

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY
American Language and belonging

اللغة والهوية
اللغة الأمريكية والانتماء

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Abstract:

This article seeks to explore the prominent place that the idea of culture has, for the construction of identity and the implications of this process for social membership in contemporary societies. In particular, it will assess the context of peoples of New York: For example, language problem as well as the impact of multicultural USA on tensions, conflicts, and on the sense of rootedness and belonging. Such a context is looking to encourage innovative trans-culturally dialogues, which struggle to understand what it perceived for people, to forge identities in rapidly changing national, social and cultural contexts. The question that persists is, what an American identity means? American identity is not bound to bias or stereotyped features but rather a state of mind, where everyone has the freedom to be what he wants to be regardless of his belonging, language, and identity.

Keywords: Identity, Language, Culture, American

ملخص:

تسعى هذه المقالة إلى استكشاف المكانة البارزة التي تتمتع بها فكرة الثقافة، في بناء الهوية وآثار هذه العملية على العضوية الاجتماعية في المجتمعات المعاصرة. على وجه الخصوص، سيقم سياق شعوب نيويورك: على سبيل المثال، مشكلة اللغة وكذلك تأثير الولايات المتحدة متعددة الثقافات على التوترات والصراعات وعلى الشعور بالتجذر والانتماء. يتطلع مثل هذا السياق إلى تشجيع الحوارات المبتكرة عبر الثقافات، والتي تكافح لفهم ما يدركه الناس، لتشكيل الهويات في السياقات الوطنية والاجتماعية والثقافية المتغيرة بسرعة. السؤال الذي لا يزال قائماً، ماذا تعني الهوية الأمريكية؟ الهوية الأمريكية ليست ملزمة بالتحيز أو السمات النمطية بل هي حالة ذهنية، حيث يتمتع كل فرد بحرية أن يكون ما يريد أن يكون بغض النظر عن انتمائه ولغته وهويته.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الهوية، اللغة، الثقافة، الأمريكية

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1 Introduction

This article is concerned with the issues of identity and language in the multiethnic and multicultural USA. Before embarking on issues relevant to identity it is useful to consider some of the terms frequently employed in discussions of belonging and why this is used to refer to in a purely multicultural context. All these reasons obliged the researcher to point out the specific cultural ethnic, and sociopolitical features of this country. What is the given place to mother tongues in the conflict of languages within official institutions and if it promotes the American value among immigrant people, What about their respective cultures? So shall they cut the bridge to shape a new kind of identity or shall they merge between the rooted one and the new or conferred one? In this article, the researcher tried to investigate the hypothetical correlation between identity and languages. What are the right attitudes to adopt to be considered as an American?

2 Historical Background

If anyone wants to know the origin, history, roots, language, culture, or even the identity of any given nation, country or people, he has to go back and scrutinize their historical background. The fingerprint would probably be there, doing such research is like looking for their DNA. The historical impact is indelible and rooted and it will be affordable to understand the complexity of the American identity. First inhabitants and early settlements were of an important impact on the actual shaped identity, so drawing back events would help us know what is an American identity?

The researcher has to define upon his location in Algeria about national identity and cultural identity, that is to say, on cultural identities of the USA and the identity of the USA itself. The difference between identities 'in' and 'of' USA would become ambiguous because of the heterogeneity of the American population.

He began by an initial classifying of debates about identity into three categories: sub-national identities, for which one may take multiculturalism as the main example; social movement identities, which America shares with all other advanced capitalist societies, which have a problematic relationship to any national polity; and 'national' identity.

But, such a categorization is not adequate in the sense that the sub-national identities and social movement identities could not be placed within the USA since it is not an organized policy, but a fragment. It could not function as a container in the way that nation-states are assumed to function as a container for that which occurs 'inside' their borders. Then, it became apparent that the fact that the identity of the USA is very rarely posed as a question was itself the main issue. Moreover, when it is posed as an issue, quite often the supposedly 'sub-national' identities come to stand for it: USA is often defined by its diversity, multiculturalism, etc. that are claimed to occur 'within' it.

This last statement might help to explain the observation that the current situation of “contemporary debates in the USA concerning national identity and cultural identity” consists of a proliferation of identities coming from these three sources whose relations are unfixed and therefore combine in new forms. They are unfixed because there is no hegemonic force no longer ‘USA’ is capable of linking them under a single flag. Identities increase and enter into new relations in a moment of crisis when they are not fixed by a hegemonic force. New political trends and intellectual debates concerning cultural identity have become a sign of our times. Treatment of such issues requires, not only that one defines identity and maps the issues which it covers, but also a reflexive inquiry into the problematic of such a definition and mapping, not only for the usual reasons of theoretical clarity. Others see from this diversity not an issue but an advantage and power. This latter is the one who encouraged emigration for its plurality and diversity (See Lottery or Diversity Visa Program). USA's lack of national identity is seen as a source of strength, especially in this era of globalization and free exchange trade. By having no ancient history since it started with the 14th century with the Christophe Columbus discovery of the new continent. The USA welcome people from all other nations. They are more open to other cultures.

3 Procedures

This research is made up with the precious help of participants from different origins, the researcher chooses New York City for its population diversity: People from all over the world could be found. The USA is one of the most important countries that is encouraging immigration in the world (i.e.: Lottery¹ or Diversity Visa Program) while many rich countries are reinforcing their frontiers.

- What are their roles in building new identities?
- What do we mean by a new identity, is it an artificially fashioned one or is it a hybrid one?

4 Interpretations

The study was undertaken by the researcher for identity issues that were, and are still numerous. Identity is not a matter of just a set of variables but more than that. Identity factors are endless starting from the innate genes that are a matter of the unexplored field of genetics, passing to the acquired character which is subjected to factors that might affect directly or indirectly individuals and which is deeply concerned with psychology, sociology, and anthropology, then to the final fashioned personality. In fact, the term final is not completely adequate, since people, generally speaking, are constantly evolving and changing for many reasons or factors. Identity is unique but as mankind tends to categorize everything, he finds the need to establish some rules and criteria to gather persons in entities or better known as

¹The Diversity Visa Program or Lottery is congressionally-mandated and allows up to 55,000 persons from nations that are historically underrepresented in terms of migration to the United States of America to qualify each year for immigrant visas which are also known as Green Cards.

ethnic groups, races, or communities. Since it was impossible to conduct research simultaneously including all variables for time constraints, the researcher as for as the psychology and sociolinguistic fields were concerned, focused on the link between Identity and the psychological factors that may interfere. What would happen to immigrants arriving with their born identity to a new country with a new language and new culture?

- Would they keep their own identities or take the new ones?
- Would they simply make up and create a hybrid identity keeping some features and forsaking others?

The researcher wanted to conduct the study on pupils from metropolitan cities and different horizons and cultures. That is why the study was done in New York. He aimed to have people with different languages as mother tongues and with different religions, customs, habits, ways of dressing, dancing, celebrating ceremonies, ways of eating, and all that a person from a particular ethnic group can have specific to his identity. Once the sample was gathered he observed them and made a database of all those different features. Those latter were studied in their natural environment since people got the habits to melt or to be discrete when living with others of different identities. In this case, he meant by environment the family and home with their fellows who are supposed to be alike sharing every particularity. For many, home is considered as a microsphere where people can be themselves without any special effort to fit a particular standard dictated by a so-called modern world or norms. Home procures safety and comfort, and it is one of the rare places where people are accepted as they are. So the second step was to follow those people and observe their behavior. The questions were if those people from different origins were using the same language for each particular situation and then if they eventually change it accordingly. If this change occurs, was it of an important effect on their mother tongues? And why did they use such and such a variety of languages instead of another?

As best the researcher thought that he would better follow the people through the years to observe the phenomenon, but as time was not available he suggested examining them from different generations and from the same background and watch their attitudes in different settings. He intended to compare the first, second, and third generations starting from home where they can use their mother tongues or another suitable language for them to communicate with their relatives. Through observation the researcher aimed at finding clues or logical changing so that he can try to find some correlations and explanations. When he asked the people about the languages they used at home, he noticed that through generations, people tend to use less frequently their mother tongues for the detriment of English, though the needs at home are not of great importance compared to the one of outside. They had no obligation to change their language at home, which is considered a natural setting. Then concerning the language usage outside, of course since they were English-speaking people, the answer was predictable. It was an obligation, and they have no choice, and automatically they were pushed to make efforts in this sense. And as they were compelled to, it might indirectly affect the language usage at home, outside, or elsewhere.

Concerning the outside setting, people used different languages because they were gathered in the same small ethnic groups sharing the same background as Irish, Italian, Chinese, Portuguese, and many other communities, but the prevailing one was English. While questioning people, a man replied smiling that he used most of the time English but whenever he wanted to laugh at somebody's face with his friend he automatically uses Italian, mainly because he was of an Italian origin. The reason for this change occurs in multilingual situations and communities. In sociolinguistics, it is called the Directive function; people switch languages to either include or exclude other people from the conversation. In the same sense, an Algerian replied in Arabic that he and his friends used Algerian Arabic when they did not want to be understood by others. So the language usage outside seems to be flexible and changing according to situations. The people are constantly changing their language usage from one situation and place to another. In New York this language variation is frequent, people are constantly meeting others from different origins; though English is their *lingua franca* the usage of other languages can have a bunch of reasons to happen.

5 Language

Edward Sapir once stated that language is a series of symbols, producing meaning and reflecting human perceptions following specific rules of communication and codification. "*Language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols*" (Sapir, 1921, p. 7, quoted in Language and Identity by John Edwards, 2009, P.53). As to Morris (1946), he described language as an arrangement of temporary symbols possessing an agreed meaning within a community. Furthermore, these symbols can be used and understood independently of immediate contexts, but they are connected in regular ways.

First, language is a system, which implies regularity and rules of order. Second, it is a temporary one as its particular units or elements have meaning only because of users' agreement and convention. Third, language is used for communicative purposes by a group of people who constitute the speech or language community. So, a language might be considered as a communication system composed of temporary elements which possess an agreed significance within a community. Those agreed principles of language are just a mere and partial understanding of language. The usage of this latter is not exclusive to communication with the outside world but also at home. This does not mean that they use the same language in both situations; for this reason, the question need to be tackled from the two perspectives (See figure 1). The existence of rules, that is to say, grammar is necessary for comprehension, but it is also essential for the language vitality that stands upon a number of linguistic works. Here is the idea that languages differ from one another, in the ways in which they assign meaning to sounds and symbols. From questions about the origins of language, and about the evolution of different language communities, Morris noted that there were numerous language groups in the world, societies whose patterns of communication are not mutually intelligible although many are related to language 'families': The Indo-European, the Semitic, and many others. The description given above is not complete which

demonstrates the basis of the language identity relationship. One way to approach the other great attribute of languages is to consider the pragmatic advantages that might occur if there were not so many distinct languages in the world. While there are many endangered languages on the edge of extinction, thousands of other varieties continue to exist. Some perceive the continuation of language diversity as evidence of a widespread human desire to stake particular linguistic claims to the world, to create unique views on reality, and to protect group particularity: in a word, to protect an important vehicle of culture and tradition. It is with a view to this desire that Steiner (1992, p.243) speaks of separate languages enabling groups to keep to themselves the “inherited, singular springs of their identity”. The vehicle of continuity can also be a vehicle for suppression, confidentiality, and fiction. This idea is not Steiner’s alone as Popper suggested that what is most characteristic of human language is the possibility of storytelling while Wittgenstein referred to language disguising thought (see Edwards, 1979b). Earlier, Jespersen (1946) referred to Talleyrand’s famous observation that language exists to hide one’s thoughts and Kierkegaard’s suggestion that language is often used to cover up a complete lack of thought. The idea of language as concealment may seem opponent to the more obvious communicative function, but it should be remembered that communication is a within-group phenomenon, while the concealment is a linguistic attempt to maintain unaltered understanding of the world. The assumption is that those who know their language are also members of their group, and this is an assumption that is often incorrect as outsiders can learn any language, or they may gain access to what it contains through translation.

Rank	Languages Spoken at Home	Total	Bilingual %	LEP Share%
	Total	64,716,000	60.0	40.0
1	Spanish or Spanish Creole	40,046,000	59.0	41.0
2	Chinese	3,334,000	44.3	55.7
3	Tagalog	1,737,000	67.6	32.4
4	Vietnamese	1,468,000	41.1	58.9
5	French	1,266,000	79.9	20.1
6	Arabic	1,157,000	62.8	37.2
7	Korean	1,109,000	46.8	53.2
8	German	933,000	85.1	14.9
9	Russian	905,000	56.0	44.0
10	French Creole	863,000	58.8	41.2

Table 1:Top Ten Languages Other Than English Spoken in U.S. Homes, 2015
Source:U.S. Census Bureau 2015 American Community Survey (ACS)

LEP:Limited English Proficient refers to people aged more than 5 years old and whose speaking of English is less than “very well,” as classified by the U.S. Census Bureau in 2015.

Over 64.7 million people aged 5 years and older in the United States spoke a language other than English at home in 2015. The majority of them are bilingual and have a good level of English. As it is shown in Table 1. The Chinese, Vietnamese and Korean are less bilingual than LEP users, It is not possible to deduce hypothetical statements from such Data due to the complexity of the variables and parameters involved. One cannot pretend or dare to advance relative results unless investigations are undertaken. An increasing number of them are also fully proficient in English. Spanish is the most important language used at home due to the Latin-American emigration which is consequently very important in comparison to others. In contrast, the number of foreign-language speakers has continued to rise since 2010. The USA has witnessed an increasing linguistic diversity. Although most of the LEP population in 2015 was foreign-born, 18 percent of those speaking English less than “very well” were born in the United States.

6 The inseparability of Culture and Language

It is commonly accepted that language along with religion and customs are a part of a culture and that it plays a very important role in it. Some social scientists consider that without language, it would not be possible to define any given Identity. Language simultaneously reflects the culture and is influenced and shaped by it. In the widest sense, it is also the symbolic representation of a people, since it comprises their historical and cultural backgrounds, as well as their approaches to life and their ways of living and thinking. Brown describes the two as follows:

“A language is a part of a culture and a culture is a part of a language; the two are intricately interwoven so that one cannot separate the two without losing the significance of either language or culture.” (Brown, 1994, p. 165).

That quote shares the idea that culture and language are inseparable. Many linguists explore the relationship between language and culture.

“Language and culture are two symbolic systems. Everything we say in language has meanings, designative or sociative, denotative or connotative. Every language form we use has meanings, carries meanings that are not in the same sense because it is associated with culture and culture is more extensive than language.” (Nida, 1998, p. 29 cited in Wenying Jiang 2000)

Nida holds the view that people of different cultures can refer to different items while using the same language forms. For example, when one says house, an American may be referring to a wooden one, but an Eskimo will most probably be referring to an Igloo. In the same sense, speakers are described as actively exploiting linguistic resources available to them in

order to project differing identities for different contexts. Such a choice *per se* represents an act of identity:

"An individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behavior so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified." (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985, p.181)

They emphasize on both the organization of speakers in their ability to handle linguistic resources available to them and the ability to actively scheme different identities through language with various interlocutors.

7 Identity

The issue of identity is so central to cultural studies, that many theories arose to clarify and enlighten such confusion resulting from the contact and clash of single individuals or groups. Orthodox accounts of identity assume that the self is independent and autonomous from all external influences. Descartes' writings in the seventeenth century reinforced such claims; the self-ego or subject exists as an autonomous source of meaning.

David Hume advanced the theory of what was commonly known as the "bundle theory" of the self, for him the self is a groupage of senses and behaviors that might change accordingly with the external factors such as personal experiences and recalled ones. All that a person can face in his life might undoubtedly affect in one way or another his Identity since we are not isolated from the rest of the world. However, in the late nineteenth century, Emile Durkheim 1984 claimed for opposition to liberal individualism. The liberal presupposed the primacy of the individual, and thus that society was composed out of individuals (brought together, for example, in a social contract) like in physics the electrons were free so are individuals, they are free to act, to behave, and to do whatever they want with no bounding or obligation towards anyone but this theory might be misleading the understanding that human being is not just physical mind denuded of senses of judgment with inflexible habits turning constantly on a defined orbit. Like Electrons, individuals are affected by the polarity of their surroundings and a gathering of such entities form what is commonly known as a society. In contrast, Durkheim argued that « the individual was a product of society (not that society was a product of individuals) ». So if one believes in Durkheim's theory what we can draw concerning the American Identity is that Identity is shaped, fashioned and built according to external factors and cultural landscape. The more heteroclite is the society the more complex Individuals are. This leads us to the third, last but not least to what is known as Hybrid Culture It was defined as: *"I understand for hybridization sociocultural processes in which discrete structures or practices, previously existing in a separate form, are combined to generate new structures, objects, and practices"*. (Nestor Garcia 2005 P 24)

7.1 Language and Identity

Labov's (1966) study and subsequent replications (Trudgill, 1974) were founded on a correlational approach to language and identity. As Mendoza Denton (2002) states, in this sense, sociolinguistic researchers in the early days of the discipline, assigned identity by social category membership. Identity was perceived as researcher-designated broad, fixed social categories such as social class, age, sex, and ethnicity. This kind of research was important; however, because it not only revealed the range of variation in a community, it also highlighted which types of people used specific variants.

Among others, Johnstone and Bean (1997, p.222) have pointed out that correlational studies are descriptive rather than explanatory, and that while "*social facts bear heavily on linguistic ones, social facts are not determinants of linguistic facts*". (Mendoza Denton, 2002, p. 475) similarly states that early variationist² research provided no explanation at all, being "a statistically motivated observations speculative description". Yet, such essentialization defined identity at that time. Social psychologists, such as Tajfel (1974), follow this view, describing social identity as:

"That part of an individual's self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership." (Tajfel, 1974, p. 69)

Individuals were therefore viewed "*as occupying particular social identities throughout their lives by virtue of their position in the social structure*" (Bucholtz, 1999, p. 209). In other words, a speaker's identity viewed through language was seen as fixed and as a product of particular social factors. Speakers were therefore also considered largely agent but less considered as the products of a specific social structure, which they, in turn, would reproduce through their language.

7.2 Identity as a Contact Phenomenon

After the earliest large-scale surveys of language variation, some researchers working within this paradigm sought a more nuanced explanation of variation by going beyond an understanding of identity defined by social category. Methods of data collection, analysis and, interpretation also reflected the attempt to grasp in more detail how variation may be more locally situated. Ethnographic researchers acted in their respective communities so that their investigations reflect the perspectives and identity profiles of the speakers of those communities. In this sense, the change in language usage in New York can have numerous motivations, which are deliberate and seen as responses to the speakers' needs.

One innovative approach was the study of language through social networks in Belfast (Milroy and Milroy 1978 and Milroy 1980). Individual speaker variation might be explained in terms of the speaker's network connections. The Milroys' study also acknowledged contact

²Variationist Sociolinguistics began in 1963, with Labov; it differs from Interactional Sociolinguistics as it focuses on social variation in dialects and examines how this variation is highly structured. This structured variation tells us that this is part of human language capacity, a built-in system of language in a brain.

with others as being essential in terms of the influences on a speaker's linguistic identity. Thus, network theory recognized the importance of contact in language variation and was used 'to explain different individual behaviors but which cannot be taken into consideration in terms of a corporate group membership.'³ Such a choice was purely to determine the American identity profile through the language variation. In other words; was this change in language usage a part of their daily life, or the consequence of living in a multiethnic community? Are those habits shaping their new identity or is it simply a social necessity?

7.3 Speech Accommodation Theory and Acts of Identity

Giles's (1977) Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) in social psychology, and the work of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) on acts of identity were influential in shaping later conceptions of identity within sociolinguistics. Giles's SAT claimed that speakers could change their speech while in interactions in order to align or distance themselves from their interlocutors; the speaker would model and suit his language to fit identity needs. The work of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) on Creole languages has been particularly important in laying foundational theories for the sociolinguistic study of identity because it recognizes that a speaker is not merely an antagonist speaker showing his social position in society. But, he rather makes sometimes deliberate choices as to how to speak. The extrapolation of this latter can serve the American people who, for decades are struggling to preserve their identity from steady erosions and identity issues. Speakers are described as actively exploiting linguistic resources available to them to project differing identities for different contexts. Such a choice itself represents an act of identity:

"An individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behavior so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified." (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985, p.181)

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller research emphasizes on both the ability of speakers to handle available linguistic resources and their ability to use language to project different identities to various interlocutors. In this model exploiting the linguistic resources in the speaker repertoires, are not simply products of a social structure reproducing that same social structure, but rather can create the identity they wish to project in any interaction. Similarly, the Inhabitants of New York for instance shape their language accordingly. Identity is thus viewed not as a fixed but as a dynamic phenomenon. Reconceptualization of identity employed in other academic disciplines, specifically in sociology, was also gradually adopted in later sociolinguistic work (see Bucholtz 1999 and Norton 2000). Sociolinguists have begun to see the speaker as more than just a product of his or her social context, but more as an agent with the ability to select linguistic resources available in the community repertoire. This post-structuralist conception of identity places more emphasis on the individual and less on the

³Milroy, Lesley., 1980. *Language and Social Networks*. Oxford: Blackwell. p.135

community, and depicts identity as complex, contradictory, multifaceted, and dynamic across time and place.

7.4 Identity as Practice

Much sociolinguistic work from the late 1980s to the present day bears signs of the influence of the above theoretical views of Giles and Le Page and Tabouret- Keller, perhaps particularly in the prominent role that has been granted to identity. The study of variation is concerned with how groups of speakers come together and develop distinct ways of speaking around their members. Many studies have been conducted investigating communities' speech.

Bucholtz (1999) studied the language of a group of high-school students. He examined the speech of these students from a syntactic, phonological, and lexical perspective. Bucholtz identified linguistic features that members of this group used to construct their group identity. He argues that it enables them to shape identities that are rooted in actions or practice, and can reveal that a speaker may have multiple identities, and can take part in multiple identity practices. This approach to identity is different from the earlier ones mentioned before, in the belief that distinct styles of speech are sometimes consciously dealt with, by individuals to signal group membership.

7.5 Language and Identity

The analysis of identity within sociolinguistics combined the statistical correlation of linguistic with social variables, with researchers employing many and varied frameworks of investigations and interpretations informed both by their discipline, and others such as social psychology, sociology, and anthropology. In distinction to the earliest linguistic studies, linguistics analysis currently considers identity as a primary focus of the investigation. Work on each social and language variation in terms of speaker identity is in constant evolution. Another necessary growing body of analysis in sociolinguistics and social sciences focuses on how identities can create specific interaction styles in spoken language. (See Mendoza Denton 2002, Bucholtz and Hall 2004 and 2005)

The perception of identity that sociolinguists have now is more complex than at the outset of the sociolinguistics discipline but more explanatory of variations. Besides, there is an acknowledgment that identity is realized through language in sometimes oppositional ways, as it is mentioned in the following quotation:

“Any given construction of identity may be in part deliberate and intentional, in part habitual and hence often less than fully conscious, in part an outcome of others' perceptions and representations, and in part an effect of larger ideological processes and material structures that may become relevant to interaction.” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004, p. 376).

8. Conclusion

The case of the USA is linguistically of great interest in our research; as far as sociolinguistics is concerned, New York is granted more interest because of its diversity and multicultural population. We can find people from different parts of the world with their respective cultural and linguistic differences at various levels; including religion, age, sex, origin, or ethnic and social class. The latter is called the variables that any linguist needs in order to conduct research on language contact or language and human behavior. The USA has no official language but still, it is a multilingual country where multiculturalism and immigration are of national interest, and laws and regulations are in constant elaboration to facilitate the social integration of all American citizens born there or of immigrant origins.

These reasons induce the researcher to try and undertake an investigation in this American region through the conceptual way of a sample from New York citizens to acquire a better understanding of language use and identity fluidity in such a multilingual and multicultural environment. The results of the study led to the point that there is no established criterion for an American identity and there is no agreed response to the question “What is an American Identity?” Since the USA itself is built and made up of different identities coming from all over the world. They fled the ancient continent from its monarchies, Nazism, Imperialism, fascism, and other totalitarian regimes. The essence *per se* of the American belief is freedom, that is to say, that they are free in the way they live. free to embrace the religion they want, free to educate their children in the way they want, free in many aspects of life; but with respect and regards to other’s liberty. Free in the way they express themselves, by consequence the choice of languages is essential in shaping identities and it is undeniable that it would reinforce their sense of belonging, but remains a free and individual choice and isolated action with no obligatory social conventions.

What could be applied for language was also relevant to Culture. Only a minority of people could retain their Culture, Identity and mother tongues and speak both English and their respective languages. Linguistic duality remains a challenge. Yet, the American authorities could amend laws not only for the sake of majorities but also for the survival of minorities. The American government is the warrant for the civil liberties and blossoming of the population, it is not as the other countries since the regional differences are to be taken into consideration. The sustainment of their Identity was crucial if they did not want to lose it. The exclusive home usage of mother tongues was not sufficient to warrant their survival in a multilingual society. Peoples undergo dilemma. They were lost between their ambivalent attachment toward their mother tongues and the fundamental need of mastering the host country language. They could not denigrate their mother tongues for a new one nor could they underestimate English. They inflict fluctuation of languages within a pluralistic and multiethnic society. They were compelled to fit the needs of the society and everyday life; English at school, mother tongues at home and with relatives and other languages with friends and also with relatives if the parents were of different origins. The concrete observation was

that through time the external environment, outdoor and schools excelled over the internal one, which was home.

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