

Bangladeshi Expatriate Students in Saudi Arabia and Their Languages

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Abstract

The paper attempts to throw light on the languages used by Bangladeshi expatriate students in Saudi Arabia as well as their feelings and thoughts towards their mother tongue. To meet this end, 175 students of Bangladesh International School in Jeddah (both Bengali and English medium) were asked to fill up a questionnaire and later some of them were interviewed randomly to have a better understanding of their approaches towards different languages. Since no research has yet been conducted in this field, this paper brings to light a number of exciting findings including a multilingual young Bangladeshi community abroad along with a visible demarcation regarding different sociolinguistic aspects such as the medium of instruction of education and their gender.

Keywords: Bangladeshi, Bengali, expatriates, multilingual

1. Introduction

There have been a number of researches carried out in the field of Bangladeshi expatriate students' use of languages in Europe, America and Australia. Since hundreds and thousands of students go to these continents for higher studies, researchers from Bangladesh have contributed abundantly in this field. Apart from students, a sizeable number of people migrated to the developed countries for better job opportunities and living standards. This trend, which began since the early 1970s, has given rise to a unique environment of new generations of Bangladeshis who were born and brought up in their host countries. Though these next generations of Bangladeshis became citizens of their respective host countries, they continued the legacy of Bengali along with different other languages to the new land, adding more diversified traits to their predecessor's mother tongue. Through research, those intricate developments were brought to light as the flow of students pursuing higher studies has continued to date. For example, in the single year of 2017, according to Alamgir (2018), "...a total of 34,155 Bangladeshis enrolled at universities in Malaysia, 5,441 in the United States, 4,652 in Australia, 3,599 in the United Kingdom, 2028 in Canada, 2008 in Germany, 1099 in India, 870 in Saudi Arabia, 810 in Japan and 637 in the United Arab Emirates". However, if we look at the history of immigration of Bangladesh, it can be seen, as in the words of Siddiqui (2005); Afsar (2009); and Rahman (2012) that, the states of Gulf Corporation Council (GCC) are the most important destinations for Bangladeshi labourers. From 1980 to 2010, the number of migrants who annually left for work in the Gulf States increased tenfold from 25,000 to more than 250,000 per year. Around 1.5 million Bangladeshi workers migrated to the Gulf States from 2005 to 2010 alone, which accounts for 52 per cent of all international movements from Bangladesh. Most of them migrated to the United Arab Emirates (UAE) (647,000), Saudi Arabia (523,000), and Qatar (154,000).

At present Saudi Arabia is the second home to more than two million expatriate Bangladeshis (Bel-Air, 2018). Export of manpower to Saudi Arabia started soon after the vast petroleum reserve was discovered in the gulf region. Since then millions of Bangladeshis flocked here in the following years with some occasional disruption due to different government policies. As per data from "Wage Earners Remittance Inflows: Country-wise (Monthly) in 2018" (n. d.) by Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training (BMET), in the year 2018, Bangladesh received 2813.27 million USD from Saudi Arabia as remittance which is 18.10% of all the remittance flow in the country. Bangladesh cannot but admit the contribution of expatriates working in Saudi Arabia to the substantial foreign currency reserve which boosts the economy of Bangladesh. Though a majority of expatriate workers live alone, people with high skill jobs prefer to live here with families. Expatriates working in the major cities, for example, Jeddah, Riyadh and Dammam, opt for living with their children keeping in mind the facility of standard education.

Considering the vast demand of Bangladeshi community, the government of Bangladesh, with a view to imparting quality education as per with the international standard, established three branches of Bangladesh International School in successive years; the first in Dammam in 1987, the second in Riyadh in 1990, and the third in Jeddah in 1993. The school is affiliated with the University of Cambridge and recognized as a centre for Cambridge International Examinations (CIE). It offers Cambridge IGCSE and Cambridge International AS & A levels examinations. Dedicated to international education, the school is committed to ensuring that students remain firmly rooted in their native culture.

Unfortunately, no research has been carried out in the field of Bangladeshi expatriate students' use of languages in Saudi Arabia despite the presence of three branches of Bangladesh International School along with a substantial number of graduate students who migrate from Bangladesh to Saudi Arabia for higher studies in different universities annually. Hence the need for research is felt in this field. The research primarily focuses on the variety of languages used by Bangladeshi expatriate students and its impact on their mother tongue.

2. Literature Review

Canagarajah and Wurr (2011) argued that "...modern linguistics has posited a model of monolingual communication as the norm for its theorization. For example, Chomsky assumed linguistic competence as intuitive, monolingual, and developing in a homogeneous community. As many have noted, this is an idealization that does not exist in many communities in the world, let alone in the West". Saudi Arabia is also no exception to this as it is one of the most cosmopolitan countries because of its huge economy. The movement of people from one country to another is one of the sturdiest causes of multilingualism. Fasold (1987) illustrates, when immigrants arrive in another country speaking their native language, they add their National Language to the language situation in the host country fostering bilingualism or multilingualism. Apart from standard Arabic, a number of other forms of Arabic are also spoken in Saudi Arabia. Besides Arabic, the other languages that are spoken by a majority of people in Saudi Arabia are Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Kabardian, Rohingya, Somali, Southern Balochi, Swahili, Tagalog, Turkish, Uyghur, Iranian Persian, Korean, English, Chinese, Indonesian, Italian, and French. (Bateson, 1967; Campbell & King, 2011; Comrie, 1987; Holes, 1990; Ingham, 1994; Johnstone, 1967; Kaye, 1987; Albaqawi, 2016)

In multilingual communities, people are always open to negotiating diverse languages in their everyday public life. They do not expect to encounter people who speak their language most of the time. This mind-set prepares them for negotiating different languages as a fact of life. Instead of following a standard grammar, people employ communicative practices and strategies that are used to negotiate their language differences. However, these strategies are not a form of knowledge or cognitive competence, but a form of resourcefulness that speakers employ in the unpredictable communicative situations they encounter. The objective of language learning is also different for multilinguals because their target is not to master a language for all purposes and functions. They pick up the codes that are needed for the functions they want that language to perform. To develop proficiency in all the languages for the same purposes or the same language for all purposes is not needed. Multilinguals tend to adopt different codes for different contexts and objectives. The objective of their acquisition is to get the things done rather than total competence in individual languages. In multilingual communities, pragmatic strategies enable one to communicate successfully, irrespective of the level of grammatical proficiency. The role of interactional practices and negotiation strategies are given more importance in language competence and acquisition. In multilingual communities, grammar is emergent, so speakers do not think that they can achieve a finite level of grammatical knowledge to help them communicate correctly.

In multilingual communities, communication and acquisition take place in collaboration with others, through active negotiation, as an inter-subjective practice. Language acquisition is considerably shaped by issues of identity, community, and socioeconomic investments (Norton, 2000). Besides, language competence should accommodate the ability to collaborate with others in communication and joint production of meaning.

According to Canagarajah and Wurr (2011), "Subjects in multilingual communities are socialized into all their languages equally that they will not be able to consider one language as coming first in terms of time of acquisition, sequence of acquisition, or level of competence. Multilingual speakers are not moving toward someone else's target; they are constructing their own norms. It is meaningless to measure the distance of multilinguals from the language system of native speakers when they are not aiming to master their norms". Due to the unpredictability and variety of contexts, a perfect or competent multilingual proficiency cannot be reached. However, it is to be mentioned that there are many advantages of multilingualism along with some disadvantages. Language attrition is one of the disadvantages that multilingualism proposes.

Language attrition refers to "the non-pathological decrease in proficiency in a language that had previously been

acquired by an individual” (Kopke & Schmid, 2004, p. 3). It takes place due to a change in one’s contact with the language(s) in question. Language attrition may occur naturally in other circumstances and conditions such as a change in the linguistic environment that necessitates contact with another language, for example, a family with a young child moving to a foreign country, where the child quickly starts to acquire the new language spoken in the environment. If the child remains in that environment for a prolonged time, the child’s native language will slowly be replaced by the ambient language input, which eventually becomes his or her dominant language. The above example is a typical outcome of L1 attrition in an L2 environment, where the attriting language is the child’s mother tongue. This situation exemplifies language attrition among migrants who are exposed to a foreign language in a new host country. While these migrants are busy learning and using their new language, they experience a gradual decline in their L1 knowledge and skills because they have limited or no exposure to their L1. This declining area includes lexical access difficulty, disfluency, and increased optionality in grammatical judgments (Park, 2018).

One of the most critical factors in determining someone’s vulnerability to language attrition is the age of the individual. It is generally suggested that the younger the attriter, the quicker and the more severe the extent of language loss. “L1 remains fairly stable for migrants who leave their L1 environment after puberty, whereas individuals who migrate before puberty can suffer significant L1 attrition, both in the rate and extent of language attrition” (Park, 2018). For example, Pallier’s (2007) study showed that young Korean adoptees (ages 3–10) lost their L1 completely after being removed from the L1 speaking environment during childhood. Other studies have also demonstrated that ages 8–10, which is often referred to as the critical period of attrition, signals a significant decrease in L1 proficiency.

3. Method

3.1 Research Design

The quantitative correlational research design was utilized to achieve the objectives of the research. According to Brown and Rodgers (2002), ‘quantitative research includes any research based on primary or original data. It is predominantly based on numerical data’. On the other hand, correlational research includes studies that examine correlations among variables. As the aim of this study was to find out the use of different languages by Bangladeshi expatriate students in Saudi Arabia in the context of different sociolinguistic aspects including the medium of instruction of education and their gender, this research design was chosen purposefully.

3.2 Participants

The participants of this study were students of Bangladesh International School, Jeddah in Saudi Arabia. Out of 175 respondents, 72 were male students, and 103 of them were female. One hundred seventeen students studied the British Curriculum, and 58 of them (40 of them studied Bengali version, and 18 of them studied English version) followed the National Curriculum and Textbook Board of Bangladesh. The research was limited to the students of class VIII to X, with their age ranging from 13 to 17, bearing in mind that the critical age period is a substantial issue in language learning. As pointed out by Chomsky (1969) that during childhood, language acquisition is a natural effect of long-lasting exposure to a language. To acquire a spoken language, a child does not need to be taught it formally. If exposed to any language on a regular basis in a social environment, any young child will acquire native fluency. A child will naturally acquire native fluency in more than one language under such circumstances. However, this natural skill to acquire a spoken language without deliberate effort begins to decline roughly at the age of puberty (12 to 14 years of age). After this age, teenagers will acquire a new language with definite interference from whatever language or languages they had been exposed to before.

One hundred thirty-five of the students were born in Saudi Arabia, and 35 were born in Bangladesh, whereas five others were born in England, Egypt, USA and Canada. On average, they have been living in Saudi Arabia for just a little over 14 years.

3.3 Data Collection Instrument

For the quantitative aspect of the present study, the main instrument for data collection was the questionnaire. Questionnaires are considered to be an inexpensive and convenient way to gather data from a potentially large number of respondents. Cohen, Manion, Morrison and Morrison (2007) explain that the questionnaire is a handy instrument for the collection of information, and can be administered in the absence of the researcher. In this study, other than demographic questions, the respondents had to answer a few questions in details, and other questions included simple yes/no answers.

3.4 Data Collection Procedures

Before the questionnaire was administered to the students, a brief introductory talk describing the procedure was

given to them. Besides, the participants were encouraged to ask questions at any time during the administration of the questionnaire. The students took 25–30 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

To keep the students' particulars confidential so that they felt free while completing the questionnaire, there was no option for their names to be written on the questionnaire. The questionnaires were administered by their teachers. The students' answers helped the researcher to understand their attitudes towards different languages in their day to day life.

3.5 Data Analysis

Data analysis refers to analyzing the data collected from participants through the instrument. Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 25 was used to analyze the quantitative data. Descriptive statistics were used to explore, summarize and describe those data. According to Pallant (2007) descriptive statistic helps to depict the different attributes of data, verifying any violation of the principal assumptions for the statistical methods to be used in the study, and addressing particular research questions. In this study, the descriptive statistics were undertaken using central tendency and variation statistics such as frequency, ranges, and standard deviation.

4. Results

The students of Bangladesh International School, Jeddah (both Bengali and British curriculum) study three languages: English, Bengali and Arabic. However, Bengali is not taught in any other school in Saudi Arabia because of lacking a sufficient number of students. The following figures show the number of languages used by Bangladeshi expatriate students.

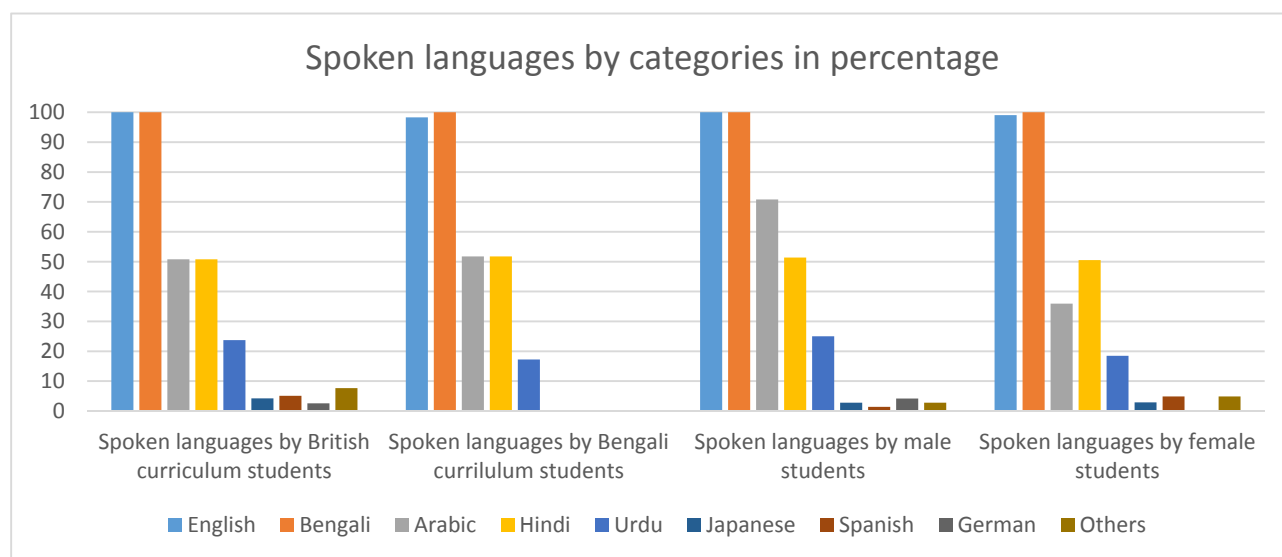


Figure 1. Spoken languages by categories in percentage

Almost cent per cent students of both British and Bengali curriculum can speak both Bengali and English. It is also the same in case of both the genders. Arabic and Hindi are spoken by around 50 per cent students of both curriculums. However, 70 per cent male students speak Arabic, whereas 36 per cent of their female counterparts speak this language.

The most notable thing here is that British curriculum students speak, on an average, 3.44 languages that include a staggering number of 15 languages: Bengali, English, Arabic, Hindi, Urdu, Japanese, Korean, Indonesian, Spanish, Irish, French, Turkish, Tamil, Italian and German. Students here can speak from 2 to 7 languages. On the other hand, Bengali medium students on an average speak 3.1 languages. They speak 2 to 5 languages that include English, Bengali, Arabic, Hindi and Urdu.

Male students on an average speak 3.57 languages, just a few more than their female counterparts who speak 3.2 languages. However, female students, as a group, speak a diversity of languages that account for 13 different tongues while the male students speak only nine languages.

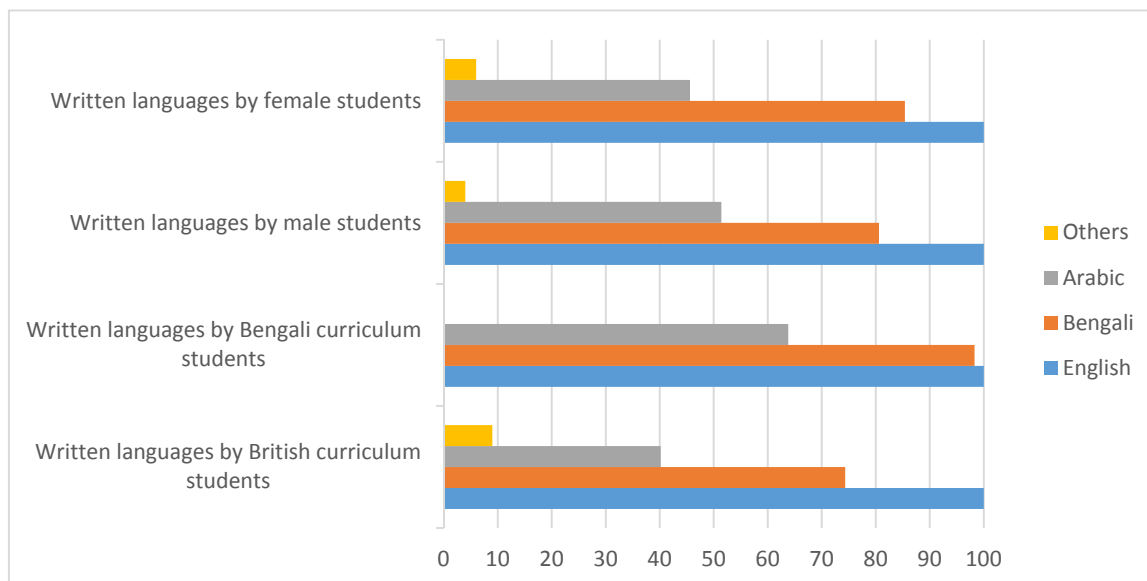


Figure 2. Written languages by categories in percentage

Figure 2 shows a coherent usage of written languages in four categories where English is written by almost 100 per cent students, but the ability to write and read in their mother tongue stand low at 74 per cent by the British curriculum students. Besides, their literacy in Arabic hovers round from 40 to 65 per cent in the given categories. Their literacy in other languages is just below 10 per cent with only British curriculum students, whereas the Bengali medium students lack literacy in any fourth language.

Parents of these students talk to their children in Bengali predominantly, but 10% of the students of Bengali medium talk to their parents in English whereas almost 40% parents of English medium students use English for communication. Besides, a marginal 2% of parents use Arabic to speak with their children.

At the same time, while communication with siblings, almost 100 per cent of these young people of Bengali medium use Bengali. Apart from Bengali, almost one-third of them use English as well. On the contrary, almost two-thirds of the English medium students use Bengali, whereas more than 80% uses English to communicate with their brothers and sisters. However, apart from using Bengali and English, the students of English medium use Arabic, Hindi, Urdu, Korean, Indonesian and Tamil with their siblings; a remarkable trait which is entirely absent among the students of Bengali medium students.

While communication with non-Bangladeshi friends almost 90% of them use English, while 5% of them are lucky enough to have friends who can talk to them in Bengali, and for the rest of them, they use Arabic, Hindi and Urdu.

Even though these students may choose to speak to their Bangladeshi friends in Bengali, more than 81% prefers to chat in English. However, 53% of them use both Bengali and English. This trend is probably promoted by the school authority as more than 53% of students admitted that the use of Bengali is strictly discouraged in the school compound.

The new digital age also has its effect in terms of language use among these expatriate students. Only a quarter of them uses Bengali in social media, whereas all of them by default use English for communication through Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, and Twitter. When it is time to watch TV, they often avoid being around their parents as only 8% of them prefer watching TV programs telecast in Bangladeshi channels whereas ten times more respondents like to watch programs both in English and Hindi channels.

In social gatherings, they need English more than Bengali. Besides, they need Hindi, Urdu, and Arabic. As claimed by the students, they need Bengali only in 11% situations whereas they use English in 72% cases and Arabic in 69% cases. Even though these Bangladeshi students live with their families in a dominant Bengali community, more than 35% respondents assert that they need to use English more than any other language throughout the day, while 18% need Arabic more, and the rest 43% claim that they use Bengali more than other languages.

Three-fourths of the respondents like to read novels, short stories or newspapers in English whereas around half of them said they had read at least one novel or storybook in Bengali. They also claim that books are not available in Bengali in their locality.

21% of female students claim that they get discriminated because they speak Bengali. Similarly, 16% of male respondent inform that they are looked down upon if they speak Bengali. They have a long list of complaints against “Arabs and non-Arabs like Indians and Pakistanis” when it comes to speaking Bengali. They get “mocked at” and “imitated” in supermarket, restaurants, and shopping malls by the shopkeepers when they “introduce themselves as Bangladeshis” or when they talk to themselves in Bengali. They are considered “outdated” and “believed not to be able to speak English”. They are “given less importance everywhere in Saudi Arabia” and “called illiterate.”

Perhaps the above discriminatory treatment by other expatriates explains why 65% of them do not consider Bengali to be worth learning. Only one-third of them believe that Bengali is going to be vital to them in future for a job.

Because of the personal experiences of the students with Bengali and the inference of English’s linguistic importance, 76% of the respondents would prefer to deliver an impromptu speech in English even though it were a dominant Bangladeshi gathering. They feel that “the need to reach others is more important” than reaching their community. Three-fourths of the respondents reported that their non-Bangladeshi friends felt comfortable if they spoke to them in their mother tongues, i.e., Hindi, Urdu, or Arabic. More than 40% of their non-Bangladeshi friends take it for granted that they should know and communicate with them using their mother tongue. That Bangladeshis should know other languages is a belief held by 40% of their friends. They also inform that on an average, each Bangladeshi student has 1.08 non-Bangladeshi friends who can speak Bengali.

According to most of the respondents, their friends do not want to learn Bengali because it is either too difficult or not needed in future. Bengali is not spoken worldwide, and it does not have any financial value. In one hand, Bengali does not have any international appeal like Hollywood or Bollywood film industries. On the other hand, Bangladeshis feel more comfortable learning others’ languages.

However, this is entirely the opposite with the Rohingyas, a marginalized people in the world. According to UNHCR (2011) reports, “There are approximately 250,000 documented and an unknown number of undocumented Rohingya in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Most came to the country in different waves since 1960. The majority are believed to have entered the country without documents or on Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Nepali, and Indian passports that expired during their stay. Saudi Arabia is not a state party to the 1951 Convention and does not have a national legal structure supporting asylum. Deemed to be a persecuted group on religious grounds, a Royal Decree made an exception to allow the Rohingya to obtain four-year residency visas (known as an iqama) to ensure access to education, the labour market, and health services. This process of regularization and documentation of Rohingya applies only to those who entered Saudi Arabia before 2008. Individuals who entered the country after that date cannot benefit from these provisions”. Desperate to procure any valid identity, they are ready to take resort of any means. Taking advantage of weak administrative procedures and loopholes, many Rohingyas have already managed to submit forged documents and collected Bangladeshi passports (Rabbi, 2019). “The Rohingya language has many similarities with the Chittagonian dialect that is spoken in the area around Cox’s Bazar but is not identical” (Tay et al., 2018). That is why they are desperate to learn the standard form of Bengali so that they can mingle at least linguistically with the mainstream Bangladeshis. Though Bengali is not appreciated by the people of other countries in Saudi Arabia, Rohingyas, as the study suggests, are the only people who are keen on learning the language because of its value related to their forged identity. According to the study as much as 26% of the respondents report that they either have Rohingya friends or know some Rohingyas who are “eager to communicate” with them in Bengali.

Next, only 17% of students of Bengali medium respond that they had private tuition for Bengali whereas 27% of English medium had private tuition for the same subject. Traditionally Bengali medium students in Bangladesh do not have any private tuition for Bengali which has been reflected here, but not providing any private tuition for Bengali to any English medium student in a foreign land like Saudi Arabia is akin to not caring much about the course itself.

The last question in the questionnaire was whether they knew what had happened in 1952. As expected, cent per cent of students of Bengali medium gave the right answer. Surprisingly, only 13% of students of English medium could give the right answer, 38% gave a vague answer, 13% gave a wrong answer, and others admitted that they had no idea. Language movement that took place in 1952 is synonymous to the root cause of the birth

of Bangladesh. It is expected that any Bangladeshi knows about it without any fail. Failure to answering this question raises the doubt of their knowledge of their own country and culture. In the curriculum of NCTB, the history of Bangladesh and Bengali language are equally emphasized, but it dawns to the researcher that the Bangladeshi students studying British curriculum are severely lacking any knowledge of their historical background and culture. The rate of participation of English medium students is also relatively low in different cultural and national day celebration organized by the school authority. Their disinterestedness in these programs can be correlated with their lacking historical and cultural knowledge.

5. Discussion

One of the prime concerns of the research is the unawareness of cultural identity among the expatriate students. Though we are yet to conduct any direct research on it, our findings suggest that they are not very keen on their mother tongue, which might ultimately lead to their passiveness towards their culture as well. However, there is a belief related to multilingualism that it causes the child to develop a sense of split personalities; that is, the child feels that he or she has two different personalities. Each personality is associated with each language. Some people go to the extreme by claiming that this sense seriously affects the child's loyalty to the native language and culture (Al-Mansour, 2009). In this connection, it is to be mentioned that Verhoeven and Boeschoten (1986) found that the L1 development of Turkish children living in The Netherlands lagged significantly behind that of their peers who were living in Turkey. As language and culture are intricately knitted together the Bangladeshi expatriate students who cannot read and write in Bengali at all, may become the worst victim of loss of cultural identity.

To overcome this issue, the role of the family is immense. Richards and Yamada-Yamamoto (1998), who interviewed Japanese families living and working in the UK, also found the validity of this claim. These interviewees not only maintained their Japanese but also encouraged their children to do so. These families socialized more often with other speakers of Japanese. Their children also selected Japanese-speaking playmates than English-speaking playmates. Richards and Yamada-Yamamoto summarized since the parents were more concerned about their children's ability to compete successfully with their peers who had remained in Japan, they intentionally made sure the maintenance of L1 in the UK. Similarly, it is the responsibility of the parents to ensure that their children learn Bengali well if they want them to survive the competition with their peers in Bangladesh. Since there is no scope of permanent residency in Saudi Arabia, children have to return home only to find an alien environment in their own country if they are not conversant in Bengali.

The second concern is over the native English-speaking teachers. Braine (2010) and Kirkpatrick (2010) have identified a perception in East and Southeast Asia that native English-speaking teachers are the ideal model for language production. Their speech is considered as the gold standard of grammatical correctness and perfect pronunciation (Wang, 2012), and they are valued as repositories of cultural information. On the contrary, nonnative English-speaking teachers tend to be held up as deficient speakers of the language, with imperfect grammatical and pragmatic knowledge, poor pronunciation, and inferior knowledge about foreign cultures (Mahboob, Uhrig, Newman, & Hartford, 2004). This notion persists in the face of a rapidly expanding body of evidence to the contrary. Research carried out in Europe (Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005), the United States (Liang, 2002; Mahboob, 2003), Hong Kong (Cheung & Braine, 2007), and the United Kingdom (Pacek, 2005) indicates that foreign language learners incline to put more value on certain pedagogical, linguistic, and personal qualities than on the linguistic background of a teacher.

When interviewed the principal of Bangladesh International School (British Curriculum) informed that there were 50 teachers for 850 students in his school. The school has only one native teacher (South African) against four other non-native teachers of English language. Though it is an unresolved issue whether native speakers are the best to teach English, it is expected by the students in general that they have more native English-speaking teachers especially when they are paying as much as 8000 Saudi Riyals (approximately 2100 USD) per annum.

The last but not least concern is regarding language attrition. Though age is a significant factor in L1 attrition, investigating L1 attrition in young children can be quite tricky. Attrition researchers have proposed that L1 attrition in children should be strictly distinguished from L1 attrition in adolescents and adults, as they suggest that the former case could best be explained in terms of incomplete acquisition rather than attrition. These researchers suggest that incomplete acquisition implies that some grammatical aspects of the language are still in the process of being acquired; attrition, in contrast, should be strictly reserved for individuals whose L1 acquisition has been completed prior to the onset of language attrition (Park, 2018).

Even though all the elements necessary to invoke language attrition are present in the linguistic environment of the Bangladeshi expatriate students living in Saudi Arabia, the research cannot ascertain the rate of language

attrition because it requires prolonged observation duration, broader logistic supports, and intensive studies. This research has opened up novel avenues to explore.

6. Conclusion

The main objective of this research was to unearth the attitudes of Bangladeshi expatriate students towards their mother tongue and the variety of languages used by them in their day to day life. So far, for the first time, the paper upholds some unnoticed trends among these young adults due to a number of psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic variables. The young Bangladeshi community living in Saudi Arabia with a wide range of linguistic abilities can be recognized as a potential resource because multilinguals are in great demand in today's globalized world. However, to tackle the drawbacks such as disinterestedness towards mother tongue and culture as found in the research outcome, it is expected that the school authority, the Bangladesh Consulate responsible for overseeing the wellbeing of its citizens, the parents, and the Bangladeshi community living in Saudi Arabia should join hands together so that the future identity of this young generation is not lost in the linguistic wilderness.

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