipping use mostly their mother tongue). For example, this is evident in the presentation of: first-generation Indian immigrants torn between the urge to return to the home country and a sense of obligation to stay in the United States because it offers greater opportunities for their children (N); homesickness of a young woman who wants to leave Canada and go back to India (HoE) and a woman who wants to leave New York and go back to India upon her arrival to the United States (N); arranged marriage (N, EiE, HoE, MW, BaP); and Pakistani father disowning his son who refuses to go through an arranged marriage and proclaiming his son dead (EiE).

There is a pervasive common feature of most of the topics, and that is conflict. Conflict can be clearly discerned from the presentation of technical and economic development of the West in comparison to the underdevelopment and poverty of the East, but, primarily, from the presentation of opposing Eastern and Western views on marriage, how to raise children and how parents should be treated, and, above all, intergenerational conflict concerning the processes of cultural and linguistic assimilation. In the presentation of such conflicts, there is a pattern according to which the first-generation immigrants feel a greater need to preserve the customs of the homeland, while their children who are born in the West do not feel the same because they are practically fully assimilated. For example, this is evident in the presentation of: conflict between American-born children and their Indian parents who are trying to keep their culture and tradition alive (N); American tourists in India trying to resolve a situation with money which, as they imply in the film, is the American way (SM); Westerners (an Australian, an American, and an Englishman) making fun of the Indian way of life by discussing it in terms of "Third-World mentality" (BB); American individual disrespectful of Indian customs (arranged marriage and their traditional dance) and amazed by what he considers to be a rather primitive environment (BaP).

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[7] Mitchell (2009) presents the complexity of historical, political, and affective factors that have contributed to the shaping of the linguistic situation in South India in relation to the concept of mother tongue.

4.2. PORTRAYAL OF ASIAN INDIAN WOMEN

The analyzed films suggest that Asian Indian immigrants have managed to find their way in the host country as far as economic security is concerned. This becomes more visible in cases in which there is also a presentation of the poorer way of life that they left behind in the homeland, but also in the presentation of individuals of different social and occupational backgrounds.

However, on-screen presentation of bilingual characters does not involve only the males and negotiation of their linguistic and cultural identity. In the analyzed films it is possible to identify specific patterns of presentation of Asian Indian women. It should be noted here that, although the focus of this part of the analysis is placed on the portrayal of Asian Indian women, there are also references to the portrayal of non-Asian women who are married to South Asian men (*East is East*), as this might also provide an insight into how women are portrayed and treated in South Asian cultures. In the analyses of on-screen portrayal of women, family abuse is a topic that also suggests differences in the ways in which women from different cultural backgrounds react in such situations. This can be related to real-life differences in the ways in which women who are native to a Western culture and those who are native to an Eastern culture are supported by the community. For example, Rudrappa (2004) mentions the issue of isolation and suggests that American women's escape from an abusive relationship may stop their isolation, and that South Asian American women may actually start experiencing it if they choose to leave (pp. 56–57).

In the analyzed films women are presented in a variety of ways. There are instances in which women are abused, exploited, and treated as sexual objects and servants (SM). There are presentations of traditional households in which women are expected to be submissive and obedient to their abusive husbands (HoE), and this is revealed even when the wife is not of Asian origin, but is still expected to obey and is beaten for not respecting the husband's tradition and for calling him names (EiE). However, they are also presented as individuals who refuse to take on such a role and wish to become more independent (MW, BaP), but also as the dominant figures in the household, especially if they are members of the oldest generation (HoE).

4.3. LANGUAGE SHIFT ACROSS GENERATIONS, CODE-SWITCHING, AND CONTEXTS OF LANGUAGE USE

Language shift across generations is primarily revealed in the extent to which different generations use English and Asian Indian languages. Code-switching is presented through the analysis of contexts of uses of the English language and one of Asian Indian languages, which allows for drawing broader conclusions about factors influencing such code-switching and choices of language use.

As could be predicted, most occurrences of English usage by bilinguals are those of second- and third-generation immigrants. Third-generation immigrants born in the host country address both their parents and grandparents in English (in cases where there is a presentation of members of three generations), regardless of the parents' or grandparents' mother tongue and regardless of the fact that their parents or grandparents in some instances use an Asian Indian language to address them (MW, HoE). On the other hand, where there is a presentation of members of two generations, a parent (first-generation immigrant) addresses his children (second generation-immigrants) most frequently in English in instances of issuing directives and reprimands (EiE). Instances of directives in which English is used are not restricted to parent-child communication, but are discernible in other types of communication in which there are clearly separated power relations, e.g., directives issued by gangsters (BB) and police officers (SM). Moreover, English is used when the topic of communication is less emotionally colored, (e.g., instances of discussing business (SM) and financial issues (MW), communicating factual information and giving practical advice (N), appealing to reason (N), etc.), as well as the medium of formal education (SM, P), courtroom proceedings (P), and as the medium of communication with tourists (SM). Although there are instances of emotionally colored communication in English as well (e.g., in expressing pride, shame, or affection (EiE)), they are not as frequent as instances of emotionally colored communication in Asian Indian languages, and the characters who use English for such purposes are mostly those who use English for the most part throughout the film. Formulaic religious expressions are in certain contexts issued in English (EiE). In contexts of parents arranging marriage for their children, most of the conversation is conducted in English (BaP), except when describing certain qualities of children (N, EiE).

On the other hand, most occurrences of Asian Indian language usage by bilinguals are those of first-generation immigrants as they generally use English to the least extent in comparison to members of subsequent generations of immigrants. Although the usage of Asian Indian languages is also present in issuing directives and reprimands (N), the difference is that, unlike in instances of English usage, Asian Indian languages are to a greater extent used for apologizing (N), comforting (N), expressing disappointment (MW), excitement (MW), frustration (MW), and similar instances of emotionally colored communication. Furthermore, there are switches from English to Asian Indian languages when profanities are used (BB), which is also an indicator of emotionally charged expressions. Switches from English to Asian Indian languages also include instances of appeals to be honest and straightforward (BB). In contrast to English usage for giving practical advice, Asian Indian languages are to a greater extent used for giving spiritual advice (N, HoE). Although formulaic religious expressions are in certain contexts issued in English, most religious ceremonies, acts of praying, and formulaic greetings are performed in Asian Indian languages (HoE, BaP, SM). As was stated above, most of the interaction concerning arranged marriages involves the usage of English except for instances in which certain qualities of individuals are described (N, EiE). Finally, in contexts in which there is a difference in social stratification of characters, members of the lower strata almost exclusively use Asian Indian languages in all forms of address, while members of the higher strata use Asian Indian languages to address members of the lower strata, but use both Asian Indian languages and English (depending on the context, interlocutor, topic, and level of emotional engagement) with members of the same social stratum (MW).

5. CONCLUSION

Bilingualism has been investigated for a long time in the field of sociolinguistics. Investigating the phenomenon usually includes reference to social, cultural, political, economic, and other relevant non-linguistic factors that contribute to its development. Furthermore, in the last several decades there seems to be much more emphasis placed on the cognitive aspect, i.e., on how a bilingual handles and uses the languages in different cognitive processes.

Analyzing bilingualism among immigrant communities, especially those whose host country is an English-dominant one, frequently includes the in-

vestigation of the ways in which the immigrant communities' cultural and linguistic practices are seen as 'other', and this, in turn, has to do with the concept of language conflict and the identification of different symbolic values ascribed to minority languages.

The investigation of on-screen presentation of bilinguals in English and Asian Indian languages primarily allows for an insight into stereotypes which are associated with them on different levels. These include the immigrants' way of life, extent of assimilation in the host country, but also the ways the two genders are portrayed. The immigrants' way of life and the extent of assimilation in the host country are presented by identifying the recurring topics in the films, and these include different aspects related to homeland nostalgia, religious and cultural practices of the homeland, but also conflicts between Eastern and Western values and beliefs. With regard to gender presentation, the focus was placed on the ways women are presented. In the analyzed films they are frequently presented as traditional, obedient wives, but there are also presentations of women's refusal to take on such roles.

The identified pattern of cultural and linguistic assimilation in the films is such that younger generations exhibit a noticeably greater extent of assimilation, which is associated with identifying patterns of language shift across generations. The analysis of code-switching and contexts of language use has produced interesting results as well. Younger generations use English to a greater extent, while the topics which are more emotionally colored are to a greater extent discussed in Asian Indian languages. In comparison to English, Asian Indian languages are to a greater extent used among characters of lower social ranking and in instances in which characters of higher social ranking address those of lower social ranking.

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[8] The information included in the list of analyzed films is retrieved from the Internet Movie Database (IMDb): http://www.imdb.com/.

EKRANOWA „INNOŚĆ" DWUJĘZYCZNYCH POSTACI.
MIĘDZY ANGIELSKIM A JĘZYKAMI INDII —
DOŚWIADCZENIE DWUJĘZYCZNOŚCI

S t r e s z c z e n i e

Analiza wzorów mowy osób dwujęzycznych oraz powiązanych z nimi kulturowych stereotypów obecnych w kinie jest stosunkowo nową dziedziną badań. Artykuł koncentruje się na naturze oraz zakresie „przestrzeni językowej", jaką przemysł kinematograficzny może dostarczyć studiom socjolingwistycznym w zakresie analizy obecności „Innego" w kontekście dwujęzyczności. Artykuł analizuje filmy, w których występują dwujęzyczne postaci, posługujące się językiem angielskim oraz jednym z języków Indii używanym w kontekście pozaindyjskim[*]. Analiza skupia się na sposobie, w jaki filmowe reprezentacje wytwarzają stereotypy dotyczące osób dwujęzycznych w kulturze anglojęzycznej, takich jak trudności asymilacyjne w kulturze anglojęzycznej oraz wzorce zmiany kodu językowego między językiem angielskim a językami Indii.

Pierwsza część analizy skupia się na filmowych reprezentacjach sposobów, w jakie osoby o pochodzeniu indoazjatyckim negocjują swoją dwujęzyczną tożsamość; jej celem jest identyfikacja motywów powielanych w kolejnych filmowych produkcjach. Zakres językowej asymilacji odzwierciedla bariera pokoleniowa: podczas gdy pierwsze pokolenie imigrantów cechuje nostalgia za ojczyzną oraz tradycyjnymi wartościami, drugie oraz trzecie pokolenie charakteryzuje zauważalna kulturowa asymilacja. Druga część analizy poświęcona jest zmianom kodu językowego: bada kontekst, w którym używany jest język angielski oraz okoliczności użycia języków Indii, a także analizuje czynniki mające wpływ na zmianę kodu. Socjolingwistyczna analiza filmowych reprezentacji osób dwujęzycznych o korzeniach indyjskich może przyczynić się do wyjaśnienia podłoża stereotypów na temat tej grupy osób.

Przekład abstraktu Kamil Rusiłowicz

Słowa kluczowe: dwujęzyczność, tożsamość, zmiana kodu, stereotypy, „inność", przemysł filmowy.

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[*] Na ich oznaczenie używany jest termin 'Asian Indian languages', który oznacza języki Indii używane w rozmaitym kontekście pozaindyjskim. Na przykład, Sridhar (2002, 263–264) używa go w odniesieniu do języków Indii, którymi mówi się stanie Nowy Jork