Multilingual Education

Mila Schwartz
Anna Verschik *Editors*

Successful Family Language Policy

Parents, Children and Educators in Interaction

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MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION

VOLUME 7

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ISSN 2213-3208 ISSN 2213-3216 (electronic)
ISBN 978-94-007-7752-1 ISBN 978-94-007-7753-8 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-7753-8
Springer Dordrecht Heidelberg New York London

Library of Congress Control Number: 2013957130

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer is part of Springer Science+Business Media (www.springer.com)

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Chapter 1
Achieving Success in Family Language Policy: Parents, Children and Educators in Interaction

Mila Schwartz and Anna Verschik

1.1 Introduction

A family faces various challenges in its attempt to bring up a bilingual or sometimes multilingual child. For example, there are identity conflicts, time pressure restraints in negotiating conflicting language demands and the negative effects of macro-level social processes such as state language policy. Yet, even in these difficult circumstances, some do succeed in holding on to their language and using it with their children. Understanding how immigrant, intermarried, indigenous bilingual and deaf community families achieve success in their family language policy (hereafter FLP) despite very challenging social conditions can help us understand how *we can best support others in a similar situation.*

The relatively novel research field of discipline of FLP presents "an integrated overview of research on how languages are managed, learned and negotiated within families" (p. 907, King et al. 2008). We place the family at a central position as a key prerequisite for maintaining and preserving languages. Lanza (2007) defined family as a 'community of practice' with "its own norms for language use" and which has its "own ways of speaking, acting and believing" (p. 47). With a focus on this 'community of practice' this volume has made some important theoretical and practical advances with respect to some fundamental questions concerning the underpinnings of *successful* FLP. How can we define successful FLP? Is our understanding of success inevitably linked to children's balanced bilingualism? Can a flexible approach to bilingual childrearing be considered as successful FLP? The present volume is an

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M. Schwartz and A. Verschik (eds.), *Successful Family Language Policy: Parents, Children and Educators in Interaction*, Multilingual Education 7,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-7753-8_1,

attempt to answer an urgent need for research that focuses on and describes the actual interactional processes through which the family realizes, negotiates and modifies its FLP in face-to-face interaction (Fishman 1991). It is a mosaic collection of parents', children's and teachers' own reflections on FLP.

We open this volume with a brief overview of the theoretical frameworks that are currently most predominant in the study of FLP. This pioneering research largely inspired our contributors to further consolidate the emerging interdisciplinary field of FLP studies in multicultural societies. We continue by addressing and promoting methodological diversity and innovation in FLP research followed by our analysis of its theoretical novelty and contribution.

1.2 Multiplicity of Theoretical Perspectives

1.2.1 Fishman's Reversing Language Shift Model

The family is considered to be an extremely important domain for studying language policy because of its critical role in forming the child's linguistic environment. Fishman (1991), an early proponent of proactive language maintenance research, put forward a model for *Reversing Language Shift* (RLS) through efforts to retain ethnic languages at the level of the family and the community. According to Fishman (1991), the family acts like a natural boundary, a bulwark against outside pressures. Connection to intimacy and privacy makes the family particularly resistant to outside competition and substitution. Although the modern urban family has lost much of its socialization power, it is nevertheless "the most common and inescapable basis of mother tongue transmission, bonding, use and stabilization" (p. 94). Fishman (2001) showed that the desire to maintain and transmit the home language is not anti-modern but rather represents a welcome alternative to complete globalization. In this context, Fishman (1991) identified the most important point of intergenerational language transmission as the use of the ethnic language at home between mother and child because the family and community are critical for the maintenance of the home language. Indeed, both family and community constitute the initial stage in the child's language socialization and his/her closest language ecology.

1.2.2 Language Ecology

Haugen (1972) defined language ecology as "the study of interactions between any given language and its environment" (p. 325). As such, this means that a certain language does not exist independent of its environment. The language ecology metaphor is employed in different ways in the literature. As Creese and Martin (2003) noted, the research on language ecology "includes discussion related to cognitive development and human interaction, the maintenance and survival of languages, the promotion of linguistic diversity, and language policy and planning" (p. 2). In the current volume

we address language ecology in a discussion of the maintenance of languages within family and the wider environment.

Concerning *successful* FLP as a focus of this volume, we would like to address the following main distinguishing characteristics of language ecology which were defined by Mühlhäusler (2000). The notion of language ecology promotes the elimination of the boundary between the linguistic and the non-linguistic as we need to take into account the inter-relationships between language and the wider cultural and political environment that is the macro-context. In addition, this notion is in particular relevant "for the problem of accelerating loss of the word's linguistic diversity" (p. 308), namely the problem of language shift and loss.

1.2.3 Group Socialization Theory

One of the important roles of family is socialization of the child. Harris (1995) defines the notion of socialization as "the process by which an infant becomes an acceptable member of his or her society – one who behaves appropriately, knows the language, possesses the requisite skills, and holds the prevailing beliefs and attitudes" (pp. 461–462). In her foundation of the Group Socialization Theory, Harris (1995) stresses that a child's socialization is a "highly context-dependent form of learning", whereby children learn different patterns of behavior inside and outside the home. Furthermore, Harris claimed that this distinction between home and outside the home behavior is in particular relevant to bilingual and bicultural situations where usage of the home language is connected "to behavioral, cognitive, and emotional responses that occurred at home, the other language to those that occurred outside the home" (p. 462, Harris 1995). Recent findings of Caldas and Carol-Caldas (2000, 2002) bring empirical evidence for Group Socialization Theory by pointing out the children's preferences for either of their two languages was highly sensitive to environmental context. This in-depth case study underscored the overwhelming influence of peer control on language practice when the children enter adolescence. It stresses that children favor the behavioral system of the peer group outside the home over the one they acquire at home. Harris used the case of bilingual families to illustrate this claim because ethnic minority children tend to shift from the heritage language to the dominant one and acquire the pronunciation of their peers rather than that of their parents.

1.2.4 Family as an Intermediate Level Between Individual and Community: Micro and Macro-Levels in Family Language Policy

There is a certain tension between micro and macro approaches to multilingualism research. Some phenomena can be observed and analyzed on both levels, for instance, language shift and language maintenance. Contact-induced language change in

language shift or maintenance may also be viewed from both perspectives. While the question is not about which approach is "better" or more accurate (because it depends on research interests and objectives), there are certain limitations and certain advantages within each approach. A micro-perspective, rich and detailed as it can be, often does not tell much about a bigger picture, while a macro-perspective is helpful for capturing major tendencies but inevitably overlooks nuances.

Recently, some voices in sociolinguistics appeared (Blommaert and Backus 2011; Matras 2009, 2012) advocating a closer view to be taken of an individual or a micro-community (such as family, for instance). The rationale behind this view is that changes start at the level of the individual and eventually may become conventionalized at the community level. Taking this into account, family may be considered as an intermediate level between the individual and community. A common view on language policy is that it is something that has emerged or has been designed for a community or several communities, but there is also such a thing as a private language policy (an individual makes a conscious choice with regard to varieties or linguistic items, registers etc.) and FLP as well.

1.2.5 Spolsky's Language Policy Model

By focusing on the nuclear traditional family with children we can explore more closely children's language socialization within the context of both minority and majority languages (Spolsky 2007). As Spolsky (2012) noted, "the loss of 'natural intergenerational transmission', as it was called, was recognized as the key marker of language loss, and it occurred within the family. Thus, the family was added to the state as a domain relevant to language policy, though seldom until recently studied independently " (p. 2, Spolsky 2008).

Research on FLP incorporates analysis of language ideology, practice, and management, which were classified by Spolsky (2004) as components of the language policy model with respect to a speech community. In distinguishing these three components, Spolsky (2004, p. 5) defined language practices as "the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; its language beliefs or ideology – the beliefs about language and language use; and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management." Using this model at the family level, as presented in the current volume, enables us to integrate the separate components within a structural, flexible, and expandable framework.

1.2.6 Models of Parent–Child Language Practices

In this sub-section we would like to address in brief the two pioneer studies of Döpke (1988, 1992) and Lanza (1997, 2004), who lead the way in our understanding of real interactional processes through which the family realizes, negotiates and modifies its

FLP in *face-to-face* interaction (Fishman 1991) and highlights the role of parental language teaching strategies in early childhood bilingual development.

Döpke's (1988, 1992) research focused on in-depth analysis of parent–child conversational interaction in six German-English speaking families in Australia. Döpke raised the question which is also addressed in the current volume, namely what are the conversational characteristics of those German-English families which are successful in their attempts of intergenerational transmission of the minority language to their children and those which are not. Döpke's (1988, 1992) detailed analysis revealed the following insights for successful acquisition of the minority language. First, the quality of input, i.e., child directed speech, is more important than quantity in parent–child interaction. Second, parents' personality and in particular ability to apply various creative language teaching strategies to elicit verbalization in the minority language from the child differ considerably from family to family and even from mother to father in the same family. In this way, the parent plays the role of a language model or a language teacher who applies diverse teaching techniques, e.g., rehearsing, modeling and patterning techniques. Finally, the author's analysis discovered that the successful inter-generational transmission of the minority language is strongly related to the degree of child-centeredness during parent–child interaction. More specifically, rapid linguistic development in German as a minority language in the child was found in the families where parents demonstrated a more child-centered behavior, e.g., sensitivity to the child's interactive needs by usage of playful child-caring activities.

In her study of bilingual English-Norwegian first-born children, Lanza (1997, 2004) further deepened analysis of discourse strategies applied by parents in their interaction with children. Lanza (1997, 2004) found more flexible and context-related language usage in the families which applied the one parent-one language principle (hereafter OPOL) (Ronjat 1913) approach. More specifically, the author found that the situation in which one parent strictly enforced the speaking of the minority language with the child, while the second parent might speak the minority language with the child in addition to the majority one was very effective and stimulating acquisition of the minority language.

Regarding methodology of the study of the parental discourse strategies, Lanza (2007) claimed that a qualitative approach was necessary in order to gain insight into the role of interactions in bringing up a truly bilingual or multilingual child. Last but not least, the researcher called for the application of this approach with a focus on interactions by all family members, which might reveal actual multilingual practices.

Although neither author explicitly uses the term FLP, it is quite obvious from their case-studies and their discussion that they deal with the subject and, therefore, their contributions provide insights for the current volume.

1.2.7 Psychological and Emotional Aspects of Family Language Policy

Research conducted by Wong Fillmore (2000), Okita (2002), and Tannenbaum (2005, 2012) addressed directly for the first time the emotional aspects of home

language maintenance or loss. The preservation of L1 was found to be relevant not only to the survival of the minority language from a purely linguistic perspective, but also as a link between the generations and cultural values of the ethno-linguistic group (Wong Fillmore 2000; Tannenbaum and Howie 2002). Children are brought up to become members of their cultural group in part by the way in which their parents interact and use the heritage language with them, especially in early childhood. Parents often view the children's socialization into their culture through use of the home language as a positive symbol of cultural pride and a tool that strengthens family cohesion. By contrast, a language shift in the family initiated by the children (Spolsky 2004, 2007), can be expressed in the conflicting intergenerational talks about social, cultural and linguistic practice (Caldas and Carol-Caldas 2002; Hua 2008) and has a negative effect on family relations if adults and children speak different languages (Wong Fillmore 2000).

The parents' initial decision on language maintenance or shift may be strongly related to complex emotional processes. As was highlighted by Tannenbaum (2005) and Okita (2002), to the extent that home language maintenance can serve as a powerful tool for cohesion between generations of immigrants, its loss can contribute greatly to creating emotional distance between past and present.

1.3 Interdisciplinary Perspectives on FLP and Methodological Diversity

In approaching such complex research domain as FLP, first it is important to highlight that it is interdisciplinary. This complex issue relates to two substantial research fields, namely, bilingual childrearing in the family and protection of endangered languages in multilingual societies. Focusing on the interaction between family efforts to maintain the heritage language and language policies at the state level may help us find optimal ways for their coordination. In this volume we aim to present current discussion on successful FLP within this interdisciplinary framework, bringing as we have together research from diverse branches of socio-linguistics (i.e., childrearing, family studies, educational linguistics, educational ethnography and language policy and planning).

The volume integrates diverse research tools, such as the rather novel approach of methodological triangulation into FLP research, with multiple methods required to explore the largely invisible processes and influences that arise in the course of intergenerational language transmission within families. In this context, Okita (2002) proposed a two-stage approach for data collection, first investigating the distinctive features of the target community (Japanese-British intermarried families in the UK) in a general sense through an exploratory survey, then, providing in-depth, qualitative insight into the family language policy and childrearing, using the life story method in separate, semi-structured interviews of mothers and fathers. Combining quantitative and qualitative approaches, FLP researchers can identify the common characteristics of families belonging to a distinct community or

sub-group. The rich source of descriptive data obtained from the survey forms the background for a deeper understanding of the unique processes involved in FLP within one or several families of the target group.

Discussing the mixing of methods, Brannen (1992) emphasized the importance of these strategies, generally understood as "more than one method of investigation and hence more than one type of data" (p. 11). Mackey and Gass (2005) defined methodological triangulation as a methodology that "entails the use of multiple, independent methods of obtaining data in a single investigation in order to arrive at the same research findings" (p. 181). Johnson (1992) saw the value of triangulation in that it "reduces observer or interviewer bias and enhances the validity and reliability of the information" (p. 146). In sum, the growing practice of using qualitative and quantitative data in FLP research demonstrates that the two research approaches should not be viewed as opposing poles in a dichotomy but rather as complementary tools for investigating complex phenomena.

In this volume, this combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches was elaborated in the studies of Schwartz, Moin and Klayle and Victor Moin, Ekaterina Protassova, Valeria Lukkari and Mila Schwartz (Chaps. 2 and 3). In addition, the methodological triangulation was applied by most of our authors through the collection of linguistic resources and artifacts, linguistic autobiographies, running ethnographic observations and eliciting the viewpoints of all participants.

Another important methodological innovation in FLP research is the incorporation of the children's perspectives in the study alongside parental data. Until now, few studies collected data on FLP from both parents and children (Okita 2002). At the same time, using the children's and adolescents' reports on FLP and observing their language socialization can strengthen considerably the validity of data collected from parents. In this volume three authors, Doyle, Fogle, and Pizer (Chaps. 7, 8 and 9), present adolescents' and adults' reflection on their bilingual development and FLP thought out their life. Last but not least, Conteh, Riasat and Begun (Chap. 4) elaborate the original approach towards the role of the researcher as working together with parents and practitioners in generating data within the educational ethnography approach.

1.4 The Current Volume: New Theoretical and Empirical Issues

In this sub-chapter we have strived to highlight the unique theoretical contribution of this volume as a whole as well as each chapter in particular to the field of FLP. We find it appropriate to underline what our chapters have in common and, to organize the presentation by topics and not by chapter. This structure has been chosen because most of our contributors addressed more than one novel issue in their examination of *how to bring up truly happy bilingual children.* Thus, through our analysis the following seven topics emerged: (1) family: a place where community and the individual meet; (2) family language ideology, practice and management in

interaction with mainstream and bilingual education; (3) majority-minority issues and small languages; (4) cultural-historical-activity-theory and FLP; (5) children as builders of FLP; (6) flexible bilingualism as an underpinning of success in FLP; (7) the role of place in constructing both FLPs and bilingual competence.

1.4.1 Family: A Place Where Community and the Individual Meet

The current volume demonstrates how the family may be considered as an intermediate level between the individual and community. A closer look at FLP enables a better understanding of the differences (and sometimes tensions) which exist between individuals, families and communities as far as language policy and language use are concerned. Kopeliovich (this volume, Chap. 11) describes how in the educated strata of the Russian-speaking community in Israel, standard Russian is considered the norm and the general opinion is that a strict following of the (monolingual) norm is a must. For this reason (and because the general public thinks that "mixing languages is ugly" and "language should be pure") code-switching and innovative (bilingual) constructions and individual creativity are frowned upon. The parents in this study were aware of this popular view and decided not to be discouraged by the community norms. They realized that if transmitting Russian to their children is their objective, pressure and purism will not help them to achieve it and, eventually, speaking Russian will have unpleasant associations. In this respect, they designed a FLP that was at variance with the community opinion.

In Ramonienė's study (this volume, Chap. 6) the reader is offered excerpts from individual interviews, set against the background of macro-trends in Lithuania. While a certain tendency of internalization of Lithuanian among Russian-speakers (i.e., using it at home and in Russian-to-Russian communication) is an established fact, Russian-speakers describe transmission of Russian as personally and emotionally important. Fogle (this volume, Chap. 8) also focuses on the meeting of community and individual. Her attention is on bilingually raised children and she discusses FLP from the individual's perspective. In this research, the three levels of the individual, family and community are observed concurrently. Placing children (that is, the objects of FLP, so to say) center stage provides new insights into connections between identity, multilingualism, community expectations, and adolescents' reflections on their childhood emotions.

The diversity of parental approaches in negotiating FLP in bilingual English-Chinese families in Singapore is under investigation by Curdt-Christiansen (this volume, Chap. 12). The author addresses the issue of the continuum between bilingual versus monolingual child development and the crucial role of parental communicative strategies in this developmental continuum. The author stresses the importance of focusing on language practices and strategies at home as micro processes in light of the growing and threatening hegemony of English in Singapore as a macro sociopolitical force. This chapter illustrates how in three families mothers communicate with their

children during routine homework support and by this realize their FLP. The following three types of parental language strategies were identified: *highly organized* with regular monitoring of child's bilingual development and adherence to Chinese as a "threatened" language; unreflective parental adaptation, which is characterized by a *move on* strategy (Lanza 2004) signifying "unreflective acknowledge" of code-mixing policy; and total *laissez-faire* policy, which is permitting of two codes practice in mother-child interaction. These data bring clear-cut evidence to the role of parental "impact belief" (De Houwer 2009), i.e., understanding or not understanding of the possible role of the input in child's language. Thus, by analyzing unconscious parental behavior, Curdt-Christiansen vividly demonstrates the place of the family as an intermediate level between the individual and community.

1.4.2 Family Language Ideology, Practice and Management in Interaction with Mainstream and Bilingual Education

In recent years, an increasing number of studies on FLP in interaction with school have appeared. Recent research points to some tension between families' and teachers' representations of children's language and educational needs. For example, recent comparative studies have found that Chinese immigrant parents' cultural beliefs are fundamentally different from their mainstream counterparts and teachers. Thus, Chinese parents are more likely than Anglo-American parents to engage their children in varying literacy activities every day or at least provide a nurturing literacy environment and to provide structured and formal educational experiences for their children after school and on weekends (Chao 1996; Xu 1999). To what extent are mainstream and bilingual teachers aware of families' language, cultural and educational ideology and practices and are ready to learn about them? This issue is addressed by Conteh, Riasat and Begun (this volume, Chap. 4) by exploring the notion of 'funds of knowledge'. The authors illustrate how complementary class teachers, themselves bilingual, seek to promote bilingual pedagogy in England, which includes teacher-family-community interaction and the perception of family as 'funds of knowledge'. The term 'funds of knowledge' is used to refer to "historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being" (p. 133, Moll et al. 1992). With regard to our scope on FLP, the notion of 'funds of knowledge' refers to family and community language and cultural practices which inevitably influence child's identity and learning patterns. In this context, the authors assert to teachers' necessity to learn about child's 'funds of knowledge' as a potential for enhancing child' success in school. Another key notion in this chapter is the concept of 'history in person' (Holland and Lave 2001), which permits researchers to investigate teacher-child-family interaction by building on knowledge of families', communities' and the bilingual and mainstream teachers' personal histories and experiences. The authors illustrate also the different contexts of minority language pupils, such as family, the city of Bradford in England, mainstream class and complementary class from political,

ideological, historical and cultural points of view. In addition, the authors provide critical analysis of English policy regarding multilingualism and multilingual education and present historical and contemporary perspectives on community-based heritage language education.

Schwartz (2010) distinguished "two central tendencies in the data on family language management: first, seeking external control for FLP by searching for a supporting socio-linguistic environment; second, controlling the home language environment (establishing family cultural traditions and rituals strongly associated with L1 or a regime of penalties and rewards for using a particular language at home)" (p. 180). On one hand, the choice of bilingual education serves as an important link in the practical realization of family language ideology by means of external control for the FLP. On the other hand, this choice inevitably leads to some changes in the home language environment. There is clear consensus about the critical role of early education in the maintenance and intergenerational transmission of the minority language as well as ethnic minority/majority socio-cultural co-existence (Baker 2011; Bekerman and Tatar 2009; Fishman 1991; Spolsky 2007). Two chapters (Chaps. 2 and 3) in this anthology, Schwartz, Moin and Klayle and Moin, Protassova, Lukkari and Schwartz, present parts of large-scale research project which aimed to focus on distinctive characteristics of parents who choose bilingual education for their children. In addition, because of interest in the consequences of early bilingual education for the FLP, these chapters bring strong empirical evidence for Lanza's (2007) claim that "ideologies about language are of course not about language alone, rather they reflect issues of social and personal identity" (p. 51).

More specifically, Schwartz, Moin and Klayle (Chap. 2) address parents' socio-cultural profile, background motives in the choosing of bilingual Hebrew-Arabic kindergartens in Israel and the outcomes of this choice. The authors analyze a *family language and cultural policy*, which drive them to integrate their child into a bilingual and bicultural environment, within the complex socio-political context of Israel, and Jews and Arabs as belonging to two host communities, living separately and sometimes in conflict, in the same country. In this case, the early bilingual education is the possible key in helping the Arab and Jewish children develop mutual tolerance and acknowledgment. Based on Spolsky's (2004) language policy model, the authors broaden and develop it within the family context by incorporating such indispensable components as family socio-cultural background and parents' perceptions of the consequences of the child's bilingual education. The results show surprising similarities in the socio-cultural profile of the Jewish and Arab parents with a clear tendency to tolerance and multiculturalism, the desire to know the culture and language of the out-group better, as well as high self-identification with their ethnic in-group. Another unexpected finding was the desire for contact with the out-group as well as to acquire its language was induced because of this shared parent–child experience in this bilingual context and not a main initial motive for the parents' choice. In sum, the study evidences that this education helps in creating common ground on which these two separated cultural-ethnic groups can live.

Moin, Protassova, Lukkari and Schwarz (Chap. 3) apply the same methodology to the case of Finnish-Russian mixed families. Bilingual education is supported and encouraged in Finland and multilingualism is seen as an asset and significant symbolic capital. The study deals with parents' attitudes and practices to early bilingualism and qualitative and quantitative approaches are combined. Both Finnish and Russian parents demonstrated highly positive attitudes to bilingualism; although the competence in the other language among adults varies (Russians tend to be more proficient in Finnish than Finns in Russian, which is understandable because Finnish is the official language of the country).

Interestingly, the parents in the study were not very much concerned with their own convenience (accessibility of bilingual daycare institution in the neighborhood, prices, working hours) or their children's convenience (the size of groups and so on), but rather stressed the importance of language-related issues, such as qualified staff and instruction methods. We see that OPOL is perceived as a predominant policy in bilingual families and parents usually hold negative attitudes towards "mixing languages", that is, code-switching. However, in practice code-switching does occur and sometimes parents use the "wrong" language. Adherence in OPOL is not as consistent as declared because, it appears, there may be a division of labor between languages: the same person speaks one language to the child and reads aloud in the other language. Code-switching is used as a pragmatic device for clarification and attracting children's attention. This is an area where declared principles and actual practices differ.

1.4.3 Majority-Minority Issues and Small Languages

The case of Estonia and the role of Estonian in FLP add new topics to the discussion on FLP. Typically, issues of intergenerational transmission and choice of languages at home or within a community have been investigated in immigrant or indigenous minority communities. However, the dichotomies "majority-minority" or "immigrant-autochthonous" may prove ambiguous in certain situations. There are at least two points to make here.

The first point has to do with the whole Soviet and post-Soviet context (Pavlenko 2008a, b; for a special focus on the Baltic countries see Hogan-Brun and Ramonienė 2005; Metuzāle-Kangere and Ozolins 2005; Verschik 2005; Rannut 2008). The Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) were occupied and incorporated into the USSR in 1940. While officially the language policy was of "socialist internationalism" and non-Russians were provided some space for cultural and linguistic expression, in reality study of Russian became compulsory for all non-Russians, while Russians (whose migration to the Baltic region was covertly supported and encouraged by the central authorities) were exempt from the obligation of learning local languages. Technically speaking, the local populations were majorities (but with the danger of becoming a minority in their own territory, especially in Latvia in the 1970s and 1980s) and the numerical minority (Russian-speakers) had

the privilege of remaining monolingual. In this respect, the notion of "minoritized majority" and "majoiritized minority", suggested by Skutnabb-Kangas (1992) are more helpful than mere "majority" and "minority" labels. The situation changed in 1991 when Estonia and other Baltic countries regained their independence and the languages of the titulars became official languages. Social scientists argue whether or not it is a post-colonial or post-imperial situation (Ozolins 2002) but it is clear that the situation is unlike that in typical immigrant countries (USA, Australia, Canada) or in nation states with a large proportion of recent immigrants (Germany, the Netherlands, France).

As far as the demographic situation is concerned, Lithuania was in a slightly different position in 1991 than Estonia and Latvia. Due to reasons that cannot be discussed here at length, the influx of Russian-speakers during the Soviet era was not as massive as in the two other Baltic republics. The newcomers had to develop at least some proficiency in Lithuanian. Ramonienė (this volume, Chap. 6) points this out and quotes an ethnic Russian informant who claims to have two mother tongues. We do not know whether or not this statement is based on self-identification but it is certainly based on self-reported proficiency and frequency of use. All Russian informants in the study strove to transmit their language to the next generation, providing various reasons: starting with esthetics ("beautiful and very expressive") and ending with multilingualism as an asset (learning only one language in a mixed household is impractical; children will be grateful later; the more children know, the better).

The second point leads us to the question of sensitivity and worries about the retention of languages such as Estonian. Although the share of ethnic Estonians is 68 % (as of 2011 census) as opposed to 61 % (the last Soviet census in 1989), the history (and the discourse of constant occupations and dominations by foreigners starting from the C13th) makes Estonian-speakers uneasy about the prospects of language maintenance in the long run. Of course, as linguists we know that languages do not disappear via even very massive structural change (any living language is a fine illustration to that) and that it is intergenerational transmission that is crucial. Yet, this feeling of insecurity and the small size of the speech community (about one million in the whole world) create challenges as far as FLP is concerned.

With a consideration of the relatively small size of the Estonian speech community, Estonian-speakers are usually multilingual and foreign languages are taught early from elementary school on. There is a general understanding that monolingualism is unpractical and impossible. However, as soon as alternatives appear (Estonians abroad or mixed marriages in Estonia), it is often Estonian whose transmission is not self-evident: for instance, would a non-Estonian spouse of an Estonian-speaker make efforts to learn a "useless" language (in the term of limited possibilities and contexts of use)? Based on interviews, Doyle (Chap. 7) establishes that, in the parents' view, it is much easier and more likely to maintain Estonian in Estonia than outside it. In the latter case a family has to deal with the quantity and quality of input in Estonian as well as practical considerations ("Why do I need such a tiny and exotic language here?"). At the same time, there are no obstacles to supporting and maintaining languages such as English or German in Estonia. Thus, the

majority-minority issue comes again in a different package, so to say: now it is "small vs. big languages".

1.4.4 Cultural-Historical-Activity-Theory and Family Language Policy

We believe that Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT), elaborated by L. Vygotsky and his associates, can be employed for FLP research. Within the ecological (rather than normative) approach chosen by Yates and Terraschke (Chap. 5), FLP is viewed as a constant process that is shaped both by macro factors (language policy in the country of residence, overall attitudes to immigrant/minority languages, provisions made for minority education etc.) and micro factors, among them community norms and social networks. CHAT provides an important link between social and individual dimensions, seeing itself both as a social phenomenon and yet unique, reflexive and agentive. The study shows that the outcome of FLP in heritage language maintenance cannot be predicted based only on such characteristics as indo- or exogamy, length of residence, older siblings etc. For instance, contrary to the general belief that the presence of older siblings always means a move away from the heritage language in favor of the mainstream language (see Spolsky 2008), the authors show that siblings may be instrumental in heritage language maintenance. The heritage language may also play a unique role as a part of mother-child relationship, especially when the other spouse does not know the language. The heritage language becomes either a secret language or a means of family activities like reading together. Here the Vygotskian notion of ZPD (Zone of Proximal Development) comes to mind, that is, what a child can acquire through interaction with and with assistance of an adult. It is argued that one can learn more in this way than without interaction. Similar ideas are developed in Kopeliovich's chapter (this volume, Chap. 11) where FLP is constantly elaborated, shaped and re-shaped through communication between parents and children.

1.4.5 Children as Builders of Family Language Policy

Luykx (2005) called for a novel research agenda addressing "children's role in the language socialization of adult family members" (p. 1408). Children as active participants in the language socialization of their parents – this focus had not been previously addressed. Luykx (2005) used the metaphor of children as "family language brokers", which highlights "a direct influence of children on adults' linguistic development" (1409). In this context, the researcher related mostly to the children's role in the introduction of new, socially-valued and dominant language into the immigrant or indigenous vernacular language speaking family's daily language behavior/life. Furthermore, Lanza (2007) highlights that the child is not "something

that needs to be molded and guided by society in order to become a fully-fledged member" (p. 47), but should to be seen as "active and creative social agents who produce their own unique children's cultures, all the while contributing to the production of adult society" (p. 47).

The present volume complements and extends our understanding of the *child's agency* role in shaping FLP. First, Åsa Palviainen and Sally Boyd (this volume, Chap. 10), present data that children as young as 3 years old can be sensitive to parental language practice which is conventional for all family members like "mother's language" and "father's language" and to violations of this conventions. Palviainen and Boyd show how such young children can actively manage and negotiate FLP by explicitly pointing out their parents' inconsistency in language practice.

Second, child agency was found to be central in FLP of families with deaf parents and hearing children, which was studied by Ginger Pizer (this volume, Chap. 9) in the United States. This chapter addresses the question of successful family language policy based on analysis of videotaped naturalistic interaction in three deaf-parented families and interviews with 13 hearing adults. Ginger discusses a number of factors challenging signed language acquisition by hearing children: social influences of hearing peers and specific demands of signed language, such as explicit visual attention-getting cue. Reflecting on their parents' FLP, the adult and adolescent interviewees, hearing children of the deaf parents, admitted that their parents did not force them to always use signed language in communication with them. Moreover, the parents' language ideology was to rear their children as hearing persons and to avoid exerting strong control over children's language choice in communication with siblings and parents. This language ideology might be accounted for by the parents' personal painful experience as deaf children, "had been raised with oral education in the Hearing world and never really fit in" (p. X, Chap. 9). The families' specific language practices and the children's fluency in American Sign Language varied significantly. However, each family negotiated the potentially conflicting pressures between parent and child preferences and family-internal and family-external ideologies to develop a sustainable pattern of family language use that allowed relatively unimpaired communication between family members.

Finally, Doyle and Fogle (Chaps. 7 and 8) argue for the need to take *a long-term perspective* when investigating changes over the course of childhood and to be attentive to adolescents' reflections on their bilingual competence and FLP. In his addressing of adolescents' voices, Doyle shows that the adolescents definitely viewed being bilingual as an advantage but questioned the value of Estonian as a small majority language with unusual status. In addition, they doubted their ability to raise a bilingual family of their own.

Fogle points out the limitations of the current focus of FLP research on mostly early childhood, which represents an essential but still relatively brief period of bilingual development. The author's analysis of adolescents' reflections on their bilingualism and FLP uncovers complex interactions between FLP, children's agency in different periods of life and local regional language and cultural ideologies in the context of the USA. The author emphasizes the very "personal side of

these processes for children as they experienced differences outside of the home and negotiated affective familial bonds in both of their languages" (p. X, Chap. 8). It appears that the outcomes of these interactions define whether children grow up as a passive bilingual, deny his/her own bilingualism or grow up to be bilingual.

1.4.6 Flexible Bilingualism as an Underpinning of Success in Family Language Policy

This volume addresses parental flexibility as an underpinning of successful FLP. Palviainen and Boyd (this volume, Chap. 10) showed that parents' language choice for communication with their young children is frequently pragmatic and flexible "depending on sociolinguistic, situational and interpersonal factors in unique moments of interaction" (p. X, Chap. 10).

Furthermore, Kopeliovich (Chap. 11) coins the notion of the *Happylingual* approach as a manifestation of flexible FLP, which is central in the researcher's analysis of a 12-year-long project of FLP based on her own experience as a parent-researcher raising a Russian-Hebrew bilingual family in Israel. The project describes the linguistic development of four siblings (4, 7, 9 and 12 at present) from their birth until the present moment. The *Happylingual* approach is an outcome of the longitudinal search for parental strategies of *how to bring up truly and happy bilingual children.* In line with Döpke's (1988, 1992) child-centered approach towards successful bilingual development, the *Happylingual* approach reveals "the positive emotional coloring of the complex processes related to the heritage language transmission, a special emphasis on the linguistic aspects of childrearing, unbiased attitude to diverse languages that enter the household and respect to the language preferences of the children" (p. X, Chap. 11). This flexible approach is grounded in *Ecology of Language* theory (Haugen 1972) and views the child's needs as central in managing FLP. Even though the project aimed to promote and protect Russian as a heritage language at home, the parents tried to avoid "fights against natural sociolinguistic forces" that draw child towards socially dominant language. The *Happylingual* approach means, therefore, L1 retention based on stressing the bilingual phenomenon as an *asset* and not as a *flaw* by intermingling the two child's languages in joyful play.

Pizer (Chap. 9) also shows that parental flexibility in their FLP was found to be a leading strategy among deaf-parented families of hearing children. In discussing the key questions of this volume concerning successful FLP, Pizer raises the issue of the desirable outcome of FLP and asserts that the deaf parents in her study did not see balanced bilingualism as the goal for the hearing children. Rather the flexible parental approach to the successful FLP was in prevention of "*potential communication barriers*" between family's members as the aim in these families. In this case, the flexibility of FLP was expressed in parents and children negotiation of their language practices to permit unimpeded communication in the family. More specifically, the parents avoided imposing a signed language on the hearing

children. The children, in turn, were sensitive to differences between their parents in degree of their hearing and lipreading skills and managed their communication accordingly.

Finally, Doyle (Chap. 7) focuses on 11 intermarried families living in Tallinn, Estonia, which applied mostly OPOL principle. The analysis of in-depth interviews with parents and adolescent children showed that ten of the intermarried families in this study have been successful in raising at least one adolescent child with active productive competence in both Estonian and the non-Estonian languages while concurrently maintaining a harmonious environment in the family. Interestingly, this success was attributed by the participants in part to a relatively laissez-faire FLP and an avoidance of overwhelming children with some overarching goal of bilingualism in an attempt to create, *a 'super linguist'*.

1.4.7 The Role of Place in Constructing Both Family Language Policies and Bilingual Competence

A given family and a community exist in a certain place. This might seem trivial and not deserving of any attention; still, consider the following constructed example. Family A with X as a heritage language lives in a neighborhood where families of diverse linguistic and ethnic backgrounds also reside. This is not a homogenous neighborhood; one encounters signs in many languages in addition to the dominant/official language. Almost every child at school has contacts with a language different from the official language. Thus, a child from family A is not different from his/her classmates.

On the other hand, family B with the same heritage language X resides in an area where most of families are monolingual in the mainstream language. There are no signs in multiple languages and one can hardly hear any language other than the official language outside home. A child from family B may experience peer pressure at school because the fact that he or she differs from classmates. This can be a factor against heritage language maintenance, despite the efforts of the parents.

Fogle (Chap. 8) observes that there is a certain tendency to see immigrant communities as uniform groups. However, various factors may affect the outcome of FLP (that is, transmission and retention of heritage languages): urban vs. rural or urban vs. suburban communities or other factors outside the family context. Fogle refers to Jonstone (2010), who emphasizes the importance of linguistic landscapes and meaning that may be encountered in a certain place. Multilingualism itself is linked to places and is constructed in places: some of them encourage multilingualism and some do not. The idea is somewhat related to the notion of "material culture of multilingualism" (p. 173, Aronin and Singleton 2012). When we leave home do we see monolingual or multilingual signs? Are signs in language X limited to X's cultural institutions only (Sunday schools, cultural associations, and publishing houses) or do they appear in other context too?

A place can be discursively constructed as a monolingual one (for instance, the Southern US is traditionally viewed as monolingual and mono-cultural but biracial and bi-dialectal). That is why narratives of bilingual adolescents from US South exhibit some common topics, such as connections between language proficiency and race and ability to pass as a monolingual outside the family context. One of the informants in Fogle's study (Chap. 8) explains the difference between living in the South and growing up in the North of the US, which is not discursively monolingual. This looks very much as our constructed example in the beginning of this section.

Compared to this, Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, reveals a completely different picture. Doyle (Chap. 7) emphasizes that being multilingual in Estonia, especially in Tallinn, is the norm, and 52 % of the country's population are able to speak two languages in addition to their mother tongue (which is twice higher than the respective average indicator for the EU). For a small nation (1.3 million), multilingualism is vital and early language learning is encouraged. While Estonian is the only official language, other languages are not excluded and one constantly encounters signs, advertisements, and public information in banks and institutions in several languages. Therefore, success in raising multilingual children cannot be exclusively attributed to FLP but the multilingual nature of the place contributes to a great extent.

1.5 Summary

We believe that FLP is a joint social venture. Our aim in this anthology is to demonstrate that the FLP is a dynamic and changeable life-long process. We are motivated to make FLP into 'visible work' for our readers in contrast to the "invisible work" metaphor which was proposed by Okita (2002). The voices from the bilingual families provide a direct insight into the emotionally loaded process of intergenerational transmission of the home language as part of the macro-level social processes and state language policy. In the context of these challenges, it is particularly important to understand the success stories, that is, how and why some families are successful in raising their children to be bilingual while others are not. We assume (and studies in this volume support this belief) that there is no one particular recipe or fixed set of rules like "in order to have a successful FLP, you should do A, B and C and never do D, E and F". As the authors of the volume vividly demonstrate, the outcome of FLP in every case is not determined solely by language policy, status of a linguistic community, consistent OPOL principle etc. Instead, we see a variety of factors, such as discursive construction of place, language attitudes among particular individuals, parents' perception of endangerment vs. stability of a certain language, space for creative language use, children's and adolescents' ideas about multilingualism or particular languages and many others.

The contributions to the current volume are grouped into three sections. We believe that this grouping is rather loose and there are also other ways to deal with it

because many papers, albeit different as far as approaches, methodologies, particular settings are concerned, address similar questions. Thus, it is our hope that the contents of this volume will consolidate the emerging interdisciplinary field of FLP studies in multicultural societies by bringing together such diverse areas as educational linguistics, educational ethnography, language policy, language planning, and parenting from a socio-linguistic perspective.

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Part I
Family Language Ideology, Practices and Management in Interaction with Mainstream Educational and Bilingual Education

Chapter 2
Parents' Choice of a Bilingual Hebrew-Arabic Kindergarten for the Children

Mila Schwartz, Victor Moin, and Manal Klayle

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focused on the socio-cultural and linguistic profile of parents who chose bilingual Hebrew-Arabic kindergartens in Israel, on motives behind this choice and its outcomes. The focus on bilingual Hebrew-Arabic kindergartens is unique in the sense that the overwhelming aim of this bilingual education is to initiate mutual understanding and peace by two conflicting cultural-ethnic groups. The demand for bilingual schooling around the world is growing steadily and the phenomenon is becoming a trend (Feuerverger 2001). In this study, we applied the Family Language Policy model based on Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy (Barkhuizen and Knoch 2006; King and Fogle 2006; King et al. 2008; Kopeliovich 2009; Schwartz 2008; Schwartz et al. 2010). This model includes three main components: family language ideology (the goals, plans, intentions, and beliefs concerning language development); family language practice (intra-family language communication) and family language management (ways of regulating linguistic development).

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M. Schwartz and A. Verschik (eds.), *Successful Family Language Policy: Parents, Children and Educators in Interaction*, Multilingual Education 7,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-7753-8_2,

2.1.1 Studies on Parents' Choice of Early Bilingual Education

Research into the motives for the choice of bilingual education focused on educators and on parents. Concerning the educators' motives, it was found that bilingual education can help to preserve endangered minority languages and should be implemented in every minority-majority context (Saxena 2008; Skutnubb-Kangas 2008). Regarding the parents' motives, the research on family language policy viewed them as a part of their family language ideology (see Sect. 2.1 to this chapter).

In general, parents' choice regarding bilingual education is not arbitrary. Parents have background motives, which drive them to integrate their child in a bilingual and bicultural environment. It is inevitable that this choice will have some impact on their child's linguistic, cognitive and social development (Baker 2006; Luykx 2005; Schwartz et al. 2010). Likewise, it may have great influence on the family to which the child returns home every day.

The choice of bilingual education can be connected to the families' language and cultural policy (King and Fogle 2006; Schwartz et al. 2010). In the past, bilingual schools and bilingual parenting was specific to upper-class parents. Today, however, it is becoming more and more popular among middle-working class parents, especially minority parents, who wish their children to maintain their heritage language. Dissatisfaction with high school second language instruction prompts them to begin early. This was the first reason found by King and Fogle (2006) in their study on bilingual Spanish-English education in the US. The second reason expressed by parents was that bilingualism is advantageous for their children in terms of enhancing their cultural connections to the languages and opening more opportunities for them in the majority-language country. King and Fogle (2006) reached this conclusion after considering information on the topic from three sources: literature on bilingual education, their personal experience with language learning and advice from other bilingual families. Finally, they found that the parents were also motivated by the growing awareness that society places more cultural and social value on the more powerful majority languages. Hence, parents wish to empower their children by maintaining their knowledge of the minority language, which will never be valued to the same extent (Field 2008). As claimed by Spolsky (2004), there is non-linguistic factor that drives families in a specific society to intervene in the language practice of the individuals in their family, especially their children. Thus, language interacts with the environment, and when studying a family language policy, it is important to be aware of the non-linguistic variables that had an impact on the language choice and practice.

Schwartz et al. (2010) also found non-linguistic motives for choice of preschool bilingual education. The study showed that variations in the parents' choice of bilingual *vs.* monolingual education could be explained in part not only by L1 maintenance, but also by such non-linguistic factors as the quality of education and educational facilities, and child-teacher relations.

It is noteworthy, however, that most of the existing studies on parents' motives have addressed the context of immigrant parents or generations of immigrants as the research population. Knowledge is scarce regarding the motives for parents' choice of bilingual education among populations living in complex socio-political contexts, such as our target population—the Arab and Jewish communities in Israel.

2.1.2 Bilingual, Bicultural Schools and Coexistence

Researchers have emphasized that bilingual classrooms are also bicultural since both the children and the teachers bring in their home and community values (e.g. Baker 2006; Saxena 2008; Skutnabb-Kangas 2008). Policy makers who consider this diversity to be a resource for the learners have acknowledged this fact. In addition, bilingual schools are usually found where there is an attempt by two conflicting cultural-ethnic groups to initiate peace, work for humanity, live together cooperatively, and maintain respect for each other's cultures and languages.

Living in the same country does not necessarily mean coexistence. Learning to live together in mutual acceptance and respect is not innate in children. Coexistence must be taught, and schools can serve as the primary setting for this purpose. Bilingual, bicultural societies develop shared values and increase their democratic interactions through intercultural schooling (Gundara 2008). Gundara (2008) found that separate schooling in a bi/multicultural society hinders social cohesion. Mutual educational engagement is essential to increase the awareness of the diverse cultures in societies. It also enables interaction and dialogue between the groups. These intercultural interactions and understandings help create inclusive collective values and identities. In the study conducted in Kosovo, Gundara and Preffers (2005) found that due to the separate educational systems in the Serbian minority community and the Albanian majority community, the citizens suffered from lack of a shared Kosovan identity that addresses the cultures of both ethnic groups.

Through carefully built curricula, educators can enhance common intercultural ideologies to satisfy both groups. When explaining recommended approaches to promoting coexistence, Rupesinghe (1999) considered bi/multilingual education as significant. He claimed that this is the way to liberate the children from the limits of their own ethnicity and raise their awareness about the existence of other ways of living and thinking. The aim is to have the ability to release the child into the bicultural society free of bias and prejudice. Children will learn to value and welcome the diversity in their society, and accept it as an advantage, enriching their lives.

In sum, the three main advantages of bi/multicultural education are: (1) solving the issue of ethnocentrism in the traditional curriculum; (2) creating understanding among racial and cultural groups and appreciation of different cultures; (3) resolving intergroup anxiety and conflict. In the following section, we will focus on this type of education in the specific context of Israel.

2.1.3 Bilingual Education in Israel

2.1.3.1 The Socio-linguistic Context

In Israel, it is the unique socio-political context in which the Jews and Arabs live that makes bilingual educational institutions exceptional and incomparable to those in other countries. Similar to the English and French context in Canada, both Hebrew and Arabic are host community (as opposed to immigrant) languages and have official status in Israel. At the same time, and unlike other locations, Arabs and Jews live in separate communities, and unfortunately, sometimes in conflict. Nevertheless, Arabic is merely presented in the landscape of cities with a Jewish population, despite its being an official language of the State of Israel (Amara 2002).

In the case at hand, bilingual education may give the Israeli population, especially the Jewish majority, the opportunity of exposure to the other official but less familiar language. Knowledge of each other's cultures may lead to mutual recognition. To date, research in Israel on Arabic-Hebrew bilingual education has addressed only the school context. Bekerman and Tatar (2009) revealed the parents' declared reasons for sending their children to a bilingual elementary school. The Arab parents wished their children to be exposed to different teaching approaches than the frontal approach mainly used in Arab schools. They also claimed dissatisfaction with the quality of the available monolingual schooling. The third reported reason was that they viewed their children's competence in Hebrew as a primary predictor of their future academic success because Hebrew is the language used in institutions of higher education. Hence, the main concern of these parents was high proficiency in the language. They also noted that their children were living their dream of coexistence. The reasons given by Jewish parents were different. They reported wishing their children to be influenced by the Arab culture in terms of modesty, family orientation and diet (preferring homemade food). They also claimed that education to peace was a far more important factor in their choice than bilingualism. They concluded that both Jewish and Arab parents chose to send their children to bilingual Hebrew-Arabic schools due to their belief that these dual language educational settings included elements that are essential for preparing their children for life in Israel. These findings raised our curiosity as to whether or not the same motives were behind the choice made by Jewish and Arab parents to send their children to bilingual kindergarten.

An additional feature characterizing bilingual education in Israel is that parents initiate the children's integration with the second group at a very young age, and a very positive attitude exists toward bilingual preschools and kindergartens (Feuerverger 2001). It can be assumed that this choice of such early interaction with the second group indicates an even stronger ideological background.

Research has shown that both Arabs and Jews have suffered from the continuous conflict in the country (Bekerman 2004; Feuerverger 2001). In general, the Arab and Jewish populations are segregated. Most Arabs and Jews attend separate schools, live in separate communities and use separate informational spaces (Al-Haj 2002).

Therefore, for some children, bilingual schools may be the only opportunity to interact with children of the counter group, and intergroup contact can potentially lead to positive relations (Bekerman and Shhadi 2003). The challenge to these schools is their establishment in a disharmonious environment. Both groups have a tendency to misunderstand each other, due to lack of communication, resulting in great mutual mistrust (Feuerverger 2001). Beckerman's (2004) statement "… it is a daring initiative" (p. 582) emphasizes this point. Therefore, bilingual schools are an excellent opportunity offered to Israeli parents who believe in educating their children toward peace.

In sum, due to the exclusive socio-political context in Israel, the most significant type of parental involvement, for both Arab and Jewish parents, is their choice of their children's schools, especially if they choose Arabic-Hebrew bilingual education. This choice reflects their belief that the bilingual schools will provide their children with better educational experiences, knowledge and skills that are a clear prerequisite to living in this bicultural country (Bekerman and Tatar 2009).

2.1.3.2 General Information About Arabic-Hebrew Bilingual Education in Israel

Bilingual education in Israel first began in Neve Salom, Wahat al-Salam, an Arab-Jewish village near Jerusalem. In 1991, the school consisted of three levels; kindergarten, elementary school and high school (Feuerverger 2001). In 1997, the Center for Bilingual Education initiated two bilingual schools, the first in Jerusalem and the second in the Western Galilee. Later in 2004, the Center for Bilingual Education established a third school in the Arab city of Kfar Kara'a. Their fourth school was established in the southern city of Beer Sheba in 2006 (Bekerman and Tatar 2009). In addition to these schools, three bilingual kindergartens have been recently established; the first, in the Arab village of Arab-Al-Hilf, and the second and the third in the mixed cities of Haifa and Jaffa. The Center for Bilingual Education believes that both language groups should be represented equally in schools on all levels. From the outset, they have been consistent in choosing a teaching and management staff that represents both groups equally, with each class having two homeroom teachers—one Arab and one Jewish. It is also important to mention that the Ministry of Education supports these bilingual schools. Two methods of instruction are used for Arabic and Hebrew: alongside each other, and in separated sessions. The appearance of two languages in the schools complicates the cultural context. Aiming for balanced bilingualism, the schools adopt a strong bilingual additive approach. The Center for Bilingual Education is fully aware of the intellectual advantages of raising children bilingually. The Center also believes that this kind of education will prepare children from the Jewish majority to build relationships with Arabs from adjacent countries in case of future peace negotiations (Bekerman 2004).

No bicultural approach exists that is separate from the socio-political context. Therefore, each context has its unique challenges. A potential problem facing the Center for Bilingual Education is determining cultural and identity issues that

should be dealt with at the school, and the exposure of both groups to historical interpretations of the conflict (Bekerman 2004). What exactly should the children be taught to raise their awareness, on the one hand, and to encourage a positive relationship and mutual understanding, on the other? Further research on these schools (e.g., Bekerman and Tatar 2009) has found that the schools may have difficulty dealing with the problematic cultural and identity issues that emerge when bringing the groups together.

2.1.3.3 Objectives of Arabic-Hebrew Bilingual Education in Israel

Several studies on bilingual schools in Israel have revealed these institutions' main objectives (e.g. Bekerman 2004; Bekerman and Shhadi 2003; Feuerverger 2001; Bekerman and Tatar 2009; Hertz-Lazarowitz et al. 2008). The first is to help the Arab and Jewish children develop a high level of mutual tolerance, respect and acknowledgment, taking into consideration that these children belong to two groups who have a longstanding history of mutual intolerance. The second is to provide the children with a setting in which the meeting of the two cultures is normal, unlike the external society. The third objective is to provide the children with both Arabic and Hebrew—the languages they need to live in Israel. The fourth is to help familiarize the children with customs and cultural traditions of a second ethnic group. The fifth is to increase the children's awareness of issues connected to the complex Arab-Jewish relationship and to help them realize that things can be seen from different perspectives. The sixth objective is to strengthen their self-identity, and their pride and loyalty regarding their own culture.

Consequences of Arabic-Hebrew Bilingual Education in Israel

In a study of children at an elementary school in Israel, Bekerman and Shhadi (2003) found that children who attend bilingual elementary schools were far more eloquent in their responses, showing a high level of knowledge in both their heritage culture and the second culture, compared to children in monolingual schools. They were also considerably more aware of political issues and of Arab-Jewish relations, and generally had a more moderate perspective on both. Hence, the interviews with the children indicated that the bilingual program reduced prejudice and conflict.

In a second study, Bekerman and Tatar (2009) found that after choosing to send their children to an Arabic-Hebrew bilingual school, parents were generally satisfied with the schools and appreciated the impact of the multicultural environment on their children's attitude to stereotypes and prejudice. The Arab parents stated, however, that they were not entirely satisfied with the academic level, and several parents even claimed that their children were not learning. They were happy only with the children's good relationships with their classmates and teachers, the great opportunity they had for self-expression, and their children's high level of self-confidence and self-pride. The Arab parents' satisfaction was mainly with the

linguistic outcome. They also admitted to the very positive impact the school had on the family in terms of openness to other cultures. The Jewish parents, on the other hand, were not satisfied with the schools' overemphasis on bilingualism as its main objective. However, they were satisfied with the welcoming atmosphere and the absence of social tensions. The schools also had great impact on the parents' ideology; they realized the importance of respecting the Arabs' historical narrative, which differs from theirs.

2.1.4 Aims of the Study

The first aim of this study was to examine the socio-cultural and linguistic profile of the parents who chose bilingual Arabic-Hebrew kindergartens in Israel. The second aim was to explore the motives for this choice and its outcomes. To achieve these aims, we compared our participants, the Arab and Jewish parents, regarding the following characteristics in accordance with the research model (see Fig. 2.1):

(1) Socio-cultural and linguistic profile of the families (socio-demographic characteristics, parents' bilingual language competence, parents' cultural identity, cross-cultural communication and competence); (2) Parents' descriptions of the process of choosing bilingual kindergarten for their children; (3) Parents' language "ideology," how they grounded and explained their choice (general attitudes toward bilingual education, motives for choice of bilingual education for their child; perceptions concerning desired and actual ratio between L1 and L2 in bilingual kindergarten); (4) Parents' practices directed for child's acquisition of second language and culture (e.g., using second language within parent–child communication, inviting Arab/Jewish children to the home; letting a child watch TV in L2); (5) Parents' perception of consequences of child's bilingual education (child's language competence in L1 and L2, child's language and multicultural development after enrolment in bilingual kindergarten, the parents' general evaluation of bilingual kindergarten).

2.2 Method

This study was part of the international research project conducted in Israel, Finland, Germany and Canada and aimed at investigating the Family Language Policy of parents who chose bilingual education, with focus on their socio-cultural profiles, motives and attitudes.

The study design was based on a comparison of the parents of Arab and Jewish children in two Arabic-Hebrew-speaking bilingual kindergartens in Israel. A mixed-methods approach was used: a self-administered questionnaire and semi-structured interviews. The self-administered questionnaire used in the international project was expanded and modified for this study.

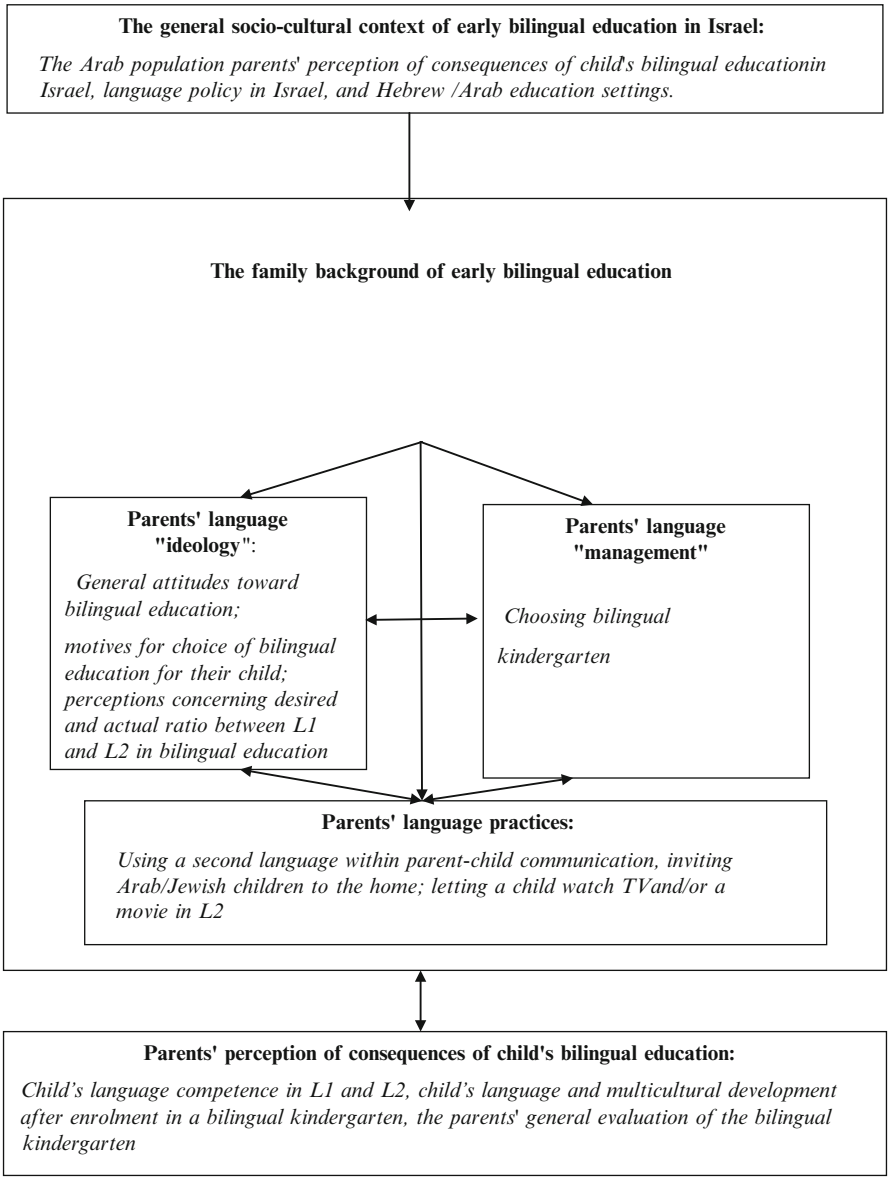

Fig. 2.1 The research model

2.2.1 Participants and Procedure

The study population consisted of young Jewish and Arab Israeli parents aged approximately 30–42 years, who had chosen to send their children to bilingual Arabic-Hebrew kindergartens. The sampling was conducted in two stages. In the

first stage, two bilingual Arabic-Hebrew kindergartens were chosen, one in the north of Israel and the other closer to central Israel. Both kindergartens were located in Arab villages with no Jewish residents, and both were developed by private organizations. In the second stage, 138 (Arabic and Hebrew) questionnaires were distributed to both the mothers and fathers of all the children in these kindergartens, with the request that each parent complete the questionnaire separately. Eighty parents returned their questionnaires, agreeing to participate in the research: The response rate was 58 %. The parents who chose bilingual kindergartens for their children were divided into two groups according to their mother tongue: (a) parents whose mother tongue was Arabic ($n=45$), and (b) parents whose mother tongue was Hebrew ($n=35$).

2.2.2 Measures

2.2.2.1 Parents' Questionnaire

The self-administered questionnaire for parents, which was developed and used for previous studies in the project (Moin et al. 2007), was translated and adapted from Hebrew into Arabic, and expanded and modified for the present study. The content of the questionnaire was consistent with the research model (see Fig. 2.1). The final version of the questionnaire that was distributed in this study took the parents approximately 40 min to complete. In this section, we described measuring variables, which were specifically constructed for this study.

The Parents' Language Competence

The parents' language competence in Arabic and Hebrew was measured using their assessment of their ability in the four skills for each of the languages (comprehension, speaking, reading and writing) on a five-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very well). Cronbach's alpha was .87 for Hebrew and .97 for Arabic.

The Parents' Cultural Identity, Cross-Cultural Communication and Competence

Cultural identity—sense of belonging to the Arab and Jewish cultures—was measured on a five-point ordinal scale, ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much). Cronbach's alpha was .81 for the Arab culture and .82 for the Jewish culture. A "real" cultural competence (parents' assessment of their knowledge of the Arab and Jewish cultures), and desired cultural competence (parents' desire to know the Arab and Jewish cultures), also were measured on a five-point scale, ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5

(very good/much). A dixotomic scale (yes/no) was used to expose whether the parents had close friends among Jews and Arabs.

Parents' General Attitudes Toward Arabic-Hebrew Bilingual Education

The attitudes toward bilingual Arabic-Hebrew education were first represented by 20 items in the questionnaire. Respondents were asked to rate the degree of their agreement with each statement on a five-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 5 (completely agree) to 1 (completely disagree). Three main factors of attitudes were derived from the items: (a) positive attitudes, from statements that pointed to the positive sides of Arabic-Hebrew bilingual education in Israel for the child's development and future (Cronbach's alpha = .72); (b) negative attitudes, from statements that pointed to the negative sides of Arabic-Hebrew bilingual education in Israel for the child's development and future (Cronbach's alpha = .65 for Jewish participants and only .27 for Arab participants); and (c) political factors, possible positive consequences for Jewish-Arab coexistence in Israel (Cronbach's alpha = .61 for Jewish participants and only .23 for Arab participants). The differences in the internal consistency of statements concerning negative sides of the bilingual education for children and political factors between Jewish and Arab participants were symptomatically characteristic of their attitudes toward bilingual education.

Parents' Motives for Choosing Bilingual Kindergarten

Ten items were used to measure the motives behind kindergarten choice. The parents were required to rate the degree of importance of the stated factors underlying their choice of kindergarten (e.g. facilities and number of children in the class) on a five-point scale, ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely important). The factor analysis (Principal Component, Rotation Varimax) was performed to explore the main groups of motives. Four groups of motives (sub-scales) were derived: (a) the parents' convenience (accessibility of the kindergarten, cost, and kindergarten hours; Cronbach's alpha = .64), (b) the child's convenience (the number of children in the group, the material facilities and environment; Cronbach's alpha = .61), (c) quality of staff (the professional level of the teaching staff, the instructional methods and strategies; Cronbach's alpha = .70), and (d) language-based motivation (using both Hebrew and Arabic for instruction). It should be noted that there was only one item for language-based motivation. The indexes of the parents' convenience, the child's well-being , and the quality of staff were calculated as the means of items included in each group.

An open-ended question asked the parents for any additional motives behind their choice of kindergarten. The parents' answers were analyzed thematically and are presented in the Results section.

Parents' Representations Concerning the Desired and Actual Ratio Between Arabic and Hebrew

The desired ratio was measured by the question: "What should be the ratio between Arabic and Hebrew in the kindergarten at different ages?" Respondents were asked to answer the question with regard to the three age groups (2–3, 3–4 and 4–5 years). A five-point scale was used to assess the desired ratio: 1 (only Hebrew); 2 (mainly Hebrew); 3 (Hebrew and Arabic to an equal degree); 4 (mainly Arabic) and 5 (only Arabic).

Parents' estimation of the actual ratio between L1 and L2 in the kindergarten was measured by the question: "What is the ratio between Arabic and Hebrew in your child's group?" with the same five-point scale: 1 (only Hebrew); 2 (mainly Hebrew); 3 (Hebrew and Arabic to an equal degree); 4 (mainly Arabic) and 5 (only Arabic).

Parents' Language and Cultural Practices in the Second Language (Arabic/Hebrew)

The five parents' practices were examined in this study: (1) Using L2 in parent–child communication; (2) Asking a child to translate from Arabic to Hebrew or vice versa; (3) Inviting Arab/Jewish children home; (4) Letting child watch TV in L2; and (5) Taking child to movies and performances in L2. These practices were measured on a yes/no-binary scale.

The Parents' Perceptions Concerning Consequences of the Bilingual Kindergarten Choice

The consequences were assessed by (1) parents' assessment of the child's language competence in Arabic/Hebrew as their L1 or Arabic/Hebrew as their L2; (2) the parents' assessment of the child's development after enrolling in bilingual kindergarten with regard to the following two criteria: (a) language development, and (b) multicultural development, communication with members of out-group (Arabs with Jews, Jews with Arabs); and (4) the parent's general assessment of bilingual kindergarten.

The parents were asked to rate their child's language competence in Arabic and Hebrew using "can-do" comprehension and speaking items, and to estimate the child's language competence compared to children of the same age. Responses were given on a five-point scale, 1 (not at all) to 5 (very well). Cronbach's alpha for competence in Arabic was .87 and was .97 for competence in Hebrew.

Five items measured the parents' perceptions of the child's L2 development: the child began to understand and use the L2 (speaking/singing/using single words and full sentences/speaking to the teacher in L2). The child's multicultural development

was examined by three variables: the child has a friend whose mother tongue is L2; the child began to communicate with other children in L2; and the child watches TV in L2.

The parents were asked to rate their own and their child's satisfaction with the kindergarten choice on a five-point Likert-scale, ranging from 1 (completely dissatisfied) to 5 (completely satisfied). An additional question asked whether or not they would be willing to repeat this experience, with two response options: 1 (no) and 2 (yes).

2.2.2.2 Parents' Interviews

In the second stage of the study, and in light of the results of the questionnaires, a semi-structured interview was designed and conducted with six of the participating parents (four Arab and two Jewish, from three families—two Arab and one Jewish) aiming for in-depth insights on the family language and cultural practice. Each parent was interviewed separately and different questions came up in each of the interviews in addition to the questions that were originally set. Each interview lasted approximately 60 min. The participants gave their consent for the interviews to be tape recorded, allowing the interviewer to focus on the conversation without the need for note taking. First, the participants were asked about background questions and questions related to the history of child's language development and acquisition, and questions related to family language practice and management. The participants were then asked to respond to the following questions, which were within the scope of this study: I want to go back to the time when you decided to send your child to the bilingual kindergarten: What led you to this decision? Can you describe the decision making process? What happened, and how did you reach such a decision? To what extent can you say that you put your child's well-being before your convenience? (Please explain in terms of location, cost, etc.) How important was it for you that your child learned both Arabic and Hebrew? Since your child has been exposed to two languages in the kindergarten, have you done anything to enhance his/her development in the L1 and L2? How do you feel about your child's linguistic development? Describe your child's social development. Did his/her social skills develop (especially with speakers of the L2 inside and outside of the kindergarten)? Are you satisfied with the kindergarten? Which aspects are you satisfied? Finally, can you describe the characteristics of parents whom you met via the bilingual kindergarten? Did you have anything in common? What impact or influence has the kindergarten had on your household?

The interviews with the parents were translated into English, transcribed, coded and analyzed thematically using the standard procedures for analysis of qualitative data: labeling themes and concepts that emerged from the data, performing open-coding, building connections between categories to form larger, core categories and axial-coding (Bogdan and Biklen 1992).

2.3 Results

This section presents the results of the comparison between Arab and Jewish parents, who chose to send their children to bilingual Arabic-Hebrew kindergartens in Israel, in accordance with the research model (see Fig. 2.1).

2.3.1 Parents' Socio-cultural and Linguistic Profile

2.3.1.1 Parents' Socio-demographic Characteristics

Great similarity was found between the parents in both groups. All parents were young (mean age of the Arabs was 35.9, $SD = 5.6$ and mean age of the Jews was 37.1, $SD = 4.8$), educated (mean years of education for the Arabs was 15.4, $SD = 2.2$ and 15.9, $SD = 1.4$) adults. All the families in the study had two parents (82 % of the Jewish couples were married and 18 % were unmarried but living together; all the Arab couples were married). The number of male and female participants was also similar in both groups (52 % female among Arabs and 53 % among Jews).

Moreover, most of the parents in both groups had jobs (88 % and 86 % respectively). The families were economically stable: 93.2 % of the Arab group and 100 % of the Jewish group reported sufficient income for acquiring necessary goods and services. In addition, no significant differences were found in the number of children in the family; the mean number of additional children reported by parents was one child, with an average of two children in total. It should also be noted that all of the Arab participants were Muslims and all of the comparison-group parents were Jewish.

Statistically significant differences were obtained on the degree of religiosity and observance of religious traditions ($t = 4.9$, $p = .000$). The Arab participants were more religious and traditional than the Jewish participants. However, none of the participants in either group were extremely religious (see the Table 2.1).

2.3.1.2 Parents' Language Competence

The comparison between the groups on their language competence revealed significant differences (Table 2.2). In accordance with parents' self-assessments, the Arab parents reported having good Hebrew. Their competence in Hebrew was twice as high as the Jewish parents' self-reported mastery in Arabic. This pattern of data can be attributed to the differences in the status of Hebrew and Arabic in Israel, and the low level of representation of Arabic as the minority language in Jewish cities (Amara 2002). An additional reason for this difference is that Hebrew is mandatory in Arab schools whereas Arabic is not obligatory in all Jewish schools (Abu Rabia 2005). Moreover, the main languages used in higher education in Israel are English

Table 2.1 Degree of observance of religious traditions among Arab and Jewish participants (%)

	Arab parents ($n=45$)	Jewish parents ($n=35$)
Not religious, and no observance of traditions	9	34
Not religious, but observed traditions	31	54
Slightly religious and observed traditions	40	9
Religious and observed traditions	20	3

Table 2.2 Parents' language competence

	Arab parents ($n=45$)	Jewish parents ($n=35$)	
Variable	*M/SD*	*M/SD*	t/χ^2
Mother tongue	4.7 (.39)	4.9 (.25)	2.6**
Second language (Hebrew or Arabic)	4.5 (.67)	2.1 (.74)	14.9***
Knowledge of other languages (%)	86.5 %	100 %	$\chi^2=3.675$

Indexes ranged from 1 to 5: the higher the scores, the more language competence
M mean, *SD* standard deviation, *t* independent samples T-test
*$p<.05$; **$p<01$; ***$p<.001$

and Hebrew, whereas Arabic is not used at all. Therefore, the Jewish parents' low level of Arabic competence might be explained by lack of use and exposure. Finally, most of the parents in both groups reported knowledge of other languages.

2.3.1.3 Parents' Cultural Identity, Cross-Cultural Communication and Competence

One of the main characteristics of the study participants was tolerance and multiculturalism. Most of them knew the language of the other ethnic out-group (Jews—Arabs, and Arabs—Jews) and had good friends from this group, as well as some knowledge of the culture and the desire to know this culture better (see Fig. 2.2).

Both groups showed very high self-identification with their ethnic in-group: Arabs with Arab and Muslim culture; and Jews with Jewish and Israeli culture. However, parents of both groups expressed a similar feeling of belonging to a "global culture". As shown in Table 2.3, the significant statistical differences between the groups were found only in one case; the desire to know the out-group culture was higher among Jews than among Arabs (see Table 2.3).

2.3.2 Parents' Choice of Bilingual Kindergarten for Their Children

There were significant differences between Jewish and Arab parents in the choice of bilingual kindergarten. All Jewish parents indicated that they had the opportunity to

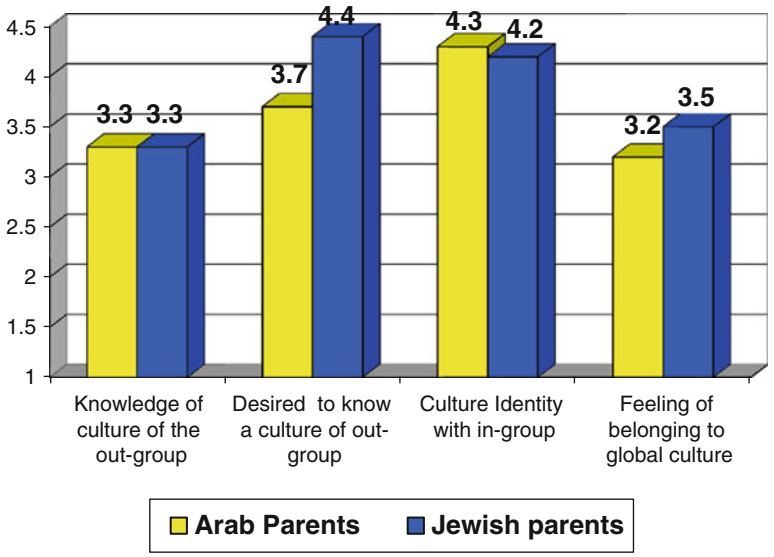

Fig. 2.2 Parents' cultural identity, cross-cultural communication and competence (indexes, ranges from 1 to 5)

Table 2.3 Parents' cultural identity, cross-cultural communication and competence

Variable	Arab parents ($n=45$) *M/SD*	Jewish parents ($n=35$) *M/SD*	*t*
Have friends from the out-group (%)	76	80	
Knowledge of culture of the out-group	3.3 (.84)	3.3 (.1.0)	.60
Desired to know out-group culture	3.7 (.88)	4.4 (.69)	3.7***
Culture identity with in-group	4.3 (.84)	4.2 (.70)	.64
Feeling of belonging to global culture	3.2 (1.01)	3.5 (.79)	1.52

Indexes ranged from 1 to 5: the higher the scores, the more cultural identity
M mean, *SD* standard deviation, *t* independent samples T-test
*$p<.05$; **$p<01$; ***$p<.001$

send their children to kindergartens closer to home, whereas 27 % of Arab parents noted that they had no other options. In accordance with this fact, only 73 % Arab parents in the sample discussed the possibility of the choice of kindergarten (*vs.* 90 % of Jewish parents), only 44 % visited other kindergartens (*vs.* 94 % of Jewish parents), and 67 % of Arab parents visited the bilingual kindergarten prior to making their decision (*vs*. 94 % of Jewish parents). It is noteworthy that even the Arab parents, who initially seemed to be in the "lack of choice" category, reported motives for this choice and had their own attitudes toward bilingual education. Once they had experienced the bilingual education and had recognized its benefits, they adopted this pro-bilingual "ideology."

Table 2.4 Parents' attitudes toward bilingual Arabic-Hebrew education (indexes ranging from 1 to 5)

	Arab parents ($n=45$)	Jewish parents ($n=35$)	
	M/SD	*M/SD*	*t*
Political factors	4.3 (.49)	4.6 (.45)	3**
Positive attitudes	4.1 (.55)	4.1 (.55)	.17
Negative attitudes	2.0 (.45)	1.8 (.39)	1.7
Balance between positive and negative factors	2.1 (.72)	2.3 (.59)	.99

Indexes ranged from 1 to 5: the higher the scores, the higher attitudes
M mean, *SD* standard deviation, *t* independent samples T-test
*$p<.05$; **$p<01$; ***$p<.001$

2.3.3 Parents' Language and Cultural Ideology

Parents' language and cultural ideology was examined by comparing the groups on three main variables: attitude toward Arabic-Hebrew bilingual education, motives for kindergarten choice, and perceptions concerning desired and actual ratio between Arabic and Hebrew.

2.3.3.1 Parents' Attitudes Toward Arabic-Hebrew Bilingual Education

The data showed that the political factors and perceptions concerning possible positive outcomes of bilingual education for Arab-Jewish coexistence played a very importance role in parents' attitudes toward Hebrew-Arabic bilingual education (see Table 2.4). Jewish participants attributed a more significant role to the political factors than to the positive attitudes toward bilingual education for the child's development. The Paired Sample Test showed this difference to be statistically significant ($t=5.1$, $p=.000$). The Jewish parents' statements about the political factors had good consistency (*Cronbach's Alpha* = .61) whereas these statements of the Arab parents had bad consistency (*Cronbach's Alpha* = .23). Thus, the Arab parents attributed the same importance to the political factors as to the positive attitudes. In accordance with the Paired Sample Test, this difference was not statistically significant ($t=1.8$, $p=.06$).

Both groups of parents had a much more positive than negative attitude toward bilingual education regarding their child's development. All participants had highly positive attitudes toward bilingual Arabic-Hebrew preschool education. Balance between positive and negative attitudes was found to be the same in the both groups, despite the significantly stronger negative attitude found among the Arab parents than among the Jewish parents.

It is interesting that in their interviews and responses to the open-ended question, the parents reported their beliefs to be a consequence or post-rationalization of their choice. After only 2 years at the kindergarten, the parents expressed the

possibility of a cooperative lifestyle between Arabs and Jews through learning the out-group language. For example, the Arab parents stated: "It enables coexistence and a sense of equality," "It opens a wide range of opportunities for the child in the future," "It strengthens their [the children's] personality," "When they know each others' language, they become closer," "When they know each others' language, no barriers stand between them," "All citizens in this country must have knowledge about each other," and "Language is a key issue on the cultural, social and personal level."

In addition, both the Arab and Jewish parents addressed the political factors as a motive for their choice. The following excerpts from their interviews and the open-ended question illustrate this: "This class is an opportunity to socially interact and coexist with the second group," "It is important that our child knows all languages and cultures of all citizens in the country. This will encourage peace," "We truly believe that when Jews and Arabs are educated together, and about each other, they become closer. They also tend to be more understanding and loving toward one another," "The kindergarten is a wonderful community in which Arabs and Jews meet on a regular basis, sharing both languages and cultures."

2.3.3.2 Parent's Motives for the Choice of Kindergarten

In explaining their motives behind kindergarten choice, both groups were very similar. They attributed more importance to the quality of the staff (the professional level of the teaching staff, instructional method and strategies) than to child's well-being (the number of children in the group, material facilities and environment) and to motives based on language, using both Hebrew and Arabic for instruction (see Fig. 2.3).

In the Paired Sample Test, this difference was statistically significant ($t = 8.2$, $p = .000$ between importance of staff quality and child's well-being; and $t = 5.8$, $p = .000$ between importance of staff quality and language-based motivation). In addition, both groups attributed less importance to their own convenience (e.g., accessibility of the kindergarten, cost and kindergarten working hours). Only one statistical significant difference was found between the groups: the Jewish parents attributed greater importance to staff quality than Arab parents (see Table 2.5).

The results of the interview supported and enriched these quantitative data.

Staff quality. All parents attributed significance to staff quality. The following examples from interviews with parents demonstrate this perception: "It was significant that we felt a warm connection between the children and the staff. They do care," "We loved the teachers and the principal. We also loved the relationship the Arab-Jew staff had with each other and with all the parents."

Child's well-being. All parents expressed that they placed their child's well-being before their own convenience. Some parents reported sacrificing their own convenience to send their children to the bilingual kindergarten. Two Arab parents claimed that they "changed their work schedules in the last three years so that it suits the kindergarten's

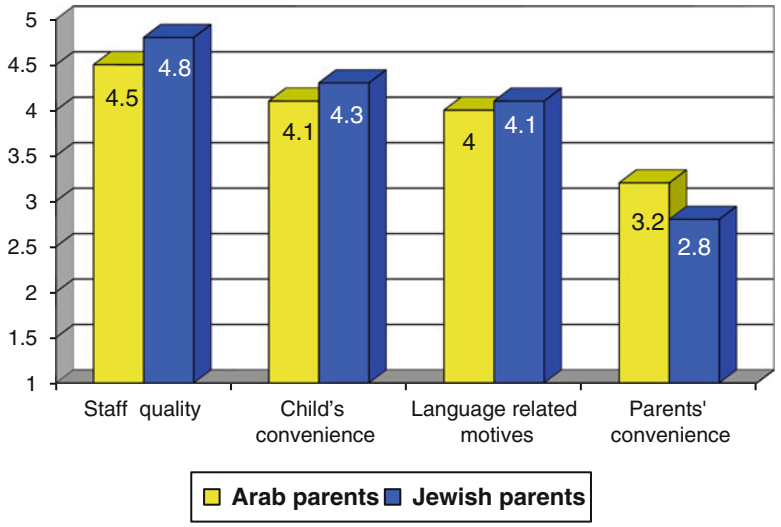

Fig. 2.3 Parent's motives for the choice of kindergarten (indexes, ranges from 1 to 5)

Table 2.5 Parents' motives for the choice of kindergarten (indexes ranging from 1 to 5)

	Arab parents ($n=45$)	Jewish parents ($n=35$)	
Motives	*M/SD*	*M/SD*	*t*
Staff quality	4.5 (.58)	4.8 (.34)	2.5**
Child's well-being	4.1 (0.63)	4.3 (0.48)	−1.40
Language-related motives	4.0 (1.10)	4.1 (0.90)	−0.30
Parents' convenience	3.2 (1.04)	2.8 (0.82)	1.83

Indexes ranged from 1 to 5: the higher the scores, the more importance was attributed the motives by parents
M mean, *SD* standard deviation, *t* independent samples T-test
*$p<.05$; **$p<01$; ***$p<.001$

schedule." They all paid large amounts of money, when they could have sent their children to free preschool and kindergarten. Some expressions used by the parents were: "We pay a lot of money in comparison to regular kindergartens."

Language-related motives. Only one of the Arab couples interviewed said that their motivation was language-based from the beginning; their statements included the following: "I want my child to learn Hebrew at a young age," "It is a priority for me that my child learns Hebrew." Although initially, the rest of the Arab parents had no language-based motivation, as time passed, they perceived bilingualism as significant.

Like the Arab parents, the Jewish parents claimed that bilingualism or learning Arabic was not on their agenda considering that "the child was only one year and

Table 2.6 Parents' perceptions concerning desired and actual ratio between Arabic and Hebrew (%)

Desired ratio	Predominant Hebrew	Balanced bilingualism	Predominant Arabic	Don't know
Age 2–3				
Arabs	7	71	18	5
Jews	6	91	0	3
Age 3–4				
Arabs	5	75	20	0
Jews	6	91	0	3
Age 4–5				
Arabs	7	81	12	0
Jews	0	97	0	3
Actual ratio				
Arabs	9	44	47	0
Jews	17	46	31	6

10 months when he started," "we never even mentioned this at home in the beginning." However, with time and experience, the language motive began to play an important role. Thus, the Jewish parents said that: "In Israel, you will feel comfortable if you know both Arabic and Hebrew," "Bilingual kindergartens are an opportunity for my child to learn Arabic as his mother tongue," and "I myself encounter many uncomfortable situations during my work due to my lack of knowledge of Arabic." Moreover, this Jewish couple was interested in massive input of Arabic during the kindergarten day and even suggested that the teachers should speak the other language to increase children's' motivation for L2 acquisition through providing a personal example. The following citations from this father's interview convey his position: "This step rationalizes and legitimizes that they comfortably speak the second group's language," "…so that they [the children] don't feel uncomfortable learning and speaking the second language," "… so that he [his son] will see that not only Arabs speak Arabic." "I told him to speak Arabic to my son because my son knows Arabic." This father also added that this step "erases the borders between the sectors in Israeli society and liberates the child."

2.3.3.3 Parents' Perceptions Concerning Desired and Actual Ratio Between Arabic and Hebrew

Most of the parents considered that both languages should be used equally in bilingual education at all ages (see Table 2.6).

The same opinion was presented in all interviews. However, there was a discrepancy between the desire for a balanced ratio between the languages and the actual ratio, which was unbalanced, More than half of the Arab parents (56 %) and the Jewish parents (54 %) noted the imbalanced usage of Arabic and Hebrew, with higher Arabic input than Hebrew. Less than half of the parents, who desired that both languages should be used equally in bilingual education, considered that this balance really exists (Fig. 2.4).

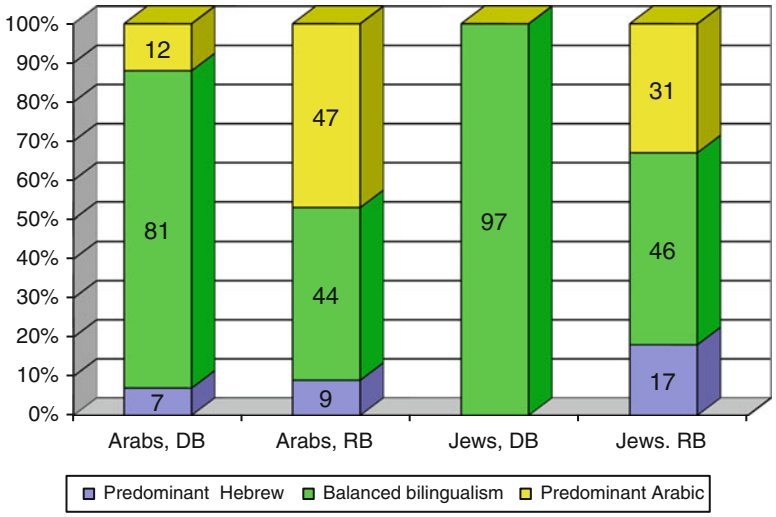

Fig. 2.4 Opinions of Arab and Jewish parents about desired balance (*DB*) and real balance (*RB*) between Arabic and Hebrew in bilingual kindergarten (%)

2.3.4 Parents' Language and Cultural Practices Within a Bilingual and Bicultural Context

As presented in the Method section, we investigated five practices of parents: (1) Using L2 in parent–child communication; (2) Asking a child to translate from Arabic to Hebrew or vice versa; (3) Inviting Arab/Jewish children home; (4) Letting child watch TV in L2; and (5) Taking child to movies and performances in L2. Most parents of both groups regularly asked their children to translate words from Arabic to Hebrew and vice versa (87 % in Arabic families and 89 % in Jewish families). In addition, most families in both groups invited children of the second cultural and language group to their homes to socialize with their child (89 % in Arabic families and 80 % in Jewish families). However, significant differences between Arabic and Jewish families were found in letting the child watch TV in the second language (69 % in Arabic families *vs*. 37 % in Jewish families), taking the child to movies and performances in L2 (49 % *vs*.17 %, respectively), and (sometimes) using L2 for parent–child communication (51 % *vs*. 43 %, respectively).

The interview reports supported the data presented above. The parents' reports revealed that that they considered knowledge of and exposure to the second language to be a significant aspect in their upbringing. The Arab parents claimed that they "hold conversations with the child in Hebrew on a daily basis," "send the child to a camp with Jewish children" and "turn on cartoons in Hebrew." They also added that they "… visit our Jewish friends a lot." They stressed the importance of daily exposure to L2 and its practice: "We expose our child to Hebrew because we are

sure that she will not forget her mother tongue, but might forget her Hebrew if she doesn't use it."

The Jewish parents reported that they themselves were making an effort to practice and learn Arabic, for which they relied on their child's knowledge and therefore placed importance on his L2 competence: "We ask our son what different words mean in Arabic."

They also stressed the significance of intercultural communication: "We take our son to visit our Arab friends and he speaks Arabic there and asks a lot of questions about their lifestyle." Finally, the Jewish parents emphasized that their motivation for Arabic acquisition was triggered by kindergarten experience and growing intercultural encounters: "I make an effort to learn Arabic from my clients and I also ask about the language."

2.3.5 The Parents' Perceptions Concerning Some Consequences of the Choice of Bilingual Kindergarten

The consequences were examined by (1) parents' assessment of the child's language competence in Arabic/Hebrew as their L1 or Arabic/Hebrew as their L2; (2) the parents' assessment of the child's development after attending the bilingual kindergarten, under two criteria: (a) language development, and (b) multicultural development, communication with members of out-group (Arabs for Jews, Jews for Arabs); and (4) the parents' general assessments of bilingual kindergarten.

2.3.5.1 The Child's Mother Tongue and Second Language Competence

First, statistically significant differences were found in the parents' assessments of their child's mother tongue development: Jewish parents' assessment of their children's competence in Hebrew was higher than Arab parents' assessment of their children's competence in Arabic (see Table 2.7). In the questionnaires, the Arab parents reported that their children were not progressing in their L1, unlike the Jewish parents, and then elaborated in the interviews that they taught their children standard Arabic at home. Thus, we can assume that the Arab parents in the study associated "development in Arabic as mother tongue" only with the formal learning of standard Arabic. It should be noted that this phenomenon of limited exposure to standard literary Arabic in kindergartens is very common and could be attributed to the fact that educators and teachers still believe that exposure of young Arabic speakers to literary Arabic in the preschool period is a burden and has no benefit (see Abu-Rabia 2000).

At the same time, it is noteworthy that in the Arab parents' interviews, they stressed that their children learned general concepts that children their age do not learn in monolingual kindergartens and that they were very capable of expressing their opinion in the second language. This claim also appeared in Beckerman's

Table 2.7 The parents' assessment of their child's mother tongue and second language competence (indexes ranging from 1 to 5)

	Arab parents ($n=45$)	Jewish parents ($n=35$)	
Language competence	*M/SD*	*M/SD*	*t*
Mother tongue	4.6 (.46)	4.9 (.31)	2.7**
Second language	3.6 (.47)	3.4 (1.0)	.68

Indexes ranged from 1 to 5: the higher the scores, the language competence
M mean, *SD* standard deviation, *t* independent samples T-test
*$p<.05$; **$p<01$; ***$p<.001$

Table 2.8 The child's second language development after attending bilingual kindergarten (%)

	Arab parents	Jewish parents
	$n=45$	$n=35$
Child began to comprehend	98	91
Child began to speak	84	77
Child began to sing	91	100
Child began to use separate words	91	100
Child began to use sentences	84	46

(2004) study, where bilingual education in Israel was shown to give the children both the skills and opportunities for self-expression.

In accordance with parents' assessments, their children's level of competence in L2 was not very high (on the five-point scale, 3.6 and 3.4—"good enough" for a kindergarten child) in both groups.

2.3.5.2 Outcomes Regarding the Child's Language Development

Almost all of the parents in both groups evaluated their children's development in L2 as high (comprehension, speech, use of separate words and singing in the L2). Only one significant difference was found between the groups ($t=3.89$***): the percentage of the parents who noted that their children began using sentences in L2 was higher among Arabs (84 %) than among Jews (46) (Table 2.8).

It is important to note that most of the parents considered that their child's development in L2 did not hamper his or her development in the mother tongue (89 % among Arabs and 86 % among Jews).

2.3.5.3 Outcomes Regarding the Child's Multicultural Development

Most of the parents in both groups assessed their children's multicultural development in bilingual kindergarten as high (see Table 2.9). The Arab and Jewish children began communicating with each other using the L2. Parents of both

Table 2.9 The child's multicultural development after attending bilingual kindergarten (%)

Variable	Arab parents $n=45$	Jewish parents $n=35$
Child began to communicate with children from out-group	94	94
Child has a friend from out-group	95	86
Child watches TV in L2	72	46

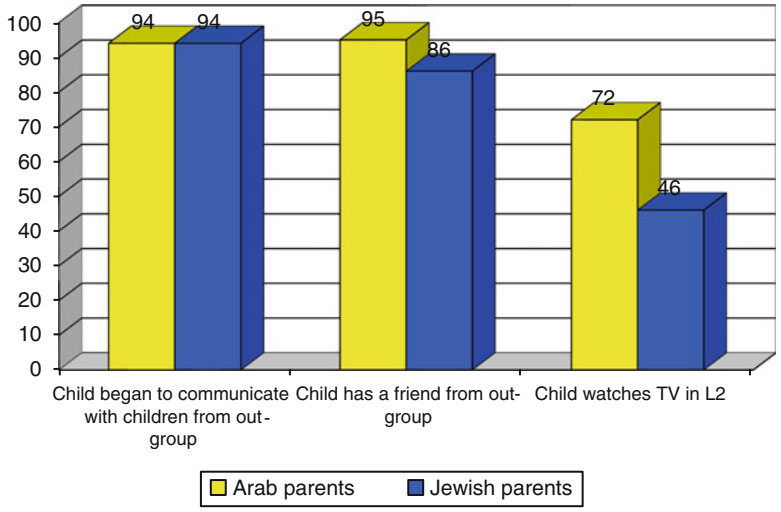

Fig. 2.5 The child's multicultural development after that they was sent in bilingual kindergarten (%)

groups also stated that most of the children had friends from the out-group. Only one statistically significant difference was found ($t=2.42$*): the children from the Arab group watched more television in Hebrew than the Jewish children did in Arabic.

The parents' reports validated this pattern of data. Indeed, the socio-cultural consequences that appeared because of the parents' choice of the bilingual Arabic-Hebrew kindergarten were that both parents and children created "very strong bonds" with the second group. They became close friends, and met on a regular basis both inside and outside kindergarten. Both the children and parents learned a lot about the second group's culture and lifestyle. It was interesting that both groups of parents reported that their children gained sensitivity toward the people and culture of the second group (see Fig. 2.5).

Moreover, stereotypes held previously by parents about the second group seemed to have disappeared and the children were protected from their reproduction. Thus, for example, the Arab parents noted: "She [the child] is very sensitive to the Jewish people and their culture," "The children have great chemistry," "My child feels no

barriers when she wants to interact with a Jew," "Now she is comfortable with the language and the people," "The friends I myself made are more than sisters to me," "My child is socially active with members of the second group, both adults and children, and is very confident," "Now I think that Jews are open-minded, my perspective of them changed as a result of this encounter," "My daughter began to ask to visit her Jewish classmates."

Similarly, the Jewish parents stated that: "This kindergarten is what created the bonds we have since we do not have any other opportunity to meet with Arabs," "Outside, you only see the outer appearance of Arabs," "I had negative stereotypes about Arabs before this experience, but that has changed now," "We discovered that Arabs are not threatening and they do not bite, so we moved to an Arab village," "Our friendship with Arabs is unique, with lots of trust," "Our child loves speaking Arabic, it is fun for him," "Our child is sensitive to Arabs; he recognizes authentic Arabic, and only then will he cooperate and respond in Arabic."

Furthermore, in the questionnaire, Jewish parents showed even greater interest in the Arab culture than in their own culture. When the parents were asked, in the interview, to reflect on such a finding, they were very open in saying that "Jews are not exposed to the Arab culture the way that Arabs are exposed to the Jewish culture," "the Jewish culture is everywhere in Israel, we see it in the streets, on television and we learn about it in school," "the Jewish culture is the dominant culture, the Arab culture is not, and therefore, the Jews are curious to know and learn about us."

The Arab parents also found that this experience strengthened their children's personalities and empowered them as individuals. One parent summarized this by saying that "knowledge is power, and whoever knows the language of the second group in Israel is at an advantage." Parents in both groups claimed that this experience empowered their children's personalities in a manner that may not have been possible had the child attended a mainstream monolingual kindergarten. The parents made statements such as: "My child is outgoing with Jews and Arabs," "I do not think that an eighth grader can function in Israeli society like my five-year-old daughter."

Whereas the Arab parents associated the acquired knowledge of the dominant language and culture with strength, the Jewish parents associated it more with "bridging gaps." In addition, parents claimed that the kindergarten had great impact on the household itself. One Arab mother claimed that: "My life at home is now a continuation of the kindergarten." Other comments included: "We have become more open-minded," "I have learned to be patient," "My child is not violent at home," "We [Jewish parents] are going to find a way to learn and practice Arabic at home."

2.3.5.4 The Parent's General Assessments of Bilingual Kindergarten

Almost all the parents in both groups expressed that their children were satisfied with their kindergartens and that they themselves felt very comfortable (96 % of Arabs and 97 % of Jews). The parents were very satisfied with the kindergarten (on a 5-point scale

M=4.5 for the Arab group and 4.4 for the Jewish group). Furthermore, the parents in both groups were satisfied with their choice of kindergarten: Among the Arabs, 76 % were satisfied "in general" and "very much," 22 % were "partly" satisfied and only 2 % were dissatisfied. Among the Jews, the results were 86 %, 11 % and 3 % respectively. Finally, the parents expressed great willingness to repeat this experience and send their younger children to the same kindergarten (86 % Arabs and 94 % Jews).

In the same vein, all the parents interviewed expressed great satisfaction with the kindergartens. One Jewish mother said: "The kindergarten is a success, therefore I sent my second child there." The Arab parents also stressed a high level of satisfaction, for example: "This kindergarten is the best gift I have given my child."

2.3.6 Conclusions

This study was aimed at exploring the socio-cultural and linguistic profile of parents who chose bilingual Hebrew-Arabic kindergartens in Israel, their motives for this choice and how they perceived its outcomes. Several important findings were produced, which shed light on the link between the parents' background and their own and their children's experience of these educational settings.

Bearing in mind existing socio-cultural and demographic distinctions between Arab and Jewish communities in Israel, an unexpected finding was the great similarity between the both group of parents, who choice bilingual kindergarten for their children. Both the Jewish and Arab groups of participants were young, educated adults with middle socioeconomic status. Almost all of the parents had jobs and presented full (two-parent) families. One of the main characteristics of the study participants was tolerance and multiculturalism. Most of our participants had some knowledge of the language of the out-group (Jews—Arabic, and Arabs—Hebrew), had acquaintances from the out-group, had some knowledge of the culture, and desired to know this culture better.

It is interesting that this desire for contact with the out-group was not a main initial motive for the parents' choice, but seems to be its outcome. In this sample, the Arab and Jewish parents conveyed the opinion that it is very important for Jewish and Arab children to be educated together *at a young age*, before acquiring stereotypes prevalent in both their societies (Bar-Tal and Teichman 2005).

In addition, the parents in both groups clearly stated that because of their own and their child's experience in the bilingual kindergarten, the second language and the relationships with the second cultural group became very meaningful to them. Jewish parents said: "Later, we began to understand the advantages of the kindergarten being bilingual and integrated." Arab parents said: "Even though I didn't care about Hebrew at first, I was very excited about it later on." This is in line with the data of DeWaard and Remlinger (2010), who found that bilingual practices can strengthen the relationships between the two groups and the children's social identity. In this respect, Clayton (2007) asserted that the languages people decide to use and to teach their children are an indicator of the embedded cultural changes in the social context. Indeed, during the interviews, both Arab and Jewish parents

conveyed that knowledge of the second language might be an approach to ensure positive relations with the group in which their children are integrated in the classroom.

Alongside the interest in the out-group culture, both groups showed very high self-identification with the in-group: Arabs with Arab and Muslim culture, and Jews with Jewish and Israeli culture. In these bilingual settings, the parents were able to maintain their loyalty to their own culture while acquiring awareness of the out-group culture. This finding is consistent with what Hertz-Lazarowitz, et al. (2008) argued as being one of the most desired outcomes of bilingual education. To interpret this result, Hertz-Lazarowitz, et al. (2008) mentioned that in the very few bilingual educational settings in Israel, the instructors aimed to present material that is appropriate and demonstrates insightful respect toward all cultures in the group. This, in itself, may increase the self-esteem of the minority group and change the perception of the dominant group, eliciting acceptance, belonging and respect.

In addition, parents of both groups expressed a similar feeling of belonging to a "global culture." This tendency for multiculturalism is in line with the findings in a study of Spanish (L1) and English (L1) speaking parents who choose bilingual education for their children in the US (Parkes 2008). It is interesting that Parkes (2008) found a significant correlation between parents' level of education and their selection of "to be comfortable relating to different people and cultures" as a motive for the choice of bilingual education.

In explaining their motives behind kindergarten choice, both groups attributed greater importance to staff quality (the professional level of the teaching staff, the instructional method and strategies) than to the child's well-being (the number of children in the group, the material facilities and environment) and language-based motives (using both Hebrew and Arabic for instruction). In addition, both groups attributed least importance to their own convenience (e.g. accessibility of the kindergarten, cost and kindergarten working hours). This readiness to adjust their schedule and family budget for these preschools was also stressed by the parents during the interviews.

As we presented above, non-linguistic and even non-cultural motives in choice of the preschool bilingual education were evident also in another studies (Hickey 1999; Schwartz et al. 2010). Hickey (1999), for example, who examined the socio-cultural and linguistic profiles of parents who chose Irish-medium preschools in Ireland, found that alongside the revitalization of the Irish language, parents reported such non-linguistic motives as the high level of education in the Irish-medium preschools as a reason for their choice. Similarly, in this study, most parents searched for alternative education with distinctive pedagogical staff.

However, in contrast to previous studies, which focused on groups of minority and majority language parents, our study was unique in focusing on two ethnic groups living in longstanding conflict. This exceptionality was evident in addressing the political factors and perceptions regarding possible positive outcomes of bilingual education for Arab-Jewish coexistence.

Concerning the linguistic aspect of these preschools, most of the parents considered that both languages should be used equally in bilingual education at all ages. However, their perceptions concerning the desired ratio between the two languages

used in the kindergartens was different from their opinions about the actual ratio between Arabic and Hebrew in the kindergarten, with Arabic input perceived as more dominant. This imbalance could be attributed to the language policy of the pedagogical staff aimed to empower Arabic as a minority language in Israel (Schwartz and Asli, in press). According to the teachers' reports, they were aware of the fact that the Arabic children had more opportunities of exposure to Hebrew in daily life. Therefore, their acquisition of Hebrew was more accelerated and successful than their Jewish peers' progress in Arabic. In contrast, Hebrew-speaking children are not exposed to Arabic in their homes, and might be less motivated to learn the language of the minority in Israel (Amara 2002).

Concerning children's progress in L2 acquisition, it is not surprising that Arab parents revealed that many of their children began to use the L2 (Hebrew) at a sentence level whereas a significantly lower percentage of Jewish parents reported as such of their children's Arabic, despite parents' reports of more massive input of Arabic. This pattern of data can be explained by two supplementary factors: the Jewish parents' low level of competence in Arabic and minimal input of Arabic in the Jewish environment and language landscape.

Finally, the parents' reports on outcomes in their children's multicultural development corresponded remarkably with their personal experience. All these outcomes can be discussed in light of previous studies on bilingual schools in Israel, which revealed the objectives of this initiative (e.g. Bekerman 2004; Bekerman and Shhadi 2003; Bekerman and Tatar 2009; Feuerverger 2001; Hertz-Lazarowitz et al. 2008). The objectives found in these studies were to help Arabs and Jews develop a high level of mutual tolerance, providing children with an environment in which the meeting of the two groups is normal, exposing the children to the languages spoken in Israel, familiarizing them with customs and cultural traditions of the second group, exposing children to issues concerning Arab-Jewish relations from a peaceful perspective, and finally, strengthening their pride and self-identity. From here, it may be concluded that the outcomes reported by the parents in the present study actually show that the ultimate objectives of bilingual education in Israel were achieved in these kindergartens regardless of the young age of the children.

Although such experience in Israel is exceptional today and far from widely implemented, our data vividly illustrate positive consequences of this experience for both groups of parents. Both these groups reported that the kindergarten had significant impact on their lifestyle, choice of friends, and even minor decisions such as on which language to focus when interacting in society, as well as on their children's sociocultural and linguistic development. We can also conclude that it is critical to introduce this experience *at an early age* because kindergarten provides a specific environment that triggers the parents' active involvement and interaction. Future research is needed to verify the stability of the outcome.

Acknowledgments Our grateful thanks go to the School Principal of the Bridge over the Wadi (Gesher al HaWadi), Dr. Hasan Agbaria, and the School Principal of Ein Bustan, Amir Shlomian. We would also like to thank the teachers and the parents of the children in the kindergartens, for their unlimited support and fruitful collaboration.

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Chapter 3
The Role of Family Background in Early Bilingual Education: The Finnish-Russian Experience

Victor Moin, Ekaterina Protassova, Valeria Lukkari, and Mila Schwartz

3.1 Introduction

Different forms of bilingual education are common today, and bilingual education is generally introduced at an earlier age than previously. Bilingual child day-care has a longstanding history in many countries with indigenous ethnic minorities and in the post-colonial world. Nevertheless, in some countries, criticism is often directed toward the raising of immigrant children as bilinguals, for fear that it might encourage marginalization and little contact with the majority society. Most researchers support the idea of bilingual education. Many policy makers, practitioners and ordinary people, however, have doubts about the effectiveness of such programs and are even afraid of introducing more than one language into the children's lives (Baker 2011; Thompson 2000; Cameron 2001; Tabors 2002; Saunders et al. 2004). The question of the effectiveness of bilingual education is still a critical one for parents, especially when choosing between bilingual and monolingual preschool education as part of their family language policy.

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M. Schwartz and A. Verschik (eds.), *Successful Family Language Policy: Parents, Children and Educators in Interaction*, Multilingual Education 7,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-7753-8_3,

The concept of family language policy has been only recently defined. Nevertheless, existing research reveals that the focus on family language ideology, practice and management as its components is arousing keen interest worldwide (King and Fogle 2006; Schwartz 2010; Spolsky 2007). Spolsky (2004, p. 5) distinguished these three components of family language policy in the following way: "… language practices – the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; its language beliefs or ideology – the beliefs about language and language use; and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management." Family language policy is related to general socio-cultural conditions and to the language policy in the country (Spolsky 2007); social status and socio-cultural traits of the group affiliation (e.g., immigrant, ethnic community); and the socio-cultural, ethnic and linguistic profile of the family itself.

3.1.1 Early Bilingual Education in Finland

In Finland, bilingual education in preschools, kindergartens and schools is prevalent. Bilingual schools in Finland teach English, German, French, Spanish, Russian or Chinese as second languages. The language of instruction is either Finnish or Swedish – one of the official languages of the state – and the other is studied to a certain degree. The minority languages, Sámi and Romani, and sign language, are used as well. The highly prestigious status of multilingualism encourages many parents to be in favor of schools with several languages of instruction; the higher the income, the more highly educated is the family, and the greater the wish for multilingualism (Helle 1994; Aikio-Puoskari 1997; Laurén 1997; Björklund et al. 2006; Sulkala and Mantila 2010; Vuorinen 2009). The fact that the country has two official languages leads average citizens to believe that bilingualism is affordable and normal. In this context, starting to learn a second language from an early age opens great opportunities for the acquisition of other languages; by playing with a native speaker of a different language throughout the day, children obtain a second language. In Finland, the state determines a specific language policy in schools, for which the schools autonomously implement the guidelines. According to the Finnish National Board of Education, the study of English is compulsory, with instruction starting no later than the 3rd grade. Swedish is taught as another state language (or Finnish for the Swedish-speaking Finns). Students also have the choice of studying German, French, Spanish and Russian, with the aim that they will become sufficiently competent in these languages for the country's economy and global development. The choice of languages is usually made by parents in elementary school, but later, the children make their own choices. Everyone has some level of competence in English. Parents who have chosen the Finnish-Russian school know that their children will acquire a high level of English, that they will speak at least one additional language, either French, German or both, and that they will be familiar with Swedish. Although not everyone in Finland speaks Russian,

their children will be competent in this language as well. As Russia and Germany are Finland's main trading partners, knowledge of Russian can be advantageous.

With immigrant children, the situation might be different. The parents' income might be lower, their attitudes toward preservation of their native language might be influenced by the necessity to integrate into the host society, and not all immigrants are welcomed by the Finnish people. In some kindergartens and schools, teachers might ask immigrant parents to refrain from using their native languages at home and in public places. This applies especially to Russian, which might raise unpleasant associations because of Finland's history of wars with the former Soviet Union (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2002). The state provides different forms of language maintenance. All instructions in schools emphasize the importance of maintaining the country-of-origin culture; all of the immigrant languages are supported through mother-tongue education (2 h a week organized by municipalities). In Helsinki alone, more than 50 languages are taught as mother tongues. The attitudes toward the home language vary in different language groups and generations (Laihiala-Kankainen et al. 2002; Mauranen and Tiittula 2002; Latomaa and Nuolijärvi 2006; Liebkind et al. 2004; Jaakkola 2009; Lainiala and Säävälä 2010; Martikainen and Haikkola 2010). Many scholars claim that successful integration of immigrants in Finland, as shown by their better results in PISA studies than the non-indigenous population in other countries, is thanks to the country's efforts to develop the immigrants' native languages.

3.1.2 Russianness in Finland

Immigration from Russia to Finland began hundreds of years ago. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, peasants, missionaries and merchants of Russian origin were frequent dwellers in Eastern Finland – at that time, still part of Sweden. After Finland was ceded to the Russian Empire in 1809 and became an autonomous Grand Duchy, the number of Russian-speakers increased, especially because of the military forces that were stationed there. After World War I and the October Revolution in Russia in 1917, thousands of émigrés from Russia travelled through Finland, although a much smaller number remained and became assimilated in the majority population. It is estimated that between 3 and 5,000 citizens, today, are descended from the 'Old Russians.' The 'New Russians' include the Russian spouses of Finns from during the Soviet period, Ingrian retournés, and other persons of Finnish origin from the former Soviet Union. Since the 1990s, the number of Russian-speaking students and qualified labor force has increased. According to recent statistics (Statistics Finland 2012), out of a population of almost 5.5 million, more than 58,000 are Russian speakers. (The 'Old Russians,' Russian-speakers born in countries other than Russia, children from bilingual families and those who do not have a permanent residence permit might not be included in these data.) Officially, Finland is a bilingual country with Finnish and Swedish as state languages, Sámi as the indigenous language(s), Romani, Sign Language, Karelian as minority languages,

Tatar and Yiddish as historical minority languages and other immigrant languages (Valtioneuvosto 2006). The Russian-speaking community produces its own media and has many social and cultural activities, including for children.

3.1.3 Finnish-Russian Educational Institutions

As the language of a neighbouring country, Russian will remain important if the education authorities sustain successful intercultural communication, since, over the last two decades, the Russian-speakers have become the largest immigrant linguistic minority in Finland. They have joined the historical Russian minority, who previously established bilingual schools in the country. Russian is taught intensively in two Finnish-Russian schools and in more than ten daycare centers. In our recent research (Mustajoki et al. 2010; Jurkov et al. 2012; Protassova 2008, 2009, 2012), we tried to analyze the type of bilingualism that such institutions produce; the level of the preschoolers' and older students' proficiency in Russian language and culture; the parameters by which the level of this proficiency differs from native-speaker skills; the most effective ways of teaching these languages and whether children from bilingual families perform better than those who start learning languages only at school. We still have to understand which special elements multilingualism introduces into the life of children and their families, why parents choose bilingual education, and how they envisage possible increases and potential gaps in the children's knowledge.

This study included only those educational institutions that specialize in early bilingual Finnish-Russian education: daycare centers (kindergartens) and preschools. The daycare centers accept children up to age 6, who then transfer to the preschools (which prepare the children for school). Preschool education is free, but does not provide a full school day. Finland has many bilingual Finnish-Russian institutions and their characteristics and education policy might differ because everyday situations demand adjustment to the challenges of multiculturalism.

3.1.4 Finnish-Russian Daycare Centers

The primary concern of the daycares centers is the children's social development, and no literacy is taught. In the daycares centers, children are free to choose their play partners, and their preferences sometimes cross languages. Some Finnish-speaking children have Russian-speaking teachers as their preferred attachment persons, and sometimes, they are oriented toward children or adults with the same language as their own. The bilingual kindergarten "Kalinka" was opened in Helsinki by the Society of the Finnish-Russian school in 1990. Directors of this preschool institution have always been Finns, but the staff is multinational (Finnish, Russian, Estonian, Yakut, Karelian and Chilean). The same organization maintains two other daycare centers, "Teremok" and "Matrjoshka" (the latter participated in this study; for more

information, see www.svk-kannatus.fi). In the first years of existence, mainly children from Finnish-speaking families were sent to Finnish-Russian daycare, in the attempt to prepare them for the local Finnish-Russian school or to continue the family tradition of learning Russian (Protassova 1992; Protassova and Miettinen 1992). With the growing number of Russian-speakers in Finland, the structure of the contingent has changed: about one third come from Finnish families, one third from mixed families (Finnish/Russian), and one third have a Russian background. The fresh research results (Miettinen 2012; Mikkonen 2012) showed that educators adapt their practices to the needs of the current linguistic situation. In 2011, Kalinka was named as one of the best practicing bilingual institutions for immigrant children in Europe (http://ec.europa.eu/languages/pdf/ellp-handbook.pdf). Matrjoshka works on the same principles, but is smaller and is situated in Vantaa.

The other daycare centers in our research, "Mishka" and "Antoshka" are maintained by Kidson (www.kidson.fi). They operate in Finnish and Russian, although the children are mostly from Russian-speaking homes.

3.1.5 Finnish-Russian Schools

At the Finnish-Russian school, children are divided into three groups according to their competence in both languages. One class is for predominantly Russian-speaking children; they use Russian textbooks for Russian and some special materials for teaching Finnish as a second language along with Finnish textbooks for Finnish. The bilingual classes have authentic textbooks for both languages. The predominantly Finnish-speaking children have Finnish textbooks for Finnish and Russian-as-a-foreign-language textbooks for Russian. Therefore, children receive specialized and differentiated support for each language.

The Finnish-Russian school in Helsinki (www.svk.edu.hel.fi) was founded in 1955 following the dissolution of the traditional Russian schools in Finland and became a state school in 1977. It offers intensive Russian and English courses and differentiated programs for bilingual Finnish-Russian children.

The Finnish-Russian School of Eastern Finland (www.itasuomenkoulu.fi/pages/fi/esittely.php) was founded in 1997 as a Finnish-Russian two-way classroom school operating in three cities (Lappenranta, Imatra, Joensuu) and will soon include a fourth (Kotka). The preschool education started only a few years ago.

3.1.6 Model and Aims of the Study

The main aim of this study was to expose the family background of early bilingual Finnish-Russian education in Finland. The research questions were: Who are the people, in Finland, who send their children to bilingual Finnish-Russian kindergartens or preschools, and what are the reasons for this choice? In what way do they believe that this education can be effective?

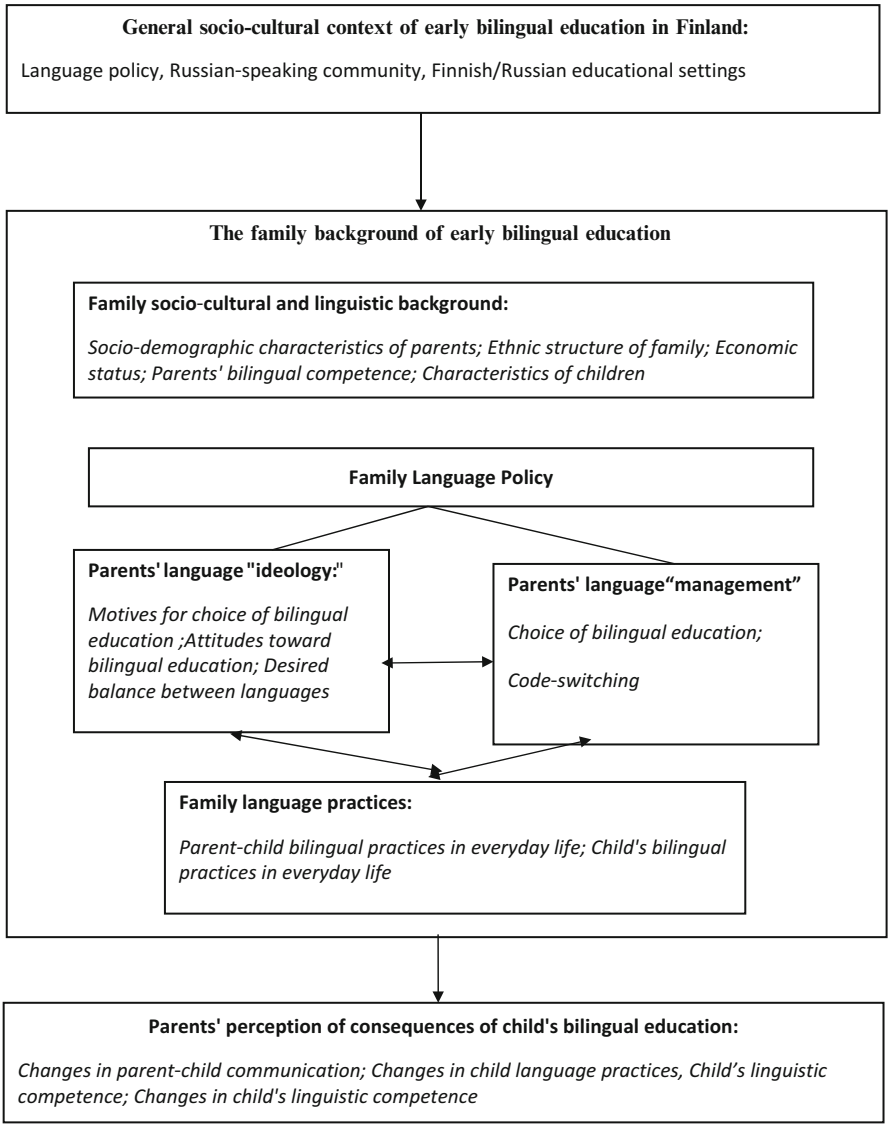

Fig. 3.1 The research model

The research model included three main groups of variables (see Fig. 3.1)

1. **General socio-cultural background of early bilingual education in Finland,** which characterized the macro level of the study (language policy in Finland, Russian-speaking community, Finnish/Russian education settings).
2. **Family background**, the micro level of the study, included two blocks of variables: Socio-cultural and linguistic profile of the families and family language policy concerning the child’s early bilingual education.

Socio-cultural and linguistic profile of the families included socio-demographic characteristics of family members, ethnic structure, economic status, bilingual language competence of parents and language of communication inside the family.

Family language policy concerning the child's early bilingual education was characterized by three interrelated components:

(a) *Parents' language and cultural "ideology,"* i.e., how parents grounded and explained their choice of bilingual education for their child (general attitudes toward bilingual education, motives for choice of bilingual education for their child; representations concerning desired and real balance between Finnish and Russian in bilingual settings);
(b) *Parents' practices toward child's acquisition of the second language and culture* (using both languages in the everyday parent–child communication, child's bilingual practices inside the family);
(c) *Parents' language "management"* (freedom and awareness of their choice of bilingual education; code-switching during the parent–child communication; parents' behavior strategies in conflict situations).

3. **Parents' representations regarding some outcomes of child's early bilingual education** (child's language competence in the mother tongue and in the second language or in both first languages, the child's language and multicultural development after entrance into the bilingual setting, and parents' general assessments of bilingual education).

The research design was based on comparing the Finnish and Russian parents regarding their socio-cultural background, language profile, family language policy and the representations about some of the outcomes of their child's early bilingual education.

3.2 Method

This study was part of an international research project conducted in Israel, Finland, Germany and Canada, the aim of which was to investigate the Family Language Policy of parents who choose preschool bilingual education with focus on their socio-cultural profiles, motives, attitudes, and their assessment of the educational outcomes (Moin et al. 2011; Schwartz et al. 2010).

The study in Finland was mainly quantitative, based on the self-administered questionnaire for parents, which was developed and used for previous studies within the framework of this project.

However, an important qualitative component of this study was provided by the parents' comments and suggestions in the open-question section at the end of the questionnaire. In this section, participants were asked to write their opinions on the issue of bilingual education in early childhood. Overall, 37 parents (20 % of the participants – 20 Russian and 17 Finnish) wrote comments.

3.2.1 Participants and Procedure

The research population consisted of young adult parents who had chosen to send their children to bilingual Finnish-Russian kindergartens or preschools in Finland (see the Sect. 3.1.3). The sampling was conducted in two stages. In the first stage, three bilingual Finnish-Russian kindergartens and two bilingual preschools were chosen to participate in the study. In the second stage, we distributed self-administered questionnaires in Finnish and in Russian, to allow the parents to choose the response language. The questionnaires were distributed to mothers and fathers of the children in these kindergartens and preschools. Parents were asked to complete the questionnaire separately.

Overall, the sample included 185 parents, who returned the questionnaires: 106 parents of kindergarten children and 79 parents of preschool children. The natural and statistical significant differences between these groups were in parents' age ($t = 3.6$***) and children's age ($t = 17.6$***). The mean age of parents of kindergarten children was 35.3 years ($SD = 6.8$); and for parents of preschool children, it was 38.9 years ($SD = 5.9$). The mean age of kindergarten children was 3.8 ($SD = 1.1$), and of preschool children it was 6.0 ($SD = 0.0$).

The socio-cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the families of the kindergarten and preschool children were similar. In the research sample, no statistically significant differences were found between parents of kindergarten children and parents of preschool children in most of the cases: gender ($\chi^2 = .95$); rate of employment ($\chi^2 = 2.3$); perceived economic status ($t = .70$); the mean time of residence in Finland of Russian-speaking parents ($t = .64$). Bilingual competence of Russian-speaking parents of the kindergarten children and the preschool children was measured on a five-point scale, and was very similar (for Russian, 4.9 and 4.9 respectively, $t = .18$; and for Finnish, 3.5 and 3.6 respectively, $t = .26$). These similarities between the parents of kindergarten children and the parents of preschool children allowed us to aggregate these sub-groups parents in order to compare Finnish ($n = 79$) and Russian ($n = 106$) parents regarding their socio-cultural background, family language policy and opinions about outcomes of early bilingual education. Socio-cultural and demographic characteristics of these groups and their language profiles will be described in the Results section.

3.2.2 Instruments

The self-administered questionnaire for parents, which was developed and used for previous studies in this project was translated into Finnish, and was expanded and modified for the current study. The questionnaire was written in two languages: Finnish and Russian. The content of the questionnaire is consistent with the research model (see Fig. 3.1). The final version of the questionnaire that was distributed in this

study took the parents approximately 40 min to complete. In this section, we describe measuring variables, which were specific only to this study.

3.2.3 Measurement

3.2.3.1 General Socio-cultural Background of Early Bilingual Education in Finland

The macro-level characteristics of the study (language policy in Finland, Russian-speaking community, Finnish/Russian education settings) were based on analysis of documents, results of different researches, and self-assessment of the educational institutions.

3.2.3.2 Family Socio-cultural and Linguistic Background

Several variables were included regarding information about parents' age, marital status, number of children, education level and their assessment of the family's income. Family income was assessed on a four-point scale, ranging from 1 (insufficient for acquiring most necessary goods and services) to 4 (sufficient for acquiring most necessary goods and services). The variables characterized the parents' immigrant experience, including duration of residence in the host country, age at immigration and education after immigration. The children's characteristics were assessed by current age, gender and the age at which they began to attend kindergarten or preschool.

Parents' language competence in Finnish and Russian was measured by four "can-do" items for each language (speaking, comprehension, writing and reading). Participants assessed their ability to perform these activities on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 – "Not at all" to 5 – "Very well." Cronbach's alpha was .97 for Finnish and .99 for Russian.

3.2.3.3 Family Language Policy Concerning the Child's Early Bilingual Education

The parents' general attitudes toward bilingual education were calculated as the mean of the answers for the following eight items. For example: "It would be nice to combine interactions in both languages and parallel teaching of Finnish and Russian," "The knowledge of the Russian language and culture is very important to prosper and be successful." Respondents were asked to rate the extent of their agreement with each statement on a five-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 5 – "Completely agree" to 1 – "Completely disagree." The higher the scores, the more positive were the attitudes toward bilingual kindergarten education. Cronbach's alpha was .61.

The parents' motives for the choice of kindergarten. Fifteen items were used to measure the motives for kindergarten choice. Respondents were asked to rate the degree of importance of different factors supporting their kindergarten choice (e.g., terms of payment, professional level of staff) on a five-point scale, ranging from 1 – "Not at all" to 5 – "Of utmost importance." The factor analysis (Principal Component, Rotation Varimax) was performed to explore the main groups of motives. Four groups of motives (sub-scales) were derived from the factor analysis: (1) parents' convenience (accessibility of the kindergarten/preschool, terms of payment and schedule; Cronbach's alpha = .65), (2) child's convenience (facilities and number of children in the group; Cronbach's alpha = .71), (3) staff quality (professional level of teaching staff, instructional methods and strategies; Cronbach's alpha = .75) and (4) language-related motivation (teaching in both languages, and the staff speaking both languages to children; Cronbach's alpha = .78). Importance indexes for all these groups of motives were calculated as the mean of items included in each group.

Parents' representations concerning desired and real balance between Finnish and Russian in bilingual settings. The desired ratio was measured by the question: "What should be the relationship between Russian and Finnish at different ages?" Respondents were asked to answer the question with regard to the three age groups in kindergarten (2–3, 3–4, and 4–5 years), and the three age groups in school (7–8, 8–10 and 10–12 years). A five-point scale was used to assess the desired ratio: 1 – "Finnish only," 2 – "Mainly Finnish," 3 – "Finnish and Russian to an equal degree," 4 – "Mainly Russian" and 5 – "Russian only."

Parents' estimation of the real balance between both languages in the kindergarten was measured by the question: "What is the correlation between the Russian and Finnish language in your child's group?" with the same five-point scale: 1 – "Finnish only," 2 – "Mainly Finnish," 3 – "Finnish and Russian to an equal degree," 4 – "Mainly Russian" and 5 – "Russian only."

To study parents' reliance on the pedagogical staff concerning the balance between the target languages, respondents were asked to rate the extent of their agreement with the statement: "I fully rely on the kindergarten's pedagogical personnel regarding the actual ratio between the use of Russian and Finnish in the kindergarten" on a five-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 5 – "Completely agree" to 1 – "Completely disagree with the ratio between the Russian and Finnish used in the kindergarten."

3.2.3.4 Family Members' Language Practices

Family members' language practices were assessed by the following three variables: parents' language practice, parent–child communication and child's language practice. A five-point scale was used to measure these variables: 1 – "Russian only," 2 – "Mainly Russian," 3 – "Finnish and Russian to an equal degree," 4 – "Mainly Finnish" and 5 – "Finnish only."

Parents' language practices were characterized by the following aspects: language communication (with spouse, children, relatives, friends, at work), languages used

for reading books, newspapers, listening to the radio, watching TV. The general index of the parents' language practices was calculated as the mean of these aspects (Cronbach's alpha = .93). The index of parent–child language practice was calculated as the mean of estimates of communication language in three contexts: reading a book, talking, asking the child to do something (Cronbach's alpha was .99). The index of child's language practices included five aspects: talking with parents, relatives, friends, in kindergarten/preschool, watching TV (Cronbach's alpha = .97). The higher the index, the more Finnish was used in parents' language practice; parent–child communication and child's language practice.

3.2.3.5 Parents' Language Management

Parents' language management was characterized by two variables: freedom and awareness of choice of bilingual education, and language switching in parent–child communication.

Choice of Bilingual Education

Freedom of choice for bilingual education was defined by the following question: "Did you have an opportunity to send your children to another educational setting?" Awareness of choice for bilingual education was defined by the following two questions: "Did you consider different early-childhood education programs?" "Did you visit this bilingual institution before you registered your child?" (Yes; No)

Code-Switching in Parent–Child Communication

Family language management was examined also by factors such as language switching within parent–child communication. We asked the participants whether or not they were in the habit of switching to L2 when communicating with the child. An open question followed, asking the parents to describe situations in which they modified their existing language practice in L1 (Russian, Finnish) and switched to L2 (Russian, Finnish).

3.2.3.6 The Parents' Perceptions of the Outcomes of Early Bilingual Education

These consequences were assessed by changes in parent–child communication in Finnish and Russian, the child's language practices, the child's language competence in both languages and the parents' satisfaction with the kindergarten. Items in this section asked parents about changes in parent–child and child's language practices, and the child's Finnish language competence upon starting bilingual education. The response scale ranged from 1 – "Not at all" to 5 – "Yes."

Changes in Parent–Child Communication

The changes in the parent–child language practices were measured as the mean of responses to two items ("I have started talking to the child more frequently in Finnish/Russian," and "I have started reading to the child more frequently in Finnish/Russian"). Cronbach's alpha was .77 for Finnish and .86 for Russian.

The change in the child's Russian and Finnish language practices was calculated as the mean of answers to four items (e.g., "The child has started using Russian [Finnish] words more frequently"). Cronbach's alpha was .83 for Finnish and .77 for Russian. The index of changes in the child's Russian [Finnish] language competence was based on the mean of the responses to two items ("The child has begun to understand Russian [Finnish] better," and "The child has begun to speak Russian [Finnish] better"). Cronbach's alpha was .89 for Finnish and .87 for Russian.

Child's language competence. Parents were asked to rate the child's language competence in Finnish and Russian using "can-do" speaking and comprehension items. All responses were given on a five-point scale. Cronbach's alpha was .95 for competence in Russian and .93 for Finnish.

Satisfaction with the kindergarten. Parents were asked to rate their own and their child's satisfaction with the kindergarten/school choice on a five-point Likert-scale, ranging from 5 – "Completely satisfied" to 1 – "Completely dissatisfied." Parents' satisfaction with bilingual education was measured by the question: "To what degree are you satisfied with the choice of kindergarten?" Child's satisfaction with the kindergarten was assessed by parents who were asked to answer the question: "How comfortable does the child feel in kindergarten?"

3.3 Results

3.3.1 Parents' Socio-cultural and Linguistic Background

The Finnish parents were slightly older than the Russian-speaking parents ($t = 3.9$***): The mean age of the Finnish parents was 38.9, $SD = 6.4$ and was 35.1, $SD = 6.4$ for the Russian-speaking parents. Among the Finnish parents, the rate of employment was higher than among the Russian-speaking parents (79 % vs. 45 %, $\chi 2 = 23.3$***), and they assessed their economic status as higher (3.6 vs. 3.1 – in accordance with 4-graduated scale, $t = 5.1$***).

In both groups, parents evaluated their competence in the mother-tongue language as very high (4.9 for Finnish parents and 4.9 for Russian-speaking parents), and significantly higher than their competence in the second language (2.1 and 3.5, respectively). It is important to mention that the Finns' competence in Russian was significantly lower than the Russian-speakers' competence in Finnish. This is logical because Finnish is the dominant language in the environment. In both groups, competence in language comprehension was higher than for the other items; competence in speaking was found to be higher than in reading, and competence in writing was lower than oral skills.

Table 3.1 Russian and Finnish parents' motives for the choice of early bilingual education (Indexes, ranged from 1 to 5)

	Russian parents ($n=106$)	Finnish parents ($n=79$)	
Motives	*M / SD*	*M / SD*	*t*
Language-related motives	4.7(.59)	4.4(.79)	3.2**
Staff quality	3.9(.71)	3.5(.94)	3.4***
Child's convenience	3.4(.95)	3.2(.99)	1.9
Parents' convenience	2.9(1.07)	2.7(.97)	1.6

Indexes ranged from 1 to 5: the higher the scores, the more importance the parents attributed to the motives
M mean, *SD* standard deviation, *t* independent samples t-test
*$p<.05$; **$p<01$; ***$p<.001$

3.3.2 Parents' Language and Cultural "Ideology"

Parents' language and cultural "ideology" depicts how parents ground and explain their choice of bilingual education for their children (general attitudes toward bilingual education, motives behind the choice of bilingual education for their child; representations concerning desired and real balance between Finnish and Russian in bilingual settings).

3.3.2.1 General Attitudes Toward Bilingual Education

All participants expressed very positive attitudes toward early bilingual (Finnish/Russian) education. The mean index of these attitudes was 4.3 (maximum range was 5, $SD=.48$). At the same time, statistically significant differences were found between Russian and Finnish parents: Russian parents expressed marginally more positive attitudes than Finnish parents (4.5 vs. 4.1, respectively, $t=5.8$***).

Both groups (86 % of the Russian parents and 90 % of the Finnish parents) stated that they placed very high value on the Finnish language and culture. At the same time, 93 % of the Russian parents and 50 % of the Finnish parents believed that the Russian language and culture might be very important for achieving success in life.

3.3.2.2 The Parents' Motives for the Choice of Bilingual Education

In explaining their motives for the choice of bilingual education for their child (see Table 3.1 and Fig. 3.2), both groups attributed great importance to language-related motivation (teaching in both languages, and the staff speaking both languages to the children); they appreciated the staff quality (the professional level of the teaching staff, the instructional methods and strategies) more than the child's convenience (the number of children in the group, the material facilities and environment). In addition, both groups attributed the least importance to their own convenience

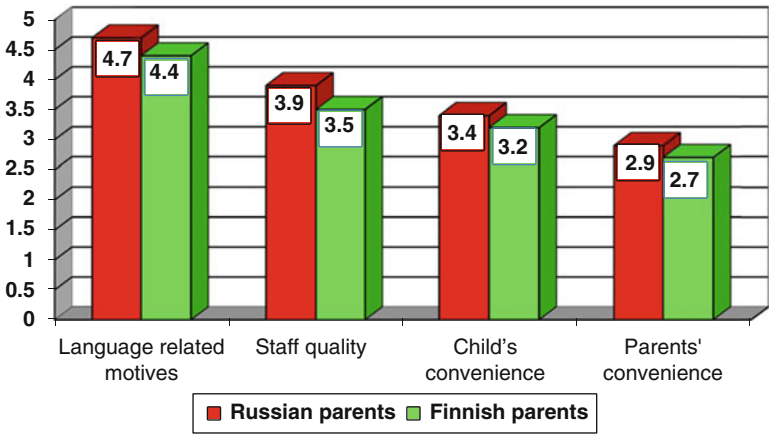

Fig. 3.2 Motives for choice of early bilingual education by Russian and Finnish parents

(e.g., accessibility of the education setting, terms of payment and working hours). This pattern of motives for the choice of bilingual education is strikingly similar to the results of studies that examined Russian/Hebrew and Arabic/Hebrew bilingual kindergartens in Israel (Moin et al. 2011; see Chap. 2 by Schwartz, Moin, and Klayle in this volume), and Russian/German bilingual kindergartens in Germany (Moin et al. 2011).

In all cases, this difference was statistically significant in accordance with Paired Sample Test ($t = 11.1$, $p = .000$ between importance of staff quality and language-based motivation; $t = 13.7$, $p = .000$ between importance of staff quality and child's convenience).

Russian parents attributed more importance to language-related motivation and staff quality than Finnish parents. No difference was found between the parents' evaluation of the importance of parents' and child's convenience.

Among the Russian parents, 75 % mentioned that they "have/had relatives of Russian origin" and this fact had an impact on their choice of bilingual education for their child. This motive was also noted as important for the choice of bilingual education by 37 % of the Finnish parents.

3.3.2.3 Parents' Representations Concerning Desired and Real Balance Between Finnish and Russian in Bilingual Settings

Importance of the Balance Between Finnish and Russian in Bilingual Settings

Both the Finnish and Russian-speaking parents attached great importance to the balance between the use of Finnish and Russian in bilingual settings (see Table 3.2). In the answers to this question, we found no significant differences between Russian and Finnish parents ($t = .53$) of kindergarten and preschool children ($t = .20$).

Table 3.2 Parents' representations concerning desired and real balance between Finnish and Russian in bilingual settings (Indexes, ranged from 1 to 5)

	Russian parents (n = 106)	Finnish parents (n = 79)	
	M / SD	M / SD	*t*
Importance of the balance[a]	4.2(1.2)	4.1(1.2)	.53
Reliance on the pedagogical staff[a]	3.7(1.0)	4.2(.82)	3.7***
Desired balance in kindergarten[b]	2.8(.72)	3.3(.84)	3.4***
Real balance in kindergarten[b]	3.6(.88)	2.9(.97)	3.4***
Desired balance in preschool[b]	2.8(.58)	2.3(.75)	3.1**
Real balance in preschool[b]	2.9(.71)	2.2(.75)	4.3***

M mean, *SD* standard deviation, *t* independent samples t-test
*$p < .05$; **$p < 01$; ***$p < .001$
[a]The higher the scores, the more importance the parents attributed to the balance and more they relied on the staff
[b]Indexes of the balance = 1 or 2 indicate predominance of Finnish; approximately 3 is balanced bilingualism; 4 or 5 indicate predominant Russian

Reliance on the Pedagogical Stuff Concerning the Balance Between Languages

It is noteworthy that we found that Finnish parents relied more than Russian parents on the pedagogical staff concerning the balance between the use of Finnish and Russian in bilingual education settings: The index of reliance was 4.2 and 3.7, respectively, *t* = .3.7***(see Table 3.2).

Desired Balance

Among Finnish and Russian parents, we found two types of representations concerning the desired balance between the languages. One group of parents was oriented toward balanced bilingualism. In general, the Russian parents preferred a more balanced language input than the Finnish parents. The goal of the balanced language input was set by approximately 65 % of the Russian parents and 50 % of the Finnish parents. The Russian parents supported the *First Language First* approach toward bilingual development, in other words, that the L1 should predominate at the start of bilingual education until children acquire basic grammar in L1. As the children grow older, the role of the first language input can be reduced, while the input in the second language should be increased. In this context, Finnish parents suggested an increase in Russian, whereas the Russian parents suggested an increase in Finnish. This tendency was greater among Russian parents of both kindergarten and preschool children (see Fig. 3.3). The *First Language First* approach among Russian parents was reported in various age groups and different educational settings (kindergarten and preschool). Although parents appeared to rely more on intuition than on research literature, within the broader theoretical context of L2 acquisition, the growing empirical evidence supports the *First Language First* approach as

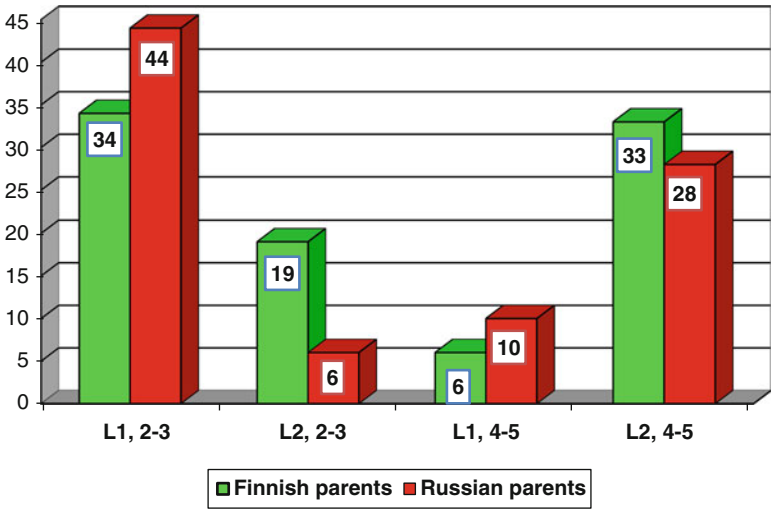

Fig. 3.3 Finnish and Russian parents' representations concerning desired predominance of L1 and L2 for various age groups (%) (L1 – Finnish for Finnish parents, or Russian for Russian families, L2 – Russian for Finnish parents, or Finnish for Russian parents; supposed age of children is 2–3 and 4–5)

mature ground for L2 acquisition in different language domains (Golberg et al. 2008; Paradis 2008; Schwartz et al. 2012).

The following statements of two Russian parents clearly illustrate their *First Language First* approach toward their children's bilingual development:

> I will be glad if the child will communicate in Russian. This is his family's language, and it will be good if he starts with this language. The Finnish language studies are necessary and very important for the child, but only after he attains a good enough standard in Russian.
>
> The child has an obligation to know both languages; his mother tongue and that of the country where he lives. But first, he must learn to speak well in his mother tongue, in which he communicates with parents and relatives.

Real Balance

Significant differences were found in the Finnish and Russian parents' opinions about the real balance between languages and in their ideas about the desired balance (see Table 3.2). Evaluating the situation in the same kindergartens, the parents perceived the ratio between the languages in different ways. Most of the Russian parents (54 %) thought that in kindergarten, the Russian language predominated, and only 22 % of the Finnish parents shared the same opinion. Half of the Finnish parents supposed that in kindergarten, balanced bilingualism existed, and 28 % thought that the Finnish language was dominant as opposed to 12 % of the Russian-speaking parents (see Fig. 3.4).

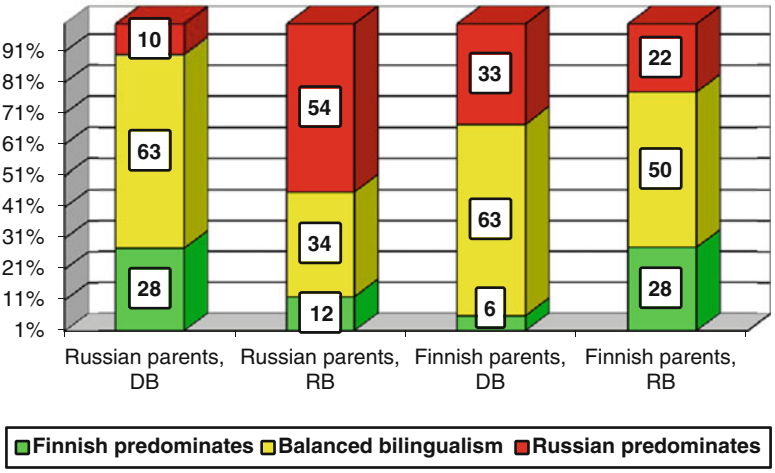

Fig. 3.4 Opinions of Finnish and Russian parents about Desired Balance (*DB*) and Real Balance (*RB*) Between Finnish and Russian languages in bilingual kindergarten (%)

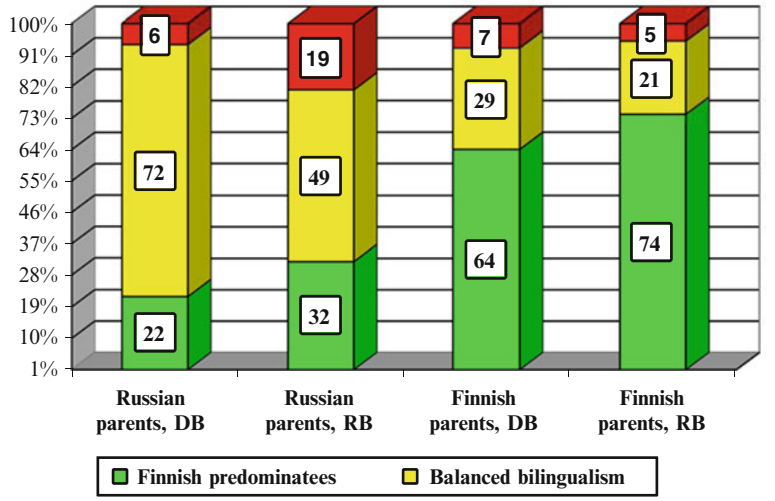

Fig. 3.5 Opinions of Finnish and Russian parents about Desired Balance (*DB*) and Real Balance (*RB*) between Finnish and Russian languages in bilingual preschool (%)

The opinions of the preschool children's parents about the real balance were different than those of the parents of the kindergarten children. Most of the Finnish parents (74 %) thought that, in preschool, Finnish predominated, and only 32 % of Russian parents shared the same opinion. In accordance with the Russian parents' opinions (49 %), the balanced input predominated in the preschool, and only 21 % of the Finnish parents held the same opinion (see Fig. 3.5).

Table 3.3 Parent–child everyday communication in the second language (%)

	Kindergartens		Preschool	
	Russian	Finnish	Russian	Finnish
Language	(n = 68)	(n – 36)	(n = 37)	(n = 42)
Asking the child about something	8	12	8	2
Telling the child something	8	9	11	2
Asking to do something	10	9	8	2
Reading to the child	16	9	16	2

These results were evidence that Finnish and Russian parents saw the same things, but perceived them differently. This finding can be explained by discrepancies in their expectations and ideas about the desired language balance.

3.3.3 Parents' and Child's Bilingual Practices

3.3.3.1 Parent–Child Bilingual Communication

Most of the parents (approximately 90 %) interacted with their children only in their own language (see Table 3.3). The general index of second language use in everyday parent–child interaction was very low (on a 1–5 scale) and no differences were found between the Russian and Finnish parents (1.4 and 1.3 respectively, $t = 1.0$).

In this study, it was found that most of the parents separated their attitudes toward bilingual education and everyday practices of communication with the child (see Fig. 3.6). The parents demonstrated very positive attitudes toward bilingual education, and bilingual motives played a predominant role in the choice of their children's education. Their choice of bilingual education was supported by their representation about a natural way of bilingual development. That is to say, whenever both languages are presented in the family and in the environment, educational institutions should provide academic activities to mediate and maintain both languages. In addition, children need the company of peers who are growing up in the same circumstances.

At the same time, it appeared, from our study, that most of the parents used only their mother tongue in everyday communication with their child. Thus, we found evidence of some discrepancy between family language ideology (parents' attitudes toward and representations about bilingual development) and their daily practice at home. It is widely known that if you provide more input in a certain language, this language will be developed more intensively than the other. If parents wish their child to reach balanced, simultaneous bilingual development, balanced input in L1 and L2 is required, and application of the *One Parent One Language* model is recommended. If parents plan to promote their child's sequential

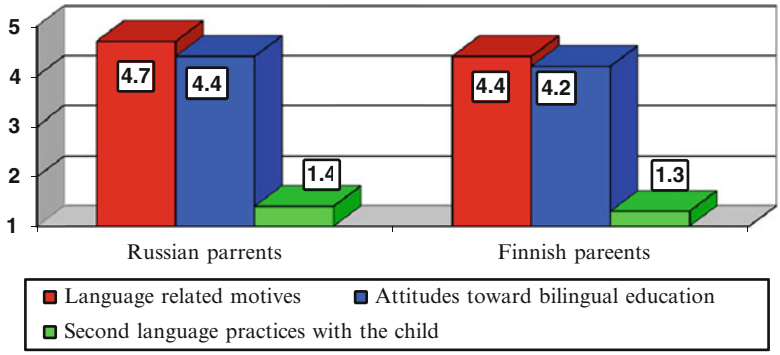

Fig. 3.6 Russian and Finnish parents' bilingual ideology and everyday practices (Indexes, Ranges from 1 to 5)

Table 3.4 Child's everyday communication in the second language (%)

	Kindergartens		Preschool	
Language	Russian	Finnish	Russian	Finnish
Parents	23	25	15	20
Relatives	30	31	45	12
Friends	32	22	66	14
In the day care	30	35	69	17
Watches TV	46	43	83	17

bilingual development, the first language should be presented first, to provide a relatively mature cognitive linguistic base for second language acquisition (Paradis 2008; Schwartz et al. 2012). In Finland, this information is available to parents of linguistically mixed or immigrant families from pediatricians, social workers, school psychologists and teachers. The *One Parent One Language* model is familiar to everyone, both educators and parents. Nevertheless, no evidence exists that all parents follow this model of bilingual development.

3.3.3.2 Child's Everyday Practices in the Second Language

Children used the second language in their everyday practices more than their parents. In general, the children's index of second language use was higher than for their parents (2.3 vs. 1.4. The difference was significant in accordance with the Pared-sample *t*-test, $t = 9.9$ but nevertheless, was still low ***) (see Table 3.4). In accordance with the parents' assessments, children of Russian parents used Finnish more often than children of Finnish parents used Russian (2.3 vs. 1.8, $t = 3.1$***).

3.3.4 Parents' Language Management

3.3.4.1 Choice of Bilingual Education

The Bilingual Kindergarten Choice

Most of the parents (88 % of Russian parents and 92 % of Finnish parents) said that they had the opportunity of choosing another kindergarten, but not all of them had considered it (only 62 % of the Russian and 52 % of the Finnish parents), and a few had visited other kindergartens for comparison. Only 68 % of the Russian parents and 78 % of the Finnish parents visited the kindergarten before submitting their application.

The Bilingual Preschool Choice

Most Russian parents and Finnish parents (92 % and 98 %, respectively) said that they had the opportunity of choosing another school, but not all of them had even considered this option (68 % of Russian and 43 % of Finnish); several parents (33 % of Russian and 17 % of Finnish) visited other schools before making their decision. Eighty-two percent of the Russian parents and 79 % of the Finnish parents visited the Finnish-Russian schools before submitting their application. The attitude toward bilingual education was the main, but not the only factor in school preference. One of the Finnish parents explained their choice in the following way:

> We did not choose the school according to the language principle. This school is closest to where we live. The Russian language studies are an additional bonus and undoubtedly a good thing, as well as the opportunity to get to know the Russian people.

In elementary school, the choice of languages is usually made by the parents, but later, the children make the choices themselves. Most of the pupils attended bilingual kindergartens before entering the school. The choice was made in the family and with the help of close friends, and relatively few parents discussed the decision with the pedagogical staff of the school and the Finnish speech therapist.

Code-Switching Between Languages

Code-switching between languages was not acceptable to the majority of families, who tried to keep the languages separate. Most parents in mixed families used the *One Parent One Language* strategy (see Palviainen & Boyd, and Doyle, in this volume). In some mixed families, the Russian mother might ask the child to respond to the Finnish father in Finnish, the Russian father reported speaking Finnish in the supermarket, when the child did not understand him, or when strangers were present. The Finnish father changed over to Russian at home, at the homes of his relatives, in the street, or when his wife objected to him speaking Finnish. Only one parent

said that he spoke to the child in the other language (more often the Russian-speaking parents switched to Finnish, but sometimes the Finnish parents tried to teach their children some Russian or to demonstrate that they know some Russian) during playtime. One Finnish mother switched to Russian at the child's request; another did so when the Russian father was present (and vice versa). One Russian mother reported translating some utterances from Russian into Finnish (and vice versa) for the purpose of teaching the child. Several Russians changed language in department stores, in the street, at the doctor's, and when addressing the child in front of Finnish people. Occasionally, code-switching was part of the family policy: mothers addressed fathers when asking for help or support. Several parents spoke in one language, but read in another language, and some reported switching to their mother tongue when they were tired or in a hurry (see Kopeliovich 2009; Palviainen and Boyd in this volume).

The code-switching happened with one child when the Russian father did not understand what the child was saying; another Finnish-speaking father sang Finnish songs with children at home and helped them with homework in Finnish. Some parents switched languages to be sure that the child had understood what was said; or while looking at books, or preparing a presentation for school, or explaining the content, or during play, or naming things (such as mushrooms, berries) for which the word in the other language was missing.

One mother reported attracting the child's attention through language switching. She emphasized that: "If the child is not listening properly, he 'wakes up' when the language changes." Similarly, Russian-speaking immigrant parents in Israel reported goal-directed application of code-switching (Schwartz et al. 2011). They used this strategy to discipline the child and to emphasize the parents' requests. It seems also that this strategy of crossing the language boundaries (Baker 2000) creates an effect of unexpectedness and even confusion, thereby eliciting the child's attention (see also Palviainen and Boyd in this volume).

Another Russian-speaking mother from a bilingual family mentioned that she had educational goals for speaking Finnish; she needed the father to back her up if the child was wrong or had behaved badly.

3.3.5 The Parents' Perception of the Outcomes of Early Bilingual Education

3.3.5.1 Changes in Parent–Child Communication

In accordance with most parents' reports, bilingual education did not have much impact on their communication practices with children in the second language in both Finnish and Russian groups of parents (see Table 3.5).

Bilingual education was found to have a significant impact on intensification of parent–child communication in only one case: More than half of the Russian-speaking parents mentioned that they started using Russian more often in communication

Table 3.5 Intensification of everyday parent–child communication in second language and mother tongue (%)

Language of communication	Kindergarten		Preschool	
	Russian (n = 68)	Finnish (n – 36)	Russian (n = 37)	Finnish (n = 42)
Second language	12	21	7	14
Mother tongue	54	29	18	11

Table 3.6 Parents' views on outcomes of child's bilingual education (Indexes, ranged from 1 to 5)

Intensification	Russian parents M / SD	Finnish parents M / SD	*t-test* *t*
Parent–child communication in Finnish	1.5(1.0)	1.8(1.6)	1.7
Parent–child communication in Russian	2.8(1.7)	1.6(1.2)	4.4***
Child's communication in Finnish	2.6(1.6)	2.5(1.6)	.43
Child's communication in Russian	3.3(1.7)	3.1(1.4)	.82
Child's communication with Finnish children	3.0(2.0)	2.1(1.9)	2.5**
Child's communication with Russian children	3.8(1.9)	3.1(2.0)	2.1*
Child's competence in Finnish	3.3(2.0)	2.7(1.9)	1.8
Child's competence in Russian	4.1(1.7)	3.8(1.7)	.71
Parent's satisfaction with bilingual setting	4.5(.59)	4.6(.65)	1.3
Child's satisfaction	4.7(.55)	4.5(.64)	1.9

The higher the scores, the more positive were the changes, the higher the language competence and the greater the satisfaction
M mean, *SD* standard deviation, *t* independent samples t-test
*$p < .05$; **$p < 01$; ***$p < .001$

with their children. This case supported our suggestion that Finnish and Russian parents had different strategies of using Finnish and Russian in the home. Russian parents aspired to maintain Russian at home as a heritage language. In this case, the bilingual education of their child appeared to strengthen this tendency.

3.3.5.2 Changes in Child's Language Practices and Competence

Generally, parents (both Finnish and Russian groups) reported that their children' progress in Russian was significantly higher than their progress in Finnish (in accordance with Pared-Sample *t*-Test): in children practices (3.2 vs. 2.3, $t = 3.9$***); intergroup communication (3.6 vs. 2.6, $t = 3.9$***); and language competence (4.0 vs. 3.0, $t = 4.2$***) (Table 3.6).

Finnish parents were convinced that their children's progress was more significant in L2 (Russian) than in the mother tongue. Contrary to this, the Russian parents thought that their children made more significant progress in the mother tongue (see Table 3.7).

Table 3.7 Parents' opinions about children's language practice and communication progress (%)

	Russian parents		Finnish parents	
The child did the following more frequently:	In Finnish	In Russian	In Finnish	In Russian
Used separate words	53	64	41	81
Used sentences	31	65	38	44
Watched TV	28	42	24	22
Interacted with children from the out-group	51	69	28	52
Began to understand better	57	80	50	90
Began to speak better	49	77	59	73

The Russian and Finnish parents differed considerably in their opinions regarding the influence of bilingual kindergarten education on their child's linguistic competence. Ninety percent of the Finnish parents shared the view that the child learned to understand Russian better, and 73 % of them assessed the child's spoken Russian as better than before. This is not unexpected, considering that the starting point was zero. Only 57 % of the Russian parents estimated that the child learned to understand and 49 % assessed that the child could speak Finnish better than before. Russian parents appeared to expect greater and more rapid progress in Finnish. Both groups agreed that the level of the first language improved (Russian parents were more positive than the Finnish parents). It may be that the Russian-speaking parents and teachers were more active communicators than the Finnish parents and teachers, as we found in the case of immigrant Russian-speaking teachers in the study on Russian-German bilingual kindergartens in Germany (Moin et al. 2011), and were motivated to increase the input of the society's non-dominant language.

The results indicate the parents' positive attitudes toward bilingual education (see Fig. 3.7).

3.3.5.3 Child's Language Competence

Parents were asked to rate the child's language competence in Finnish and Russian using "can-do" speaking and comprehension items. All responses were given on a five-point scale. Naturally, children's competence in L1 was higher than in L2 (see Table 3.8).

3.3.5.4 The Parents' Satisfaction with Bilingual Education

Parents were asked to rate their own and their child's satisfaction with the kindergarten/school choice on a five-point scale, ranging from 5 – "Completely satisfied" to 1 – "Completely dissatisfied." Parents' satisfaction with bilingual education was measured by the following question: "To what degree are you satisfied with the choice of kindergarten?" Child's satisfaction with the kindergarten was assessed by parents who were asked to answer the question: "How comfortable does the child feel in the kindergarten?"

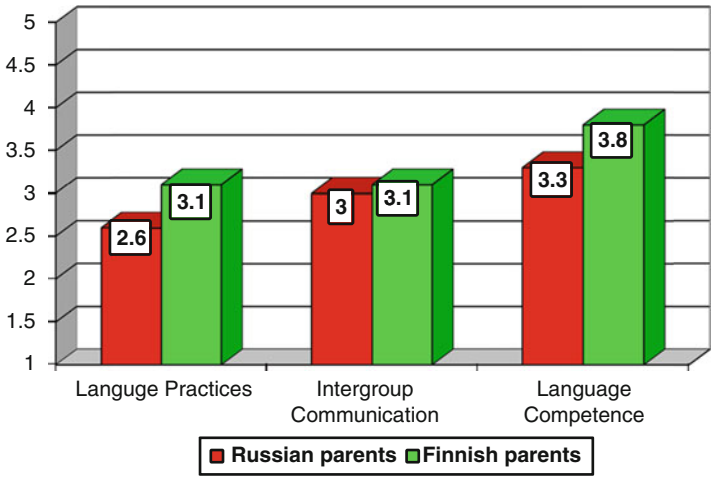

Fig. 3.7 Russian and Finnish parents' opinions about changes in children's second language practices, intercultural communication and competence (indexes, ranged from 1 to 5)

Table 3.8 Russian and Finnish parents' assessments of their children's language competence (Indexes from 1 to 5)

	Russian parents	Finnish parents	*t-test*
	M / SD	M / SD	*t*
Finnish	3.0(1.3)	4.6(.76)	9.6***
Russian	4.4(.81)	2.7(1.2)	10.9***

The higher the scores, the higher the language competence
M mean, *SD* standard deviation, *t* independent samples t-test
*$p<.05$; **$p<01$; ***$p<.001$

Almost all parents in both groups expressed the opinion that their children were satisfied with their bilingual education and that they felt very comfortable in the educational setting (96 % of Finnish parents and 94 % of Russian parents). The parents themselves were satisfied with their children's bilingual education: 95 % of Finnish parents were satisfied "in general" and "very much," 4 % "partly," and none were dissatisfied; among the Russian-speakers, 94 % were satisfied "in general" and 'very much," 4 % "partly" and only one was dissatisfied. No differences in general satisfaction with kindergarten/preschool were found among parents from various types of families.

It is important to note that the parents' satisfaction with bilingual educational institutions was significantly higher than their assessment of the progress in the children's language practices; intercultural communication and competence (see Fig. 3.8).

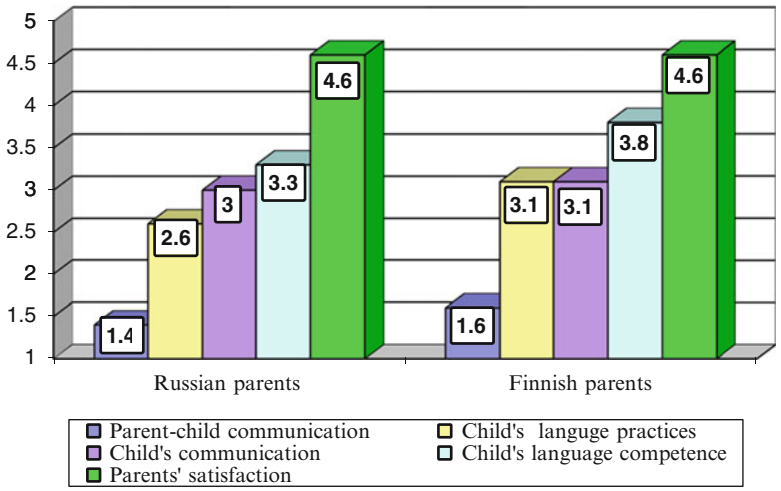

Fig. 3.8 Parents' opinions about progress of children's language practices, intercultural communication and competence (Indexes, ranged from 1 to 5)

3.4 Conclusion

The question regarding the use of different languages in multilingual and monolingual families is multifaceted. The attitudes of parents representing minority and majority languages diverged significantly, and their expectations of positive bilingualism were connected with predominance of the stronger language first and an added amount of the weaker language at a later stage. Literacy was expected to be provided first in the stronger language. It seems almost impossible to reach an agreement between these contradictory preferences, but, according to the report of parents in our study, bilingual education runs smoothly.

3.4.1 Parents' Perceptions of Progress in Child's Development: Different Trajectories

All parents in both the Finnish and Russian groups reported progress in their child's Finnish and Russian development, in the child's everyday language practices, intergroup communication and language competence. At the same time, they estimated that this progress was not the same in the first and second languages, but had various trajectories. The Finnish and Russian parents reported that their children's progress in Russian was significantly higher than their progress in Finnish. This pattern of data might be attributed to the fact that Russian is a minority language in Finland, and Russian parents aspire to maintain Russian as a heritage language at home.

The child's bilingual education strengthens this tendency and most of the Russian parents begun using Russian more often in communication with their children. At the same time, Russian parents expected far greater and more rapid progress in Finnish, but did not support their expectations by input of Finnish in interaction with their child. They believed that their child would acquire Finnish "automatically" because of the Finnish language environment.

As we noted above, for the Finnish parents, Russian is a foreign language and the onset of its acquisition occurred only on entering the education settings. In this context, it was natural that the Finnish parents paid more attention to their child's progress in Russian, which was more noticeable to them than the progress in L1 (Finnish).

3.4.2 Parents' Opinion About the Challenges of Bilingual Education

The Finnish parents reported a lack of satisfaction with the Russian-speaking staff's competence in Finnish, and stated that this required improvement. The Russian parents were similarly dissatisfied with the Finnish teachers' level of spoken Russian. In comparison to the kindergarten parents, the preschool parents observed more progress in both languages. These parents managed the ratio of the two languages in the environment differently and had set various goals for bilingual education. The friends who spoke the other language were considered a resource for natural communication. The Russian parents wished their children to communicate in Finnish with the Finnish students, and the Finnish parents wished the Russian students to speak Russian to their children.

3.4.3 Code-Switching as a Strategy of Parents' Language Management

Code-switching may be considered either to be a tool for strengthening language knowledge and for bonding within the family or as an indication of the lack of consistency and character of the people involved in the interaction. This depends on its role, context and level. Most of the parents, however, used the *One Parent One Language* strategy, and some Finnish parents tried to support the weaker language, i.e., Russian, which has less representation in the environment. In bilingual families, the common language might be the one that all family members understand better; if this was Russian, a tendency for balanced bilingualism was reported. In public spaces, the Russian speakers might communicate with the majority-language-speaking people in Finnish; in the Russian-speaking family, Russian predominated.

Occasionally, Russian-speaking parents taught their children the second language for their successful and smooth integration into the majority society. Now and then,

parents lacked a word in the other language and filled the gap with lexemes that they knew. Consequently, it seems that the parents applied *flexible* FLP, which is sensitive to changing circumstances.

As we discussed above, the parents in this study gained insights into the crucial role of early bilingual education by trial and error. Some Russian children really did need the linguistic comfort of speaking the mother tongue and were transferred to Finnish-Russian kindergartens and schools after they failed to adjust to the Finnish kindergarten or school. This transitional role of early bilingual education as a buffer against the potential traumatic effects of early immersion in L2 was one of the main reasons for establishing bilingual education (Baker 2000; Cummins 2000). Learning is more difficult in an unfamiliar language and children's self-concept might suffer when their language is not represented as important in the society's educational institutions.

3.4.4 First Language First Approach

Most of the Russian-speaking parents in Finland prefer a balanced language environment at preschool and a Russian-dominated in the kindergarten; later at school, more Finnish should be taught. For Finnish-speaking parents, this proportion was inversed: in the kindergarten, Finnish should be dominant; at preschool, languages should be balanced, and later on, Russian input must be increased. This preference reflects the *First Language First* approach toward early language development. In a similar, recent study, Moin et al. (2011) conducted a comparative analysis of Russian-speaking immigrant parents from the former Soviet Union living in different socioeconomic and socio-cultural conditions in Israel and Germany, with regard to their beliefs and attitudes toward their children's early bilingual education. The main differences between the German and Israeli parents were found in their general representations about the optimal model of bilingual development, and in their opinions about the desired and actual ratio between the heritage and host languages in the bilingual kindergarten. Whereas Russian-speaking immigrant parents in Germany were more oriented toward balanced bilingualism through co-development of both target languages, the parents in Israel preferred the *First Language First* approach at an early age. These differences were explained mostly by such factors as the international status of the host language (German versus Hebrew); instrumental values of the Russian language acquisition in the target countries, and children's family background.

In Germany, bilingual education is not a widespread phenomenon and the public opinion is often skeptical toward bilingual education, although many German-Russian kindergartens emerged already; some linguists and educators started to propagate the idea of bilingualism in education (Meng 2001; Nauwerck 2005; Anstatt 2011; Senyildiz 2010; Burd 2012; Soultanian 2012).

To conclude, all parents were satisfied with bilingual education and believed that knowledge of many languages, as well as competence and tolerance, are

essential for the citizens of a multicultural society. Finland must profit from its proximity to Russia. Bilingual kindergartens and schools teach children to accept different cultures, to be open-minded, to be interested in learning new languages and about different peoples and nations. Methods of language instruction are also important (Arnberg 1987; Vale and Feunteun 1995; Woods et al. 1999; Triarchi-Herrmann 2003). The fact that children grow up together might have a positive influence on their attitudes toward people who are different from the majority.

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Chapter 4
Children Learning Multilingually in Home, Community and School Contexts in Britain

Jean Conteh, Saiqa Riasat, and Shila Begum

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we present findings from ongoing, longitudinal, qualitative research through a series of 12 case studies with primary-aged children, their families and teachers in a post-industrial, multilingual city in the north of England. The children attend three different mainstream schools, and all attend a complementary, bilingual Saturday class, begun in 2003. The complementary class teachers, themselves bilingual and qualified mainstream primary teachers, aim to promote the children's learning through a bilingual pedagogy, which includes working with their families to harness '*funds of knowledge*' (Gonzalez et al. 2005). Gonzalez and others construct funds of knowledge as the '*hidden home and community resources*' of pupils, elicited through ethnographic analysis of the reciprocal approaches to learning embedded in children's home and community activities. A key methodological aspect of the concept is that the research through which the data are generated involves practitioners and researchers working together, recognising their different experiences and expertise as an important element in the research processes.

We contextualise our findings in both local and global sociolinguistic contexts, and in the policy contexts of the education system England. One of our central arguments in this chapter is that, in order to understand the ways that policies and practices change and become institutionally acceptable, it is essential to appreciate the influences of '*longer timescales*' (Lemke 2000) in the ecology of learning and classroom interaction. In the context of our research, this concept relates to the importance of understanding the ways in which the things that people do are

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M. Schwartz and A. Verschik (eds.), *Successful Family Language Policy: Parents, Children and Educators in Interaction*, Multilingual Education 7,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-7753-8_4,

influenced, not just by their own experiences but those of their families and communities, often across generations. In terms of family and language policy, this entails developing understanding of the histories of family migrations and experiences of education – sometimes across generations – and this is an important aspect of our own work. The next sections present relevant aspects of our own personal and professional experiences, which are both part of our methodological approach and also contextualise the findings from the work with the families, which is the main substance of this chapter.

4.2 Starting Points for Methodology: The Importance of Personal Histories of Multilingualism and Education

Saiqa

> My experiences as a bilingual learner allow me to empathise with children who feel the need to leave their home languages (thus part of their identity and culture) at home, because they want to conform to school's expectations of them.
>
> However, as a bilingual teacher I strongly promote a bilingual approach to teaching and learning in my classroom so that children can bring their home experiences and their complete identities to school.
>
> Furthermore, I like to share my experiences as a bilingual learner and teacher with both my monolingual and bilingual colleagues as a way of addressing misconceptions about bilingualism amongst teachers but also to show that a bilingual approach to teaching is not exclusive to bilingual teachers only.

Saiqa's words illuminate her personal and professional experiences, first as a pupil from a minority ethnic family in mainstream school in England, then as a teacher in the same school contexts. They show the tensions and contradictions she experienced as she progressed through the education system as a pupil in primary and secondary school in the 1990s. She developed the strong sense that English was the only acceptable language in classrooms where her home languages had no place. This view was reinforced in her family setting. Her parents, both migrants from Pakistan, were keen for their children to speak English as much and as well as possible and encouraged them to do this at every opportunity. By the time she became a teenager, Saiqa had almost forgotten Punjabi, the language of her parents. But by the time she qualified as a teacher in 2002, her perspectives had shifted. The knowledge she gained from her study of bilingualism on her degree course, along with her practical experience as a student teacher in multilingual primary classrooms, had convinced her that it was essential for children's home languages to be recognised in their mainstream classrooms, and used as a means of promoting their learning and of enhancing their chances of success.

Shila

Shila, who is of Bangladeshi heritage, recalls her own childhood experiences as a member of a minority group within a minority; Bangladeshi heritage families are a very small group compared to the Pakistani-heritage community in the city.

Shila was born in 1980 in Bangladesh and, at the age of five, she travelled to England with her mother and older sister to join her father, who had migrated several years previously, returning to Bangladesh from time to time to visit his family. Two days after she arrived, her father took her hand and they set off together to walk to the school where she was to be enrolled. She continues the story:

> I remember a tall, white lady with a reassuring smile. My father put my hand into this friendly teacher's hand and I was led away to a classroom where there were many children, all speaking a language that was not English and that I was surprised to find I couldn't understand. I discovered later it was Punjabi. A boy came up to me and said in Bangla: "Zebla teachare thumar naam khoyebla khoiyo 'yes miss'" *(When you hear the teacher say your name, say 'yes miss')*. And so I overcame the first hurdle of acceptance into my new class. At playtime, I followed all the other children out into the freezing cold playground. I spotted the boy and ran towards him, but to my surprise, he pushed me away. 'Don't stand by me,' he ordered in Bangla, 'and don't speak to me in Bangla any more.' And off he ran, anxious not to be identified as a speaker of the language that would mark him out in the playground as different from the majority.

Shila took the rebuff cheerfully. She quickly learned to communicate in English, and became valued by her teacher as an interpreter and mentor for future new arrivals from Bangladesh. At home, with encouragement from their father, the family maintained Bangla as a shared language and the children developed literacy in it. When she began her training as a teacher in 2002, Shila was a confident speaker and writer of both Bangla and English, and she recognised that her bilingualism was a positive resource for her professional future.

Jean

My own personal and professional experiences have been very different from those of Saiqa and Shila. I was brought up in a rural area in the north east of England, went to school, then university, trained as a teacher and, aged 21, set off as a volunteer to work as a teacher trainer in Sierra Leone, West Africa. The experience was a revelation to me, not least because of the ways that Sierra Leoneans mediated several different languages with confidence and conviviality in their everyday lives, and then learned English in school, sometimes to a high degree of success. When I returned to England in 1987, I got a job in a primary school as a 'Section 11 teacher' (the role of section 11 teachers was to support the language development of pupils learning English as an additional language). This was in the city where Saiqa and Shila lived and in a school very like the ones that they were at the time attending.

The attitudes towards multilingualism that I encountered surprised me, after my time in West Africa. Children were discouraged from using their home languages in the classroom by their (mostly monolingual) teachers, who believed strongly that this would impair their learning of English. The children thus quickly and tacitly learned that it was inappropriate and unacceptable to speak or write any language but English in school. Yet many of them had relatively low proficiency in English compared with their home languages and could not really express all they wanted to say. They did not progress academically, which was the cause for much genuine concern on the part of both the teachers and the local authority

advisory service. Much effort was spent in trying to think of ways of making up for their 'deficits'. But I found the children, as individuals, alert and lively, interested in and knowledgeable about the world around them and very aware of and interested in languages. When encouraged, they showed sophisticated awareness of language and cultural diversity. I learned a lot about their heritage countries from them. The ways in which their potential was systemically ignored fueled a sense of anger in me, which led, years after I had left the school, to my embarking on a PhD. It was not until then that I began to understand some of the complex forces at play that constructed the children's experiences in their classrooms and influenced their chances of success.

We begin with these extracts from our personal histories in order to recognise their methodological importance in the work that we do together and to situate them in the theoretical frameworks that are central to this chapter. Our stories illuminate the concept of '*history in person*' (Holland and Lave 2001), and illustrate the processes of ' *… subjects' intimate self-making and their participation in contentious local practice*' (p. 5), which underpin the concept. They also, we suggest, are manifestations of Lemke's (2000, p. 280) concept of '*heterochrony, in which a long timescale produces an effect in a much shorter timescale activity*'. Shila's and Saiqa's professional identities and practices as primary teachers are shaped, we argue – as, of course, are Jean's, as a university academic – not just by their training, but also by their own earlier experiences as pupils, and their families' and communities' experiences with particular language and cultural heritages. These motivations are all important strands in the theoretical and methodological perspectives of the research that informs this chapter.

4.2.1 Theoretical Frameworks for Understanding Learning Across and Between Contexts

4.2.1.1 Theoretical Notion of Context

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) model of the ecology of human development provides a way for educators to map out how an individual child's learning is bound up with home, community and school influences, and to recognise and value the roles of family and community in their educational achievements. The model helps to recognise how, '*nested networks of interactions. create an individual's ecology*' (Renn 1999, p. 6) and so we can understand the ways in which individual learners' experiences are linked to family and community influences, as well as wider national and global trends and factors. It shares some of the same theoretical viewpoints and structures as cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT) which, as Roth and Lee (2007) argue, offers the lenses to help us explain human activity in layered ways and develop '*dialectically related levels of analysis*' to understand them. Their metaphor of '*threads, strands and fibers*' (2007, p. 195) conceptualises the complex ways in

which the very specific local experiences of the participants in a classroom activity are influenced by, and also feed into, the national and global events that construct them. Central to this way of thinking about learning is the notion of context. Cole (1996, pp. 132–136) argues that it is the continual interplay of interaction between and across Bronfenbrenner's layers that is crucial to the understanding of the model. He proposes a nuanced analysis of context that includes an understanding of both '*that which surrounds*', and '*that which weaves together*' the different layers of interaction. For example, the ways in which a child is viewed by their teachers in mainstream school in terms of their academic capabilities can be deeply influenced by their teachers' personal attitudes to their family's languages and cultural background. Cole also argues for the need to include wider scales of analysis, particularly in relation to time. Lemke (2000) agrees, suggesting that a '*spherical topology*' of complex systems can lead us to a 'flat' view of the community being studied, which:

> … sees only the human scale, indeed only the scale of the moment and the event, privileging that scale in relation to all others. It does not ask how and why events widely separated in time and space [can] seem to re-enact the same patterns … ' (p. 274)

As we have already suggested, Lemke's ideas about studying '*the longer timescales*' of individual experience are helpful in understanding the learning experiences of children whose family histories of migration have stretched over several generations, and how individual experience is part of '*the emergence of sustainable institutions that persist over times longer than the participation of any one individual in them*' (p. 287). In the following paragraph, we consider this idea in relation to language and culture across the generations.

Parents' attitudes and understandings are clearly central to keeping home languages alive and supporting young children's identity formation. They are shaped dialogically in communities, not in isolation. It is essential to understand how the influences '*extend through significant portions of the life of an individual to those that are undertaken by the members of an institution or of a smaller or larger community*' (Lemke 2000, p. 287). Research into the role of grandparents, for example (e.g. Jessel et al. 2004), has revealed their special importance to their young grandchildren's learning. Cooking, storytelling, gardening, visiting family and watching videos were just a few of the activities where first language, culture and heritage supported both the children's and the grandparents' identity and self-esteem. Moreover, such activities are '*funds of knowledge*' (Gonzalez, et al. 2005), which can contribute practically to children's success in school in ways that Gonzalez et al. illustrate. Their approach to theorising learning as a reciprocal, dialogic process, and their teacher-led processes of research into community practices have developed our understandings of the nature and extent of such knowledge, and its potential for enhancing children's success in school. As such they need to be taken into account in policy and practice. They are also important models for ways of researching multilingual learning across contexts, as we show in Sect. 4.4.

4.2.1.2 Language, Identity and Learning

Taking an ecological perspective on classroom learning has implications for the ways we think and talk about languages themselves. Multilingualism needs to be considered as a set of social and cultural processes, rather than simply a linguistic phenomenon. This means we need to move beyond notions of languages as simply built up of sounds, words and texts that we can understand through the 'neutral' disciplines of phonology, lexis and semantics. Neither do notions of languages as sets of skills, functions and processes, although they may perhaps be more pedagogically oriented, help us to focus our attention on the layered complexities of different learning contexts. García (2009, p. 45) calls for a radical shift, from foregrounding '*the perspective of the language itself*', to considering the '*perspectives of the users themselves*'. To facilitate this, Heller (2007) argues for a view of languages as '*resources called into play by social actors*' in order to '*make possible the social reproduction of existing conventions and relations as well as the production of new ones*'. Similar reformulations of established sociolinguistic concepts, such as language repertoires, help to shift our perspectives towards the social, cultural and historical dimensions of language and language use in families and communities. Blommaert and Backus (2011, p. 9) invite us to consider repertoires as '*biographically organized complexes of resources*' which '*follow the rhythms of human lives*' and which are learnt in a vast range of ways. Along with these shifts in the ways that language can be defined, researchers are developing concepts that describe the ways that people use languages, such as '*languaging*' (e.g. Makoni and Pennycook 2007), which is characterised as '*social practices that are actions performed by our meaning-making selves*' and '*translanguaging*' (e.g. García 2009, p. 45), which she defines as, '*… multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds …*'. We need to recognize more fully the implications of such ideas for understanding classroom practices and for pedagogy.

Classrooms are complex, organic environments where learning is influenced and mediated by a wide range of influences: political, ideological, historical, social and cultural. As Creese and Martin (2003, p. 161) argue, an ecological model of classrooms (see Sect. 4.3.1 on Bronfenbrenner's model) that includes languages '*requires an exploration of the relationship of languages to each other and to the society in which these languages exist*'. Thus, it helps to expose the ideologies and inequalities entailed in the wider society's constructions and discourses of languages and their speakers, and how these impinge on children's learning. In the personal layer, it enables us to recognise how multilingualism contributes to the construction of identity in the lives of individuals, who as Hall (1992, p. 310) puts it '*speak two [or more] cultural languages [and] translate and negotiate between them*'. This can be across spaces as well as timescales, for example many of the individuals interviewed in our study reveal how they perform their identities differently 'back home' (Bolognani 2007, p. 60) in Pakistan or Bangladesh than they do in England.

Such an understanding is vital for researching learning across contexts, in order to recognise the personal and professional identities of parents, children and

teachers who '*live in two [or more] languages*' (Hall 2001, p. 5). In this way, it reveals the powerful links between language and identity, showing how identity negotiation and performance are crucial aspects of educational success for both teachers and learners (Cummins 2001; Garcia 2009).

Thinking about languages and learning in these ways has led to recognition that what Cummins and Early (2011) call '*maximum identity investment*' is a key factor in learning and educational success. Creese and Blackledge (2010, p. 109) see translanguaging in a pedagogic context as enabling the learner to, '… *make meaning, transmit information, and perform identities using the linguistic signs at her disposal to connect with her audience in community engagement*'. García (2009) argues that it promotes a language identity which is '*brighter and more intense*' than when the user's languages are kept separate. Such notions help us to move beyond the constraints of the 'monolingualising' ideology of the English system and to think differently about language in learning. Instead of focusing on the problems encountered in multilingual classrooms, we can consider pedagogic possibilities in classrooms where teachers and learners are seen as social actors, each bringing their repertoires of linguistic and cultural resources to the context in order to enrich the potential for learning. For example, young children who experience multilingualism in their everyday lives have been characterised by Gregory (2005, p. 225) as syncretic learners, engaging in '*a creative process in which children reinvent culture as they draw upon diverse resources, both familiar and new*'. Gregory shows how children's '*simultaneous membership*' of different linguistic groups at home and in school means that:

> … they syncretise the languages, literacies, narrative styles and role relationships appropriate to each group and then go on to transform the languages and cultures they use to create new forms relevant to the purposes needed. (p. 225).

This clearly raises issues for current policy and practice, especially in teaching and learning contexts where the children experience multilingualism in home and community, but – on the whole – their teachers do not, and so they do not share the language and cultural backgrounds of their pupils.

4.2.2 Sociolinguistic and Policy Contexts for the Study

4.2.2.1 Britain as a Superdiverse Society

Currently, about 16.8 % of pupils in primary and 12.3 % in secondary schools in England are multilingual (DfE 2011a). The term most commonly used in policy to categorise them is 'EAL' (English as an additional language) learners, which is sometimes used to refer only to pupils who are more specifically defined as 'new arrivals' (DfE 2006). The history of language diversity and its constructions in the education system in England is complex. Post-colonial migrations from the 1950s onwards contributed to the formation of large, settled, urban, multilingual

communities, while more recent migrations are of a different nature, often more temporary and 'circular' in that people often arrive in Britain from other countries than their countries of origin and may move on elsewhere after a short time. England has become a 'superdiverse' society, a condition, which, as Vertovec (2007, p. 1027) argues, means that *'the iconic variables' of ethnicity, class and gender can no longer be constructed simply as a list of separate 'factors' in diversity but need to be considered as part of complex contexts'*. Changes to the European Union in 2004 meant that migrant workers from the 'A8' accession countries (the eight countries who joined at that time) gained the rights to travel, work and study in all the countries of the EU. Many of them have travelled widely, sometimes joining communities whose journeys began in the same countries of origin, but whose migrations had very different causes and incentives. New arrivals now seek enrolment in mainstream schools that previously had no multilingual pupils. While London is still home to the vast majority of pupils from migrant backgrounds, there is no longer any part of England that can be regarded as homogenous (DfE 2011a).

This history of successive layers of migration to England plays out in its many multilingual cities, with their complex and fascinating linguistic landscapes. The city of Bradford, where the research reported in this chapter took place, is part of one of the most diverse areas in England outside London – it is also, as recent media reports have shown (BBC 2011), one of the most segregated. Its largest minority ethnic community is of Pakistani heritage, descended from the young men who, like Saiqa's father, began arriving from the Mirpur region in the 1950s to work in the huge and profitable woollen mills. Shila's father was part of a slightly later and much smaller migration from Bangladesh. Over a third of pupils overall in primary schools in Bradford is now of south Asian heritage; the vast majority third- and even fourth-generation British citizens. The maintenance of strong family links and traditions of marriage to partners from 'back home', along with the so-called 'myth of return' – though now played out in different ways from the pioneer generation (Bolognani 2007, p. 60) – feed a two-way traffic between Bradford and areas of Pakistan such as Mirpur.

The linguistic landscape of Bradford matches the multifaceted cultural context. In a study of language use in some wards of the city, Aitsiselmi (2004) showed how – contrary, perhaps, to expectation – the home languages are not disappearing through the generations. Children use different languages and varieties of the same language naturally and flexibly to mediate the range of social practices and contexts they encounter in their daily lives. As such, they are typical of the large group of 'EAL learners' in England for whom English is not really an additional language at all; it is one of the many that make up their normal, everyday language and social practices:

> Although heritage language(s) still had an important role to play, particularly in the home environment, for the members of the younger generation, English had become the main language of communication used among siblings, peers and friends, both at school and at home (p. 26).

Aitsiselmi's findings develop a complex and fluid picture of multilingual communities as they have developed over time in England. Of course, it needs to be

remembered that, even in cities like Bradford, 'native' speakers of English are still in the majority. For them, language diversity – though metaphorically and often literally on their doorsteps – is largely outside their direct personal experience, but mediated through the tensions and uncertainties, often fomented by media coverage, of immigration, failing schools and general urban decline.

4.2.2.2 National Policy Responses: Diversity, Inclusion or Deficit?

Official responses to multilingualism in national education policy and practice are shot through with the tensions of attempting to recognise and develop both 'diversity' and 'inclusion' (Ainscow et al. 2009; Conteh 2006). Safford (2003, p. 8) argues that, in England, we have '*conflicting policy paradigms*' in relation to multilingualism: '*the celebration of ethnic and linguistic diversity*' sits uncomfortably alongside the '*universal model of language development and assessment*', which the system demands. In this rigid, standardised assessment régime, children belonging to minority ethnic groups, such as those described in this chapter, are often identified as '*underachieving*' (DCSF 2008, p. 4) – there is also the perception that 'white working class pupils' are failing too (BBC 2010). Moreover, in a policy context where parental involvement is seen as key to children's education success (DCSF 2008), the families of both groups are sometimes categorised as '*hard to reach*' or '*vulnerable*' (Kendall et al. 2008, p. 53) and so in need of extra support. For example, parents such as those in our study, who may not read or write English, are then regarded as not being able to support their children's learning at home. Research of a more qualitative nature (e.g. Barn et al. 2006), however, shows the dangers of over-simplifying the issues related to parental involvement in their children's education. Researchers such as Drury (2007) and Bligh (2011) reveal how differing cultural practices in families in relation to language and interaction can create dissonance with accepted school practices, particularly in the early years. Bligh's work, in particular, is important in the way she shows how concepts such as the 'silent period', which is often interpreted by mainstream teachers as characterised by passivity and lack of engagement, can mask the actual amount and nature of the learning that is going on, often not through language.

The National Curriculum (DfE 2011b), originally introduced in 1988 and statutory for pupils aged 5–16 in public education in England, reflects the diversity/inclusion tensions discussed above. Its 'equality of opportunity' goals entail the entitlement to standard English for all (Cameron and Bourne 1988), within an overall 'monolingualising' national ethos (Heller 2007). A subtractive view of multilingualism prevails: '*community languages*' may be constructed in some ways as a '*rich resource*' (NCC 1991, p. 1), but only until children are confident enough in English to do without them, not as a central support in their learning and development as multilinguals. This approach to multilingualism can be tracked through key national policies, often in response to wider social problems and designed to promote 'equality of opportunity', which have dominated educational discourses

for years. Central to this is the Swann Report (DES 1985), which concluded that cultural and linguistic maintenance was beyond the remit of mainstream education and, instead, was '*best achieved within the ethnic minority communities themselves*' (DES 1985, p. 406). This is evidence of the way that the role of children's other languages in their learning is not recognised or well understood and how the maintenance of multilingualism is not recognised as a worthwhile educational aim. Indeed, the broad implication is that it can be a deficit, as the statement on inclusion '*including all learners*' shows (DfE 2011c). So, as we argue above, the ways in which parents can support their children at home in their home languages are discounted in school.

Provision for 'modern foreign language' (MFL) teaching in the primary curriculum suffers the same marginalisation. Largely restricted to secondary pupils (aged over 11 years), it has experienced a strong decline over recent years. Currently many students leave school with no knowledge of other languages at all – and a significant number, of course, go on to become teachers. Though the introduction of the *Key Stage Two (KS2) languages framework* (DfES 2005), for pupils aged 7–11 years, and of MFL at KS2 offers a potentially interesting approach to developing language awareness and knowledge about language in primary contexts, this is not generally reflected in practice. While a small number of primary schools have taken advantage of resources within their communities to introduce languages such as Arabic and Urdu, the most popular language choices are French and Spanish, with German a less common third. This lack of attention to community languages in mainstream schools means that the onus of maintaining their heritage languages is on the communities themselves.

4.2.2.3 Family and Community Responses to Multilingual Learning

For many years, multilingual communities in England have been involved in setting up provision for maintaining and promoting their heritage cultures and languages. These are referred to by different terms, such as complementary, community, supplementary, or heritage language education. Funded and often managed and arranged by families from the particular communities, such schools and classes are common across the country (there are about 70 in Bradford alone), though little is known about them outside the communities themselves. But research is beginning to change this, as it slowly reveals evidence of the vital ways in which these settings provide for multilingual children – and their teachers – 'safe spaces' in which all their languages can take on full and equal roles in classroom interactions (e.g. Conteh et al. 2007; Lytra and Martin 2010; Blackledge and Creese 2010). The research shows the importance of these schools and classes for children and their families, often providing a sense of belonging and recognition of identity lacking in mainstream schooling. Family involvement includes running and managing the classes, teaching on a voluntary basis, organising social events, fundraising and so on.

4.2.2.4 The Complementary Class in the Study

When Saiqa and Shila qualified as primary teachers, Saiqa as a language specialist and Shila as a specialist in the early years, their own experiences of bilingualism and their convictions about its importance led to the establishment of a complementary Saturday class. For the past 10 years, funded by small local grants and more recently by a larger grant from a national foundation,[1] they have developed what has come to be termed a 'bilingual pedagogy', with primary-aged children (Conteh 2007; Conteh and Begum 2008). Their main goal is to develop and enhance children's understanding of and confidence in using all their language resources to support their learning in mainstream schools. Learning is planned round a theme, often using story-based activities. Maths and literacy games help to develop the children's skills in these parts of the mainstream curriculum. The Saturday class is the context for the research that we report in this chapter.

The work in the classes has grown to include workshops and summer projects for parents to encourage them to work with their children using the strategies developed in the classes. For example, cooking workshops have led to parents involving their children in similar activities at home and exploiting the rich opportunities for learning they entail. One mother, commenting on this in an interview, talked about how it had led her to see the potential for learning in the home, '*I have noticed I would overlook opportunities, but now I try and motivate myself and my children*'. Reflecting her growth in confidence, she continued, '*I've learnt that understanding my family is very important*'.

4.3 Methodology

4.3.1 Researching Multilingual Learning – The Importance of Ecological Theories of Learning

> … we know a great deal more about short-term social processes: conversation, negotiation, 'service encounters', classroom lessons – events that last on the order of the time you can record on a videotape – than we do about activities and processes that last days or months or years … can we lump together all the timescales of 'activities' that last from minutes to lifetimes? (Lemke's 2000, p. 287)

Ecological theories of learning and development entail research processes that allow the collection of data from the different layers of interaction in a particular context. In addition, in line with Lemke, we suggest that such theories indicate the need for research that allows us to understand processes of interaction in communities,

[1] We acknowledge the support of the Paul Hamlyn Foundation in providing the funding for carrying out the research reported in this chapter.

Table 4.1 The case study children

Family	Gender	Age (years)	Languages spoken	Time in complementary class (years)
1	Girl	8	Punjabi, Urdu, English	1
	Boy	10	Punjabi, Urdu, Arabic, English	1
2	Boy	5	Punjabi, Urdu, English	1
	Boy	9	Punjabi, Urdu, English	4
	Boy	10	Punjabi, Urdu, Arabic, English	5
3	Girl	11	Punjabi, Urdu, Arabic, English	1
	Girl	10	Punjabi, Urdu, Arabic, English	1
	Boy	6	Punjabi, Urdu, English	1
	Girl	5	Punjabi, Urdu, English	1
4	Girl	10	Punjabi, Urdu, Arabic, English	3
5	Girl	8	Punjabi, English	3
	Girl	7	Punjabi, English	2

not just from the viewpoints of all the participants, but also over extended periods of time. In order to make this possible, Lemke (p. 288) points out the importance of team research for understanding '*the main viewpoints within it [the context]*', while not expecting that '*all these views … fit consistently together*'. In a previous paper (Conteh 2012), Conteh described some of the co-research processes we have developed to trace and document the strands of learning of the children through their different contexts in home, community and mainstream school. In the following account of our subsequent work, we build on this analysis through foregrounding the longer timescales and the dimension of '*history in person*' (Holland and Lave 2001), as they are reflected in the viewpoints of all the participants in the research. In this way, we trace their constructions of language diversity and multilingualism over time and the ways in which the histories of the communities are implicated in their present experiences. Through this, it is possible to understand better how change already has been happening and so how it may come about in the future in the learning contexts we are working in. As Holland and Lave suggest, (p. 328):

> … futures, like histories, are constrained and shaped by lived experience that must be taken into account. If the two are different, it is not because one is real and the other imagined – both are imaginative constructions built out of people's perceived realities. Both visions of the past and visions of the future depend on discursive production, on certain kinds of narrativity. Both can serve as powerful vehicles for social critique, subversion, and transformation.'

The findings we report here are taken from linked case studies of 12 children from five families, who have all attended regularly at the complementary class, some for more than 4 years (Table 4.1).

Data were collected in June-July 2012 by the teacher co-researchers, who visited the children's homes, their mainstream schools and the Saturday class. They include interviews, school documents, children's work, photographs, observations and so on.

We present here short extracts from the data from the mainstream school and family contexts, which reflect the views of participants in the different contexts and – we suggest – reveal the '*longer timescales*' of change and continuity.

4.4 Results

4.4.1 Mainstream Schools and Teachers

The data collection covered three mainstream schools, which all had a high proportion of pupils from the Pakistani heritage community, with smaller numbers of Bangladeshi heritage children and a growing number of pupils from the European accession countries. Most of the teaching and management staff interviewed were 'white monolingual', as is the case nationally. Pressures of external monitoring and targets were clearly apparent, often reflected by senior staff in concerns about the low levels of English of the pupils, especially the 'new arrivals', which could jeopardise the overall success of the school in terms of its national ranking. One senior teacher commented:

> But we are aware actually, if we take in, let's say we take somebody in Year Six that's new to English, that can really affect the attainment and therefore our progress towards floor targets and things like that.

There were hints that language diversity, similarly, was constructed as putting attainment targets at risk. One headteacher, for example, expressed concerns about the time available to the children to study English (echoing, ironically, the anxieties of Saiqa's parents, many years ago); his perception was that neither they, nor their parents, spoke it at all at home. He suggested that language diversity, including studying a 'modern foreign language' was not relevant for his school, because of the pressure to raise standards in English:

> … I don't care whether the children can speak a modern foreign language or whatever … I want our children to be able to master English.

For this headteacher, we suggest, notions such as translanguaging would appear very strange, contesting his intuitive sense that languages need to be learnt in sequence, each one kept separate from the others. The same uncertainties about language diversity could be seen among the children's own class teachers, though in more nuanced and sometimes apparently contradictory ways. The teachers knew a great deal about the children they taught – though this, in the current political ethos – was often expressed in terms of 'levels', and many seemed to have warm and friendly relationships with their families. They expressed some very positive views about their pupils' abilities, noting their self-confidence and sociability, and showing interest in – though not much knowledge of – their home languages. They also showed awareness of the value of their activities in the Saturday class; one teacher commenting that it sounded '*fantastic*' and another commenting '*it would*

be really nice if the other children knew what goes on there'. A third teacher mentioned the importance of the children learning about their own cultures through activities like '*comparing British art with Asian art*', suggesting that it was '*something the [mainstream] school could do*'. When the conversation with this teacher moved on to languages, she showed strong support for the idea that the children needed to maintain the capacity to use their home languages, saying that '*it would be a shame*' if they were to lose them. When the interviewer tried to encourage her to consider how she might allow the children to use their home languages in their mainstream classroom, she intimated that she already did this to a small extent, but expressed some ambivalence about her own capacity to support such activities:

> … that would be interesting … I can't pick up any languages at all … they tell me words, we do some of that sometimes, but I don't pick any of it up at all, I can't remember it … it's good the majority of the time, but then somebody uses a rude word, and I can't understand it all and the class is in uproar …

As well as revealing her uncertainties about her own personal capabilities in languages, the teacher's words seem to suggest that introducing other languages into her classroom brings the risk of loss of class control, and so could lead to a dereliction of one of her basic responsibilities as a class teacher. They hint at the risk of '*disruption*' to '*the institutionally constructed discourses and classroom routines of mainstream teachers' practice*' that Bourne (2001, p. 256) argues, going back to the Plowden report, reflects historically constructed models of 'good practice' in primary classrooms. Such fears are common to many teachers (Conteh 2003, p. 125). As Bourne goes on to point out (p. 261), '*the core of the primary teacher's role, the basis of their professionalism*' is to assess their pupils' 'ability', and so:

> … for primary teachers to be faced with the fact that they cannot understand some of their children to monitor their learning, is tantamount to admitting that they cannot carry out their fundamental role competently. (p. 258)

Thus, in the data from the mainstream schools, we see reflected some of the systemic tensions between 'diversity' and 'inclusion' mentioned earlier, resulting in the marginalisation of other languages but English. Within the mainstream classroom spaces, there seems to be a 'celebration' of cultural diversity, but no real recognition of the value of multilingualism for learning. This is not in any way to blame the teachers, as they themselves are products of the monolingualising system in which they are operating and are constrained by the régimes of assessment in which their work is situated.

4.4.2 Parents and Children

As would be expected, because the parents are those who have chosen to send their children to the complementary class, the data from the family contexts show a much more textured and complex view about multilingualism than that from the mainstream schools. All the parents interviewed spoke about the value of their

children speaking their home languages in order to maintain contact with relatives 'back home' – a term commonly used regardless of where the informants themselves were born and brought up; one mother, for example, used the term repeatedly in her interview even though she was born in England, and had a good job where her English language skills were very important. Most of the children had been on trips to Pakistan, and parents were keen that they kept up regular contact with their relatives there, though this was not always easy, '*every week they'll speak to their grandparents (on the phone) … they'll understand. They're very good at understanding it, but not the speaking*'. They wanted their children to be able to speak Punjabi 'properly', which would be taken as a sign of respect, and they took pride in their children's skills, '*he was on the phone to aunty and he was speaking fluently …*'.

The children understood this point of view and showed awareness of the importance of family links with Pakistan, and their role in them. One eight-year old boy even talked about the need for him to speak good Punjabi, as he might end up marrying someone from 'back home' and he would not want to be embarrassed by his lack of Punjabi skills. Similarly, one mother showed how she was very conscious that speaking the home language was a distinctive part of her child's identity:

> … you should know your own mother tongue … most of our bachee [*children*], our children, they don't understand anything, even the grown-ups … there's no difference between us and goray [*white people*], so that's why I want them to learn …

And she went on to explain how she carefully corrected the politeness of her daughter's grammar:

> … sometimes she says the words she shouldn't say to the adults, she says the small one, just a mixture, she gets confused sometimes, she say 'tuu' then 'iss', then I tell her and she says sorry…

In turn, her daughter was very excited and proud of her growing self-confidence in her multilingual identity:

> We wrote in Urdu … I wrote my name and one of the sentences, and I can't believe I did it my first time and I guessed about the writing.

And she often spontaneously produced beautifully decorated 'translanguaged' poems in Urdu and English in the Saturday class: (Fig. 4.1).

Parents were aware of their own responsibilities for maintaining home languages with their children, and conscious that, '*it's a bit lazy on our part'* not to speak Punjabi with them, a job often left to grandparents. Interestingly, one father, a qualified teacher, talked about how he could at times feel *'shy in Punjabi*', and had to push himself to speak it, acknowledging that, '*in learning a language, you sometimes have to look a bit silly*'. Echoing Saiqa's experience as a child whose parents discouraged her from using her home language, he recognised how things had changed in the community over time, pointing out how '*30 years ago, they were saying "forget your home language, the objective was to have as much English as possible" …*'. He was aware of how far his own views had shifted; like one of the mothers, he expressed the view that the children should have the chance to learn

Fig. 4.1 Aisha's dual-language poem (The source of the photo is Bilingual Learning and Teaching Association (BLTA))

some Punjabi in mainstream school instead, perhaps, of French. This shift has many causes, not least the growing confidence of the community in their identities as British Asians. He pointed out how the inclusion of Punjabi in mainstream school could raise the status of the language, making it more '*highly regarded*' like French:

> …. I think it would be far better of they had a Punjabi lesson in school … it will make it more acceptable, it will value it … Punjabi was looked on as a very degrading language to learn …

For him, the main motivation for sending his children to the Saturday class, which he saw as an opportunity for his children to develop their Punjabi, was to enhance their personal development, '*to make them more rounded people*', a sentiment that was echoed by other parents. Some parents linked this with Islam, talking about how the children's learning of their home languages and cultures was part of their Muslim identity, and sometimes expressing aspirations for their children in these terms, '*… I hope that she is a good Muslim and respectable*', said one mother. Several of the children's comments referred to the need '*to be confident in your language and speak fluently*', and they suggested that the Saturday class was a help in this. At the same time, there was awareness of the notion that not everybody

supported the idea of speaking Punjabi in the wider community of the city. One boy commented that it was '*embarrassing*' to speak Punjabi in town, as people might say, '*what's he on about*?'

4.5 Conclusions: Making Links

The sections above only touch on the findings from the case studies, offering a very brief account of some of the views of the children's mainstream teachers and their families in relation to language diversity and multilingualism. There is much more to be elicited from the data. What we have presented here begins to indicate some key themes; the tensions in mainstream schools between external, 'monolingualising' assessment régimes and class teachers' specific and detailed knowledge of their pupils' capabilities; the lack of principled understandings on the part of the teachers about the potential of multilingualism for children's learning; the dissonances between family and community attitudes and approaches to multilingualism and those mediated in mainstream school. Moreover, the evidence clearly indicates the central importance of families in promoting their children's learning, and the need to construct over time the kinds of links between home and school that nurture positive, productive relationships in all their diversity.

Research such as that described here, based on ecological approaches to learning, cultural-historical activity theory and taking account of the longer timescales of the participants' experiences in home and community learning contexts, is beginning to show how family learning and complementary classes play an important role in multilingual pupils' identity construction, vital to their success in education. There is much that can be learnt from these contexts to inform policy and practice in mainstream schools. Families – and teachers – need to feel that they belong in their children's learning contexts, that their identities are recognised and valued. Positive things are, indeed, beginning to happen, as evidence from our case studies shows. But there are still many uncertainties. Despite perceptible shifts in wider national policy, the prevailing attitude among mainstream teachers is that speaking two languages can confuse their pupils and hold them back. In general, mainstream teachers lack the personal experience and theoretical knowledge about language diversity that would help allay their fears. The media – as well as ill-informed politicians – are, of course, quick to exploit such fears and this adds to the tensions within multilingual communities in cities like Bradford.

In many ways, cities such as Bradford are at the forefront of cultural and educational change, not just in England, but across Europe. While the problems may be great, successes are encouraging, and tracing the changes along a longer timescale helps to reveal the processes through which they come about. For example, the voices of experienced multilingual practitioners and researchers, such as Saiqa and Shila, are increasingly heard. Principles for progress may be simple, but they need to be mediated with the expertise, time and patience that will make a difference through all the layers which surround and weave through the children's experiences

of learning. National, and international, policy needs to recognise the complexity and diversity of local contexts, and the ways that changes take place, often through the detailed layers of interaction and across extended timescales. We need teacher education that provides beginning teachers with theoretical understandings of the role of language and multilingualism in learning and of the rich potential of language diversity in their classrooms; school leadership which recognises the importance of personal experience, values language diversity and children's identities and nurtures the contributions of parents in all their rich diversity. Most of all, we need further research into the ways that successful partnerships between family, community and school achieve their aims and purposes in promoting success.

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Part II
Family Language Policy as a Joint Social Venture

Chapter 5
Love, Language and Little Ones: Successes and Stresses for Mothers Raising Bilingual Children in Exogamous Relationships

Lynda Yates and Agnes Terraschke

5.1 Introduction

For immigrants to Australia from a language background other than English, the maintenance of their first language is often crucial both on an individual and a broader level. For individuals and the family, the heritage language can hold important symbolic power as a marker of identity and group membership and it can help to support and strengthen family cohesion and intergenerational communication (Oh and Fuligni 2010; Phinney et al. 2001; Portes and Hao 2002; Tseng and Fuligni 2000). On a broader level, immigrant language communities contribute to the cultural diversity of a country by enriching its social fabric through the addition of their customs, skills and alternative perspectives (Lo Bianco 2010). Families who maintain the use of their language(s) can offer the nation a ready resource of linguistic capital from which not only language professionals (translators and interpreters) but bilingual professionals in a range of areas can be drawn. In an age of global business, this kind of capital – and the kind of intercultural understanding that accompanies it – can be of considerable national value (Portes and Hao 1998).

In a country of immigration, particularly where the majority language is valued as a global lingua franca and associated with economic advancement and trade, language maintenance depends very much on the initiative of individuals, even in countries with favourable heritage language maintenance policies such as Australia. Despite the positive influence of an active heritage language community

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M. Schwartz and A. Verschik (eds.), *Successful Family Language Policy: Parents, Children and Educators in Interaction*, Multilingual Education 7,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-7753-8_5,

and the increasing prominence of online communities, the main site for language transmission and maintenance remains the family (Pauwels 2005; Schüpbach 2009). However, language maintenance does not just happen by itself, particularly in an English-dominant society. As a language of global significance in trade and a lingua franca of increasing popularity, English is something of a 'feral' language (Pennycook 2004), that is, a language whose importance in ever new domains can result in the neglect and suppression of other languages. Such tensions and conflicts may also be played out in the home. Children study and make friends through English at school, and as they identify increasingly with the world outside the home, they may become more reluctant to speak or even reject their heritage language. If the parents are to resist the pressures of English and succeed in passing on their language to their children, it is vital for families to negotiate, agree on and keep to a family language policy.

The initial period of settlement is particularly important for family language planning, since this is when the ground rules of family communication in the new environment and expectations for the future are set. It is usually a very busy and often disruptive time as families get used not only to their new surroundings, but often also to each other. Females in exogamous relationships who are joining their native English-speaking spouses face particular challenges in trying to use their L1 in the family home and to raise their children bilingually. If their partners do not speak or try to learn the minority language, the language will not have any currency within the language repertoire of the home, making it more challenging to introduce it to children born into the family. Partners may feel excluded if the heritage language is used when they are present, and so their attitude to both the value of bilingualism in general and towards the specific minority language in particular can have a great impact on its use at home. While the effects of parents' educational and socioeconomic background on language maintenance in the family has not been clearly established (Schwartz 2010) it seems likely that making a stand for bilingualism, planning for it and implementing it would be particularly difficult for mothers who have lower levels of education or generally have a low status in the family.

Yet even in these difficult circumstances, immigrants in this situation some do succeed in holding on to their language and using it with their children. In this chapter, we view language learning as a social process that takes place within an ecological language system and consider how broader social and political factors interact with individual ones to influence the language choices that such exogamous families make in early settlement. As a result, children's bilingualism in such mixed-language families can take many different shapes and forms, ranging from simultaneous bilingualism to learning either English or the heritage language as a second language later on. Understanding how some immigrants in exogamous relationships succeed in maintaining their heritage language with their children despite the very challenging conditions in the very early years of their settlement can help us understand how we can best support others in a similar situation.

5.2 Background

5.2.1 Benefits of Bilingualism

Australia has had an active program of immigration from many different parts of the world and, in urban areas in particular, nearly one in four people were born overseas. The planned migration program for 2012–2013, for example, is 190,000. Applications can be made under the three general categories of Skilled, Family Reunion and Special Eligibility, in addition to provision for humanitarian arrivals (Commonwealth of Australia 2010). Despite the diverse population of Australia, English remains the official, and therefore dominant, language. Adult immigrants who arrive without basic functional skills in the language are offered English tuition through the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP),[1] an on-arrival English language course delivered nationally by a range of providers. While this is a very positive measure for immigrants' English language development and their settlement more generally, there is less focus on how immigrants can take steps to maintain their first language(s) and pass them on to the next generation.

There is sample evidence for the importance of maintaining heritage languages and the value of bi- or multilingualism for individuals and societies. For some, their first language can be a spiritual and cultural 'home' (Fishman 1991) and a crucial badge of cultural and ethnic identity (García 2003). Whether an immigrant decides to actively invest in continuing to speak their mother tongue depends on a range of factors, including the extent to which s/he identifies with their heritage culture and the role language plays in this identity, the size, accessibility and engagement of the heritage language community, the availability of resources, attitudes of the host community towards language diversity, family structures and the immigrants' language proficiency in the host language (Pauwels 2005; Schüpbach 2009; Yates et al. 2012). Where immigrant children fail to acquire some level of competence in their heritage language, there may be serious disruption to communication in the family, and they may find themselves excluded from both the mainstream and their ethnic community. This can impact negatively on their sense of identity and belonging (Oh and Fuligni 2010; Phinney et al. 2001; Portes and Hao 2002; Tseng and Fuligni 2000).

Bilingualism, on the other hand, has been associated with positive impacts on a person's intellectual development (Portes and Hao 1998). The cognitive advantages linked to bilingualism include a heightened attention control, greater metalinguistic awareness and abstract and symbolic representation skills as well as an increased

[1] This program is funded by the Settlement Branch of the Department of Immigration and Citizenship and provides between 510 and 900 h of English language tuition to eligible immigrants who arrive in Australia without basic functional English.

ability to multi-task (Adesope et al. 2010; Barac and Bialystok 2011). On a broader societal level, heritage language communities add to the cultural diversity of a nation, broadening cultural perspectives. Moreover, bilingualism is a valuable resource that can bring significant economic benefits in a time of global economy and trade. However, maintaining a minority language in the face of a dominant global language like English is not an easy task and the successful maintenance and transmission of a heritage language requires careful planning within the family.

5.2.2 Approaches to Language Planning

Language planning has been traditionally conceptualised at the macro level as "the deliberate, future-oriented systematic change of language code, use and/or speaking" (Baldauf 2006, p.148) and tended towards the standardisation and constraint of languages (Baldauf 2004). In contrast, ecological approaches to language view languages as an intermeshing system in which diversity is valued, maintained and structured (Hornberger 2002; Mühlhäusler 2000). An ecological approach allows not only the valuing of multiple languages within one 'system' but also recognises the role of both internal and environmental factors in the survival and promotion of languages. From this perspective, languages need to be considered in their natural context, with due regard to how they interrelate with one another within a particular society (Mühlhäusler 2000).

Ecological perspectives on immigration contexts in which new minority languages interact with the dominant language of the host community and with each another, value multilingualism and linguistic diversity as assets. In the case of Australia, the national and dominant language, English, has not only regional but also global political and economic importance and has been relentless in its ascendancy as a language of international significance. This means that immigrants are keen to learn it, not only in order to fit into and thrive in the local Australian economy, but because of the possibilities it offers them globally. The flip side of this success, however, has been the threat to other, less widely spoken languages, which has led to the characterisation of English as a 'feral' language (Pennycook 2004).

5.2.3 Language Planning in Australia

In Australia, overt planning for multiculturalism and, with it the support of heritage and foreign language learning, began in 70s and 80s and continued into 90s, motivated by an increase in educated immigrants who were both commercially successful and politically active. These efforts drew on the cooperation between various community and professional lobby groups and capitalised on the political recognition of the importance of languages for Australia's global position, particularly in Asia (Baldauf 2004, p.379). However, language planning does not always have to be

implemented through top-down, government-led initiatives, but can also be driven by ground roots movements at the micro level. In other words, individuals or groups can "create what can be recognised as a language policy and plan to utilise or develop their language resources" in a way "that is not directly the result of some larger macro policy, but is a response to their own needs" (Baldauf 2006, p.155).

5.2.4 Family Language Planning

Family language planning (FLP) can be seen as just this kind of micro language planning within an ecological perspective that values the preservation of different immigrant languages in a host community. It involves the development of a deliberate plan for which languages to use in the family, both at home and outside, together with specific strategies to support it (King et al. 2008). In this sense, it represents an individual endeavour that is of great importance to the vitality of a language. However, the children will not learn their heritage language simply because a family has planned that they should. Learning a language is both an individual and social affair that is culturally, socially and historically situated, and crucially linked to the environment in which it takes place (van Lier 2000). As cultural-historical-activity-theory (CHAT) stresses, the contextual and social aspects of learning are central. Such Vygotskyan whole-person approaches regard the cognitive and affective as well as the social and the individual as closely linked, so that motivation, emotion and identity are seen as integral, and learning is conceptualised as a transformative act of identity that is produced and reproduced in concrete daily activity (Roth and Lee 2007).

Even if both parents are fully committed to raising their children bilingually, the role of context is still crucial and the obstacles are many, particularly in English-dominant environments. The situation becomes even more complicated when the immigrant is in a linguistically exogamous relationship, i.e. where the partners have different language backgrounds, where language shift to the dominant language is only all too common (Pauwels 2005; Schüpbach 2009). The dominant language often becomes the language of the relationship, either for practical reasons as the only shared language or because it has higher prestige. As a result, the heritage language can take a back seat and lose in status within the family – a fact that children are able to sense. In such families, the parents usually adopt a one-parent-one-language approach to raising their children bilingually, but where one parent does not understand the heritage language, the other must be continually translating for them, a task which makes its use more onerous (Schüpbach 2009).

In the context of these challenges, it is particularly important to understand the success stories, that is, how and why some families are successful in raising their children to be bilingual while others are not. In the remainder of this chapter we explore the factors that seem to have encouraged the mothers' continued use of their L1 at home with their children, even though their partners could not speak it with

them. In particular, we will take a closer look at how participants' background and the status of their mother tongue relate to their success in maintaining their first language at home. Finally, we will examine the factors and strategies that seem to have promoted and supported positive language maintenance outcomes.

5.3 Research Methodology

5.3.1 The Study

The data for this chapter is taken from a national two-phase study funded by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship that investigates language use and English language learning in early settlement among recent immigrants to Australia. The first phase was conducted 2008–2009 and followed 152 (dropping to 125) new-arrivals for 1 year as they studied in the AMEP and then moved on to work, further study or family life (see Yates 2010). Sixty of these are also being followed in Phase 2 (2011–2014). In Phase 1, a total of 152 participants were followed: 40 males and 112 females. They came from a range of cultural and linguistic backgrounds, but predominantly from Asia, with immigrants from the People's Republic of China (PRC) forming the largest group. Most were between 18 and 44 years old and all were studying English in the AMEP at levels ranging from absolute beginner to intermediate as assessed in the AMEP at the start of the data collection in 2008.

Data for the larger study has been and is being collected from multiple sources, including semi-structured interviews, classroom observations, assessment portfolios and out-of-class interactions. The interviews are designed to gain a general overview of participants' experiences, goals and language learning activities inside and outside the AMEP classrooms. Of particular relevance to the current study are the questions we asked about their language use: where they used which language and why. In this chapter we draw largely from the semi-structured interviews (with interpreters where necessary) conducted quarterly in Phase 1 and annually in Phase 2.

5.3.2 Data Analysis

The interview data were first transcribed and analysed for recurring themes using NVivo 8 (Cools 2006). This process involved data reduction and summaries of participants' stories in order to identify relevant and recurring themes in the data. Following a case study approach, once the relevant participants were determined (see below), we analysed the interview and personal background data from each more closely for themes relevant to their language maintenance efforts.

Table 5.1 Profile of Phase 1 and Phase 2 (Cohort A) participants

	Participant profile	Phase 1 2008	Phase 2 2011
Gender	Males	40	14
	Females	112	46
Marital status	Married, de facto (endogamous) with children	54	11
	Married, de facto (exogamous) with children	21	14
	Married, de facto (endogamous), no children	33	12
	Married, de facto (exogamous), no children	15	8
	Single parents (divorced, widowed)	8	6
	Singles, no children	21	9
Official LOR[a]	Length of residence: 0–3 years	141	24
	Length of residence: 4 or more years	11	36
Eng. Lang. level	Absolute beginner	12	3
	Beginner	45	11
	Post beginner	22	12
	Intermediate	73	
Total		152	60

[a]*LOR* length of residence

5.3.3 Participants for the Analysis Presented Here

Table 5.1 provides an overview of all participants in both phases of the study. Of the 60 followed in Phase 2, 14 were in relationships with English native-speakers and also had children, but only 13 of these were living with their children full time. The experiences of these 13 as they tried to maintain the use of their L1 with their children are the focus of this chapter.

The background details of our focus participants and an indication of how successful they were in maintaining their first language use with their children during the period of the study are given in Table 5.2 below. As the table suggests, all 13 of our focus participants were female, and all but one came to Australia specifically to join their partners under the family reunion scheme. They were primarily from Asia and live in a variety of different family situations with children ranging in age from new-borns to late teenage.

Table 5.2 further shows that, despite the considerable challenges of living with an English native speaker in an English dominant environment, five of these 13 participants have still managed to retain the use of their L1 with their children even after several years of migration. For our purposes here they were judged as successful (marked Y in the final column) if their children were still able to speak the minority language and use it with them by the time of their fifth (latest) interview with us in late 2011 or early 2012. Those families where the children could speak and understand their heritage language to some extent but were either reluctant to use it or where it looked uncertain whether or not they would continue to use it were judged to be partial successes (marked Partial in the final column). Four out of

Table 5.2 Profile of participants with children in exogamous relationships[a]

Name	C1	L1	Age	Educ.	CSWE	YOA & LoR	Succ.
Casey	Czech Republic	Czech	45–54	8–12	3	6 year (2006, multiple visits 1991–2006)	Y
April	PR China	Mandarin	35–44	13+	3	4 year (2008)	Y
Xiao Mei	PR China	Mandarin	45–54	13+	3	5 year (2007)	Y
Tat	Thailand	Thai	35–44	4–7	2	6 year (2006)	Y
Ping	Thailand	Thai	35–44	8–12	2	6 year (2006)	Y
Jeannie	PR China	Mandarin	35–44	13+	3	6 year (2006)	Part
Lucy	S. Korea	Korean	35–44	13+	3	8 year (2004)	Part
Yuna	S. Korea	Korean	35–44	13+	3	4 year (2008)	Part
Hong	Vietnam	Vietnamese	25–34	8–12	3	5 year (2007)	Part
Hua	PR China	Cantonese	35–44	8–12	1	5 year (2007)	N
Lyn	Philippines	Tagalog	45–54	8–12	3	11 year (2001)	N
Faith	Sri Lanka	Sinhala	35–44	13+	3	4 year (2008)	N
Lourdes	Philippines	Tagalog/Visayan	35–44	8–12	3	4 year (2008)	N

[a]Legend: *C1* first culture, *L1* first language, *Educ* Education, *CSWE* Certificates of Spoken and Written English, *LoR* official length of residency, *YoA* year of arrival, *Succ* level of success in bringing up their children bilingually, *Y* successful, *Part* partially successful, *N* not successful

the 13 participants fell into this group. Participants who reported that their children could no longer communicate using the minority language were judged to be unsuccessful (marked N in the final column).

We made these judgements based on what participants told us about their language use at home over time up until the last point of data collection in late 2011/ early 2012, that is, between 4 and 11 years after their official date of settlement in Australia. While it may seem a little premature to pass judgement on success or failure so soon into their settlement, these early years are, as argued above, particularly important for family language planning because it is at this stage that families set patterns of behaviour for the future. It is during this time that language habits are formed and the ground rules of family communications in a new environment and expectations for the future are decided – either consciously or unconsciously. It is therefore vital for longer-term language maintenance to explore the situation in families during these earlier phases of settlement.

Since each person's life and family circumstances differ on many dimensions, the interrelationship between the variables that influence whether or not an immigrant is successful in maintaining their L1 with their children is bound to be complex. It is therefore unlikely that any single factor on its own can explain this success or failure in all cases (Tannenbaum 2005). In the discussion that follows, we will examine the role of some of factors commonly associated with language maintenance. We will first look at some of the more commonly cited background factors shown in Table 5.2, before considering the role participants' social networks, family structure and living arrangements as well as prestige factors associated with the language itself played in whether these mothers were successful in using their language with the next generation.

5.4 Results and Discussion

5.4.1 The Role of Background Factors

While the number of participants in our sample is small, it is useful to see if there is any relationship between demographic background factors such as proficiency in English, length of residence, age and educational background, and their success in maintaining their first language with their children in the family home. All but three of the 13 participants were assessed as being at Level 3 in the Certificates of Spoken and Written English (CSWE), the national curriculum used in the AMEP, which can be best described as a pre-intermediate level. As can be seen from Table 5.2, two of the three participants who were assessed at a lower level were successful in maintaining their language, while the third was not. This seems to suggest that, while a lower level of proficiency in English on arrival may play a role in whether or not they used their first language with their children, it is not necessarily decisive. Thus, Tat and Ping, who were both assessed at level 2, were

among those deemed more successful, while Hua, whose level of English at CSWE 1 was even lower and who might therefore be expected to rely much more heavily on her first language, was not so successful in persuading her 2-year old daughter to speak Cantonese. As she told us in the latest interview in 2011, her daughter is surrounded by English in the playground, at home with her father and with the grandparents and although she seems to understand Cantonese she finds it difficult to speak it:

Interviewer: Right okay. And you said she's she doesn't like it when you speak Chinese to her.
Hua: Yeah.
Interviewer: Yeah. How do you feel about that because you're wanting her to learn Chinese?
Hua: Ah but I want her to learn Chinese but no care she she talk English because here go out playground many children talk English so doesn't matter.

Length of residence also does not seem to be a deciding factor, and most had officially been residents in Australia between 4 and 8 years (see Table 5.2). However, it is noticeable that the participant who had been in Australia for the longest, Lyn (11 years), was not successful at raising her son bilingually, and the participant with the next longest LoR (Lucy with 8 years) was only partially successful. This might suggest that maintaining heritage language use with children does not get easier over time. However, this is clearly not a simple linear relationship since both successful and unsuccessful participants had been in Australia between 4 and 6 years. Similar observations can be made about participants' age and educational background. Thus, while two of the most successful are in the older age group (45–54), so, too, was Lyn, one of the least successful. Furthermore, participants with both high and low levels of education were successful, suggesting that educational background has not been a deciding factor. Thus, as Tannenbaum (2005) argues, the relationship between these factors and how successful participants are in maintaining or building the use of their L1 with their children is evidently neither simple nor linear.

In the following section, we turn to a qualitative exploration of how the nature of the language itself, the family situation and the social networks in which they interact may have impacted on the participants' success in using their L1 with their children.

5.4.2 Language Status

As ecological approaches to macro issues of language maintenance and loss emphasise, the status of a language can be a crucial factor in its vitality (Hornberger 2002; Mühlhäusler 2000), and this also seems to have played out on the micro level of our participants' family life. All those who were either successful or

partially successful in maintaining their L1 at home spoke official languages of officially monolingual nation states (Czech, Mandarin, Thai, Vietnamese and Korean), while those who were less successful spoke languages of lesser prestige (Cantonese, Tagalog, Sinhala). Of the four participants from the PR China, for example, two were successful and one partially successful in maintaining the use of their L1, Mandarin, with their children. The fourth, a Cantonese speaker, was not. Cantonese, although widely spoken, does not have the status of Mandarin, which is the official national language of China and is a compulsory part of the curriculum in all educational sectors.

The L1s of the other participants who were not successful in maintaining their mother tongue also have lower global status. The two participants from the Philippines were not successful in maintaining the use of their L1s at home. This was also the case for two further Filipino participants who were only involved in Phase 1 of the study. While Tagalog is an official language of the Philippines, so, too, is English. Indeed, English is widely used in education in many parts of the country and it is closely associated with social and economic advantage (Bernardo 2004). The language that Lourdes uses with family and friends, one of the dialects of the Visayan language group, is one of the many varieties spoken in the very complex linguistic landscape of the Philippines, and does not have the same official status as a national language. As a result, Lourdes commented that she does not believe that there are any economic or social benefits that her children would gain by learning it, saying that their lives and their future are in Australia now. She also reported that her children do not need Visayan to communicate with her family back home since they all have some proficiency in English. Significantly, though, her husband was also very dismissive of her attempts to use it at home with her children as she described in interview 5:

Interviewer: So do – do you – do you now teach her a little bit of your – of Visayan?

Lourdes: I did some, but honestly I can tell my daughter not interested I don't know why. Because I think my husband always tell her, [daughter-Name], don't talk this rubbish second language and all the rest, my husband is tough

Faith seems to be in a similar situation: although Sinhala replaced English as the official language of Sri Lanka following independence in 1956, English has retained its importance for education as a compulsory additional language starting at Grade 3 of primary school (Hayes 2005). Moreover, there are differences between the spoken Sinhala and the more formal written variety that is taught in schools (Paolillo 2000). In diglossic situations such as these, the spoken variety is associated with informal settings where it is used with family and friends. Educated speakers who are also fluent in English may therefore be less likely to see the value of passing their heritage language on to their children, especially if they are bilingual themselves. In a situation where the extended family in Sri Lanka also speaks English, the need to maintain the less prestigious heritage language may seem even less pressing. While Faith was keen for her daughter to learn at least

some Sinhala, she found it hard to counteract the dominance of English in her surroundings, and even when they returned to Sri Lanka for a visit, found that they mostly used English there. Their daughter, therefore, is likely to grow up a monolingual English-speaker.

5.4.3 Impact of Social Networks

Table 5.3 gives a summary of the participants' family situation and social networks. Recent research on language maintenance and shift among immigrants has proposed a link between social networks and language maintenance outcomes (e.g. Hulsen et al. 2002; Stoessel 2002). For instance, in their investigation of three generations of Dutch immigrants in New Zealand, Hulsen et al. (2002) found a positive correlation between the size of the heritage language network and immigrants' attitude towards language maintenance.

For our participants in these early years of their settlement, however, social networks did not seem to have been as crucial as we had anticipated in whether or not they were successful in passing on their language to their children. As we can see from Table 5.3, Lourdes, Lyn, Xiao Mei and Ping all reported using mostly their first language in their social lives, but of these only Xiao Mei and Ping have so far been successful in maintaining their mother tongues at home. Similarly, Hua, Faith, Jeannie and April all stated that they do not socialise much and generally do not have many friends, yet April has been able to retain the use of her L1 with her older daughter and was also speaking it with her younger daughter. Thus, while social networks obviously offer a valuable resource for language maintenance, their influence does not seem to have been decisive in the lives of our participants.

5.4.4 Children Born in Country of Origin

One noticeable commonality among all of those who were most successful in using their L1 with their children, however, is the presence in the home of a child or children born in their country of origin. In each case of 'success' there was an older child at home who had arrived in Australia with their mother and who continued to speak the minority language with her and, in some cases, also with the new siblings that were born into the exogamous marriage. The opportunity and motivation that this gave the mother to use the minority language and continue using it with other children born in Australia seems to have been crucial. While, as Schwartz (2010) points out, the presence of particularly older siblings plays an important role in language choice by their younger children, this is often in the direction of a move towards the dominant language outside the home. In our study, however, we see the

Table 5.3 Overview over participants' family situation and social networks

Name	Living with	Social networks	Succ
Casey	Husband (Australian of Greek heritage), their daughter (3), her son from prev. relationship (19/20 year; AoA[a]: 4 – period in Czech Rep), stepchildren in holidays	Friends from various backgrounds in Australia, notably one from Ukraine and one from Poland with whom she speaks Russian and Polish respectively. Keeps in touch with friends from Czech via the internet but does not have many Czech contacts in Australia	Y
April	Husband (Australian), daughter from prev (17; AoA- 11) and their daughter (6 months)	Does not seem to have many friends and prefers to have a quiet, simple life with her husband. She is still in touch with her friends from AMEP and they make-up the majority of her friends in Australia	Y
Xiao Mei	Husband (Australian) and her teenage son (11: AoA – 7)	Socializes in English on Facebook and has other friends she interacts with in English. She is also heavily involved in Chinese community in Hobart.	Y
Tat	Husband (originally from Scotland) and one son from previous relationship (19). Two teenage sons from previous relationship (AoA 14 and 17)	She uses English with her friends at work who come from all over the world. She also has many Thai friends with Anglo husbands who have English speaking children. She is also still in contact with other Thai women from AMEP	Y
Ping	Husband (Australian), her daughter from previous marriage (12: AoA- 7)	Her friends are mainly Thai and most of them have Australian husbands. She speaks Thai to her friends but when their Australian husbands are with them, they speak in English	Y
Jeannie	Her husband (French) and son from previous relationship (15: AoA-9)	It seems that she does not have many friends in Australia. Her life seems to revolve around her family (particularly her son) and her work at her husband's shop	Part.
Lucy	Husband (from Scotland), their son (3)	Uses English with neighbours (all Australian) and Korean with friends her own age. Most good friends are Korean but She says she is no longer making an effort to meet more Koreans	Part.
Yuna	Husband (Australian) and their son (13 months)	She has mainly Anglo-Australian friends through her husband and only one or two Korean friends. She attends an Anglo Australian Church where she has made friends	Part.

(continued)

Table 5.3 (continued)

Name	Living with	Social networks	Succ
Hong	Husband (Australian), their daughter (2) and Hong's brother	She is in regular contact with two friends from the AMEP (English) and she attends an English church. She also spends time with her husband's Anglo-Australian friends. She recently had a Vietnamese friend visiting and staying with her and she has a few good Vietnamese friends in Australia	Part.
Hua	Husband (British), their daughter (2)	She does not seem to have many friends in Australia other than through her husband. She has a few Cantonese/Mandarin speaking friends but overall she does not socialise much	N
Lyn	Husband (Canadian) and their teenage son (15 born in New Zealand: AoA- 5)	She has many friends in Australia, most of them Tagalog-speaking Filipinas. She is involved in her local Filipino community and she speaks mainly Tagalog in her social life	N
Faith	Husband (Sri Lankan heritage), their daughter (3), parents-in-law	She is still in touch with friends that she made during her time in the AMEP, but she does not seem to have friends beyond that group and her husband's friends. She stays in touch with many friends overseas through Skype	N
Lourdes	Husband (GB), their daughter and son (5 year and 6 months), 1 of 2 adult stepchildren	She has many Filipina friends in Australia and elsewhere who she stays in touch with. She mostly maintains her social contacts through phone conversations	N

[a]*AoA* age of arrival

important role that they can play in encouraging the use of the heritage language at home (see also Kopeliovich 2013).

In contrast, in the less successful and unsuccessful groups, only Jeannie had an older child from a previous relationship at home. As she described in interview 5, she made a deliberate choice when she arrived in Australia to speak English with both her son and her French-born husband so that they would become proficient more quickly and thus better able to pursue their educational and occupational ambitions.

Jeannie: When we came, I made decision - decisions that we only speak English.
Interviewer: You made that decision?
Jeannie: And for the last five years we only speak English.[…]
Interviewer: What was your thinking when you
Jeannie: Oh we only think now it's Australia […] that's the language, the main language is English, and we have no English, we can say we have no English, then the English it seems is the most important thing, you know, to him […] for - for me, as well for him, and maybe even more for him, but he learnt quickly, he's young.

There seem to be several reasons why the presence of an older child has helped these mothers to continue to use their L1 at home despite the dominance of English in their environment, as we discuss below.

Children as available interlocutors Most obviously, the presence of heritage language speaking children in the house provides a ready interlocutor with some command of the language that the mother can talk to on a regular basis, often while their husband is at work. This is the case for Xiao Mei, who said that she likes to speak Mandarin with her son, much to the annoyance of her husband. The following excerpt is taken from interview 5.

Interviewer: Do you speak Mandarin to [Xiao Mei's son]?
Xiao Mei: Oh that's interesting. Ah + I speak Mandarin with [Xiao Mei's son].
Interviewer: Okay.
Xiao Mei: And ah, and ah + and ah, later my husband just say oh please, let's have a family + house rule, when I'm here, stop speaking Mandarin. Don't + here is Australian (laughs).

Children embarrassed by parents' English In the case of Casey, the fact that her son's English had rapidly become native-like meant that he became intolerant of her own, flawed command of English. Despite the fact that her husband does not speak Czech and that her son's English is very good, she reported that she only uses Czech when speaking to her son. By the fourth interview, she commented on how her son speaks without an accent:

Casey: Yesterday my son tell me "mum I am very proud you know how many people and teachers at the school and everyone told me that I no have accent?" (laughs)

This fluency in English meant that he did not feel comfortable speaking English to his mother, as she told us in the 5th interview:

Interviewer: You also speak to your son in - in Czech, sometimes?
Casey: Yes, sometime.
Interviewer: Also English? Also?
Casey: No, just Czech. My son doesn't want to speak with me English because my English is terrible. (laughs) […] Yeah. "Mum, please". Because I sometime doing mistakes, the same mistakes, I never fixing what I say. Like, I say, biggest, and he always, "I told you many times it's bigger, not biggest" (laughs)

Her son's own life experiences, including his time at school in the Czech Republic, and his positive self-image also seem to be important in his ability to keep using Czech with his mother and resist the pressures of English (see Doyle 2013). The fact that he also speaks Spanish, German and Polish may have helped him develop a sense of identity as a polyglot. It is possible that these self-esteem factors and the experience of growing up with a multilingual mother could be crucial in whether or not children take up and persist with the opportunities for learning their heritage language in their home situation. Since, however, we were not able to interview our participants' children, such factors remain to be explored in future studies.

Heritage language as language of mother-child relationship Part of the motivation for both the parents and the child to want to continue the use of the heritage language with each other seems to be that they regard it as their private language, their own language of emotion and closeness, as illustrated by the cases of Casey, April and Hong. April arrived in Australia in 2005 with her then 11 year-old daughter with whom she continued to use Mandarin. Although she uses English with her husband, and also with her daughter when the husband is present, she still uses Mandarin when they are alone together, when they are with the daughter's Mandarin-speaking friends or when they want to keep something a secret.

Interviewer: Yeah yeah So do you always speak English at home?
April: Ah not when I talk to my daughter.
Interviewer: Yeah?
April: And ah when we have some secret we don't- I don't want my husband know that I will talk to her in use Chinese.

Mother and daughter continued to use Mandarin as the language of their private relationship and the daughter – now a teenager – is still a fluent speaker of Mandarin. Hong also told us about a similar desire to make sure she can share feelings and express herself accurately as part of her motivation for wanting her 2 year-old daughter to learn Vietnamese.

These motivations for maintaining and building relationships through the heritage language seem to be crucial for the success of L1 maintenance in the home

for these participants. As Tannenbaum (2005) and Tannenbaum and Howie (2002) argue, there appears to be a strong relationship between the closeness of family relations and L1 maintenance by the children, and this relationship is circular so that close family ties encourage L1 maintenance, which in turn encourages close family ties and so on. Although their studies are based on data from parents who share their L1, in this study a close relationship between mother and child seems to have been a factor, even though – or perhaps sometimes because – the father does not share it. While it can be very challenging to take on the role of sole language provider as well as parent (Okita 2002), these mothers have so far been successful in defending their special relationship through their heritage language from the pressures of English both outside and inside the home.

Older child maintains minority language use even with new arrival siblings The presence of an older sibling who has had the advantage of an environment rich in the heritage language can help to reinforce the use of that language with a younger sibling (Kopeliovich 2010, 2013), and this seems to have been the case for Casey and April, who both had another child with their Australian partners. Both they and their older children continued to use their heritage language with their young sisters.

In our sixth interview with Casey in late 2012, she commented that her son always speaks Czech with her daughter and that her daughter adores him. April also told us in interview 5 that she uses Mandarin with both her daughters when they are home alone. In fact, she uses so much Mandarin that her husband complained that her English was getting worse:

April: but now my husband said my English has gone backward.
Interviewer: How come (laughs)
April: (laughs) because I don't speak it enough.
Interviewer: Okay.
April: Yeah and with my daughter I just speak Chinese.
Interviewer: Okay.
April: Yes so he said ah yeah it's going backward.

The fact that she does use so much Mandarin with both her daughters may also encourage them to use it with each other, thereby establishing it as a fully valid and important family language.

Among our participants, then, the presence of an older child with whom the mother can continue to use her L1 seems to be a crucial factor in how successful she is in continuing to use it in the home, not only with the older child, but also with younger siblings that follow. Despite the lure of English dominant schooling and leisure activities (see Doyle 2013), the immigrants who have been most successful seem to have retained a link with their older children through their heritage language, and, as Tannenbaum (2005) suggests, this may be a mutually reinforcing cycle in which heritage language use and close emotional relationships reinforce each other.

5.4.5 *Strategies that Support the Use of the Heritage Language in the Exogamous Home*

Other heritage language speaking family members The use of the heritage language in the home can be enhanced through the presence of other family members who speak mostly this language. While it often seems to fall to grandparents to maintain the use of a heritage language with the children (see, for example, Ruby 2012), other relatives can also be important. Hong told us how she used to speak mostly English at home and with her husband and her daughter until her brother stayed with them. By interview 5, she had begun to speak Vietnamese most of the time and reported that it now is her daughter's language of choice – even with her English-speaking father.

Interviewer: So um so she speak, um understands English and and Vietnamese?
Hong: Yeah I think I believe she understand
[…]
Hong's husband: Yeah she understands what you're saying. […] Though she speaks back to me in Vietnamese.

While it is too early to draw any long-term conclusions, the fact that her daughter is so keen to use Vietnamese and her husband is supportive bodes well for her to become a speaker of both languages.

Return visits to extended family in their country of origin can similarly provide extra motivation and enhance language skills in the heritage language. Xiao Mei found that her son's Mandarin improved and he became more willing to use it with her after they went back to China for an extended stay with her family. It was also only after a visit back to China that Jeannie realised the deleterious consequences on her son's Mandarin of her insistence that they use English. Upon their return to Australia she started making more strenuous efforts to ensure that he did not lose it.

Reading together An older bilingual child at home can also help their mother improve her English, and this can offer them a joint activity in which the use of the heritage language plays a crucial role. In interview 5, Ping, who has low literacy in English, described how she reads with her daughter in order to practise her English. When she does not understand something, she asks her daughter to explain it in Thai. This also gives Ping the opportunity to explain Thai words to her daughter using English and so they both get to practise their language skills.

Ping: Yeah, can't do writing. But I learn more little with my daughter who's ( ) when she reading, when I sit down with her, learn her - learn her book and see what them say, what she say, and then - then she learns, she has to too and she explain Thai before she speak Thai, you know, and she explain me what - what like or what yes, in Thai, and she says, "mummy, you can read too".

Language classes Some of the parents – most notably those who have only been partially successful – have decided to enrol their children in heritage language schools or playgroups to help them with their language learning. Lucy, for example, recounted in interview 5 how she decided to take her now 3 year-old son to a Korean

playgroup when she realised that, despite her best intentions to use Korean with him, he did not seem to understand her.

Interviewer: Do you speak Korean with him?
Lucy: Not really because it's the more, if I speak Kore- if if I speak English, he's more understand, in this ( ) he understand, but if I speak Korean, he couldn't. So, this is why I decide to teach him Korean.

Since he has had the opportunity to play and engage with a small group of children and the teacher in Korean, he has started to use some Korean words with her. While she still seems to prefer the use of English with him to make sure that he understands, the success of the group may strengthen Lucy's confidence and resolve to use more Korean with him herself. Jeannie, too, decided to send her teenage son to a weekend language school when she saw that he was rapidly losing his Mandarin. However, she described how she feels that she may have left it too late as his peer group at the school are now much younger than he is and so he does not seem to enjoy the experience. This suggests that the timing of this kind of intervention may well be crucial.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have discussed the factors that seem to influence how far immigrants in exogamous relationships have been successful in maintaining the use of their L1 with their children in the first few years of their life in Australia. Important among these have been factors related to how their L1 is valued both outside and inside the home, and to the presence of older children who already have some fluency in the language. This seems to impact not only on the language use of other siblings (Spolsky 2007), but also on the extent to which the mother is motivated and successful in using her L1 in the home.

The insights from this study suggest that efforts to support bilingualism in these families should focus on helping them not only to understand the process of language learning itself, but also to address how the language fits into the language ecology of their families and the local and global community. This would entail understanding the very special emotional as well as practical functions that their heritage language can have for both parent and child apart from any economic advantages it may confer. Recognition of this early in settlement can help lay the foundations for an approach to family language planning in which the reasons for using the language are clear and clearly valued.

However, as discussed above, the dominant position of English as both the language of the mainstream community and a global lingua franca poses a considerable challenge to language maintenance in exogamous families in Australia. In their enthusiasm to learn English themselves, it can be daunting for such immigrants to take on – or even fully understand – the importance and the challenges of raising their children to be bilingual. Such efforts therefore require active support – ideally as early as possible after their arrival. To this end, a professional development resource

designed to raise awareness of bilingualism and language learning in bilingual families was developed out of Phase of the study (Yates et al. 2012). This resource provides an overview of the principles of family language planning and summarises a range of strategies that immigrants can use to achieve their goal. With some background information sections targeting teachers and counsellors and some simplified discussion materials that can be used in classes with immigrants during their time at AMEP, the volume is downloadable and freely available to those working with immigrants and their children. While it is hoped that this kind of support will increase awareness among families and the community generally, many more such initiatives are needed to maintain the rich linguistic ecology of an increasingly multicultural Australia.

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Chapter 6
Family Language Policy and Management in a Changed Socio-political Situation: Russians and Russian Speakers in Lithuania

Meilutė Ramonienė

6.1 Introduction

Over the recent 20 years, since the fall of the Soviet Union and restoration of Lithuanian independence, Lithuania has gone through fundamental socio-political transformation, which brought major changes in its sociolinguistic reality. The changes concerned power relations, status and prestige of languages used by the population of the country. Large groups of the population, mainly Russians and Russian speakers, that used to occupy the majority position in the former Soviet Union suddenly became minorities, and, consequently, were forced to modify their linguistic behaviour and adapt to the new socio-political situation. A radical departure from the asymmetric bilingualism of the Soviet era, which meant bilingualism of the titular ethnic group and monolingualism of Russian speakers, marked the beginning of a new period. It was urban Lithuania i.e. 67.7 % of the total Lithuania's population, according to the census of 2011, that has undergone the most substantial change.

The new language policy in Lithuania has mostly affected language attitudes and behaviour of ethnic minorities which account for about 16 % of the population. Poles and Russians, representing two largest ethnic minorities in Lithuania, who knew little or no Lithuanian before the restoration of independence, have modified their language practices, including language choice. Formerly monolingual speakers of Russian, e. g. Russians, Poles and people of other ethnicities residing in Lithuania, have increasingly become bilingual or multilingual with Lithuanian becoming one of their most frequently used languages, despite the fact that the majority of Lithuanians still know Russian language from the Soviet times and there are no substantial communication problems.

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M. Schwartz and A. Verschik (eds.), *Successful Family Language Policy: Parents, Children and Educators in Interaction*, Multilingual Education 7,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-7753-8_6,

The changing linguistic situation in Lithuania and linguistic behaviour of ethnic minorities in particular has been at the focus of different studies. Sociologists Kasatkina (2003), Leončikas (2007), Beresnevičiūtė (2005a, b), Juozeliūnienė (1996), Juška (1999), political scientists Savukynas (2000) and social geographers Pileckas (2003) have analysed varying levels of adaptation to the new situation amongst ethnic minorities, namely, Poles and Russians. The rise of interest among sociolinguists is primarily related to the use of languages in varying spheres of life, language attitudes, relations between language and ethnic identity as well as different aspects of multilingualism. Several studies have discussed the general linguistic situation, language use and social adaptation (Hogan-Brun and Ramonienė 2003, 2004, 2005a, b; Hogan-Brun et al. 2009; Kasatkina and Leončikas 2003), education (Bulajeva and Hogan-Brun 2008; Leončikas 2007), language usage at work (Ramonienė 2011), language use and identity (Ramonienė 2010; Ramonienė and Geben 2011; Brazauskienė 2010; Geben 2010; Lichačiova 2010; Ehala and Zabrodskaja 2011; Vilkienė 2010), language use at home (Ramonienė and Extra 2011a, b).

Recently, the issues of language policy and family language management have given rise to a plethora of studies worldwide. Owing to the increasing level of globalisation, multilingualism and mobility of people, maintenance of languages in the multilingual world alongside with the role of family was at the focus of various interdisciplinary studies which dealt not only with theoretical questions but also approached practical issues having direct applications in real-life contexts for families that face many challenges of language policies (Barron-Hauwaert 2011; Caldas and Caron-Caldas 2002; Okita 2002; Spolsky 2009, 2004; Schwartz 2010, 2008; Tannenbaum 2003, 2005; Tannenbaum and Berkovich 2005 and other). Undoubtedly, interdisciplinary research could shed more light on the understanding of such challenges and contribute to a more efficient solution of various problems arising from bilingualism and multilingualism, language education, preservation of ethnic identity etc. Having in mind that these problems are encountered by an increasing number of families, the significance of these studies can hardly be underestimated.

Despite the importance of family language policy and management for many people, this issue has been little researched in Lithuania. The current chapter could thus be seen as one of the first attempts in the field. It is aimed at the analysis of linguistic behaviour of Russians and Russian-speaking population residing in urban areas of Lithuania with a special focus on language use in the private (home) domain. The study also discusses certain aspects of family language policy and management related to Lithuanian, which is the official state language, and Russian, as a minority language, as well as it looks into the adaptation of Russian-speaking population to the new socio-political environment and analyses social challenges faced by those people. There is also an attempt here to highlight positive tendencies observed in the family language policy and management. Data discussed in the chapter mainly represents Russians and Russian-speaking residents, living in urban areas with a special focus on the inhabitants of the most multilingual cities, namely Vilnius and Klaipėda. The analysis of family language policy and management in Lithuania will be based on the Spolsky theoretical model in which language policy is considered as having three interrelated but independently

describable components – practice, beliefs, and management (Spolsky 2004, 2009). It is questioned how the minority group families have adapted to the new socio-political circumstances, what characterises their linguistic behaviour in different domains, what linguistic ideology determines their linguistic behaviour and how does all this correlate with their ethnic identity.

6.2 Methods

Findings reported in this chapter are based on quantitative and qualitative data from two recent sociolinguistic research projects implemented in different urban areas of Lithuania. The project *Language use and ethnic identity in urban areas of Lithuania*[1] was carried out in 2007–2009 in the three largest Lithuanian cities, namely, the capital Vilnius, the second largest city Kaunas and the port of Klaipėda. The second project *Sociolinguistic map of Lithuania: towns and cities*[2] has been carried out over the period of 2010–2012 in such urban areas of Lithuania which are inhabited by at least 3,000 people having urban occupations. Both projects are aimed at a large-scale study of sociolinguistic situation in urban Lithuania and involve quantitative surveys and qualitative in-depth interviews.

The first project, *Language use and ethnic identity in urban areas of Lithuania*, was carried out in the three biggest cities of the country. It involved two different surveys whose results will be discussed in this chapter. The first survey[3] (hereafter S1) covered primary schools in Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda. For its purposes, a special methodology from the *Multilingual Cities Project* (Extra and Yağmur 2005, 2004; Ramonienė and Extra 2011a, b) was adapted to collect evidence on languages used in the private (home) domain. Application of the same methodology enables a reliable comparison of data across different West European urban areas as similar studies have also been carried out in Göteburg, Hamburg, The Hague, Brussels, Lyon, Madrid (Extra and Yağmur 2004) and other cities (Siena, Dublin etc.). The theoretical basis allows to compare findings from a large-scale sociolinguistic survey and describe the range of languages used at home, choice of languages for communication, perspectives of particular languages and vitality index of home languages (Extra and Yağmur 2005, 2004). Our survey covered the following dimensions:

– language skills and proficiency; choice of languages for communication at home with different members of the family, particularly with the mother;
– language dominance (the highest level of language mastery);
– language preferences (choice of language).

[1] The project *Language use and ethnic identity in urban areas of Lithuania* was funded by a grant of the Lithuanian State Science and Studies Foundation. The author of this chapter Meilutė Ramonienė was the initiator and supervisor of the project.

[2] The project *Sociolinguistic map of Lithuania: towns and cities* was funded by a grant (No. LIT-2-18) of the Research Council of Lithuania. The author of this chapter Meilutė Ramonienė was the initiator and supervisor of the project.

[3] A representative quantitative survey was carried out by TNS Gallup.

Table 6.1 Number of schools per city and schools and pupils in the sample

City	Schools total number	Schools in sample	Coverage of schools (%)	Pupils in the sample	Pupils in the sample (%)
Vilnius	93	92	99	10,741	45.3
Kaunas	62	60	97	9,220	38.9
Klaipėda	34	33	97	3,725	15.7
Total	189	185	98	23,686	100.0

The methodology was used in large-scale surveys which aimed to cover at least 80 % of respondents under survey (aged 8–10) in primary schools. As Table 6.1 shows, there was an almost complete coverage of schools in the sample.

A large team of project researchers and research assistants from three Lithuanian universities was put together in all three cities in order to conduct the main study. Special seminars were organized and guidelines were given to all research assistants. Departments of Education in every municipality were contacted by the project researchers, meetings with principals of schools were organized and each school was invited to participate in the project. In schools, the project coordinators and research assistants explained the aims and the rationale of the project, handed out and collected the questionnaires and carried out the administration process. Parental consent forms were provided asking the parents' (or 'carers') consent for their child to take part in the survey. The forms were given to the children to take home with them and to be signed by their parents, and were later processed by the teachers. In each school, the questionnaire was administered with the support of research assistants during class-time. Completed questionnaires were personally collected by the research assistants and subsequently handed over to the project coordinators.

Data processing was conducted at Tilburg University in the Netherlands. Given the anticipated future size of the database in the main study, an automatic processing technique based on specially developed software and available hardware was developed and utilized (Extra and Yağmur 2004: 116–118). Because the answers to some of the items in the questionnaire were handwritten by the pupils, additional verification of these items had to be done using character recognition software. After scanning and verification was completed, the database was analyzed using the SPSS program.

The original survey questionnaire was modified to adapt it to the Lithuanian context by adding questions about ethnicity, communication with grandparents and choice of language for broadcast media. The total number of pupils surveyed in the three largest cities is 23,341, and they come from 185 primary schools.[4] As shown in Table 6.2, the home language questionnaire consisted of 20 questions.

[4] The survey at primary schools was carried out by project participants and students from Vilnius university, Kaunas Vytautas Magnus university and LCC International university in Klaipėda. The questionnaires were given in the mother tongue of the pupils, i.e. Lithuanian, Russian or Polish.

Table 6.2 The structure of the home language questionnaire S1

Questions	Data
1–3	Personal information about the respondent (age, gender etc.)
4–8	Information about the school (city, school, class)
9–11	Place of birth (the respondent's, father's and mother's)
10	Ethnicity
11–16	Languages used, knowledge and proficiency, language dominance and preference
17–20	Language learning, choice of languages for broadcast media (TV)

Table 6.3 The structure of S2 questionnaire on linguistic behaviour and language attitudes among grown-up respondents

Questions	Data
A1–A7	Information about the place and time of the interview and selection for the survey
1–4	Information about the respondent (the respondent's and his/her parents' places of birth, ethnicities etc.)
5–20	Information about mother tongue, knowledge and learning of other languages etc.
20–28	Languages used, the choice of languages in various domains (public, private and semi-private) with various interlocutors, code switching
29–43	Attitudes to various languages and language learning
44–53	Attitudes to dialects and the use of dialects
54–64	Other personal information (marital status, occupation etc.)
A8–A14	Questions to the interviewer about the respondent's actual use of languages during the interview

The second survey (hereafter S2) covered a representative sample of 1,742 respondents who are grown-ups aged 15 and older from the three biggest cities, i.e. Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda. The questionnaire consisted of 64 questions (Table 6.3). The major sections of the questionnaire were focused on officially declared mother tongues, knowledge of other languages and dialects, languages used in interaction with various interlocutors and language attitudes.

The quantitative survey of the second project, *Sociolinguistic map of Lithuania: towns and cities* (hereafter S3) was carried out in all smaller towns of Lithuania. It was partly based on the questionnaire of S2. More specifically, 31 questions out of 64 were selected so that the data from the surveys in large cities and small towns would be comparable (see Table 6.4).

The quantitative data was processed with the SPSS software. The data of S2 and S3 was merged for the analysis of certain aspects to get a broader view of the whole urban area in the country.

To analyse family language policy and management, the quantitative data was combined with material from in-depth interviews. These interviews were conducted with grown-up urban respondents in Lithuanian, Russian or Polish. The choice of language depended on the respondent's language proficiency. The interviews with inhabitants of various towns were conducted by the participants of the project during research expeditions in the period of 2008–2012. When comprising the

Table 6.4 The structure of S3 questionnaire on linguistic behaviour and language attitudes among grown-up population

Questions	Data
A1–A5	Information about the place and time of the interview and selection for the survey
1–3	Information about the respondent (the respondent's and his/her parents' places of birth, nationalities etc.)
4–5	Information about mother tongue, knowledge and learning of other languages
6–11	Languages used, the choice of languages in various domains (public, private and semi-private) with various interlocutors, code switching
12–13	Attitudes to various languages and language learning
14–17	Attitudes to languages and education
18–25	Attitudes to dialects and the use of dialects
26–31	Other personal information (occupation, marital status, ethnicities represented in the family, duration of residence in a particular town etc.)
A6–A10	Questions to the interviewer about the respondent's actual use of languages during the interview

sample the aim was to achieve maximal variation according to all social parameters (age, gender, occupation, social status, ethnicity etc.). The interviews were based on a semi-structured questionnaire which dealt with language proficiency, use, language attitudes and relationship to ethnic identity. The interviews were recorded and transcribed for analysis.

6.3 Data Analysis

6.3.1 Ethnic Groups in Urban Lithuania

Language policy in families often reflects ethnic identities of family members. The question concerning belonging to a certain ethnic group is traditionally included in the Lithuanian census. Though it is not obligatory the major part of the population usually provides an answer. By the 2011 census, the majority of population in Lithuania are Lithuanians. They account for 84.2 % of the population (see Table 6.5).

By the data of the 2011 census, people of 154 ethnicities lived in Lithuania. The major cities are the most multiethnic. Vilnius was inhabited by people of 128, Kaunas – 85, Klaipėda by 77 different ethnicities. Among these major cities, the greatest ethnic diversity is found in Vilnius, as can be seen from the data presented in Table 6.6 Klaipėda is the most Russian and Kaunas is the most Lithuanian from all Lithuanian cities.

According to the data of our projects, the majority of families in Lithuania are mono-ethnic. The merged data of S1 and S3 suggests that only 11 % of urban citizens were born in mixed families, i.e. their parents represented different ethnic groups. Currently, 12 % of urban citizens live in mixed families. A tendency has been observed that people coming from mixed families more often than children raised in

Table 6.5 Ethnic groups in Lithuania by the 2011 census (ethnicities were declared by grown-up respondents. Children's nationalities were given by their parents)

	Percentage
Lithuanian	84.2
Polish	6.6
Russian	5.8
Belarusian	1.2
Ukrainian	0.5
Other	0.6
Not indicated	1.1
Total	100

Source: Lithuanian 2011 Population Census in Brief

Table 6.6 Population of the major cities by ethnicity (%)

	Lithuanians	Poles	Russians	Belarusians	Ukrainian	Others
Vilnius	63.2	16.5	12.0	3.5	1.0	3.8
Kaunas	93.6	0.4	3.8	0.2	0.4	1.6
Klaipėda	73.9	0.3	19.6	1.7	1.9	2.6

Source: Lithuanian 2011 Population Census in Brief

Table 6.7 Place of birth and age of the respondents

		Age group			
Group: all	Number and %	15–25	26–40	41–55	56+
	4,684	1,091	1,135	1,230	1,228
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
Lithuania (%)	91	98	96	88	85
Other countries (%)	9	2	4	12	15

mono-ethnic families create mixed families of their own. The survey data shows that 54 % of people coming from mixed families marry partners of other ethnicities and only 11 % of urban citizens, living in mixed families, come from mono-ethnic homes.

Table 6.7 shows that the majority (91 % in total) of respondents surveyed in S2 and S3 were born in Lithuania. The distribution of the origin of the respondents across age groups suggests that the proportion of those born in Lithuania is the largest (96–98 %) in the youngest age group and considerably smaller among older respondents (12–15 %).

Out of all respondents who themselves or whose parents were born outside Lithuania, Russians constitute the largest group. In Vilnius they account for 33 % of all respondents born outside Lithuania and in Klaipėda they make up 54 %.

The majority of S1 pupils and their parents were born in Lithuania, yet the number of parents born outside the country is bigger than the number of children (Ramonienė and Extra 2011a: 73, b: 33–34). The most frequently indicated countries of origin of parents are Russia (4.5 %), Poland (1.0 %), Belarus (1.6 %), Ukraine (0.8 %), Latvia (0.3 %), and Armenia (0.1 %). The majority of people born outside Lithuania come from the former Soviet republics or countries of the Eastern socialist block.

Table 6.8 Self-estimated knowledge of the national language by non-titular ethnic groups in 2005 (percentages)

Percentage of the whole ethnolinguistic minority group[a]	Able to communicate	Uses almost every day	Very good	Good	Basic
Lithuanian Russian speakers	90	81	49	41	10
Lithuanian poles	90	80	36	58	7

Source: Eurobarometer (2006)

[a]In this analysis, a minority group is comprised of people who reported their mother tongue to be other than the state language

Table 6.9 Non-Lithuanian population and knowledge of Lithuanian (percentages)

	Vilnius	Klaipėda	Kaunas	Other urban areas
Non-Lithuanian population	36.8	26.1	6.4	11.2
Has no knowledge of Lithuanian	1	0.2	0	0.8

6.3.2 The Lithuanian Language and Non-Lithuanians

During the Soviet period, people of other ethnicities than Lithuanian were known to have a better command of the titular language, i.e. Lithuanian, than non-titular residents of the other Baltic republics could speak Estonian or Latvian. At the end of the Soviet rule, a survey carried out in Estonia showed that only 14 % of Russians and 12 % of representatives of other ethnic groups admitted that they could speak some Estonian. In Latvia, the numbers were 21 % for Russians and 18 % of other ethnicities (EHDR 2011: 119). Lithuanian in this respect had a different position: 33.5 % of Russians and 17 % of people of other nationalities spoke Lithuanian, which made the linguistic context in Lithuania quite different from the other former Soviet republics (Druviete 1997).

After the restoration of independence, Lithuanian was declared the official state language, and it gave a new impetus to the learning of Lithuanian among non-Lithuanians. A Eurobarometer survey in 2005 showed that 90 % of representatives of the big ethnic groups, namely, Polish and Russian, admitted than they could communicate in the state language while 80 % said that they used Lithuanian daily (see Table 6.8).

Our survey data from urban areas in Lithuania reveals that currently Lithuanian is known by almost all residents of Lithuanian cities and towns even though at the end of the Soviet period the language was spoken by a relatively small proportion of non-Lithuanians. The language is totally unknown (see Table 6.9) to 1 % of non-Lithuanian residents of the capital Vilnius where non-titular ethnic groups account for 36.8 % of the total population, 0.2 % in Klaipėda (non-titular ethnic groups comprise 26.1 % of the population). Kaunas seems to be the most Lithuanian city of the three since not a single respondent declared that he/she couldn't speak Lithuanian. As regards smaller towns where non-Lithuanians account for 11.2 % of the total population, 0.8 % of the respondents said that they did not know Lithuanian.

Table 6.10 Reasons to know Lithuanian among non-titulars in the largest cities

Why is it important to know Lithuanian?	Percentages
Citizens of Lithuania have to know Lithuanian	67
In order not to be cut off from the society	35
In order to be treated equally	29
In order to be accepted by the society	20
Other	3
Did not indicate	0.4

Table 6.11 The use of Lithuanian by Russian speakers across different domains with different interlocutors (percentages)

	Vilnius		Klaipėda		Kaunas	
	42.5 % of non-ethnic Lithuanians		*28.7 % of non-ethnic Lithuanians*		*7.1 % of non-ethnic Lithuanians*	
	Often	Sometimes	Often	Sometimes	Often	Sometimes
Speaking with neighbours	41	39	54	42	90	10
Speaking with friends and acquaintances	43	35	51	38	76	20
In the service sector	71.5	20	77	18	94.5	5.5
In medical institutions	69	17	75	19	94	5.5
In administrative institutions	73	14	76	15	91	8
Writing	51.5	33	39	40	65	27.5
Reading books	28.5	32	24	33	50.5	28
Reading newspapers, magazines	48	33	38	39	62	28
Listening to the radio	43	42	47	41	64	26
Watching TV	56	36	55	39	73	25
On the Internet	37	15	31	18	40	15

Our survey revealed positive language attitudes among the non-Lithuanian population towards the state language. The importance of ability to speak Lithuanian was confirmed by 94 % of Russians, 97 % of Poles and 96 % of ethnic other groups in Vilnius; 98 % of Russians and 95 % of other ethnicities in Klaipėda; 100 % of Russians and 87 % of other ethnicities in Kaunas. As shown in Table 6.10, attitudes towards Lithuanian are primarily related to possibilities to integrate. Hence, the knowledge of the state language is seen as important to Lithuanian citizens or members of the society.

The majority of non-Lithuanian urban residents know Lithuanian and use it quite frequently in various public and semi-public situations when interacting with various interlocutors (see Table 6.11) which in fact reveals how the linguistic urban situation affects the use of the state language. In Kaunas, the most Lithuanian city of the three large cities, Lithuanian has a stronger dominance over other languages than in the multilingual Vilnius and Klaipėda. For instance, in the service sector in Kaunas,

Table 6.12 The use of languages in urban families of non-Lithuanians (percentages)

Languages at least sometimes used at home:	Total n = 4,697	Total non-Lithuanians n = 1,013	Russians n = 489	Poles n = 296	Other n = 228
Lithuanian	91	59	63	53	58
Russian	28	88	98	71	88
Polish	9	31	5	85	16

Table 6.13 The use of languages in urban families of non-Lithuanians by age groups (percentages)

Language at least sometimes used at home:	Total n = 4,697	Total non-Lithuanians n = 1,013	15–25 n = 172	26–40 n = 218	41–55 n = 309	56+ n = 314
Lithuanian	91	59	55	67	61	53
Russian	28	88	88	87	88	87
Polish	9	31	34	34	29	29

94.5 % of Russian-speakers admit that they use Lithuanian often and only 5.5 % say that they need Lithuanian seldom; 90 % of the respondents communicate with their neighbours in Lithuanian often and 10 % do it sometimes. The situation is clearly different in Vilnius and Klaipėda where Lithuanian has a weaker dominance than in Kaunas yet the service sector also seems to be distinctive: in Vilnius 71.5 % of non-Lithuanians often use Lithuanian when dealing with services, 20 % switch to Lithuanian seldom; in Klaipėda 77 % do it often and 18 % sometimes.

The state language is used not only in public communication but also in the private domain. Lithuanian has become the language of communication at home both in mixed families and in mono-ethnic families of Russians and other ethnicities. The merged data of S2 and S3 shows that in Lithuanian urban areas 81 % of respondents from mixed families use Lithuanian at home. Quite often Lithuanian is spoken in Russian urban families (Table 6.12) – 63 % of the respondents admit that they resort to Lithuanian from time to time. In Polish families and families of other ethnic groups, Lithuanian is used less often (53 % and 58 % respectively).

It has also been found that the choice of languages for home use is related to the age of the respondents. As shown in Table 6.13, Lithuanian is spoken often by those people of ethnic minorities who are aged 26–40.

Interestingly enough, Russians aged 26–40 tend to resort to Lithuanian even more often than people belonging to the other age groups (Table 6.14). 77 % of the respondents said they switched to Lithuanian at home.

Respondents from Vilnius and Klaipėda, the most multilingual cities, indicated that apart from Russian, which will be discussed in the next section, Lithuanian is often or sometimes used in various family contexts, for example, in interaction with spouses (38 %), children (45 %), grandchildren (36 %), pets (29 %). Interaction with spouses or children in mixed families often involves code switching between Lithuanian and Russian, e. g. 23 % of Russian urban residents resort to code switching when talking to their spouses and 19 % when talking to children.

Table 6.14 The use of languages in Russian families by different age groups (percentages)

Language at least sometimes used at home:	Total Russians n = 489	15–25 n = 84	26–40 n = 102	41–55 n = 142	56+ n = 161
Lithuanian	63	51	77	68	55
Russian	98	99	100	98	96
Polish	5	5	10	3	4

Lithuanian is also used at home by primary school pupils who consider themselves to be Russian. S1 data reveals that 16.3 % of Russian pupils indicate that Lithuanian is the most frequently used language at home.

The in-depth interviews provided additional support to this finding and disclosed how much importance is attached to the ability to speak Lithuanian fluently:

> I have two mother tongues: 50 % Lithuanian and 50 % Russian. I speak both languages a lot, I do it automatically, I don't have to translate. (32 years, Russian, male, Vilnius)
>
> I can read in Lithuanian very well and I like it when there are good books available in Lithuanian. Language makes no difference to me when I read. (45 years, Russian, female, Klaipėda)

In general, it is possible to conclude that the formerly prevailing attitude that Lithuanian Russians and Russian-speaking people residing in Lithuanian urban areas, where the number of Russians is larger than in rural places,[5] do not know Lithuanian is no longer true. These people do know Lithuanian; moreover, they use the language not only in public but also in the private domain, particularly in their interaction with the younger generation. In cities where there are more ethnic Lithuanians, e. g. Kaunas, public life has become totally Lithuanian in terms of languages used. Russians and Russian-speaking residents consider Lithuanian to be an important language for a Lithuanian citizen and necessary in order to live in this country. It provides basis for professional careers and is also viewed as a sign of the newly developing civic identity (Lichačiova 2010; Leončikas 2007: 117; Ramonienė 2010).

6.3.3 The Russian Language and Non-Lithuanian Population

Over more than 20 years of independence, Lithuanian Russians and Russian-speaking population have also retained the Russian language which occupies the second position after Lithuanian in terms of proficient use among all urban residents. Only 5 % of all urban residents indicate that they do not know Russian at all. There was not a single person among non-Lithuanian respondents who does not know Russian. In multilingual cities, such as Vilnius and Klaipėda, Russian is the most frequently used language, which also dominates in Russian families (Table 6.15).

[5] By the census of 2001, Russians account for 8.2 % of urban population and only 2.4 % of rural residents.

Table 6.15 The use of languages by Russian respondents from Vilnius and Klaipėda in the private domain (percentages)

		Lithuanian (%)	Russian (%)	Code switching (%)	Do not have an interlocutor at home (n = 258) (%)
With spouses/partners (−e) (n = 188)	Often	22	82	3	27
	Sometimes	16	7	20	
	Never	62	11	77	
With children (n = 118)	Often	19	81	2	27
	Sometimes	26	12	17	
	Never	55	7	81	
With mother (n = 211)	Often	5	93	1	18
	Sometimes	11	6	8	
	Never	84	1	91	
With siblings (n = 186)	Often	9	92	1	28
	Sometimes	16	3	11	
	Never	75	4	88	
With grandparents (n = 129)	Often	5	94		50
	Sometimes	5	4	7	
	Never	90	2	93	
With father (n = 144)	Often	6	94		44
	Sometimes	5	2	6	
	Never	90	3	94	
With grandchildren (n = 92)	Often	18	87	2	64
	Sometimes	18	8	10	
	Never	63	5	88	
With pets (n = 155)	Often	15	87	1	40
	Sometimes	14	6	9	
	Never	71	7	90	

97–99 % of the respondents here often or at least sometimes use Russian to communicate with their parents, grandparents (98 %), siblings (96 %), spouses (89 %), children (93 %), grandchildren (95 %), or pets (93 %). According to Lichačiova and Brazauskienė, who worked with the same survey data, Russian is the mother tongue of Lithuanian Russians (or one of two mother tongues to 8 % of the respondents), moreover, this language is used not only in the private domain, but also at work and in public, even though this use may often involve code switching with Lithuanian (Brazauskienė 2010; Lichačiova 2010; Brazauskienė and Lichačiova 2011).

Lithuanian Russians see their mother tongue as a valuable treasure and consider it to be the most beautiful language (66 % of the respondents) and the most important attribute of Russian identity so, in their opinion, it is impossible to underestimate the importance of teaching this language to the younger generation:

I. Maybe you have two or even three mother-tongues?
R. No, it's Russian nonetheless. I'm fluent in Lithuanian since childhood. I have attended a Lithuanian school. But my mother-tongue is still Russian. Well, it is more comfortable for me to speak in Russian. Not because I don't know some words or phrases but it's just… well, it's the language of the soul, I would say. (21 years, Russian, female, Visaginas)

I. You think it's a beautiful language, don't you? (in Russian)
R. It is beautiful and very expressive. From my experience I can tell that neither English, nor Lithuanian offers so many endless possibilities to express one's thoughts (48 years, Russian, male, Vilnius)
I. Do you like Russian language; does it have some aesthetic value to you?
R. Yes. A special one… I cannot read poetry, in no other language does it seem so beautiful as in Russian. (21 years, Russian, female, Visaginas)
I. That means you don't think that while living in Lithuania in a mixed family children should learn only one language of one of the parent?
R. Right (nodding her head). I think. I think this is not practical to the children. Children, especially when they are very young, may not quite understand it. But I am absolutely convinced that my kids, when they grow up, will be very grateful that I made them learn Russian. (24 year, Russian, female, Vilnius)
… I will do all I can to ensure that they (children) would learn Russian as well as possible. I'll speak with them in Russian, I'll read Russian books to them, show Russian films as much as I only can. (18 years, Russian, female, Vilnius)

Various studies have convincingly shown that from early childhood parents' linguistic ideology and language attitudes play a crucial role in the linguistic development of their children and learning of L1 and L2, even though that role may not always be positive (Schwartz 2008; Spolsky 2004).

6.3.4 Language, Family and School

Various studies have proved that successful language management in families is often supported by diverse external tools which create sociolinguistic environment (Schwartz 2010). One of such tools is the choice of educational institution for children. The language or languages of instruction at schools contribute significantly to the practical implementation of family language ideology (Schwartz 2010; Baker 2001; Fishman 1991; Spolsky 2009). Undoubtedly, the choice of school ensures a more intensive use of one or another language and this use is not merely restricted to the educational domain.

During the Soviet period and after the restoration of independence, Lithuania has had schools with different languages of instruction. Alongside Lithuanian schools, there have also been schools where the main language of instruction is Russian or Polish. In 1990/1991, nearly 83 % of pupils attended Lithuanian schools, 15 % Russian and over 2 % Polish (Leončikas 2007: 48). Gradually, the number of pupils, particularly in Russian schools, started decreasing. It has diminished by threefold over 15 years since 1990/1991: in the academic year 1999/2000, pupils learning in Russian accounted for 7.7 % of all pupils and in 2004/2005 for only 5 %. A tendency among the Russian community to send their children to Lithuanian schools, which, hopefully, ensures higher proficiency in the official state language and thus provides more opportunities in the future, was observed (Leončikas 2007: 90). Obviously, this is a situation where the usual pattern of ethnic assimilation is at work with the crucial role played by the status of culture and language (Gellner 1993; Schöpflin 2000).

Table 6.16 School language and communication with siblings and best friends (percentages)

School language	With younger siblings	With elder siblings	With best friends
Lithuanian	31.8	37.2	84.4
Russian	6.6	7.1	36.0

This general tendency has been confirmed by the data of surveys discussed in this chapter. Nine out of ten grown-up Russian respondents, who live in the multilingual Vilnius and Klaipėda, have finished Russian schools, but only 30 % of them send their children to schools with Russian as the language of instruction.

The respondents stress the importance of schooling for the development of language skills and cultural awareness:

> They don't just teach language at school. They also teach culture, transmit culture, for example, through literature. (24 years, Russian, female, Vilnius)
>
> To send your kids to a Lithuanian school, I think, is the right thing to do. If you live in Lithuania and if you plan to stay here… The more your kids know, the better. They need to know both the language and the culture. (48 years, Russian, male, Vilnius)
>
> I. In your opinion, why do the local Russians choose to send their children to Lithuanian schools?
>
> T. To make it easier for them. I remember that my parents… I was very much against it, well, when I went to school I didn't know a word in Lithuanian and they kept convincing me every morning: "you need to speak it, you need to speak it, later it will be easier for you". Well, I really was convinced: I come to any Lithuanian environment and I feel like I'm one of them. I don't even have an accent when I speak Lithuanian… and I think that if the parents behave in some reasonable way, do not exaggerate… That is, if they still give some Russian literature to read, of course, if that's important to them, preserve some bond, then everything is alright. <…> Well, if I have children; if one speaks Russian to them at home there is a change they will be as Russian as me. (21 years, Russian, female, Visaginas)
>
> When living in Lithuania, all of them (relatives) start using Lithuanian. Being here it's simpler both at school for kids and then there are more possibilities in the future… The Lithuanian language… the country in which you live, you must know its language. This is my opinion. (45 years, Russian, female, Klaipėda)

The influence of school on language practices in various domains is revealed by S1 data dealing with the relationship between languages spoken at home and at school. 42.4 % of Russian children attending Lithuanian schools say that Lithuanian is the most frequently spoken language at home whereas the same indicator among Russian children attending Russian schools is only 8.1 %. Table 6.16 shows that those Russian children who attend Lithuanian schools tend to communicate in Lithuanian both with their younger (31.8 %) and elder (37.2 %) siblings and with their best friends (37.2 %). In contrast, children attending Russian schools use Lithuanian less often, 6.6, 7.1 and 36 % respectively.

Although quite many grown-up respondents admit that their children attend Lithuanian rather than Russian schools, they also stress the importance of school atmosphere which fosters their native language and culture:

> <…> language carries a rich cultural layer <…> It is very difficult to get to know Russian culture without the knowledge of its literature. <…> Personally, I wish my kids finished a Russian school. You can certainly learn your mother tongue by simply

> speaking it at home but this is not the same as learning at school, where you are also taught Russian literature and traditions. Language spoken at home is conversational, it is certainly worse than language spoken by people educated in Russian schools. (24 years, Russian, female, Vilnius)

One of the possible approaches for the educational sector is bilingual teaching at school. There are, however, very few schools in Lithuania which consistently implement bilingual study programmes, which, by the way, is mainly done in Russian schools. S2 and S3 questionnaires contained a hypothetical question to grown-up respondents whether they would consider choosing bilingual schools for their children. 58 % of the respondents answered positively which suggests that bilingual teaching could be seen as a suitable option for many non-Lithuanian families:

> I think I wouldn't miss the chance to give my kid a possibility to learn two languages. It would be a bad idea to restrict your child. Why? When he grows up, he'll choose his own path and decide for himself where he is going to live and which language is his native. (48 years, Russian, male, Vilnius)

6.4 Concluding Remarks

Studies of linguistic behaviour in Lithuanian urban areas showed that changes in the socio-political situation of the country have affected social and linguistic behaviour of non-titular ethnic groups. The most conspicuous changes are related to the increased proficiency in Lithuanian and the use of the titular language both in public and private domains. Hence, the Lithuanian language is spoken at home, particularly in interaction with the younger generation, children and grandchildren. The tendency to send children to Lithuanian rather than Russian schools also indicates a move towards social and linguistic adaptation.

The fact that native speakers of Russian have retained their mother tongue and use it most often at home and sometimes in public life should be seen as a sign of successful family management. Appreciation of one's mother tongue, willingness to teach children Russian and at the same time preserve Russian culture and identity suggests that the Russian ethnic community, which is decreasing in number in Lithuania, will continue to preserve its national character and language. Admittedly, maintenance of the Russian language is eased by the fact that the majority of the population in the country speak Russian. Russian language, formerly the most important language of the Soviet Union, more than 20 years after the collapse of the Soviet system, today is still the second best known and used language in Lithuania by all the population, preceded only by Lithuanian. In this respect, Lithuania, as any other post-Soviet countries, is very different from the other European states (EHDR 2011) and quite unique worldwide.

Willingness of Lithuanian Russians and Russian-speaking population to keep up Russian and educate their children in bilingual environment indicates a positive social attitude that might ensure a successful language policy and management in the family. This language ideology could help preserve socio-political stability and

satisfaction of Lithuanian citizens in terms of their national self-esteem and multiethnic coexistence:

> When I meet abroad a person who speaks Russian, I always feel very good, because I instantly consider that person be one of my people. If that person speaks Lithuanian, I also regard that person as one of ours. (18 years, Russian, female, Vilnius)

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Chapter 7
To Make the Root Stronger: Language Policies and Experiences of Successful Multilingual Intermarried Families with Adolescent Children in Tallinn

Colm Doyle

7.1 Introduction

Due to migration, trade, education, inter-marriages and other factors, multilingualism has become more widespread in developed regions, and ever-more importance is being placed on the ability to communicate in multiple languages. Estonia and its capital, Tallinn, are no exception. Enumerated in the 2011 Estonian census were the members of 192 ethnic nationalities and the speakers of 157 languages as a mother tongue (Statistics Estonia 2012a, b).

Home to 30 % of Estonia's 1.29 million people (Statistics Estonia 2013a), Tallinn contains much of the ethnic and linguistic diversity of the state. Half the city's population speaks a non-Estonian language as a mother tongue and 23 % are of a different citizenship than Estonian (Tallinn City Government 2012). The vast majority of this ethnolinguistic diversity comprises Estonian-speaking ethnic-Estonians (just over half) and Russian-speaking ethnic-Russians (some 38 %). There are, however, small populations of ethnic-Ukrainians and Belarusians with mostly Russian (or to a lesser extent Ukrainian or Belarusian respectively) as a mother tongue. One and a half per cent (1.5 %) of the city's population speaks a language other than the four mentioned directly above as a mother tongue, and 3.4 % of the city's residents declare their ethnic nationality to be something other than the four ethnic nationalities stated above (Tallinn City Government 2012). In a 2012 Eurobarometer survey, 52 % of Estonian respondents stated that they could speak at least two languages in addition to their mother tongue 'well enough in order to be able to have a conversation' – twice the EU average of 25 %. Furthermore, as a non-mother tongue, a higher percentage of Estonians could speak Russian, English and German compared to the EU average (European Commission 2012a).

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M. Schwartz and A. Verschik (eds.), *Successful Family Language Policy: Parents, Children and Educators in Interaction*, Multilingual Education 7,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-7753-8_7,

The study on which this chapter is based investigated the family language policies of 11 intermarried families resident in and near the multi-ethnic, multilingual city that is Tallinn. The couple at the head of each family comprised one ethnic-Estonian parent and one non-Estonian parent. Ten of the families had successfully raised at least one adolescent child with active and productive competence in at least two home languages including the societal language of Estonian. One other family was on its way to achieving this goal. In semi-structured interviews the present author asked participants to discuss the formation and application of the family's language policy; share their experiences; and look to the future when the adolescent children become adults and consider starting families of their own.

Tallinn as the location of the research is significant because, as far as the present author knows, this study was the first to be conducted on family language policy in Estonia outside of Estonian-Russian-speaking families. The Estonian language has one million mother-tongue speakers worldwide, some 887,000 of whom reside in Estonia (Statistics Estonia 2013b). Internationally it can be labelled as a '*medium-sized* language' (see Soler 2013), and it is the language with the smallest speaker base after Icelandic to fulfil all the duties of a modern nation state. The six non-Estonian-languages (NELs) spoken by the participant families are not only internationally more prestigious than Estonian, but they also hold varying degrees of official and unofficial prestige in Estonian society. The present author suggests that the adolescent children's multilingualism was not wholly due to the families' language policies, but that the multilingual nature of Tallinn, coupled with the position of Estonian internationally as a 'smaller' language in comparison to these NELs, also had a large role to play. The success of these families' 'bilingual parenting' (King and Fogle 2006) relative to the more 'mixed' outcomes of other studies (Döpke 1992; Piller 2001; Yamamoto 2001; Okita 2002) is suggested to be due in large part to the Estonian sociolinguistic context and the asymmetries in size and status existent between Estonian and the NELs. It is hoped that the combination of intermarried families and the Estonian context can add a new and complimentary voice to the already existing literature on family language policy.

7.2 Family Language Policy and Inter-marriage

A growing awareness and appreciation of language policy as operational at the family level has given birth to the field of family language policy (King et al. 2008; Schwartz 2010). The field 'provides an integrated overview of research on how languages are managed, learned and negotiated within families' (King et al. 2008: 907). Family language policy (FLP) investigates the language *ideologies* of family members, their language *practices*, and the steps taken to *plan, regulate and manage* the use of language in the family (Spolsky 2004).

The domain of the family is of utmost importance in the study of language policy and multilingualism 'because of its critical role in forming the child's

linguistic environment' (Schwartz 2010: 172), thereby shaping their 'developmental trajectories', and ultimately 'determin[ing] the maintenance and future status of minority languages' (King et al. 2008: 907). Furthermore, to paraphrase King and Logan-Terry (2008), FLP research shines a light onto parental language ideologies, thus broadening our understanding of attitudes towards languages and parenting (p. 6).

The reasons families employ language policies, according to Tannenbaum (2012), are to allow the parents maintain a connection with their past, bond with their children, and protect through adaption the integrity of the family in response to external forces (p. 62). Similarly, in the words of Curdt-Christiansen (2009), 'FLP is shaped by what the family believes will strengthen the family's social standing and best serve and support the family members' goals in life' (p. 352). Thus the symbolism of the 'root' mentioned in the title of this chapter, which comes from a conversation the present author had with a couple on the inter-generational transmission of identity. This metaphorical 'root' is what binds the child to a given parent's heritage, through which they are nourished linguistically and culturally. Viewing upbringing in a given language as the 'root' recognises language's role as 'the main vehicle for the replication, construction, and transmission of culture itself' (Schiffman 1996: 276).

Language policy at higher levels tends to involve legislating for rights and responsibilities regarding languages to be used in official and formal domains and the forms those languages take. FLP, however, involves emotive issues such as mother tongues, the bonds between parent and child, the language used between two loving partners and the language used to teach reading and writing in the home. For example, both Küpelikilinç (1998) and Kouritzin (2000) highlight the importance of bedtime rituals, bedtime stories, nursery rhymes and terms of endearment in the relationship between mother and child. The nature of this language is highly personal and, in the words of Kopeliovich (2010), 'intimately connected to [one's] earliest childhood memories' (p. 173).

Paraphrasing Clulow (1993), Okita (2002) states that 'unmet needs, unresolved conflicts and unfinished business from past families' are brought by the two parties in a couple into their marriage and joint childrearing (Okita 2002: 13). Schiffman (1996) talks of 'linguistic culture', 'the sum totality of…all the…cultural "baggage" that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their background' (p. 276). Given the emotive charge carried by language (Pavlenko 2004) and that 'images of parenting and mothering/fathering are socially influenced' (Okita 2002: 13), the potential for conflict and the necessity for comprise regarding childrearing is greater in intermarried families as any given couple may not share a common culture or language.

In the West bilingual parenting has, according to King and Fogle (2006), become synonymous with 'good parenting'. Piller (2005) states that 'bilingualism has definitely joined the markers of parental success. Childhood bilingualism is hip, a potential that must be tapped – no questions asked' (p. 614). By its very definition there is a good chance that the individuals in an intermarried couple speak different L1s.

From this flows not only the opportunity to raise children in two (or more) languages, but very often the expectation that the children become fully productive bilinguals (Piller 2001). This is, however, not always borne out by case studies discussed in the literature (Döpke 1992; Fries 1998; Tuominen 1999; Yamamoto 2001).

According to Okita (2002), language is of great importance in intermarried families, especially in the 'invisible work' of mothers that is childrearing (p. 26). In cases where the parents speak different L1s and the family resides in the father's linguistic and cultural community, 'minority mothers' (Okita 2002) become *the* "guardians of the minority language" (Piller and Pavlenko 2004: 496). This 'guardian' role is in addition to their roles as wives and mothers. In a study of the childrearing practices of Japanese mothers residing in the UK, Okita (2002) employs the term 'simultaneous accommodation', an understanding of which she says is 'critical' in understanding childrearing and language use in intermarried families. Of simultaneous accommodation the author states:

> Mothers had to juggle demands of providing an environment for minority language acquisition, ensuring that the majority language competence of their children did not create a problem at school, that children were exposed to appropriate extracurricular activities but that they also had enough time to relax and be children, in addition to their (mother's) other housework, looking after younger children and family-related work, and of course any independent aspirations they might have had for themselves, for their husband or to maintain their marriage (Okita 2002: 227).

'Minority mothers' undertake all the above away from the support networks of their families back home and largely without recognition, given the 'invisible' nature of the work (Okita 2002: 27). The competing demands made of these mothers can often, as stated by King and Fogle (2006: 697), lead to 'maternal guilt, stress and personal trauma' (Kouritzin 2000; Okita 2002) and disappointment (Fries 1998; Piller 2001; Kopeliovich 2010).

7.3 Adolescent Children

The present study's focus on families with adolescent children was a response to Schwartz's (2010) call for more research on language policy and multilingualism in families with older children. Some exceptions to the focus on families with pre- and primary school age children are Fries (1998), Caldas (2006) and Kopeliovich (2010). For example, Caldas (2006) reports results of a 19-year longitudinal study of the author's three children from early childhood to late adolescence. The author was an L1 speaker of American-English and his wife was a L1 speaker of Quebec-French. Both parents spoke their spouse's language fluently. The family resided in monolingual English-speaking Louisiana and holidayed in Quebec. The study found that as adolescents the children were highly susceptible to the immediate monolingual milieu, preferring to speak English in Louisiana and French in Quebec. This was despite the fact that two of the children attended French-medium education and

both parents spoke mostly French at home. The author states: 'the children's peer groups had much more influence on the children's language preferences and movement toward minority language fluency than we, the parents' (Caldas 2006: 187).

The reader is reminded here of Luykx's (2005) call that researchers in the field of child bilingualism recognise that children are much more than simply 'recipients' of their language socialization process. The author argues for recognition of children as 'agents'. One could say that school-going children are *recipients* of socialisation at school and in their peer group and *agents* of (self-)socialisation in the home.

Caldas (2006) tells the reader that after two decades he and his wife achieved the 'lofty goal' of raising their children to bilingual fluency and functional bi-literacy in French and English (p. 186). While this goal of bilingualism was achieved, it came at great financial sacrifice, which the author admits is not open to every family. The couple purchased a summer house in Quebec and put their children in French-speaking summer camps, also in Quebec. Caldas refers to this as his children's 'societal language immersion experiences', the 'laboratory' created by the couple to nurture the French language in the children. It is to this 'total societal immersion for extended periods of time' with their Quebec-French-speaking peers that he attributes his children's fluency in French (Caldas 2006: 194–195). Döpke (1992), DeCapua and Wintergerst (2009) and De Houwer (2009) also emphasise the importance of socialising environments in which the non-societal language (NSL) is the medium of interaction, play, discussion and general family life, in order to assist and encourage the development and maintenance of bilingualism.

7.4 Research Questions

With the above discussion in mind, the following were the research questions to which the present study sought answers.

1. What were the rationale and ideologies behind the family's language policy, and was it influenced at any stage by the literature (popular or academic) on childhood bilingualism?
2. What constituted education in the home in the non-societal language and how was it encouraged?
3. What challenges were encountered by the parents?
4. What was the place and status held by both the Estonian language and the non-Estonian language in the family and how were they used?
5. What was the future outlook for both the Estonian language and the non-Estonian language amongst the adolescent children?
6. To what extent was the adolescent children's multilingualism a result of the family language policy rather than the sociolinguistic context?

7.5 Participants and Data Gathering

7.5.1 Participants

Multilingual families resident in Tallinn were made aware of the present research and invited to participate in it through the emailing-lists of a number of schools in Tallinn in the autumn of 2011. Eleven (11) families out of those which expressed an interest in participating were chosen. The choice was made according to the following criteria: (1) intermarried couple (one ethnic-Estonian, one non-Estonian); (2) a minimum of two languages to be spoken by the children as home languages including Estonian; (3) residence in or near Tallinn; and (4) a minimum of one child aged at least 11 years by the start of 2012 (because of the study's focus on families with adolescent children).

Table A7.1 in the Appendix presents information on the ages, occupations, countries of birth, and native languages (L1s) and other languages[1] spoken by the participant parents. There were 11 ethnic-Estonian parents (7 mothers and 4 fathers) and 10 non-Estonian parents (4 mothers and 6 fathers) included in the study. All families consisted of a mother and a father, bar family 4.[2] All children were biological (i.e. not adopted). The mean age of the parents was 46. There are two points to note here. First, two of the ethnic-Estonian parents were born outside Estonia to Estonian refugees of the Second World War. Mother M2 was born and raised in Australia and father F9[3] was born and raised in Sweden. Second, father F11 was born in Estonia to an Estonian father and Kazakh mother, but his native and strongest language is Russian, not Estonian.

In this present study there were nine families in 2012 in which one other language in addition to Estonian was spoken by the children in the home: English (families 1–4), Spanish (families 5–7), Swedish (family 8) and Finnish (family 10). Family 9 had been exclusively Swedish-speaking since 2007. In family 11 two languages in addition to Estonian were spoken by the children in the home: Russian and German.

Table A7.2 in the Appendix provides information on the sex and ages of the children, the year and country of their birth and the history of residence in Estonia of the children in the family as a group. Between the 11 families there were 24 children in total, ranging in age from 4;7[4] to 21 years at the time of recording.

[1] These other languages are listed with the level as self-reported by the parent in question according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR).

[2] The father had not been living with the children and their mother for a number of years at the time of the study.

[3] M2: read as 'mother of family 2'; F9: read as 'father of family 9'; Only those parents and children referenced using a code in the chapter are listed with a code in Table A7.1 in Appendix – either 'm' or 'f' for mother and father respectively for the parents, and 'c' for child for the children, followed by the number of the family.

[4] Years;months.

The mean age was 13;3. Eighteen children were interviewed in the course of the study, ranging in age from 10;9 to 21, with a mean of 14;9.

The countries of birth of the children were as follows: Estonia (13), USA (4), Australia (2), Mexico (2), Sweden (2) and Finland (1). Fourteen children had resided exclusively in Estonia, whilst six children had spent the major part of their lives in Estonia. Only four children had resided longer outside Estonia than inside it (the children of families 4 and 7). Residence of the families in Estonia ranged in length from over 21 years to just 1 year, with an average length of residence of some 12 and a half years.

7.5.2 Data Gathering: Questionnaires and Semi-structured Interviews

Two separate questionnaires were e-mailed to the potential participant families in the autumn of 2011. One questionnaire containing 45 questions was directed at the parents while a shorter 18-question questionnaire was to be completed by any adolescent child in the family who was at least 12 years of age by the beginning of 2012. The two questionnaires were for the most part qualitative, meaning that the majority of the questions that the participants were asked were open-ended and not scale-based or multiple-choice. An attempt was made to cover all the bases of Spolsky's (2004) ideology-management-practice framework. Amongst other things family members were questioned about patterns of language use, attitudes to bilingualism, experiences, planning and goals, home and non-formal education in the non-societal language and advice to future families. The questionnaires also asked the families for their demographic data.

The intention with the questionnaire was: (1) to assist the present author in choosing suitable participant families and to give him an initial insight into the family dynamic; (2) to furnish the study with the necessary demographic data; (3) to allow the participants to consider the issues involved before the interview; and (4) to provide the present author a structure for the subsequent interview and a spring-board for the questions to be posed therein. An attempt was made to conduct analysis on the questionnaires. However, it quickly became apparent, from the brevity and sparsity of detail of the answers, that the participants did not find the questionnaires a suitable medium for providing the researcher with the in-depth data necessary for conducting any meaningful sociolinguistic analysis.

Between January and June 2012 one recorded semi-structured interview was conducted with each of the 11 families. The researcher utilised the answers provided by the family members in the questionnaires to structure the interviews by asking follow-on questions designed to seek clarification and development of that which had already been provided. A second interview was conducted with Estonian-English-speaking families 1 and 2 in October 2012. The topic of these interviews was the role played and the status held by the families' two languages (English and Estonian) inside the home as well as in society. In the interviews education in the home, reading, entertainment and the use of media were discussed.

Over 14.5 h of audio was recorded between the 13 interviews. All of the interviews, bar one, took place in the home of the participant-family. The interview which was not recorded in a participant family's home took place in a café in Tallinn and was with the one family that lived outside the city. The average length of an interview was 67 min. Having been transcribed the interviews were analysed with reference to the topics as set-out in the two questionnaires in an attempt to discovered why the families had been successful in their bilingual parenting. Quotes illustrating the family members' attitudes, practices and experiences along certain important thematic lines were isolated and extracted. An attempt was made to construct a narrative for each family ending in a composite picture of all the families, the result of which is presented in this chapter.

Triangulation of methods, as argued for by Schwartz (2010) and evident in such studies as Caldas (2006, 2008) and Schwartz and Moin (2012), did not occur. It is of course the opinion of the present author that a future study would benefit from a mixed-methods approach, utilising for example ethnographic field notes as well as quantitative measurement tooling. However, a large number of participants with diverse linguistic and family narratives coupled with the present author being the sole researcher made this approach unattainable in the present study. That said, the present author believes that the accounts presented in this chapter nevertheless have something of value to say about the bilingual parenting and experiences of intermarried families, in Tallinn and elsewhere.

7.6 Results

The results section is divided into the following five sub-sections: parental strategies and patterns of family language use; parental language ideology; home and non-formal education in the non-societal language; challenges; and experiences, practices and attitudes of the adolescent children.

7.6.1 Parental Strategies and Patterns of Family Language Use

Table 7.1 below presents the parental strategies and patterns of language use in the home in the 11 participant families throughout the lifetime of the families in Estonia (and abroad if relevant). The patterns of language use in the home are presented along the following dyads: each parent and the children; between the parents; between the children; and when the whole family is gathered together. The table also lists each parent twice – by ethnic-nationality on the left and by sex on the right. The table may at first sight appear complex, or even abstruse. However, because of its information density it has some interesting insights to share as to the

Table 7.1 Parental strategies and patterns of language use in the 11 participant-families

Family	Country of residence[a]	Estonian parent and children	Non-Estonian parent and children	Between parents	Parental strategy	All family together	Between children	Mother and children	Father and children
1	USA	NEL/sl[b]	NEL/sl	NEL/sl	(monolingual)	NEL/sl	n.a.	NEL/sl	NEL/sl
	EE	EST	NEL	NEL	**sOPOL**	both	EST	NEL	EST
2	AU	EST/nsl[c]	NEL/sl	NEL/sl	**wOPOL**	both	both	EST/nsl	NEL/sl
	EE	EST	NEL	NEL	**sOPOL**	both	EST	EST	NEL
3	EE	EST	NEL	NEL > both	**sOPOL > OPOL**	both	EST	EST	NEL
4	USA	both	NEL/sl	NEL/sl	**wOPOL**	NEL/sl	NEL/sl	both	NEL/sl
	EE	EST	n.a.	n.a.	(monolingual)	both	NEL	EST	n.a.
5	EE	EST	NEL	English > three	**OPOL**	three > both	NEL	NEL	EST
6	EE	EST	NEL	English	**OPOL**	three	EST	EST	NEL
7	MEX	both	NEL/sl	NEL/sl	**wOPOL**	NEL/sl	NEL/sl	both	NEL/sl
	EE	EST	NEL	NEL	**sOPOL**	NEL > both	both	EST	NEL
8	SW	EST/nsl	NEL/sl	NEL/sl	**wOPOL**	NEL/sl	n.a.	EST/nsl	NEL/sl
	EE	EST	NEL	NEL	**sOPOL**	NEL	EST	EST	NEL
9	EE	NEL > EST > NEL	NEL	NEL	**NSLO > sOPOL > NSLO**	NEL > both > NEL	n.a. > both >NEL	NEL	NEL > EST > NEL
10	EE	EST	NEL	both	**OPOL**	both	EST	EST	NEL
11	EE	NEL (Russian)	NEL (German)	English	**DNSLO (OPOL)**	four	EST	NEL (German)	NEL (Russian)

[a] *EE* Estonia, *AU* Australia, *USA* United States of America, *MEX* Mexico, *SW* Sweden

[b] *NEL/sl* Non-Estonian language is the societal language: USA & Australia – English; Mexico – Spanish; Sweden – Swedish

[c] *EST/nsl* Estonian is the non-societal language

family's language policy, which will be of relevance throughout the remainder of the chapter.

In the middle of the table the strategy type of the family is listed. 'OPOL', standing for 'one person, one language', is a strategy whereby use of the two languages in the family is separated by person – each parent endeavours to speak only one language to their child(ren), the same language in and outside the home. This language is different for the two parents in question. The present author has taken it upon himself to differentiate in the table between OPOL situations where the non-societal language (NSL) at home is relatively strong ('*s*OPOL'), relatively weak ('*w*OPOL'), or where the NSL and societal language (SL) are relatively balanced – with or without the addition of English – (simply 'OPOL'). The deciding factor here as to the relative strength of the OPOL parental strategy is the medium of communication between the parents (whether exclusively the NSL or the SL, or other). In cases where English is used but is not the native language of the non-Estonian parent, it is simply labelled 'English'. Change over time in the same country is shown with an arrow '>'.

7.6.1.1 Parental Strategy

Turning first to the middle of the table where the parental strategies are listed, the first thing that is apparent is the dominance of the strategy 'one person, one language' ('OPOL'). The strategy occurred in 15 out of 19 situations. Use of OPOL was exclusive in the case of 8 families and non-exclusive in the remaining 3 – thus employed in all families at one point in time. In the case of family 9 the reader can see a shift over time from use of the non-societal language only (NSLO) to sOPOL and back again to NSLO. In family 11 the reader can see a case of 'double non-societal language only' (DNSLO) – also a case of OPOL. In these (D)NSLO situations both parents only speak a/the NSL to the child(ren), regardless of place. Two situations were effectively monolingual: English in the case of family 1 in USA and Estonian in the case of family 4 in Estonia. The language spoken in the home by the parent(s) to the child(ren) was the societal language (SL).

There is not one instance of what is referred to as 'home language vs. community language' in Piller (2001) or 'minority language at home' in the popular literature on bilingual parenting. This is a strategy whereby the NSL dominates in the home, being the language spoken to the children by both parents, with the parents speaking the SL outside the home. The case-study in Deuchar and Quay (2000) is an example of this strategy.

7.6.1.2 Patterns of Family Language Use

Turning to the left of the table we can see that without fail, regardless of time and place, the NEL was always used in communication between the non-Estonian parent and the children. Regarding the ethnic-Estonian parent, with the exception of

fathers F9 and F11,[5] the Estonian language was always used in Estonia and exclusive use of the language was compromised in mothers M4 and M7 when resident abroad. Father F1 spoke English exclusively in the USA. This suggests that Estonian parents find it challenging to solely stick to Estonian abroad. Two exceptions to the compromised use of Estonian by the Estonian parent abroad were mothers M2 and M8, who exclusively spoke Estonian in Australia and Sweden respectively. At the time of the study, 20 parents (all bar M2) spoke their strongest language to their children – mother tongue in the case of 19. All parent-child communication was found to be monolingual in the parent's language. This is in contrast to the mixed child-parent interactions reported in studies such as Tuominen (1999) and Yamamoto (2002).

The non-Estonian language (NEL) was in 2012 exclusively used in communication between the parents in 5 out of 10 families, and employed at least non-exclusively in 8 out of the 10 – families 6 and 11 use English (non-native language) in inter-parental communication. In no family is Estonian exclusively used between the parents. That this is the case despite the families residing on average 12 and a half years in Estonia speaks volumes to the power differences between Estonian and the NELs. Were these families to have resided outside Estonia it is unlikely that Estonian would have any place at all in inter-parental communication. Such a situation would not bode well for the language's place and status in the family and its maintenance by the children.

The NEL is present to some degree in all-family communication in all families and exclusively used between the children in three families. Estonian is very much the language of communication between the children – exclusively used in seven families and sharing usage with the NEL in one family. This reflects the children's linguistic socialisation as Estonian-speakers at school and amongst their largely monolingual Estonian-speaking peers.

All the above suggests the importance placed on and the status demanded by the NEL in the life of the study's participant families. In general the NEL has a strong position everywhere in the family outside Estonian parent-child and inter-child dyads. It also suggests the importance placed by parents on use of their mother tongue with their children.

7.6.2 Parental Language Ideology

7.6.2.1 'Only Natural for Us'

Unsurprisingly, no parents viewed bilingualism as a negative and all agreed that raising their families with two or more languages, while challenging at times, had overall been an enriching experience for both parent and child. No parent

[5] Father F9 was raised in Estonian and formally educated in Swedish in Sweden; Father M11 was largely raised in and exclusively formally educated in Russian in Estonia.

expressed the desire that they would rather have had a monolingual family. It should be noted that in general bilingualism was simply the direct result of raising children in an intermarried family where both parents spoke to their children in their strongest language. Bilingualism was thus more a consequential by-product than a pre-sought-after goal. The only exception was the case of M2, whose story is discussed below in Sect. 7.6.2.4. Sentiments such as those expressed in the two quotes below by Estonian mothers M6 and M8 were typical of the majority of parents:

> I think it was only natural for us to raise our children this way [one person, one language], at first we did not think about all the advantages that they can have later in their lives, it was simply convenient for both of us, now we have seen with our older son how much easier it is for him to manage in other countries while travelling, he does not have any difficulties at school. — Estonian M6
>
> I just could never imagine that I [would] speak SWEDISH to my children, I mean /hux/ WHY, but a lot of people do this and we've thought it's really strange <laughter> to speak FOREIGN LANGUAGE to your KIDS. — Estonian M8

7.6.2.2 'I Just Need to Do It'

Related to the above concept of 'naturalness' a cautious, and at times dismissive, attitude towards theory and the literature concerning multilingual families was expressed by a number of parents. Parents mentioned the importance of 'action' and 'common sense' and advised against blindly following theory:

> I did read some articles about it but the principle seemed to be quite simple, and I felt like I don't really need to know too much about the theory about it and stuff, I just need to do it you know, the difficult thing was to just decide to do it and then to realise that it's going to be all or nothing. — Australian-Estonian M2
>
> I think that books are good but I also think that common sense is really very important for me, like you don't need to read a lot to know how to do things, you have common sense, of course books are good, if you have both common sense and reading books of course that's the best formula. — Mexican F7
>
> actually I'm not a theory follower either, like I'm not going to take someone's creation or theory and say "oh I am going to educate my kids according to this theory because it sounds like right", I also believe more in that kids might be different in my case, situation might be different, so the theory doesn't apply 100%. — Estonian M7

Exceptions to these views were expressed by Estonian mothers M4 and M6 who stated that they found the academic literature they had read had given them 'courage' in their convictions. This was especially important in the case of M6 as her Estonian paediatrician had advised her against raising her children with Spanish in the home in case they failed to acquire *any* first language. Estonian M3 told the present author that the exact same view had been taught by the lecturers on her speech and language degree course in Estonia – namely that a child acquires language best sequentially, learning a second only after the child has a firm grasp on the first.

> [I] read one book about [childhood bilingualism], also online a bit about others' experiences… it gave me courage that it won't harm them in any way, yes they might start talking a bit later but that's just temporary, later they're better off for it. — Estonian M4

> I think especially after this doctor started telling us what to do and what not to do I got some books at the university library…this was also one factor that helped me be more self confident 'cause there were all these researches…that's helped me a little bit. — Estonian M6

7.6.2.3 Being Systematic

When asked to advise couples thinking about raising any future children bilingually the issue of sticking to the native language and the 'one person, one language' strategy was the most common piece of advice. When asked how parents had come to such conclusions they answered along the lines that it had worked for their family, that they had been told it by peers and that they had read it in the popular parenting literature before they had started their own family. Only once was a parent able to name any book by title as the source for some of their ideas about bilingual parenting practices and child bilingualism. In general, if parents specifically named or described a piece of advice or theory from the literature it was invariably 'OPOL' that they mentioned. The statements expressed below by Swedish father F8 and Estonian M3 were typical:

> …many years ago I read many articles about exactly this topic…they say you should stick to your mother tongue with your kids, but you must stick to it, you can't switch, so you can't speak one day Swedish and one day Estonian and one day English, that doesn't work because the kid would identify you with a certain language and they expect you to speak that language, and now when they are growing up it would be a different story but when they are small you have to stick to one and the same language. — Swedish F8
>
> I remember we kind of really didn't discuss [the policy], but we knew always if we had kids it would be like that no question about it, that you know we would only speak one language…when I read the literature to us it was very logic and it really worked for us, and we have always told other families just do it and actually for us it has been really easy and some families they just can't keep up with that rule…I don't know it just has really worked for us. — Estonian M3

7.6.2.4 'Is My Estonian Good Enough?'

Raised bilingually in Australia, ethnic-Estonian mother M2 had made a conscious decision from her early twenties to raise her children in Estonian, her parents' native language. This decision was, however, not without self-doubt. When she first visited her parents' homeland of Estonia some 20 years previous she was initially scared to open her mouth. She told the present author that she disliked having to speak Estonian as a child, but that as a woman in her early twenties felt an 'obligation or responsibility' to return to speaking Estonian. At first she felt 'self-conscious' and 'silly' speaking Estonian to her eldest while all the other mothers spoke English. However, she found it a safe way to practise the language as her infant son didn't correct her usage (unlike now!). M2 was the only case of a parent exclusively using a language that was not their strongest.

> …it was a decision for me to [make], was I going to speak to my kids in Estonian because is the Estonian that I've got to give them is it good enough? and I decided that I think bad Estonian is better than no Estonian, so I think we'll go that way, you know, poor quality Estonian because it's an access into a culture and hopefully we'll get through and it will be up to them to improve their Estonian. — Estonian M2

7.6.2.5 'We Are So Small'

Five out of 6 of the Estonia-born mothers made reference to the fact that some Estonian women raising children abroad choose not to transmit Estonian. The women were united in their disapproval of this action. In Estonian mother M3's comment below reference is made to the uniqueness of Estonian. Note the complex ideology expressed, the idea of competence in Estonian being a 'privilege' and 'gift' both *because* and *in spite* of Estonian being a 'small(er)' language. The quote below from Estonian M4 also makes reference to the 'limited' utility of the language internationally but recognises its value as a part of the children's culture:

> I think it's sad when Estonians go somewhere and they don't speak the language because we are so small and this is like a privilege…I'm so sad that they just don't know that they could do it differently, that there is actually a way, because I always think that language is a gift even if it's Estonian, it just somehow gives you that notion that different language or language system and it somehow will help you at some point in your life. — Estonian M3
>
> Even though Estonian is not a language that has much use outside Estonia, it's part of their roots, of who they are. — Estonian M4

M2 reflected positively on her decision to transmit Estonian in Australia, very proud that a direct result of which is that her three sons are Estonian-speaking 'Estonians', not 'just' English-speaking Estonian-Australians.

> I feel quite proud…because of me we have three extra <laughter> Estonians <laughter>, you know, we could have stayed in Australia and we would just have three extra Australians who know that, you know, they have some connection with Estonia. — Australian-Estonian M2

7.6.3 Home and Non-formal Education in the Non-societal Language

7.6.3.1 Not Overburdening the Children or Ourselves

Ecuadorian F6 told the present author that he did not concern himself with his eldest son's written Spanish or his knowledge of the finer points of Spanish grammar. Because the son aged 12;11 was already studying reading, writing and grammar in Estonian, English and Russian in lower secondary school, the father did not wish to further burden him with Spanish. It was enough for the father that his two sons could speak at an age-appropriate level in the language.

> I know that at some point they're going to study and speak the Spanish like perfectly but I don't want at the moment to get them like frustrated…so for me it's like as long as you can communicate then it's okay. — Ecuadorian F6

Estonian M7 said she would be willing to forego her children's ability to write in Estonian in exchange for competence in speaking the language. Like F6 above she felt that one must not over-stress oneself in pursuit of 'perfection', but that in time the children would develop the necessary skills in the non-societal language (NSL):

> what this year [in Estonia] proved to me [was] that I do not need to beat myself up so much…. [my children] actually are much more flexible and capable than I was afraid of. — Estonian M7

A number of parents were afraid of being too strict on their children for fear that their children would develop a negative relationship with the NSL. Estonian mother M4, who had raised her two daughters for 11 years in the USA before moving to Tallinn, avoided correcting 'every single mistake'. Uruguayan mother M5, whose family had always resided in Estonia, underlined the importance of adapting the method of learning in the NSL to each child and making it fun.

> when we still lived in the States I didn't want to correct every single mistake, 'cause then you can't talk, because if after every sentence you hear that you said something wrong then you don't want to speak anymore,…I didn't want them to develop resistance to Estonian. — Estonian M4
>
> I would say a sentence in Spanish about the weather or something she likes and she would write it, and then I would say "oh good you did this almost almost, EXCELLENT", you know but maybe after 12 "you did 10 well but these ones just correct these ones"…by using games you know, playing, isn't "oh this is not good," no not that style. — Uruguayan M5

7.6.3.2 'I Should Have Been Stronger'

Somewhat in contrast to what she stated directly above, mother M4 wished she had done more. She felt she underestimated her daughters' ability to learn to read and write in Estonian. She stated that she had not believed they could cope with learning to read and write Estonian on top of learning to read and write in English.

> when they went to school [in Estonia] they had a little hard time of it reading and I underestimated them, I didn't teach them to read in Estonian [in the US] because I thought it would be too much for them, I think they would have been just fine and in retrospect I think I should have taught them to read too and the language probably would have been stronger, and I should have been stronger myself, making them speak to me in Estonian…[the girls are] doing just fine they get straight 'A's now and doing good. — Estonian M4

Despite the fact that the girls were achieving good grades at school she was still hard on herself, thinking that she could have been better. This echoes the aforementioned 'simultaneous accommodation' written about by Okita (2002) – the competing demands made of mothers by society and herself to, on the one hand, transmit her language and culture, but also, on the other, ensure her children successfully integrate into society and succeed in the state education system.

7.6.3.3 'Not Accessories for the Perfect Family'

Australian father F2 advised parents against overwhelming their children with too many languages in an attempt to create, in his words, a 'super linguist'. He was proud of and happy with his three bilingual sons who were also learning Russian at school. He said that in his parenting of and goals for his children, bilingualism was just one of many important aspects:

> I think a number of attempts fail because the idea of the children learning two or more languages is approached as if the languages are like accessories for the perfect family, rather than an understandable and realistic part of the child's life…this is a clash of culture, a clash of values when it comes to raising kids anyway as far as I'm concerned…I see a whole load of other things are important to me than how many languages my child is going to speak. — Australian F2

7.6.3.4 Materials in the Non-societal Language

Most parents spoke of the financial sacrifices they had made to build libraries of books and video and audio materials in the NSL. Australia-born M2 talked of how her parents used to bring videos back from Estonia in the late 1990s, while Swedish M9 said that she used to get her family to gift reading and exercise books in Swedish to her children for birthdays and at Christmas. Estonian mother M4 mentioned how it 'was majorly expensive' investing in a dual region VHS-system to play Estonian language videos in the US.

Interestingly, sometimes education materials were in a non-home language. When the present author inquired of family 10 if they had in the past made much use of exercise books to assist the children in developing their written Finnish, the home NEL, daughter C10-2 joked that they had more material for practicing Swedish grammar and writing. Swedish was a heritage language of the father's family and at the time of the study the daughter was taking Swedish as an option in upper secondary school.

Australian-Estonian mother M2 spoke of the dearth of good quality children's literature in Estonian compared to English. She felt she had exhausted the choice in Estonian with her first two children and with her third son she just read to him in English. She recalled a trip to her local library in Australia where she returned with a bag-full of good quality children's books without any hassle.

> I have to say that the world of English children's books is just so vast and such good quality and I read them to [the youngest] now, I don't want to read these Estonian books…there just isn't the same range [in Estonian], so unfortunately the world of [Estonian language] literature can't compete with what's available in English. — Australian-Estonian M2

7.6.3.5 'Re-charging the Linguistic Batteries'

Estonian mother M4 spoke of why the trans-Atlantic trips back to Estonia, while very expensive, were so important for her two daughters' acquisition of Estonian.

The trips recharged the linguistic batteries for the subsequent year. She spoke of her 'struggle' to get her daughters to speak Estonian in the USA:

> I didn't want to skip our trips to Estonia because when we came after a year, at first it took them a couple of days, then they'd open up, speak Estonian even speaking Estonian to the dad, and then that gave a good basis for the rest of the year, but from there it would slowly get worse, and then they started responding in English and didn't want to bother, and then until the next time we came, and then it got better again, so it was this constant struggle on my part. — Estonian M4

7.6.4 Challenges

7.6.4.1 'We Decided Not To'

In contrast to families 2, 4, 7 and 8, the parents of family 1 had at first decided not to transmit Estonian when they were first resident outside Estonia. The reason put forth was the insufficient input in Estonian the parents felt the daughter would receive, given that the father F1 worked long hours and the family had no Estonian-speaker relatives close at hand in the USA. These were not factors affecting family 2. Mother M2, having being born and raised in Australia, had her Estonian-speaking family close at hand and, as the primary care-giver, was able to provide that input to her eldest. Like family 2, it was the mother and primary care-giver who was the ethnic-Estonian in families 4, 7 and 8.

> I thought it would be better that you'd speak to her in Estonian when [our daughter] was little, and then you thought that it would be tough that she wouldn't have anyone else except for [her father]…there was no family or friends or anybody really there, that it would be too tough so we decided not to. — American M1

7.6.4.2 Negative Views Expressed by Professionals

Only three of the parents reported negative views of child bilingualism expressed by others, and those in a professional situation. Two cases have already been discussed above in Sect. 7.6.2.2 in relation to mothers M3 and M6. In those cases, which occurred in Estonia, the views of others did not have any long-lasting consequence for the development of bilingualism in the two families in question. Indeed, in the case of M6, the mother was encouraged to research the issue for herself. In contrast, the experience of family 7, which occurred in Mexico, did have long-term detrimental consequences for the eldest child's acquisition of Estonian.

Mother M7, whose children had spent the majority of their lives residing in their father's homeland of Mexico, told the present author that when her eldest (C7-1) was 2 years old his kindergarten teachers told her to cease speaking to him in Estonian. The teachers believed that the boy's delay in speaking Spanish compared to his monolingual Mexican peers was a sign that he would fall irreparably behind educationally. They believed that the best course of action was for the mother to

switch to exclusive use of Spanish in the home. Reluctantly the mother followed the advice and a few weeks later the son started speaking Spanish. He never again spoke Estonian, until a few months before the family moved to Estonia in 2011, when the boy was 10;6. The mother refused to make the same mistake with her daughter (C7-2) and this second child had no problem speaking age-appropriately in both languages given reasonable time. At the time of the interview in 2012 both children had completed an academic year in a local Estonian-medium primary school. The son, having received extra tuition in Estonian, spoke the language very well while the daughter, having spoken it her whole life was age-appropriate compared to her monolingual-Estonian peers. M7 had the following to say about the experience:

> …occasionally I would try [to speak Estonian to my son] but I think it was around when he was like five or six when he told me that, "you know mommy, it bothers me you speak Estonian I know you speak Spanish so let's speak in Spanish, everybody speaks Spanish"…I was kind of feeling, you know, sad about my boy that maybe he's not going to pick [Estonian] up [back in Estonia], but he picked it up really fast. — Estonian M7

Family 7 returned to reside in Mexico in July 2012. In an email exchange eleven (11) months later, mother M7 stated: the 'younger child speaks still to me in Estonian (switching sometimes to Spanish), [the] older child has lapsed back to Spanish, unless I specifically demand use of Estonian. However, when we have visitors from Estonia, both speak Estonian.'

7.6.4.3 Limp Conversations and Feeling 'Left Out'

When the children in the 11 families in the study were very young, amongst the Estonian parents 8 of the 11 understood the language of their spouse, while that figure was 1 out of 11 for the non-Estonians. In 2012, 10 of the 11 Estonians understood the language of their spouse, while amongst the non-Estonians this figure was 7 out of 11. The non-Estonians had learned Estonian due to residing in Estonia. However, until they did they were consequently excluded from verbal exchanges between the child(ren) and the Estonian-speaking parent.

In a partly-humorous manner, Australian F2 stated that 'on entering this pact I was totally naïve about what it would involve'. He expressed that he had hoped to learn Estonian along with his three sons as they were growing up, but admitted that 'that hasn't happened for a number of reasons'. He told the present author that on a good day when he concentrated he could understand a good bit of what went on if the topic was familiar. However, he said that more and more the conversations between his wife and their two eldest sons especially were getting more complex and more difficult to follow. In effect he was being 'left out' from some aspects of family life.

> I think to myself if this was a completely monolingual English-speaking family…it would be easier to observe the different relationships you know that are going on and therefore having a more informed input when it's more actively involving me…I don't think I could have imagined all the details of what it was going to be like to be a parent who only understands let's say, well understands little of the exchanges between his wife and his children…if I don't listen very carefully I miss it and I just hope that it sort of comes through some other ways later <laughter> … — Australian F2

When the present author inquired of M2 why it was that her husband was allowed to sometimes feel 'left out' from family conversations, she was unsure. She did on this point remark, however, that she somewhat lamented, as her children were getting older, the fact that they did not have, in her words, the 'great family conversations' that other families had. Instead, she said that their dinner-table discussions were 'kind of limping' due to the asymmetries in linguistic competence.

Amongst the families where in 2012 one spouse had difficulties understanding Estonian, Estonians M4 and M7 said that their husband not understanding Estonian had caused problems in the past. This was because they were not permitted to speak Estonian in the husband's presence. This was no longer an issue with family 4 as the father no longer resided with the family. However, in the case of M7 the family returned to Mexico partly because the father had found his children's increasingly Estonian identity difficult to accept. Whereas F2 accepted as a fact of life not being able to follow everything going on around him, F7 at first refused to allow any family member speak Estonian in his presence. He stated: 'I want to be part of the family…So I just wanted to understand what they're talking in my house'. Despite having been born and spent the vast majority of their lives in Mexico, the father felt that having his children remain in Estonia would be detrimental to them maintaining their Mexican identity and competence in Spanish. Told of the difficulties F2 had in following some of his sons' conversations, F7 stated that this was one of the reasons he wanted to return to Mexico – in his own words: *to make the root a little bit stronger*. On the same line of thought wife M7 made the following comment:

> that's one of the things in international marriages, that one of the sides is always feeling [atrophied]…if they live in the other part[ner]'s country, if they live in a neutral country probably not so much. — Estonian M7

7.6.4.4 'Respect' and 'Empathy'

On the issue discussed above in Sect. 7.6.4.3 and in advising future parents of bilingual families, Estonian M6 and the couple at the head of family 5 all stated that whether any given parent spoke the native language of their spouse was a question of having 'respect' and feeling 'empathy' for the spouse's culture. Interestingly, M5 pointed out that as parents we cannot demand of our children that which we refuse to do (or at least attempt) ourselves. M5 felt that it would be hypocritical to demand a child to speak both home languages when the parents themselves did not make that same effort. Estonian F5 stated that the reason he had learned Spanish was so that his Uruguayan wife could, in his words, 'at least at home…rest and have it spoken here'. Living and working in Estonia allowed the non-Estonian parent to have regular contact with Estonian speakers and exposure to the language. Parents admitted that attempting to acquire Estonian outside Estonia, likely far removed from a speaker-community, would be very challenging. The Uruguayan-Estonian couple said that they had found a balance in a culturally Estonian, Spanish-speaking household.

7.6.5 Experiences, Practices and Attitudes of the Adolescent Children

7.6.5.1 Experiences

Only two adolescents reported any negative attitude towards their identity as bilinguals from peers. C11-1 stated she had experienced ostracization at the hands of her monolingual-Estonian-speaking classmates. C9-1 reported much questioning of why she and her whole family spoke Swedish at home from both teaching staff and fellow classmates at school. In the quote below C9-1 demonstrates the reply she would give:

> "why do you ask that question? I have my whole cousins and everybody's in Sweden, do you think I want to speak English with them when I'm old? I want to speak Swedish, if I speak Estonian at home I can't speak Swedish with them in the future." — C9-1
>
> I [only] started speaking Russian in public in the 8th grade because I was told [before] that I should be ashamed of it…For the Estonians I am a Russian of course…but for the Estonians everyone is a Russian who can speak Russian…the Estonians they do not tolerate the Russians…I love all my classmates they are all very nice but they are not really friends with me, it is just like that, that the Estonian and the Russian group they aren't really friends, we're just classmates. — C11-1

The present author is unsure in the case of C9-1 whether the girl misinterpreted the curiosity of her classmates and school's staff as to her home language as a personal attack. This was the mother's understanding of the situation but C9-1 assured all present that the individuals in question really did have a negative attitude towards her home language being Swedish.

The story told by C11-1 is a disappointing one, which is unfortunately not uncommon. In his work as a teacher in a number of Tallinn secondary schools, the present author has on a number of occasions come across opinionated youth, especially males, who openly express their dislike of 'Russians' (used as a stand-in for 'someone who natively speaks Russian'), despite the fact that there may be native-Russian-speakers in their peer group who have between them multiple self-designations but 'pass' as monolingual-Estonian-speakers.

From negative to positive reports, some parents, on behalf of their children, reported positive experiences with peers. Swedish M9 told of how her middle daughter C9-2 did not want the mother to open her mouth in front of the child's peers, because it would become known from M9's accent in Estonian that she was Swedish. However, when the classmates finally did find out that the daughter spoke Swedish fluently they felt that this was 'cool', 'special' and something to be 'envious' about. The class took pride in having a 'Swedish girl' in their class. Likewise, M7 reported that when her children, who have a slightly darker complexion, were attending the local primary school, the classmates were very happy to receive into their group a boy who looked different and was able to speak an 'exotic' language (Spanish) as well as English. The children, M7 reported, were only too delighted to assist him with integrating into the school and acquiring Estonian. In general, the attitudes of the adolescent children's peers

to their multilingualism ranged from at worst, indifference, to at best, curiosity. Fluency in a non-English, non-Russian language was considered 'special', particularly Spanish.

7.6.5.2 Language Practices

The Estonian language was found to be the language of school, friendships, home and socializing. Media was, however, the domain of English (and to an extent Swedish in the two Swedish-speaking families). The consequence of this was that media was consumed in English (and the NEL) but discussed with friends in Estonian. Exceptions to the use of Estonian as a language of discussion included, of course, talking with non-Estonian peers, but also C9-1 stating that she talked to fellow Swedish-speaker C8-1 in Swedish. No other adolescents reported using the NEL with fellow mother tongue speakers in Tallinn. For example, boys C5-1 and C6-1 knew each other but communicated in Estonian, not Spanish.

If the adolescents read for pleasure it was in the NEL and English. If books were read in Estonian by the adolescents it was almost always a classic of Estonian literature they were being made to read for (Estonian) literature class. Amongst the reasons stated for reading in a NEL were that one did not have to wait (long) for translations to appear and that there was more choice on offer. Reasons for reading in English specifically included the large lexicon of English, which made English-language texts more interesting, according to the adolescent participants.

Eldest daughter of Sweden-born parents C9-1 stated that she avoided reading and writing in Estonian as she found it 'boring' and instead gravitated towards Swedish. Interestingly the girl's ethnic-Swedish mother (M9) was of the opinion her daughter had not made enough effort to try to like Estonian, while her ethnic-Estonian father (F9) stated that he shared her opinion and said that he acquired his own ability to read and write Estonian only in 1992 after having relocated to Estonia for his work. He told the present author that, growing up in Sweden when Estonia was a Soviet Socialist Republic, lack of access to 'interesting' reading materials in Estonian kept him away from the written language.

> I don't like writing or reading [in Estonian]…it's like the newspapers, Estonian newspapers, compared to Swedish newspapers, they write so boringly, Swedish it's fun to read it, I think so…[in] Estonian [they] write and write and write and write, I don't want to read it anymore, it's boring, just come to the important things! — C9-1

A consequence of much reading practice in the NEL was that certain adolescent children felt that their reading (and at times) writing skills were better in that language than in Estonian. C9-1, from above, said that she was more comfortable reading and writing in Swedish. She also said she was more eager to develop her skills in Swedish, regularly requesting advice from her peers in Sweden as to her style, vocabulary choice and grammar. Conversely, C9-1 did not take kindly to receiving corrections of her errors in Estonian from classmates.

In Example 1 below is a brief extract from an interview with family 1 in which the adolescent children are discussing reading in the two home languages. No testing was done of any of the children's language competences in the present study but it is curious that, according to the children, many felt more comfortable reading and writing in the NEL, including C1-1 and C1-2, despite having been educated formally in Estonian in Estonia. Incidentally, American M1 felt her children did not get enough practice writing formal texts in English.

1.	Daughter [C1-1]	I'm not so good at Estonian grammar, I feel that I am better writing and speaking in English than in Estonian
	Son [C1-2]	I read faster in English
	Daughter	and reading too
	Son	than Estonian
	Researcher	even though you've been educated in Estonian?
	Son	yeah
	Daughter	yeah, it's weird but I don't know
	Mother [M1]	they read more books in English
	Son	there's a bigger choice
	Daughter	English language just has the bigger vocabulary so that's why

Quality was the overwhelming reason mentioned for the consumption of films, music and TV in English (and Swedish for the Swedish-speaking children). Many adolescents and some parents expressed the view that it was 'painful' to watch TV productions in Estonian when they had easy access to better quality shows in English. C2-1 mentioned that the big difference in quality between the best English-language productions and the best Estonian ones was a reason for him watching TV almost exclusively in English.

> I can receive information from both worlds…there's so much more money in the English media world, that TV shows made in the English speaking world will have so much more financial backing, it will be sandpapered, it will be smooth, so many executives will have looked at it and thought "is this okay?, is this good enough?", for Estonian it's going to be less eyes, "let's put it out there because it will be something," there's less production of stuff so compared to English TV, although there is English garbage too. — C2-1

For the Spanish and Swedish speaking children in 2012, the watching of cartoons took place largely in the NEL. Swedish father F8 told of how his younger daughter enjoyed watching cartoons in Swedish on a satellite channel. Even if it were possible to get Estonian children's TV in Sweden (perhaps streamed from the Internet), he expressed the view that it would be unlikely that she would have watched it had they resided there.

7.6.5.3 Attitudes to Multilingualism and Estonian

All adolescents recognised the value to being multilingual and none wished that they had been brought up in a monolingual home. Some viewed it as beneficial for future career prospects, others from a cultural perspective. Some perceived advantages stated were: 'being at home in two languages'; flexibility in self-expression; natural-advantage in school; and 'you have two passports, you see the world in a

bigger picture'. Some perceived disadvantages stated were: having one's Estonian corrected by peers, and being laughed at for making mistakes; people thinking one has total command in both languages and so being asked to translate 'on demand'; and being 'often caught between a rock and a hard place… thinking in one language and having to speak in another'. Below C8-1 explained that she felt sorry for those who speak only one language.

> I think that people should really learn more languages, I mean, it's really sad to see that some people only speak one language…they only get to experience one language and they I think they miss out on so much because of their language barrier. — C8-1

When 9 of the adolescent children were questioned about their attitude to the societal language of Estonian, four responded positively, saying it was of 'personal importance' or that it was valuable because it was 'fragile', 'old', 'unique'. Four adolescents stated it was simply a functional language, necessary for socializing and every-day life in Estonia but 'useless' outside the state. One adolescent participant even stated that they actually disliked the language. The language was frequently characterised as being 'complex' and 'difficult' because of its non-Indo-European morphology and syntax. Some saw this from a positive point of view, namely that it made the language 'special'. Others saw it as being 'inflexible' and 'constricting' relative to English and Swedish.

7.6.5.4 Desire to Raise a Bilingual Family in the Future

Sixteen adolescents were asked whether they intended to raise a bilingual family in the future and asked information about what languages they wished to use in the home. Table 7.2 below presents their responses. The respondents are divided by gender on the right-hand side of the table. The answers of all five boys asked cluster in one spot whereas the girls' responses are spread out.

In the case of seven adolescents the responses make a future bilingual family less likely. Two were unsure of future plans; one adolescent intended to raise a family in the non-Estonian language only (C11-1: Russian); one adolescent stated that she had decided on English, a native language of neither of her parents; one saw herself making Estonian part of her family only if she remained in Estonia; one wanted to raise any children with knowledge of her parents' languages, but not necessarily functional multilingualism; and one girl intended a monolingual Estonian family.

Nine adolescents intended to raise a bilingual family, of which seven adolescents responded that they wished to raise any children in both Estonian and the non-Estonian language (NEL). In the case of the other two: one adolescent wished for a bilingual family that included Estonian, with the NEL possibly being the other language; while one adolescent intended to raise her family bilingually in the NEL and another language other than Estonian (possibly English).

Notwithstanding the caveat that these respondents are adolescents and that this was a question about the future, which no-one can predict with certainty, it is curious to note three things: (1) as of 2012 only 9 adolescents out of the 16 intended to raise any future children with Estonian, while 3 stated that Estonian would *not* be

Table 7.2 Adolescent children's desire to raise a bilingual family in the future

		Adolescent child	
	Number	Female	Male
Bilingual family more likely	*9*		
Estonian plus the non-Estonian language	7	C4-2, C10-2	C1-2, C2-1, C2-2, C6-1, C10-1
Estonian plus unknown other language (maybe non-Estonian language)	1	C3-1	
Non-Estonian language plus unknown other language (maybe English, but *not* Estonian)	1	C9-1	
Monolingual family more likely	*7*		
Unsure	2	C9-2, C9-3	
The non-Estonian language only	1	C11-1	
The non-Estonian language (with Estonian *but only* in Estonia)	1	C1-1	
English	1	C11-2	
A non-Estonian language (plus knowledge of Estonian and the non-Estonian language)	1	C8-1	
Estonian only	1	C4-1	

a language spoken or taught in the home; (2) only 9 out of the 16 stated that they wished to raise a bilingual family; and (3) the variety of answers given by the girls contrasted with the single response from the boys.

Many adolescents stated that they saw their future outside Estonia, particularly in an English-speaking country and they expressed doubt as to whether they would be willing or able to transmit Estonian. The present author is not saying that these situations will come to pass and that the adolescents will not in time change their minds. However, investigating how the adolescent participants expressed themselves has interesting insights into how the adolescents related to Estonia and the two (or more) home languages. The fact that they viewed bilingualism as an asset but questioned the utility of the Estonian language, and that all were successfully raised multilingual but questioned their ability to raise a bilingual family of their own is curious.

Austrian M11 wondered if she would have to resign herself to the fact that her children have no intention of remaining in Estonia and that she may very well have to speak English to her grandchildren as neither of her daughters intended on raising any children they have with German. In fact, arising from the use of four languages in the home, the issue of identity amongst the children of family 11 was a complex one. C11-1 felt Russian despite having no Russian-identifying family apart from her paternal grandmother and having never visited Russia – her father stated he had no ethnic-identity. The girl's younger sister C11-2 stated that she felt culturally homeless, feeling like she didn't fit in anywhere.

Finnish F10 expressed the desire that his children raised any children they would have not only with Finnish and Estonian but also with Swedish, a heritage language of his family. He expressed this somewhat in jest but the present author has no reason to doubt that this was a genuine wish. F10 was concerned that his children did not feel as close to Swedish as he did and he wondered about its future maintenance in their families. Intending to raise any children they have in Finnish and

Estonian, what might the linguistic situation of C10-1 and C10-2's families look like should one or both siblings marry a speaker of a third language, or if they migrate from Estonia to a third country and raise a family there? This reminds the present author of the concern Australian F2 expressed when he questioned the (perhaps unfair) 'expectations we have the right [as parents] to place on our children'.

7.7 Discussion

Aware of the mixed outcomes for parents attempting to raise their children bilingually reported in other studies (Döpke 1992; Tuominen 1999; Yamamoto 2001; Okita 2002), the reader might wonder why 10 of the intermarried families in this present study had been successful in raising at least one adolescent child with active productive competence in both Estonian and the non-Estonian language (NEL), while concurrently maintaining a harmonious environment in the family. They might also ask the extent to which this relative success was due to peculiarities of the sociolinguistic context and to the peculiarities of the family's language policy. In providing a conclusion to this chapter, this and the other research questions will be returned to in light of the study's results and the literature.

The study found a cautious approach to the literature and theory by parents, who tended to take from the literature only that which agreed with their own personal reality. This broadly matches what Piller (2001) and King and Fogle (2006) have found – namely, that little of what is known and written about by the researchers in the area 'filter[s] through' into the discussions of parents regarding their language policies, and that whatever is taken from the literature is analysed and repackaged along with the parents' own experiences.

Experiences surrounding education in the non-societal language (NSL) can be put into two groups: the narratives of the struggle of Estonian mothers M4 and M7 in the Americas on the one hand and the narratives of the seeming 'smooth-sailing' of the other nine families in Estonia on the other. The narratives of the former group match closely to many of those reported by Okita (2002) of Japanese mothers in the UK, as well as the case-study in Kopeliovich (2010) of a mother's attempt to keep Russian alive amongst her children in Israel. In the present study, Estonian mothers M4 and M7 were able to solve the language issue by relocating to Estonia.

The narratives of the latter group read very differently to those described in Okita (2002) and Kopeliovich (2010). The Estonia-born children seemed to have taken to the non-Estonian language (NEL) rather willingly, and the study also uncovered no great conflict surrounding its use. The study's results suggest that the parents were very happy with their children's development in both languages and were not having to struggle to encourage use of the NEL. No family reported a shift to greater use of the societal language beginning in adolescence as was described for example in Caldas (2006). In fact, use of Swedish actually *increased* in family 9. Multilingualism in the participants' households, even with the four languages in family 11, was simply a natural part of everyday life in an intermarried family. Rather than King and Fogle's (2006) 'bilingual parenting' concept, what is visible in the narratives of the

Estonia-resident families might simply be called ‘parenting in two languages’, without any of the connotations of linguistic ‘hyper-parenting’ (Piller 2005).

Indeed, what is suggested by the study regarding the way that the adolescent children used their two (or more) languages is that the adolescents, rather than the parents, were responsible for their continued acquisition and development of the NEL. Educated formally through the Estonian language during the day at school, the adolescent children entertained themselves in the evenings and at the weekends in the NEL, through books, music, TV, films, games and online networking. The adolescents in the present study were not alone amongst Estonian youth in their interest for and competence in English. Indeed, a 2012 European Commission study of competences in foreign languages at school found that Estonian students came fourth in competence in English out of 13 education systems tested, behind Sweden, Malta and the Netherlands (European Commission 2012b).

That these adolescent children consumed the same English-language media as their American peers should not be a great cause for concern. As stated many times in this chapter, these participant adolescents are fluent speakers of Estonian. Rather this has concerning consequences for the reverse position: Estonian-English-speaking families in Anglophone contexts. Formal education through the medium of English combined with entertainment also through the medium of English would not be very conducive to the development of active competence in Estonian.

7.7.1 Estonia as a ‘Different’ Context

The present author has to suggest Estonia as a ‘different’ context, a context which played a significant role in the successful outcomes of the participant families in this study. Recalling the statistics quoted in the introduction to this chapter, Tallinn as a multilingual and multicultural city coupled with Estonian being one of the smallest medium-sized languages makes the sociolinguistic context of the present study unlike the contexts of the other studies mentioned in this chapter. It is curious to note that when the parents of English-speaking families 1 and 2 were asked whether they could imagine any of their children abandoning either of their two languages in later life the parents immediately started to talk of how they hoped that Estonian would be transmitted to the next generation. The fact that parents raising children in Estonia through Estonian jumped by default to Estonian as the ‘threatened’ languages speaks volumes about how Estonian-non-Estonian couples view the language.

Borrowing imagery from Australian father F2, it is the opinion of the present author, given the results of this study, that it is the complex ebb and flow, pressure and resistance existent between Estonian and the non-Estonian languages that has been the deciding factor in the successful outcomes of the aforementioned participant families.

Acknowledgments I acknowledge the valuable feedback to this chapter of Mila Schwartz, my doctoral supervisor Anna Verschik and my family, and also the assistance of the schools and the participation of the 11 families, without whom this study would not have been possible.

Appendix

Table A7.1 Age, occupation, country of birth and languages of participant parents

	Mothers			Fathers		
Family	Age and occupation[a]	Country of birth and L1	Other languages[b] spoken	Age and occupation	Country of birth and L1	Other languages spoken
1	M1, 46 Professor	*United States* English	Estonian (C) German (C)	F1, 57 Entrepreneur	*Estonia* Estonian	English (C) Russian (C)
2	M2, 48 Artist	*Australia* Estonian & English		F2, 48 Lecturer, Entrepreneur	*Australia* English	Estonian (A2)
3	M3, 38 Teacher, Linguist	*Estonia* Estonian	English (C1) Russian (B2)	42 CEO	*United States* English	Estonian (C1) Russian (B1) Spanish (B1)
4	M4, 45 Project Manager, Business Analyst	*Estonia* Estonian	English (C1) Russian (B1) Finnish (A2)	46[c] Manager	*United States* English	French (A)
5	M5, 45 Psychologist	*Uruguay* Spanish	English (C1) Estonian (B2) French (B1)	F5, 45 Economist	*Estonia* Estonian	English (C2) Russian (C1) Spanish (B2)
6	M6, 36 Teacher, Translator	*Estonia* Estonian	English (C2) Spanish (B2)	F6, 39 Tour operator, Dance Instructor	*Ecuador* Spanish	English (C2) Estonian (B2)
7	M7, 40 Lecturer	*Estonia* Estonian	English (C2) Spanish (C2) Russian (B1)	F7, 39 Restaurant entrepreneur	*Mexico* Spanish	English (C1) Japanese (B2)
8	M8, 46 Doctor	*Estonia* Estonian	Swedish (C2) English (C2) Russian (C2)	F8, 47 CEO	*Sweden* Swedish	French (C2) English (C2) German (C1)

(continued)

Table A7.1 (continued)

	Mothers			Fathers		
Family	Age and occupation[a]	Country of birth and L1	Other languages[b] spoken	Age and occupation	Country of birth and L1	Other languages spoken
9	M9, 46 Teacher	*Sweden* Swedish	English (C1)	F9, 53 Managing Director	*Sweden* Estonian & Swedish	Estonian (C2) English (C1) German (A2)
10	48 Editor	*Estonia* Estonian	Finnish (C2) Russian (A2) English (A2)	F10, 49 Professor	*Finland* Finnish	Swedish (C2) Estonian (C2) English (C1)
11	M11, 55 Teacher	*Austria* German	English (C1) Norweg. (B2) Estonian (B)	F11, 53 Electrical engineer	*Estonia* Russian	Estonian (C1) English (B)

[a]Only parents referenced using a code in this chapter are labelled in this table

[b]Levels are self reported according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)

[c]Was not interviewed as he did not reside in Estonia and had not been living with the children and their mother for a number of years at the time of the study

Table A7.2 Sex, age, year and country of birth and history of residence in Estonia of children

Family	Child[a]	Sex	Age[b]	Year/country of birth	Residence of children as group
1	C1-1	F	15;3	1997/U.S.A.	New York: until 2001
	C1-2	M	11;9	2000/U.S.A.	Estonia: since 2001
2	C2-1	M	19	1993/Australia	Australia: until 1999
	C2-2	M	15;8	1996/Australia	Mostly Estonia: '99–'10
		M	7;6	2004/Estonia	Estonia: since 2010
3	C3-1	F	13;3	1998/Estonia	Estonia
		M	10;9	2001/Estonia	
4	C4-1	F	14;8	1997/U.S.A.	U.S.A.: until 2008
	C4-2	F	11;11	2000/U.S.A.	Estonia: since 2008
5	C5-1	M	12;4	1999/Estonia	Estonia
		F	8;11	2003/Estonia	
6	C6-1	M	12;11	1999/Estonia	Estonia
		M	4;7	2007/Estonia	
7	C7-1	M	11;5	2000/Mexico	Mexico: until 2011
	C7-2	F	8;7	2003/Mexico	Estonia: 2011–2012
8	C8-1	F	15;10	1996/Sweden	Sweden: until 2000
		F	8;10	2003/Estonia	Estonia: since 2000
9	C9-1	F	16;5	1996/Sweden	Estonia
	C9-2	F	14;1	1998/Estonia	
	C9-3	F	11;10	2000/Estonia	
10	C10-1	M	21	1991/Finland	Estonia
	C10-2	F	17;7	1994/Estonia	
11	C11-1	F	18	1994/Estonia	Estonia
	C11-2	F	15;11	1996/Estonia	

[a]Only children referenced using a code in this chapter are labelled in this table
[b]Averaged between the two recordings times (Jan. & Feb. and October, 2012) for families 1 and 2. For all other families at time of sole recording (Jan. to June, 2012)

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Chapter 8
Family Language Policy from the Children's Point of View: Bilingualism in Place and Time

Lyn Wright Fogle

8.1 Introduction

The family has been considered the "crucial domain" (Spolsky 2012) of societal level language maintenance and shift, and the growing interest in and development of the field of family language policy (FLP) (e.g., Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2013; King et al. 2008) have led to greater understanding of the complex and dynamic processes at play in maintaining languages at home. Studies in FLP have typically focused on parents' language ideologies and interactional strategies with their children in an effort to explain child bilingual outcomes. And while recent studies have begun to demonstrate the active interactional role children play in shaping bilingual FLP through the negotiation of code choice (Fogle 2012; Gafaranga 2010; Luykx 2005), few studies have documented children's perspectives on FLP, their own language ideologies in relation to FLP, or their perceptions of their own agency in FLP processes.

In this chapter I begin to close this gap and expand the scope of FLP research by examining narratives of growing up bilingual elicited from five young adults in the Southern United States. The five participants have different national, ethnic, and racial backgrounds, but they all spent time in the Southern U.S. during their childhoods. I locate this study in a specific place (i.e. the U.S. South) rather than a specific ethnolinguistic group in order to examine the variation in how bilingual children of different backgrounds experience family external phenomena such as dominant language ideologies and the ascription of identities by others. In this study, the success of FLP is understood in relation to the possibilities afforded by the

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M. Schwartz and A. Verschik (eds.), *Successful Family Language Policy: Parents, Children and Educators in Interaction*, Multilingual Education 7,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-7753-8_8,

external environment, language ideologies in place such as an implicit monolingual normativity, and other sociocultural phenomena that influence children's understandings of themselves, their bilingualism, and their families.

8.2 Literature Review

This study contributes to the field of FLP in two main ways: (a) to examine how children reflect on FLP in their own bilingual homes and construct themselves as agents in FLP processes and (b) to further understand how bilingual competencies are constructed by adult children and how these constructions are contextualized by understandings of bilingualism in place. I will first discuss the literature involving the role of children in FLP and then turn to a need for further study on place and FLP.

8.2.1 Child Agency

Studies in FLP have focused primarily on parents' language ideologies and strategies in an effort to understand what interactional practices lead to bilingual outcomes for children and what underlying ideologies constrain or afford opportunities for family bilingualism (Curdt-Christiansen 2009; De Houwer 1999; King and Fogle 2006; Lanza 1997/2004; Schwartz 2008). Because early researchers in the field typically investigated the bilingual development of and parenting practices with young children (ages 1–3) (De Houwer 1999; King and Fogle 2006; Lanza 1997/2004), the agentive role of children in these processes was assumed to be minimal, and children's role in FLP remained largely unexamined (Luykx 2003, 2005). More recent studies, however, have shown that children can direct language choice in the family and that a number of factors, including but not limited to, the higher status of majority languages in communities and schools, play a role in these processes (Gafaranga 2010; Kopeliovich 2009). Palviainen and Boyd (this volume) demonstrate also how children can enforce family language policies and play a role in the modification of parents' FLPs. Further, the affective bonds that parents and children form, parents' ethnotheories (or the implicit beliefs that parents have about childrearing and the role of children in society) (Harkness and Super 2006) and children's experiences outside of the home in a myriad of contexts such as school and peer groups mediate FLP processes (Fogle 2013, 2012). These challenges can be heightened in the case of mixed marriages where FLP becomes the responsibility of one parent (e.g., the mother) and part of the "invisible work" of childrearing (Okita 2002).

Children choose to diverge from parents' language choice for a number of reasons including conflict over cultural values and norms (Hua 2008), the higher status of a school language (Tuominen 1999), and children's own identity formation (Caldas and Caron-Caldas 2002). Caldas and Caron-Caldas (2002) further documented the

fact that parents' assumptions about preserving the minority language at home or making the home a "safe place" for bilingualism and minority languages can backfire as children reach adolescence. In a study of their own French-English bilingual children growing up in Louisiana, Caldas and Caron-Caldas found that constructing a French-Canadian-American identity through "in-French" discussions at home eventually proved counterproductive as children "strove to 'demarcate' a linguistic space separate from their parents" (p. 492). Investigating children's experiences in relation to their parents' goals and strategies in the later years of childhood, then, can give us a better idea of what it means to raise successful bilinguals and the complexities entailed in this process.

8.2.2 Bilingualism in Place

The object of study in FLP research has traditionally been a specific migrant or bilingual community (e.g., English-Norwegian bilingual families in Norway (Lanza 1997/2004); Spanish-English families in the U.S. (King and Fogle 2006)) This approach potentially constructs the participating families as examples of a unified population within which the particular aspects of bilingual childrearing and language shift for the selected languages and demographic group can be examined. In these studies, and in FLP in general, the role of place or the context of bilingualism in FLP has been often lumped as "macro" level factors that include public discourses, expert advice, official language policies, economic or political factors, and cultural dispositions among other things.

One aspect of the macro context that has emerged but is rarely explored in depth are the ideologies and discourses associated with specific places that often serve to construct identities in that place. Language, according to Johnstone (2011), is linked with place as people associate the languages and language varieties used in a place with the meaning of place as well as how they experience the linguistic landscape of the place. The study of language and place has implications for how we understand the discursive construction of the ways in which we consider successful bilingualism. Bilingualism itself is constructed in place – some places are assumed to be more bilingual or monolingual in ways that obscure language loss or mask multilingualism. Further, bilinguals can perceive themselves to be more or less bilingual in relation to others or find it easier to achieve bilingual identities in a certain place, and these perceptions shape what it means to be bilingual. For example, Caldas and Caldas-Caron's (2002) study found that their children were able to achieve French-English bilingual identities in French-speaking Canada during the summers, but those identities were not available at home in the South. The success of bilingual FLP, then, is largely dependent on how bilingualism and bilingual competencies are constructed in specific places. In this study, bilinguals' sense of their own competencies and identities as bilingual are strongly interwoven with their understanding of place and the monolingual norms of the region (i.e. the Southern U.S.) in which they lived.

Rudes (2004) notes that despite widespread beliefs that the South is a predominately monolingual region, linguistic diversity has always existed in the South and is growing faster in the South than any place in the nation due to new immigration. The conflict between the realities of multilingualism and immigration in the South with the assumed and permeating mythologies of Southern monolingualism create sites of conflict for the young adults who grew up bilingual in the South in this study. Romine (2008) argues that the South exists primarily in narratives of place that serve to perform the cultural work of identity and "mobilizing desirable pasts and futures" (p. 3). Growing up bilingual in the South for the participants in this study largely meant learning to reconcile the real experience of socialization into two languages and cultures with the assumed ideologies of place and race that created a cohesive narrative of the South as monolingual and biracial.

Stephens (2005) further identifies established racialism or "the belief that phenotype or outward appearance is a meaningful way to determine someone's culture, intelligence, or aptitudes" (p. 209) and monolingualism as interlocking challenges to the development of a new, multicentered transnationalism in the South. The relationships between racialism and monolingualism outlined by Stephens promise a new direction for studies in family language policy. The racialism experienced by the participants in this study (e.g., in implicitly held beliefs such as Black Southerners are not bilingual) and, in fact, the orientations participants revealed in some of the interview discourse were closely interconnected with a monolingual normativity in the South. For the participants in this study race, place, and language were intertwined in discussions of bilingual competence and family language policies.

8.3 Methodological Approach

Qualitative interviews have played an important methodological role in the study of language policy and family language policy in particular (Curdt-Christiansen 2009; King 2000; King and Fogle 2006). Such data have provided in-depth explanations and discussions of how parents perceive language planning decisions and the connections they make between their personal, private decisions and other, external phenomena. Most interview studies in FLP, however, have treated the research interview as a data collection tool rather than a site of negotiation and meaning making between interviewer and interviewee (Mann 2011). In an effort to address this critique of interview use in language policy research, King and De Fina (2011) note that Latina immigrants' talk about language policy in the U.S. represent "terrains of engagement" with language ideologies that drive language policies. Such discussions involve the positions of the interviewee and interviewer within the broader context of public discourse on language policy (King and De Fina 2011). In this study, I present each participant's interview data as a separate case with a

focus on conflicts and contradictions that emerged in the conversation to highlight moments where identities and positions are contested and constructed during the interview event.

8.3.1 Participants

Five participants (ages 18–26) who self-identified as both bilingual and from the South took part in semi-structured interviews with the author at a location of her or his choice[1] in a Southern university town during the summer of 2012. The participants were recruited through flyers on a university campus as well as at local businesses such as a local Asian grocery store. Emails were also sent to international student groups, local church groups, and other university and community organizations. Participants were required to have lived with their families in the South and attended grade school in the U.S. for at least 1 year. The criteria of "bilingual" and "South" were intentionally left open-ended (i.e. no exact definition of these terms was given in the announcement) as one goal of the study was to better understand how young bilinguals themselves constructed these categories in the interviews.

The five participants represented the diversity and multilingualism of the South (Table 8.1). Each participant had learned a different home language (Spanish, Tagalog, Khmer, Russian/Ukrainian, and Chinese). Two participants identified as bilingual, bicultural, and mixed race (Shannon who identified as Asian American with a Cambodian mother and Hungarian American father and Robyn who identified as African American and Filipino). The other three participants had parents who both shared a first language and culture and had immigrated to the U.S. Three of the participants (Shannon, Robyn, and Jessamyn) had been born in the U.S., and several participants talked about moving between the U.S. and their Parents' home countries as well as moving to the South from other parts of the U.S. as being important moments or transitions in their lives (Table 8.1). Participants had typically moved within the United States several times during childhood.

8.3.2 Data Collection

The interviews were semi-structured (see Appendix A) with the intention of eliciting narrative accounts about the participants' experiences growing up bilingual in the South. The interviews were transcribed, using adapted conventions from Tannen et al. (2007) (Appendix B), and coded in Transana, open-source software that allows for transcription and coding of audio and video recorded data.

[1] All participants chose to conduct the interview at a coffee shop on the campus of a local university.

Table 8.1 Participants

	Name	Age	Gender	Languages other than English	AOA to US	Places of residence	Occupation	Major
1	Jessamyn	19	F		n/a	Texas	Student	Biomedical Engineering
				Spanish		Mexico		
						Mississippi		
2	Robyn	20	F	Tagalog	Born in US	Mississippi	Student	Biological Sciences
						California		
				Spanish		Illinois		
3	Shannon	26	F		Born in US	Tennessee	Office associate	N/A
						Alabama		
				Khmer		Mississippi		
				Spanish		Kentucky		
				French		New York		
4	Elizabeth	18	F		3 year	China	Student	Finance/Accounting
				Mandarin Chinese		Connecticut		
						Minnesota		
				Spanish		Kentucky		
						New York		
5	Vitaliy	20	M	Russian	5 year	Ukraine	Student	Computer Science
						Florida		
				Ukrainian		Mississippi		

8.3.3 Data Analysis

The data analysis employed techniques used in narrative research for the analysis of referring terms such as categories and labels to understand the construction of identities through discourse (De Fina 2003). In order to focus on the construction of successful bilingualism and the meaning of bilingualism to the participants, the data analysis centered on talk about language competence, linguistic identities, and related constructs (i.e. racial identities emerged in the data set as closely connected to linguistic identities and the construction of bilingualism). Consequently, the interviews were coded using the keyword function in Transana for reference to language names, language competence (self, parents', siblings', and others'), and racial, ethnic, or national categories as these mentions emerged as sites of negotiation between myself as interviewer and the interviewee. The analysis here focuses on excerpts in which participants talk about their bilingual competence, how they acquired their heritage languages, and their agency in directing FLP processes.

8.4 Adult Children's Perspectives on FLP

The participants in this study did not express an explicit awareness of the strategies their parents had used or talk much about what their parents had done to maintain or use a minority language at home. When asked, most of the participants responded that they didn't remember any language rules in the house. When asked what had been the most successful thing their parents had done to help them learn the minority language, most of the participants gave vague answers such as, "They just used it" (except see Shannon's response in Excerpt 8.1 below). While these responses pointed to implicit policies the parents held toward using and maintaining the minority language at home, they also suggest that children are not always aware of the language management around them. What emerged as important factors in their bilingual development and identities in the interviews was the experiences these participants had outside of the home in a variety of contexts in which their bilingualism was negotiated, contested, and even erased. In order to capture the complexity of each case, I present each interview individually in the sections below.

8.4.1 Shannon: Ritual and Agency

Shannon was the daughter of a Khmer-speaking mother from Cambodia who had immigrated to a refugee community in a coastal town in Alabama where she met her Hungarian American husband (who had moved South from the Northeast). Shannon herself had moved from a more diverse Asian fishing community in Alabama to an "inland" town in Mississippi as a child, where diversity fell along Black/White lines. Shannon's father had learned Khmer as a second language and participated in

maintaining Cambodian customs in his family. As an adult, Shannon was a member of a multiracial support group in the town and identified as Cambodian American. She also participated in community theater and had been able to make her Cambodian background a part of that interest through, Cambodian inspired performances. Shannon noted that she had some competence in Khmer, but it had waned in her teenage and adult years; although, she did see herself as bilingual.

Shannon's interview revealed an awareness of the linguistic environment and parental strategies that helped her learn Khmer as well as her own agency in shaping a shift toward English with her mother as discussed in Excerpts 8.1 and 8.2. When I asked Shannon what had been the most successful thing her parents had done to help her learn Khmer, she described an apology ritual that she felt had been an important part of her Khmer language socialization and maintenance of Khmer in her family:

Excerpt 8.1: Cambodian ritual

1	Lyn:	Um is the-the-you were talking about um the punish- like the list of things you did wrong in -
2	Shannon:	Yeah
3	Lyn:	Was that a cultural tradition?
4	Shannon:	Mmhmm
5	Lyn:	Can you talk about that?
6	Shannon:	Yeah it lasted a really long time.
7		The f – I think the form of punishment is you will listen to me and sit here for 2 hours <laughs>
8		Instead of just going straight to the, you know corporeal punishment
9		I think lecturing was harsher- I'd rather just get it over and done with
10		But the Cambodians are this is why you disrespected our family this is why you brought shame to our family
11	Lyn:	Oh okay
12	Shannon:	This is how I feel about it
13		This is how YOU should feel about it
14		And this is what you are going to do about it
15	Lyn:	Uh huh
16	Shannon:	And then it just, I remember counting one time it was 45 min
17	Lyn:	Uh huh
18	Shannon:	Of it and you got a language skills from it right there <laughs>
19	Lyn:	Yeah
20	Shannon:	And um . I mean then there was the you had to apologize to whoever
21	Lyn:	Mmhmm
22	Shannon:	You know you hurt traditionally which you know um this is called /???/
23	Lyn:	Mmhmm
24	Shannon:	Um three times
25	Lyn:	Uh huh
26	Shannon:	And just stay on the ground until they forgive you <laughs>
27		So,

Here Shannon describes a detailed scenario in which the heritage language was embedded in cultural practice of apologizing and specific ideologies of the role of the child and the importance of children's deference and obedience in the family. In the ritual practice described above, Shannon constructs herself as having little agency in the socialization into Cambodian cultural practices of politeness, apology, and shame. She explains being directed how to feel, "This is how YOU should feel" (line 13), and how to act, "you just stay on the ground until they forgive you" (line 26) in these episodes and concludes that it was in these events where she was required to use Khmer that she felt were the most effective in helping her learn. However, in other, more day-to-day contexts Shannon described herself as being an agent in code choice and a shift to English in the family. When I asked her to talk more about the times she refused to speak Khmer with her mother, she described the need to negotiate language choice as important to establishing an emotional bond with her mother and understanding her mother's feelings:

Excerpt 8.2: As simple as possible

1	Shannon:	I guess with every language there are ways to say things that can't be expressed in English
2	Lyn:	Ok [mmhmm
3	Shannon:	[You know, and she'll say them and I'm like I don't understand I'm not understanding what you're trying- what you're wanting or what you're trying to get out of me,
4	Lyn:	Uh huh
5	Shannon:	So, Then she'll have to retry again and then I break it down from ok, do you want this or do you this or do you want this?
6		And it's, I guess those kind of instances
7	Lyn:	Uh huh
8	Shannon:	Have been difficult and sometimes, she speaks so quickly?
9	Lyn:	Uh huh
10	Shannon:	That- I need you to make it as simple as possible Mom
11		In English <laughs>
12		Um, but . yeah especially those moments when, she's trying to express how she feels, in her own language that may not be conveyed in English

Here Shannon notes the difficulties she experienced at times growing up as her mother expressed her emotions in Khmer, but Shannon herself could not understand completely. Shannon suggests that emotions are expressed differently and perhaps experienced differently in different languages (Pavlenko 2006). She also notes that these moments of incomprehension on her part led to negotiations of both meaning ("I don't understand, I'm not understanding") to negotiation of code choice ("I need you to make it as simple as possible Mom. In English"). In contrast to Excerpt 8.1, here Shannon steps out of the interview frame and reconstructs dialogue between herself and her mother. She positions herself as the agent in these processes by taking the position of "I" to an imagined "you," i.e. not the interviewer, but rather her mother.

The shift toward English in interaction with her mother is situated in her need to understand her mother's emotions and feelings. Shannon's English language dominance and inability to understand her mother in emotional situations led her to clarify her mother's language in English. That is, Shannon's shaping the conversation toward English is constructed as a part of establishing an affective bond with her mother rather than an act of rebellion or resistance to Khmer. While the heritage language played an important role in certain culture specific ritual practices in Shannon's family growing up, the language of emotional bonding and day-to-day life as she got older was shaped by her dominant language, English.

8.4.2 Robyn: Legitimacy and Race

Robyn was the daughter of a Filipino mother and African American father. Because her father was in the Navy, Robyn had lived across the U.S. (including time spent on the West Coast and Midwest), but she was born in Mississippi. In the initial questionnaire and interview, Robyn portrayed herself as passive bilingual, someone who understood her mother and grandmother's language, Tagalog, well and could use it to some extent but did not have a strong productive competence. She attributed this to her mother's decision to assimilate and not use Tagalog with her much in interaction. However, as the interview went on Robyn contested this self-depiction in relation to reconstructed criticisms from Filipinos who positioned themselves as "authentic" Tagalog users and in the end constructs herself as a legitimate and knowledgeable Tagalog speaker.

Excerpt 8.3: That funny language

1	Robyn:	Um, it's interesting, my mom – my mom really never -
2		sh-she tried to not – not to speak Tagalog which is the Filipino language when she was in public.
3	Lyn:	Oh.
4	Robyn:	But when I was with my grandmother she would so it'd be- you'd get those funny looks,
5		and then-especially I'm half African-American half Black- I mean half Filipino people would be like,
6		well why is she with her and why's she talking to her in that funny language and,
7		it'd jus- it'd be interesting.
8	Lyn:	Did you ever have an- an instance where someone did say something to you?
9	Robyn:	Oh lots of times, like the- they'd be like is that your mom: or what are you doing with that lady:

(continued)

(continued)

10	or:,
11	where's your mom at?
12	hmm she's right her:e
13	that's my grandma, so

Here racial and linguistic differences are intertwined for Robyn. She tells about others' confusion over her belonging both because of her race and because of the way she talked and the way others (her mother and grandmother) talked to her and contrasted the reactions in Mississippi with the multiracial, multicultural, and multilingual communities she had been a part of on the naval base in California and in other states. The assumed monolingualism of the South along with racialism discussed by Stephens (2005) shape the possibilities for bilingualism experienced by Robyn.

Because of Robyn's appearance, she was not taken to be bilingual or biracial in public in the South. She also described not being accepted as a legitimate Tagalog user with other Filipinos.

Excerpt 8.4: My mom and my grandma did teach me quite a bit

1	Robyn:	Because, me also being mixed, I know a lot of Filipinos have that- well I know the ones here
2		they have the connotation that, you know, I don't know anything about the Filipino
3		culture and language,
4		which is – it's untrue cause my mom and grandma did teach me quite a bit,
5		but, to them its like oh well she didn't learn that side, cause, she's mixed.

Being biracial and bilingual were intertwined for Robyn, and both identities influence how she constructed belonging in different groups and how she viewed her language competence. She described not belonging in African American peer groups as a child because of the way she talked (i.e. with an "Asian lisp") and not belonging in Tagalog-speaking groups because of the way she looked. These ascriptions of identities onto Robyn by others shaped a sense of legitimacy and belonging in different communities. Robyn offered contradictory assessments of her own bilingualism during the interview, on the one hand she suggested she could understand but not really speak Tagalog; however, when confronted with ideologies that excluded her from the Tagalog-speaking community, she took a more authoritative stance and suggested that she did actually know a lot (Excerpt 8.4). These incongruences point to the importance of understanding how children perceive their own bilingualism in relation to others around them. While Robyn stated that she wished her mother

had taught her more of the language, she was able to claim what she did know as legitimate competence and suggest ways that her hybrid, or mixed, identity was valuable in a changing (Southern) society and in her future career in the Navy where she anticipated she would be able to use and learn Tagalog and Spanish more.

8.4.3 Elizabeth: Monolingual White Normativity

Elizabeth was three when she moved to the U.S. from China with her parents. She had originally lived in the Northeast and Midwest before moving to Kentucky where she lived for 6 years. Elizabeth described herself as a more balanced bilingual than Shannon and Robyn as will be the case for all three participants whose parents both spoke the minority language (Elizabeth, Vitaliy, and Jessamyn). In fact, Elizabeth did not question her competence in Chinese or indicate that she wished she had learned more. Elizabeth's family spoke Chinese at home, and she noted there was only a short time growing up when she resisted her parents' use of Chinese. However, she did not remember explicit language rules in her house. During the interview, Elizabeth and I frequently negotiated the labels and categories (e.g., Mandarin vs. Chinese) we used to talk about language, ethnicity and race. In particular, Elizabeth's construction of a White monolingual normativity in the interview contrasted with Asian bilingualism she had experienced in Kentucky.

Excerpt 8.5: Most of the people were White

1	Lyn:	So tell me about um school in Kentucky then.
2	Elizabeth:	I: went to Middle School and High School in Kentucky so,
3	Lyn:	Uh-huh.
4		And um, were your classmates Mandarin speaking or,
5	Elizabeth:	U:h, a lot of them were.
6	Lyn:	Uh-huh.
7	Elizabeth:	Yes.
8	Lyn:	So you had a community around you,
9	Elizabeth:	Yeh.
10	Lyn:	Uh-huh.
11	Elizabeth:	Because . there was like ((an international company)) and ((a university)), in, .
12		((Kentuckyville)) and so there was quite a bit of mm Chinese-speaking people.
13	Lyn:	Uh-huh.
14	Elizabeth:	Mm,
15	Lyn:	And. before that had you lived somewhere else in the United States?
16	Elizabeth:	Yes. Minnesota and Connecticut.
17	Lyn:	And were those places different for you?
18	Elizabeth:	Uh yeah.

(continued)

(continued)

19	Lyn:	Uh-huh.
20		Could you talk about that a little bit?
21	Elizabeth:	Um, I don't think – I think most of the people in Connecticut were. White
22		and,
23		I'm pretty sure in . Minnesota too.
24	Lyn:	Mhm.

In Line 12, Elizabeth recasts my use of "Mandarin speaking" to "Chinese speaking." Later in the interview she did use the label "Mandarin," but only in contexts where she was talking about speakers of other varieties of Chinese, i.e. in Chinatown where, she noted, most people spoke Cantonese or in mainland China. Thus "Chinese-speaking" or "Chinese" functioned as labels to distinguish her home language from English (despite my continued use of the label "Mandarin"). Further in this excerpt, Elizabeth demarcates the difference between Chinese-speakers and English speakers in racial terms. When I ask her about living elsewhere in the U.S., Elizabeth negotiates the labels to racial, not linguistic categories, i.e. "most people in Minnesota and Connecticut were White" (line 21). The equation of Whiteness and monolingualism in the U.S. also emerged in later discussions as in Excerpt 8.6.

Excerpt 8.6: I don't know how they understand

1	Lyn:	Um, so, how does eh ((Mississippiville)) Mississippi compare to ((Kentuckyville)) Kentucky/???/?
2		They're both in the South.
3	Elizabeth:	Yeah. Well, . it's . smaller.
4	Lyn:	Mhm.
5	Elizabeth:	Mm, there are . fewer Chinese people.
6	Lyn:	Yeah.
		Have you met any Chinese people here?
7	Elizabeth:	Uh, yeah.
		Mm, we got to the ((Mississippiville)) Christian Church – Christian Chinese church.
8	Lyn:	Uh-huh. Uh-huh,
9	Elizabeth:	And there are –
		usually, most of the people there are Chinese.
10	Lyn:	Uh-huh. And uh, are the services in Mandarin? or are they,
11	Elizabeth:	They're in Mandarin.
12	Lyn:	They are.
13	Elizabeth:	Yeah. There are some . White people in it but,
14	Lyn:	Uh-huh
15	Elizabeth:	I don't know how they understand.
16	Lyn:	Ok, so they worship at,
17	Elizabeth:	Yeah.

(continued)

(continued)

18		Uh-huh.
19	Lyn:	Do – do you know any White people that speak Chinese?
20	Elizabeth:	Uh, . mmno.
21	Lyn:	Mm-mm.
22	Elizabeth:	My friend's from Harbin and . that's really close to Russia so,
23		a lot of them come to . that city.
24	Lyn:	A:h, uh-huh
25	Elizabeth:	Their Chinese is really good.
26	Lyn:	Uh-huh, uh-huh.
27	Elizabeth:	But since they look White,
28		they still get ripped off in stores.
29	Lyn:	Uh-huh, interesting:,
30	Elizabeth:	Yep.

In this excerpt race and language competence are conflated as Elizabeth suggests that the participants' Whiteness precludes them from knowing Chinese in the U.S. The description of bilingual Whites in Russia further complicates the situation as the place or geographical context is then constructed as the key element that affords the possibility for White bilingualism. This close connection between place, race, and bilingualism has implications for understanding Elizabeth's orientation to FLP. On the one hand, the fact of Elizabeth's bilingualism did not seem to be a question for her. In fact, she mentioned at the end of the interview that as a child she wondered what language other people spoke at home (thinking that everyone had another home language) until she realized that most people spoke English. Viewing bilingualism as a norm in Asian families also led her to believe that knowing a second language did not set her apart from other top applicants for college, for example, who she assumed were also Asian and bilingual. Elizabeth further noted that she did not like mixing English and Chinese and had objected to a television show her mother watched where the languages were mixed. The sharp distinctions Elizabeth drew between bilingual Asian families and monolingual White families most likely played a role in her learning of her parents' language as she constructed norms for each group as different and, in some ways, essential.

8.4.4 Jessamyn: Spanish as Common Ground

Jessamyn was born in Texas where her parents had moved from Mexico for her father's job. Jessamyn talked about three transitions that had made a difference in her life: her move to Mexico at a young age and move back to the U.S. 2 years later as well as her entrance to college in Mississippi where she became involved in a Hispanic student group. Jessamyn's mother was a Spanish teacher and had maintained Spanish as the language of home; although, Jessamyn reported that they

had not had a strong Latino community around them in Texas. Jessamyn wished she had developed stronger literacy skills in Spanish and was currently enrolled in Spanish classes at the university to obtain those skills. Jessamyn also talked about intersections of linguistic and racial difference and how Spanish became a language she associated closely with home and family. One key concept that came up in Jessamyn's interview was a need to pass as monolingual in peer groups during her school-age years as she discusses in Excerpt 8.7 in response to my question about being embarrassed by her bilingualism:

Excerpt 8.7: I don't speak Spanish

1	Lyn:	[What – what are the stereotypes,
2	Jessamyn:	[Like some people-some people] don't like Hispanics,
3		I mean, some people don't like them.
4		They don't like us huhh
5		I don't know why, but some people just don't like us.
6		And, well you're like okay, well I feel like I have to hide that, in order for you to like me.
7		And, uh, I mean, I don't look Hispanic, I don't look Hispanic.
8		So, I mean, not a lot of people tell me that.
9		But, uh, I've never been stereotyped at all saying oh you're Hispanic, I don't like you at all-
10		I haven't, I've probably just had the way I look, I don't look Hispanic I've been told,
11		Um,
12	Lyn:	But you had that feeling-
13	Jessamyn:	But I did have that feeling, like, like, that is just – I mean I feel like I had to hide it,
14		instead of-
15	Lyn:	So how would you hide it?
16	Jessamyn:	Just, I don't know Spanish.
17		I don- I'm not Hispanic,
18	Lyn:	Really?
19	Jessamyn:	I am American, I look American, [and that's it.
20	Lyn:	[Uh-huh
21	Jessamyn:	Um, but, when I tell people I'm Hispanic they're like whoa- you know-you don't look Hispanic at all so,
22		Um,
23		I don't know it's just you feel like you don't fit i-,
24		Especially as a child,
25		you don't like feel like you fit in- and you want to fit it,
26		you want to have friends.
27		But because you're Hispanic, you can't, so,

Here Jessamyn describes a kind of racial passing, "I don't look Hispanic," to avoid stereotypes in high school that is intertwined with linguistic passing or covert bilingualism (see discussion in Hult 2013) by pretending she doesn't know Spanish. Further the pressure to not know or not display Spanish language competence in the predominately monolingual high school context that Jessamyn describes intersects with her descriptions of using Spanish as a family thing or a "common ground" among family members. As a university student, Jessamyn describes being able to use Spanish in public with her friends. Belonging in a new Spanish-speaking peer group then creates a sense of comfort and "home" for Jessamyn:

Excerpt 8.8: They're at home

1	Lyn:	[So how did you get involved in that community -
2	Jessamyn:	[it's just- makes me feel proud
3	Lyn:	how'd you find them?
4	Jessamyn:	Um, I went to Salsa Night
5	Lyn:	Oh okay
6	Jessamyn:	Here, at ((the university)), they had a Salsa Night,
7		I met um one-one of my best friends whose Colombian, I met here at an engineering type thing, convention here
8		And, um, and she called me one time and said hey there's Salsa Night,
9		[Let's – let's go.
10	Lyn:	[uh-huh
11	Jessamyn:	And we never- I mean- I'm- me and her aren't the type of girls that we never went out
12	Lyn:	uh-huh
13	Jessamyn:	And so we decided to go and they were playing Salsa,
14		And we met some Hispanics there, and then . from there we went to, um, Latin Dance
15		And it was just- I didn't know- you know, cause in Mississippi there's not a lot of Hispanics,
16	Lyn:	uh huh
17	Jessamyn:	But, uh, I just felt like- I felt, comfortable, with the rest of them,
18		Because they knew where we were coming from, I mean, them also.
19		Some were like from out of state, and, they didn't know much English, so,
20		You talk to them and they feel like they're at- they're at home, so it's-it's a little bit like that,
21		And I feel like with some of my American friends I can't- I just can't share it with them
22	L:	right

In Jessamyn's interview, speaking Spanish was associated with being home or at home in both her childhood, her present university life, and her future life with an imagined family as she talked about wanting to use Spanish at home as "common

ground" and raising her children bilingually. The intense connection between language, home, and family contrasted with Jessamyn's more racialized identities outside of the home, where passing as White and monolingual erased her Hispanic identity. The university environment helped her reclaim and reconstruct a Hispanic identity through participation in university events.

8.4.5 Vitaliy: Multilingualism, Literacy, and Academic Success

Vitaliy moved to the U.S. from Kyiv, Ukraine when he was 5 years old, but he spent many summers in Kyiv with his grandparents. He talked about these experiences and his time in Ukraine as having strong positive effects on his Russian language and literacy, as well as his Ukrainian. In addition, he reported that his parents had used only Russian at home and had established a U.S. Russian-speaking identity. This contrasted with Vitaliy's experiences when he returned to Kyiv, as he discusses below, where policies of Ukrainization had changed the language ecology in that country (Bilaniuk 2006). In addition, Vitaliy appeared phenotypically White and did not experience the same kind of racial stereotypes or racist dicourses in the U.S. that the other participants discussed. Perhaps because of his Whiteness or the intense focus on language policy and linguistic identities Ukrainians have experienced in recent history, Vitaliy constructed linguistic difference, and to a lesser extent ethnicity, as the source of difference and conflict in his childhood growing up. In the interview Vitaliy distanced himself from Southerners who did not value bilingualism or intellectualism. He also recounted negative attitudes toward his Russian language use by others both in Mississippi as well as in Ukraine. In the first excerpt here, Vitaliy describes speaking Russian with another student in his high school class in Mississippi:

Excerpt 8.9: Talking in that weird language

1	Vitaliy:	Mmmhmm
2		Uh, oh a lot of teachers wouldn't like it if I spoke any Russian,
3	Lyn:	Ok
4	Vitaliy:	Because they don't know what I'm saying so it's -
5		what if I'm saying something bad about them .
6	Lyn:	So can you think of a time when that happened?
7	Vitaliy:	Um, it was more in high school
8	Lyn:	Yeah
9	Vitaliy:	Uh, I had a Russian friend that actually didn't speak any English
10		and I- he was put in as many my classes as possible so I could you know translate for him,
11		And him and I were just chatting/you know it was everything/
12		And it was a substitute teacher,

(continued)

(continued)

13	Lyn:	Ok
14	Vitaliy:	And uh . she just snapped . at us for talking in that weird language
15		cause she don't know what we talking bout so . we don't be talking in that- like that ((appropriates AAVE style))
16	Lyn:	Uh huh
17	Vitaliy:	I mean, it didn't really cause much trouble cause . my English is good.
18		It was mostly. you know . other- it was mostly like people my age that
19		knew that I di – I wasn't from around here

Although Vitaliy reports a negative attitude towards Russian use by a substitute teacher, he later suggested that the school administrators were very positive about his bilingualism because of his strong performance in school. At other points Vitaliy talked about being called a "Commie" by (White) classmates and not sharing the same values as his Southern peers. Vitaliy experienced a very different set of language ideologies and implicit policies in his trips to Ukraine, a nation that struggled with societal bilingualism, as he was growing up. Over the mid to late 1990s, Ukraine initiated a policy of Ukranization in which Ukrainian was made the official language of the nation and promoted in the public and educational contexts (Friedman 2010). Here Vitaliy, who spoke Russian at home in the U.S. and with his grandmother in Kyiv, tells about the effects of these policies on his own language competence:

Excerpt 8.10: That Moscow language

1	Vitaliy:	So no real Ukrainian speaks Russian
2	Lyn:	Ok
3	Vitaliy:	Everything Ukrainian
4		And I felt pressure to learn it
5		Because some- it wasn't often but it would happen at times that people would ignore me speaking to them in Russian
6	Lyn:	Can you think of a time when that actually -
7	Vitaliy:	Uh trying to buy uh some food-
8		Like I was at the grocery store- well actually not a grocery store it was a
9	Lyn:	Uh huh
10	Vitaliy:	Like a- it's like a little hou-shack outside that sells food and like it's just on the [street]
11	Lyn:	Kiosk?
12	Vitaliy:	Kiosk, yeah.
13		And, uh, I tried to buy- I tried to like tell the lady what I wanted
14		And she just-

(continued)

(continued)

15	Lyn:	She ignored you?
16	Vitaliy:	And uh I asked her like – I repeated it and she ignored i- and I'm like
17		I asked her what's wrong she's like I don't speak that Moscow language
18	Lyn:	Really?
19	Vitaliy:	Even though I knew for a fact there's no way she couldn't understand it because-
20	Lyn:	[Right]
21	Vitaliy:	[Because] it's first of all it's similar and I've never met a Ukrainian that didn't understand Russian
22		I've met vice versa
23	Lyn:	Right
24	Vitaliy:	But for some reason, I guess because Russian had been spoken in Ukraine for so long
25		Everyone at least understood it partially
26	Lyn:	Right
27	Vitaliy:	And, I had to learn it

Despite the negative reactions to his Russian use on the street in Kyiv, Vitaliy noted that he felt Russian was more useful language than Ukrainian for his career and future. The changing language ecology in Ukraine, however, had prompted him to learn Ukrainian as he got older. Thus Vitaliy's engagement with changes in language policy in his parents' home country through regular visits shaped his language development outside of the family-internal FLP. He also constructed his Russian competence as closely tied to his values of intellectualism and academic success that set him apart from his peers in Mississippi. The interplay of home ideologies and values, including an emphasis on literacy and academics, as well as extended time in Ukraine with the external peer pressures led Vitaliy to feel distanced from his peers in the South. Unlike some of the other participants (e.g., Robyn), Vitaliy did not consider the South home, nor did he see himself as Southern despite living in the South for most of his life.

8.5 Conclusions

At the outset, I argued that including children's perspectives on FLP could allow for a better understanding of the family external processes that influence children's agency as well as how children experience and engage with FLPs over time. While prior studies have demonstrated how external factors, particularly language ideologies regarding the importance of majority language (Canagarajah 2008; King 2000), influenced parental practices, this study emphasized the very personal side of these processes for children as they experienced differences outside of the home and

negotiated affective familial bonds in both of their languages. In this study, racial identities as well as community language ideologies that erased home (bilingual) identities affected the participants' construction of their own bilingualism. I conclude that children's views on how bilingual they are in relation to others as well as over different developmental periods in their lives are crucial to understanding the affect of FLP in child bilingual outcomes. In these interviews, participants suggested that passive bilingualism or denial of one's own bilingualism are not the sole result of poorly planned policies or the use of less effective strategies on the parents' part, but rather the result of constraints placed on children for displaying and claiming their own bilingualism as part of their identities growing up and thus potentially a result of the ideologies of bilingualism in place. In light of these findings, I argue that studies in FLP should take a more child-centered approach in the following two ways.

First, studies in FLP need to take *a long-term perspective* to investigate changes over the course of childhood. The participants in this study understood their language competencies to wax and wane over time, and moreover, competence was often constructed in relation to the language ecology of the environment discussed in the interview. Participants could choose to be more or less bilingual based on the immediate needs and constraints of the context (e.g., Shannon's highly competent participation in the apology routine vs. her inability to understand her mother in an emotional discussion). Participants could also be constructed as legitimate speakers of a language or not based on the ascriptions by those around them (as in the case of Robyn). Most studies of FLP to date focus on one age group or range (i.e. early childhood) that represents only a brief period in children's bilingual development. In light of the findings from the current study, children at different ages and life stages need to be included in the study of FLP.

The second aspect of FLP that needs further exploration is *the role of place* in constructing both FLPs and bilingual competence. Participants in this study noted that their trajectories of language development were influenced by geographic moves to different countries and/or regions. Language ideologies, such as an implicit monolingual normativity found in the U.S. South, can make heritage languages not only markers of difference in the public setting, but also more intimately situated in the home (e.g., Jessamyn) and, as in the case of Shannon, potentially narrowed to ritualistic or culturally specific functions (such as apologizing). Ideologies of language in place also intersected with assumptions about racial and ethnic difference in these interviews, and the participants' perceived abilities to speak another language or not were often influenced by others' ascriptions of ethnic or racial identities (i.e. Elizabeth's implicit understanding that White people in the U.S. are not bilingual). Thus while the interviews in this study attest to rich multilingual communities in the South as in the fishing communities in Alabama and Mississippi or the Spanish-speaking regions of Texas, societal pressure, at least for children, in some areas leads to masking or hiding this linguistic diversity.

Family language policy is not simply the result of parental ideologies and strategies, but rather a dynamic process in which children play an active role of

influencing code choice and shaping family language ideologies (King and Fogle 2013). By examining children's experiences in relation to FLP and the place in which FLP is constructed, this study found that for children, parental values and practices intersected with varied experiences outside of the home, from interaction with peers to transnational engagement with other cultures. Most importantly, for these adult children family language policy was not just about language, but a means to bond as a family, establish a family identity and belonging, and find comfort in the differences that could be troublesome and a source of conflict in other, external spheres. As Vitaliy noted in his interview, he felt that people in the South didn't like him because he was a Russian speaker, and this motivated him "to speak what my family speaks. Not what all these people who I don't really care about … speak."

Appendix A

Bilingual in the South
Interview Schedule
April 18, 2012

The interview will follow a sociolinguistic interview format in which a narrative of the participant's experiences is elicited through a few open-ended prompts.

1. You mentioned in your email questionnaire that you had grown up bilingual in the South, could you tell me about that experience?
2. How do you think you became bilingual? What experiences or events contributed to becoming bilingual?
3. How do you feel about growing up bilingual? Did your feelings about it change over time?
4. How did your parents manage the languages spoken at home? Were there language rules in the house?
5. Do you have siblings? How was your language learning different from your siblings'?
6. Were there any specific moments you remember where you were embarrassed about being bilingual?
7. Were there any moments you remember where you were proud of or glad you spoke two languages?
8. How often would you say you use both of your languages now? Do you think you will continue to use both languages as you get older?
9. If you have children, will you raise them bilingually? Why or why not?
10. Is there anything you would do differently than your parents as a bilingual parent?
11. Is there anything else you would like to add? Something I forgot?

Appendix B

Transcription Conventions

Adapted from Tannen et al. (2007)

((words))	Double parentheses enclose transcriber's comments.
/words/	Slashes enclose uncertain transcription.
/???/	Indicates unintelligible words.
Carriage return	Each new line represents an intonation unit.
-	A hyphen indicates a truncated word or adjustment within an intonation unit, e.g., repeated word, false start.
?	A question mark indicates a relatively strong rising intonation (interrogative).
!	An exclamation mark indicates rising intonation (exclamatory).
.	A period indicates a falling, final intonation.
,	A comma indicates a continuing intonation.
..	Dots indicate silence (more dots indicate a longer silence).
:	A colon indicates an elongated sound.
CAPS	Capitals indicate emphatic stress.
<laugh>	Angle brackets enclose descriptions of vocal noises, e.g., laughs, coughs, crying.
Words [words] [word]	Square brackets enclose simultaneous talk.

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Part III
The Interaction Patterns Between Parents and Their Children in Their Shared Language and Literacy Practices

Chapter 9
Bimodal Bilingual Families: The Negotiation of Communication Practices Between Deaf Parents and Their Hearing Children

Ginger Pizer

9.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the question of successful family language policy in families with deaf parents and hearing children in the United States. Such families are commonly bilingual and bimodal, with both a spoken language (English, in the auditory-vocal modality) and a signed language (American Sign Language (ASL), in the visual-gestural modality) in use in family communication. The restricted access that the parents have to the auditory modality as a means of communication limits the linguistic options for effective communication within the family, while the daily lives of the children put them in daily contact with hearing, speaking peers. Within this context, family language policies can have a significant but not all-powerful effect on the languages that the children learn and the language choices that family members make at home. English was the dominant language for almost all of the children in these families, and many did not become highly fluent in ASL. Nevertheless, under a definition of "success" as a result in accordance with the language ideologies of the family members themselves, the language policies of all of the families in this study may be considered at least partially successful. These families appear to share a language ideology prioritizing the avoidance of potential communication barriers over other influences on language choices. The families' specific language practices varied significantly, but each family negotiated the potentially conflicting pressures between parent and child preferences and family-internal and family-external ideologies to develop a sustainable pattern of family language use that allowed relatively unimpeded communication between family members.

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M. Schwartz and A. Verschik (eds.), *Successful Family Language Policy: Parents, Children and Educators in Interaction*, Multilingual Education 7,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-7753-8_9,

9.2 Background

9.2.1 Potential Linguistic Repertoires

The linguistic environment for deaf-parented families provides more communicative options than just signed language and spoken language. Figure 9.1 is a representation of the potential components of the linguistic repertoires of deaf-parented families in the United States, with communication possible in either the visual-gestural modality, the auditory-vocal modality, or both at the same time. The possible communicative codes can be grammatically based on English—represented in italics—or American Sign Language—represented in bold—or they can contain grammatical aspects from both languages.

Research on bimodal bilingual adults has shown that they sometimes produce what is called *Coda talk* (Bishop and Hicks 2005, 2008): spoken or written productions that use English words but show the influence of ASL grammar, for example, through the deletion of subjects, copulas, auxiliaries, or prepositions, as shown in Example (1) from an email exchange between hearing adults with deaf parents. ASL is a pro-drop language that has no copula verb or auxiliaries, and fewer prepositions than English does.

(1) Now is 6 AM, I up 5 AM, go work soon.
'Now it is 6 AM, I was up at 5 AM, I will go to work soon.' [translation added]
(Bishop and Hicks 2005, p. 205)

Other examples of Coda talk may involve visual descriptions of ASL signs, as shown in Example (2), also from an email exchange.

(2) Fork in throat
'stuck'
(Bishop and Hicks 2005, p. 208)

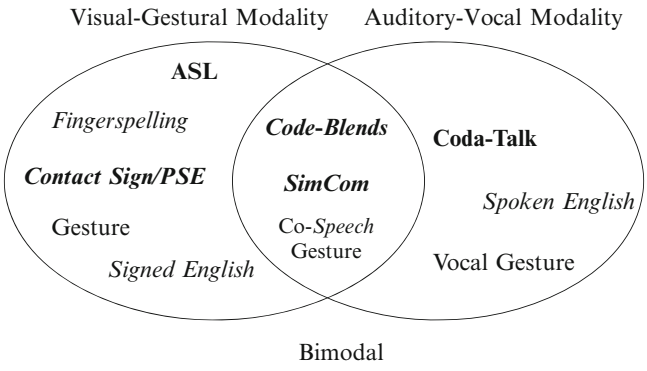

Fig. 9.1 Potential components of family linguistic repertoires

Bimodal bilinguals tend to use code blends—utterances in which spoken and signed elements are produced simultaneously, as shown in Examples (3–4)—more commonly than sequential code switches, as shown in Example (5) (Emmorey et al. 2005, 2008).

(3) *Code blend with English as the matrix language*
So Sylvester who's on the ledge jumps into the apartment.[1]
JUMP
(Emmorey et al. 2008, p. 47)

(4) *Code blend with ASL as the matrix language*
Happen what?
HAPPEN WHAT
'And guess what?'
(Emmorey et al. 2008, p. 50)

(5) *Code switch*
So they're like LOOK [reciprocal] and he's like "ooh I gotta get that bird."
(Emmorey et al. 2008, p. 47)

However, the fact that linguistic production is physically possible in both modalities at once does not mean that it is straightforward to consistently produce complete grammatical messages in both a signed and a spoken language simultaneously, a practice called *simultaneous communication* or *SimCom*. The primary distinctions between SimCom and code blending are that (1) code-blended utterances have either English or ASL as a matrix language, while the ultimate goal in SimCom is to produce both grammatical ASL and grammatical English at the same time; and (2) even people who code-blend frequently do so for only part of any lengthy utterance; an addressee with access to only one modality would not receive a complete message. As shown in the examples above, ASL and English differ grammatically in fundamental ways (e.g., pro-drop or not; use of auxiliaries; use of prepositions; wh-movement or not, etc.) (cf. Valli et al. 2011). Because of these grammatical differences, SimCom is a difficult task that tends to lead to disfluencies in both speech and sign (Emmorey et al. 2005; Wilbur and Petersen 1998).

9.2.2 Implications of Children's Sign Language Acquisition

These various bilingual behaviors are possible for adults who are fluent in both a signed and a spoken language. However, previous research on hearing adults whose

[1]Transcription conventions: Signs are represented in SMALL CAPS. Gestures are described in <angled brackets>. If signs or gestures were produced simultaneously with speech, they are represented underneath the transcription of the corresponding speech, and the words that were produced at the same time are underlined. Clarifications of meaning are added in [square brackets]. Words produced with an unusual voice quality are typed in *italics*, preceded by a description in (parentheses). Omissions are marked with ellipses.

parents are deaf has shown significant variation in their sign language fluency and in their affiliations with Deaf[2] and Hearing communities and cultures (Preston 1994). In cases where the adult children have not become fluent signers, they may describe their communication with their parents as "unsatisfying" (Wilhelm 2008, p. 172) or "superficial" (Hadjikakou et al. 2009, p. 498).

Research on language use between deaf parents and young hearing children has not previously addressed the issue explicitly in terms of family language policy. However, in an article analyzing the language acquisition of three Dutch hearing children in relationship to the language input they received from their deaf mothers, van den Bogaerde and Baker (2008) found that the language "strategies" of the mothers had a strong impact on their children's language behavior. The child whose mother accepted any comprehensible utterance from him—regardless of language or modality—produced the most utterances that included spoken Dutch. The child whose mother insisted on a signed restatement of any spoken or code-blended utterance produced the most utterances in the Sign Language of the Netherlands, and the behavior of third mother-child dyad was intermediate by both measures. The researchers found that the mothers' strategies (i.e., language policies) had a stronger influence on their children's language choices than the mothers' own language productions did. They focused on the children's language acquisition and did not discuss any effects of these strategies on the overall nature of family communication.

Parental language policies likely interact with the children's sense of their own social and cultural identities in influencing the children's language choices. Many researchers (e.g., Ladd 2003; Lane et al. 1996; Padden and Humphries 1988) have discussed the status of Deafness as a culture shared by a community. Under this view, hearing ability is a less central definer of Deaf cultural membership than are sign language ability and knowledge of cultural norms. Hearing children who are native signers and socialized into Deaf culture are therefore potential members of the Deaf community. However, the claiming of a Deaf identity can be problematic for a hearing child growing up with hearing classmates, neighbors, and often extended family members, many of whom are ignorant of the existence of cultural Deafness. Previous research has shown that school-age children tend to orient to their peers rather than to their parents as language models, whether in situations of language variation (e.g., Kerswill 1996) or bilingualism in spoken languages (e.g., Caldas and Caron-Caldas 2002). In most cases, the peer environment would influence hearing children toward the use of spoken English and the adoption of a Hearing cultural identity.

Hoffmeister (2008) described the hearing children of deaf parents as "living on the border" (p. 189) and claimed that "every Coda [i.e., "Child of Deaf Adults"]

[2] As is conventional among researchers of sign language and deafness, I make a distinction between uppercase and lowercase "d/Deaf," using "deaf" to refer to people with hearing loss and "Deaf" to refer to the social and cultural aspects of deafness. I generally do not use "Deaf" to identify individuals, instead reserving it for expressions such as "Deaf community" and "Deaf identity." I occasionally capitalize "Hearing" under similar circumstances.

leads two lives: one as a Coda and one as a hearing person" (p. 191). This double identity as "bicultural and bilingual members of the Deaf community" (Singleton and Tittle 2000) is potentially available to hearing children who become fluent signers; however, as mentioned above, many children of deaf parents do not. Signing skill and Deaf cultural affiliations are likely to be mutually reinforcing: greater contact and identification with the Deaf community would lead to more opportunities and motivation to sign, which would further support the signing fluency that is a prerequisite for community membership. Conversely, less contact and identification would adversely effect sign language use and fluency, potentially impeding future acceptance within the Deaf community.

9.3 Methods

The current study was inspired by anecdotal observation of considerable variation in the signing skill and cultural affiliations of hearing adults with deaf parents. Its central research question was how such variation in adults might be related to patterns of language use in the deaf-parented childhood homes of these hearing people. Two sources of data were used to investigate language policies and language behavior in these families: (1) observational case studies of three families, and (2) interviews with 13 hearing adults whose parents are deaf.

9.3.1 Family Case Studies

9.3.1.1 Family Participants

The observed families included two consisting of two deaf parents and three hearing sons and one consisting of a single deaf mother and her young hearing daughter. The demographic characteristics of the observed families are shown in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1 Participating families

Title for family	Child ages at data collection	Mother's extended family	Father's extended family
Family of older boys	4, 11, 16	Mother has hearing parents and a deaf sister	All hearing
Family of younger boys	3–4, 5–6, 9–10	All hearing	Father is fourth generation deaf; his deaf siblings and their deaf children live in town
Mother and daughter	2 1/2	All hearing	Father is fourth generation deaf but does not live in town and is not involved in parenting

In all three observed families, the parents' preferred language is ASL, and the children are age-appropriately fluent in both ASL and spoken English, based on researcher observation and parental report.

9.3.1.2 Family Data Collection

The families were videotaped in 4–5 one-hour sessions per family, during mealtimes and play times. For each of the families with multiple siblings, care was taken to record the family members in different configurations: parent and youngest child one-on-one play, parent playing with multiple children, siblings playing without their parents present, and the entire family at dinner. For the dinnertime recordings, when the family members could be relied on to stay more or less in one place, I set up two cameras at different angles and left the room for the duration of the meal. The variety of recorded naturalistic interactions for each family allowed a more detailed analysis of language choice patterns than if more limited set of interactions had been recorded.

After all naturalistic recording was complete, I conducted interviews with the parents in ASL on the topic of their own backgrounds, their evaluations of their children's language use, and why they had made the choices that they had concerning family communication. The specific questions that framed the interviews are listed in Appendix A; all of these topics were addressed, but I encouraged the parents to expand on their answers and to tell any stories that occurred to them, meaning that the question order was not always adhered to. I chose to conduct the parent interviews after the observations were complete for two reasons. First, to the degree possible, I wanted to prevent the parents' knowledge of the issues I was studying from influencing their behavior during the recording sessions. Second, holding the interviews after the observations allowed me to ask for their interpretation of specific interactions that I had observed.

9.3.1.3 Family Data Analysis

The videotaped family interactions were analyzed to discover who used which language with whom. Using an analytical framework based loosely on Bell's (1984, 2001) theory of audience design, I coded every communicative turn for the role of each family member (speaker/signer, addressee, participant, or bystander) and for the communication medium (sign, gesture, mouthing, speech, etc.). For each of the families of boys, a total of approximately 2 h of videotape was coded; 1 h of videotape was coded for the mother and daughter, as there was only one possible configuration of participants in that family.

Table 9.2 Adult Interview Participants

Pseudonym	Age	Description of parents' hearing status	Sign language interpreter?	Birth rank among siblings
Allison	20	Both deaf	No	Oldest of 2
Daniel	21	F deaf, M hard-of-hearing	No	Only child
Tabitha	21	Both deaf	No	Youngest of 3
April	23	Both deaf	Yes	Second of 5
Kevin	24	Both deaf	No	Fourth of 5
Derek	26	Both deaf	No	Third of 5
Craig	28	Both deaf	No	Second of 5
Rachel	29	M deaf as an adult, F hearing, not involved with the family	No	Oldest of 4
Lisa	35	Both hard-of-hearing	No	Oldest of 2
Bev	40's	Both deaf	Yes	Second of 3
David	56	Both deaf	No	Oldest of 3
Boyce	61	Both deaf	Yes	Youngest of 3
Sara	66	M deaf, F hard-of-hearing	Yes	Oldest of 4

9.3.2 Adult Interviews

The family case studies described above provided a detailed snapshot of family interaction, but they did not allow inclusion of a broad variety of families, and they did not reveal what the children's ultimate language attainment and adult attitudes and behaviors would be. To remedy both of these lacks, I interviewed 13 hearing adults whose parents are deaf.

9.3.2.1 Adult Interview Participants

The demographic details of the interviewees are listed in Table 9.2.

9.3.2.2 Adult Interview Data Collection

The approximately hour-long semi-structured interviews focused on the interviewees' own and their siblings' signing fluency, the parents' and children's language behaviors at home when the interviewees were growing up, and the families' interactions with the Deaf and Hearing communities outside the home. The list of questions that guided the interviews is provided in Appendix B. As in the interviews of the deaf parents, the interviewees were encouraged to tell additional stories and share additional information; in many of the interviews, most of the questions were answered without being asked. Leaving the interviews free to develop as conversations allowed the interviewees to provide information that I may not have thought to ask.

9.4 Results and Discussion

9.4.1 Sign Language Fluency

The signing fluency among the research subjects varied widely, in accordance with the anecdotal observations that originally motivated the study. The children in the observed families are fluently bilingual, but their ultimate adult attainment is yet to be seen. All of the adult interviewees know some sign, but a number can sign only well enough for basic communication. Of the 13 interviewed adults, only three reported that their ASL is at least as fluent as their English and that upon meeting them for the first time, deaf people frequently mistake them for being deaf themselves. All three had somewhat special circumstances pushing them toward sign. One was an only child; at home growing up, he used only ASL, as there was no one there to use speech with. Another grew up across the street from the state School for the Deaf; many of his childhood playmates either were deaf or were the hearing children of deaf adults, meaning that he frequently used sign outside as well as inside the home and with peers as well as with adults. In contrast, the third highly fluent signer grew up in a small town where the environment outside the home was actively hostile to signing and deafness. The bullying and discrimination that she described could have had various results; in her case, she became highly defensive of her family and close to the two deaf children in town. For none of these three interviewees were there any particular language decisions or policies made by their parents about communication at home that made the difference in their ultimate ASL fluency. Rather, the linguistic differences between these interviewees and the others seem to have come from the parents' life decisions, such as where to live or how many children to have.

As noted in the beginning of this chapter, it is unsurprising that such highly fluent signing was rare in this study. Even though these children have deaf parents and may be commonly in contact with other deaf people, most of their friends and schoolmates are hearing and would tend to influence them toward the exclusive use of spoken English. Even in their interactions with the Deaf world, some of the interviewees reported their identity as hearing people being made salient. For example, Tabitha explained that her parents had explicitly "raised us Hearing," with linguistic consequences that she felt the need to defend to deaf peers who were unimpressed with her signing skills:

(6) That was considered a big disgrace, to the deaf kids of deaf parents, that I couldn't sign on their level. And like, there were many times that like, I would tell a deaf child, you know, I'm hearing, I'm hearing, I talk.
HEARING HEARING TALK

In addition to such social influences, the modality difference between spoken and signed languages may be a possible factor in hearing children's language choices. Unlike spoken languages when addressed to hearing people, signed languages

require the addressee's visual attention. In the videos of the observed families, signed utterances were more likely to be preceded by an explicit attention-getting cue such as waving or calling someone's name than spoken utterances were (Pizer 2010). When addressing someone hearing—even a sibling who knows sign—the children may prefer to skip the extra step of making sure that they have the addressee's visual attention. The effect of this potential motivation for an increased use of spoken language requires further research.

9.4.2 Prioritizing Unimpeded Communication

In the face of such pressures toward spoken English and the evidence that many of the interviewees were not fluent signers, it could be tempting to label the families' language policies as unsuccessful. However, if success is defined by the language ideologies of the families themselves, this outcome should not be considered failure, because it does not appear that the family members saw balanced bilingualism as the goal for the children. When the interviewees were evaluating their own or others' communicative behavior, and when the deaf parents were interviewed and asked about the signing of their children, none of them criticized a hearing child of deaf parents for not signing like a deaf person. Admittedly, Example (6) above shows Tabitha running into this issue with deaf people outside the home; nevertheless, nobody reported such criticism inside the home. Instead, when anybody criticized family members for linguistic behavior, that behavior was almost always a language or modality choice that failed to forestall potential communication barriers. As analyzed in greater detail in Pizer et al. (2012), it appears that having unimpeded communication between family members is the goal in these families, rather than use of any particular language. They are in a situation where ease of communication cannot be assumed, because the different family members have different degrees of access to particular languages and language modalities. If the families are operating under a language ideology that values forestalling potential communication barriers, all of the families in this study can be judged as at least partially successful.

In the context of the multiple communicative options shown in Fig. 9.1 above, it is not surprising that there was significant variation both in linguistic ability and in linguistic behavior in the families studied. As mentioned previously, a few of the hearing children are fluent native signers of ASL. Others sign ASL less fluently; some use a form of sign that is grammatically closer to English, mix in a lot of spoken English with their signing, or include many English words in their signing by fingerspelling them using the manual alphabet. All of the people I observed or interviewed know at least some sign, but some of them have siblings who do not. Recognizing communication rather than fluency in a particular language as the goal makes some sense of this wide variation. While all of the parents are deaf, they vary in how much residual hearing they have and in the related ability to lipread. In those families where both parents can understand a message in spoken English—even if

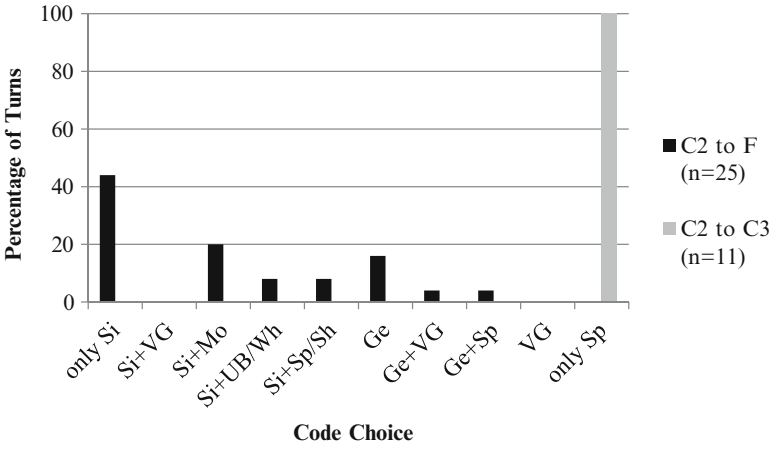

Fig. 9.2 Middle child's code choices when addressing his father and younger brother (*Si* sign, *Ge* gesture, *Sp* speech, *Sh* shout, *Wh* whisper, *UB* under breath, *Mo* mouthing, *VG* vocal gesture (e.g., squeals, shrieks, sound effects))

they might prefer it to be signed—there is at least one child who either knows only how to fingerspell or cannot sign at all. In those families where speech is useless for functional communication with at least one parent, every child knows at least some sign of some kind.

9.4.3 Flexible Communication Skills

Even when the hearing children are skilled signers, as in the observed families, they did not restrict themselves to ASL in the home, but instead tended to design their language choices for reception by their addressees, with occasional but rare adaptation for unaddressed participants in the interaction (cf. Pizer 2008). This design is evident in Fig. 9.2, which shows the language behavior of the 5 year-old in the family of younger boys (labeled in the figure as C2, i.e., "child 2") during a game of bingo with his father (F) and younger brother (C3). Every communicative turn in the episode was coded for which elements of visual or auditory communication it included. During this game, every time that the boy addressed his hearing brother, he used only spoken English. When he addressed his father, he always conveyed his message visually, either in sign or in gesture. The largest category of turns to his father consisted of sign alone, but he also sometimes mouthed, whispered, or spoke English words while signing.

The language choices of the children in this family varied not only by whether the addressee was hearing or deaf, but also depending on which parent they were addressing. Figure 9.3 shows the language use of the same child while he was playing a marble game with his mother and brothers. During this episode, almost 60 % of the

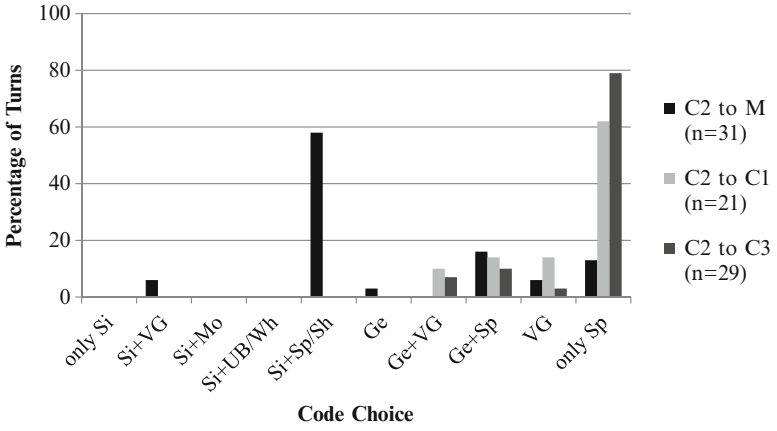

Fig. 9.3 Middle child's code choices when addressing his mother and brothers

turns he addressed to his mother contained elements of both sign and speech. He never addressed her in sign alone—the most frequent way that he addressed his father—and he occasionally addressed her with without any sign or gesture at all. The mother in this family has somewhat more hearing and better lipreading skills than the father, so the children's spoken utterances were somewhat more accessible to her.

On the one hand, this behavior shows this child's flexible communication skills, and in the fact that he communicated smoothly with both parents, these graphs show a success story for the family's language policies. On the other hand, when interviewed, this mother said that she understands the children better when they turn off their voices and just sign: that way they sign more clearly and more completely. She sometimes asks the children to do so, and they comply when asked, but she does not insist on it for every interaction, and her requests do not appear to have a lasting effect across interactions.

A number of the adult interviewees reported similar adaptations in how they address each parent. For example, the brothers Derek and Craig described their signing variety as "English sign language," i.e., signs from ASL in English word order, sometimes called *contact sign* or *pidgin sign English (PSE)* (cf. Lucas and Valli 1992). They said that they use more sign with their mother and include more speech and fingerspelling when addressing their father. However, they recognized the increased clarity of utterances only in sign even for deaf people like their father who can understand a good amount of spoken English. They reported that when they are discussing a serious topic with him, they use almost exclusively sign.

Like the children in the family of younger boys who use more speech with their mother than she would prefer, the 18 year-old brother of interviewee Allison communicates with his parents in a way that does not match their preferences but that is nevertheless effective. Allison was somewhat critical of him for not signing with their parents, as she does.

(7) *Allison:* My brother is very much opposed … to anything that will put him out. So it's just easier for him to rely on (over-enunciating) *talking to my parents like this*, than have to come up with the signs. … And, uh, my parents never try to force sign language on us, so of course, however he wants to communicate is ok with them.

…

Ginger: If he's talking to them, can they basically get what he's saying?

Allison: Yeah, … at least I think he understands that he has to enunciate very clearly. You can't just keep your lips closed and talk through your teeth and expect to be understood. Um, so, he's good about that, and they're so used to the way that he talks anyway that I think that they're extra sensitive to what he says, and everything.

…

Ginger: Will they just talk back to him or will they–

Allison: I mean, they'll, they'll sign and talk back to him. Because they're still trying to give him like an understanding of sign. So they'll still sign, so that he can see them and hopefully associate the signs with what they're saying. But they will have to also talk to him usually, to get their message across back to him.

The members of this family are able to communicate with each other, but it seems that Allison's parents are still hoping for their son to pick up sign. Still, his behavior is consistent with their relatively laissez-faire language policy. As Allison said, "my parents never try to force sign language on us": they do not push their preferences to the point of turning off their own voices if that means impeding communication. Their son adapts to their communicative needs by making sure that his speech is optimized for them to lipread, and they seem to accept this adaptation as sufficient.

9.4.4 Conflicting Preferences for Communication Between Siblings

Even though what the children in these families do when addressing their parents is not necessarily exactly what the parents prefer, all of the families seem to have figured out something that works. All of the adult interviewees described their own communication with their parents as "easy" or "natural": parent-child communication is relatively unimpeded. However, one area where parents' efforts to impose a language policy consistently run into trouble is when the hearing siblings are addressing each other in the presence of their parents. In Figs. 9.2 and 9.3 above, the gray lines showing how the child addressed his brothers all cluster on the right side of the graph: he always addressed them in speech, occasionally with co-speech gesture. This behavior means that deaf parents do not necessarily have access to what the children are saying to each other in their presence.

The example below from the family of older boys shows such an interaction that occurred while the 4 year-old (Calvin) and the 11 year-old (Jason) were playing

with Tinkertoys with their mother. In this case, the mother asked for a signed translation of what the boys were saying to each other.

(8)
Jason:	<gives Calvin some Tinkertoys> Here, Calvin, make a car.
Calvin:	Okay.
Mother:	<taps Jason on the arm> SAY YOU?
Jason:	CAR. MAKE CAR.
Calvin:	I'm making a car.
…	
Mother:	<waves at Calvin> SAY YOU?
Calvin:	ME SAY ME MAKE CAR.

These children easily obliged with translations when asked, but such requests did not seem to have a permanent effect on how the siblings addressed each other, especially the younger brothers. The oldest brothers in the two families of boys did sometimes spontaneously include signs with speech when addressing their brothers in the presence of their parents.

Many of the interviewees described this issue—hearing siblings addressing each other only in speech in the presence of their parents—as being problematic for their families. In the example below, April described how it played out in her family. (She began in response to a question about why she thought her parents had not corrected errors in her ASL.)

(9) I think they didn't want to be, I guess, tyrannical, or whatever that word is, parents, and I know that that's the reason, cause they told me, why they never forced us to sign while talking. And I wish that they had, cause I think that would have done us a lot of good, as far as our signing skills.... I think that they didn't want, they didn't want to be, oppressive, I guess. Because I kind of think that in their minds, they thought of it as, what if it was the other way around. And I'm sure maybe that had something to do with their experiences as children, because a lot of times deaf people are expected to conform to hearing, y'know, the English language and everything.

…

I was in high school before my parents finally were like, uh, y'know, it kinda hurts our feelings that you never sign and talk at the same time. Because I think that they kind of thought that we would just pick up on it, and just do it of our own accord. But we never did…. Several times from that time on they'd be like, could you sign and talk at the same time? What are you saying? Y'know, it hurts our feelings. And I felt horrible for years. I was just like, I can't believe we've been doing this all of our lives. And even now, it's so hard for me to do it, and I would forget a lot, and I would be like, oh, I'm a horrible person, y'know, I just would feel so bad.

April expressed extreme guilt feelings about the fact that her parents are often excluded in conversations between siblings. Nevertheless, to some degree, she attributed her failings to a lack of strictness in family language policy on the part of her parents. In Example (7) above, Allison also talked about her parents not "forcing" sign on her and her brother. The parents' hesitancy to enforce a strict family language policy is possibly, according to April, a reaction to having had spoken

English imposed on them as children: they did not want to similarly impose a particular language or language practice on their own children. The interviewee Tabitha, quoted above insisting on her right to be Hearing and to talk, had a similar explanation for her parents' language policy and childrearing choices. She said that her parents were always very clear that the children were hearing, and were being raised Hearing. They themselves, as deaf children, had been raised with oral education in the Hearing world and never really fit in. According to Tabitha, they did not want to force their children into the same sort of position. This explanation for a flexible family language policy seems to rest on the assumption that the natural language of deaf people is sign, and the natural language of hearing people is speech. In keeping with a language ideology that values forestalling communication barriers, all family members should adapt for the purpose of overcoming such barriers. However, many of the family members appear to feel that trying to control people's language use is inappropriate given any other motivation.

In the case of siblings addressing each other when the parents are present, many of the parents seem uncomfortable simply telling the children they have to sign and not talk to each other. Instead, they encourage the children to sign at the same time as they talk, which is in fact physically possible. However, interviewee after interviewee talked about how hard this behavior was to do consistently and how it simply did not work. As described above, code-blending (producing occasional signs along with speech) is commonly observed among bimodal bilinguals, but this behavior is very different from the more difficult SimCom (producing a complete grammatical message in both English and ASL at once). It is not surprising that only the few interviewees who are highly trained and experienced interpreters reported being good at SimCom, and no one in the study preferred it as a communication strategy.

The degree of the deaf parents' willingness to impose a strict family language policy may vary somewhat generationally. In interviews with the parents of the observed families, all explicitly expressed the opinion that it is important for deaf parents to use only sign with their young children, that this is the natural way for the families to communicate, and that the children will easily learn spoken English outside the home. The parents in both families of boys described sometimes giving the children explicit instructions on language choice. In the example below, the mother in the family of older boys explained her views on the issue of language use between siblings (translated from ASL).

(10) If I see the kids talking together, I'll ask them to sign for me, please. Yeah, that happens all the time. At the table at meal time, I tell them, the rule here is that we all sign. If they're talking to each other, sometimes one will tell me what the others are saying. Sometimes they say, just drop it, but that's not fair.

As shown in Example (8) above, these children are accustomed to and skilled at translating when asked; however, during a videotaped dinner with their parents, they

addressed each other in speech the vast majority of the time. In the observed families, the parents' choices of how to address the children seem to have had a strong impact on their sign language acquisition, in that all of the observed children are fluent signers, unlike some of the adult interviewees. However, despite explicit instructions, the parents have less than full control over how the siblings address each other.

The observed parents' attitudes about sign as the natural language of their families contrast strongly with those of Sara's parents. The oldest of the interviewees, she reported that when she was growing up in the 1950s, her parents signed to each other but spoke to the children, feeling that spoken language was the natural language of hearing people. Sara's mother was reportedly embarrassed to sign in public, using speech or hiding her signs when out shopping, for example. Of Sara's three younger siblings, one learned no sign until he reached his 40s and took ASL classes to enable a closer relationship with his parents; another knows only how to fingerspell. The attitudes and family language policies of Sara's parents changed along with the growing prestige of sign language in the late twentieth century. When they spent time with Sara's children, Sara intentionally refrained from interpreting between them, and the deaf grandparents taught their hearing grandchildren to sign.

9.5 Conclusion

Despite differences in the patterns of language use in these 16 deaf-parented families, their family language policies all seem to be oriented around a similar language ideology, one that places value on unimpeded communication between family members rather than on specific languages, on the idea of fluent bilingualism, or on approval from the Deaf or Hearing communities. Family language policies in service of this ideology are relatively successful in these families in that all have clear communication between parents and children. The only hearing children who do not sign (siblings of interviewees) have parents who can comprehend their spoken messages, even though they may prefer to receive sign. The universal success in parent-child communication in these families is a significant improvement over other places and other times in which signed languages were highly stigmatized. Even in twenty-first century America, in a context of relatively high prestige for ASL, the hearing children in these families face pressures toward spoken English including the language use of their peers, salient distinctions between Hearing and Deaf social identities, and possibly the increased efficiency of a code that does not require obtaining their addressees' visual attention. These pressures likely contribute to the fact that these children generally address their hearing siblings in speech, even though that choice may exclude their parents from the conversation. This point may in fact not be best considered a failure of family language policy, at least in the case of the families of the interviewed adults. Perhaps in reaction to their own childhood

experiences, many of the deaf parents appear hesitant to impose a strict family language policy in service of any goal beyond unimpeded parent-child communication. In these families where ease of communication cannot be assumed, achievement of that goal should be considered success.

Appendix A. Questions for the Interviews of the Deaf Parents

1. Can you tell me about your background? Do you have deaf parents or other deaf family members? If not, where did you learn to sign? What is your educational background?
2. How do you and your children usually communicate with each other?
3. When your kid(s) were little, did you think about what language you were going to use with them, or was it just automatic?
4. Has language choice ever been an issue or problem in the family, e.g., with extended family members?
5. Do you have to remind your kids to sign?
6. If you sign with your kids, where did they learn English? Were there ever any issues or problems with their English, e.g., when starting school?
7. Has the way that you communicate with your children changed as they have gotten older?
8. Do you think the way you communicate with your children would be different if they were deaf?
9. How would you characterize the sign language skills of your child(ren)? Do they sign like deaf people?
10. Are there differences between your children in how they sign? If so, why do you think that is?
11. I noticed that [in an observed situation] you [communicated this way]. Is that typical for that kind of situation?
12. Do you think that everyone behaved pretty normally when I was videotaping? Is the videotaped interaction typical of how your family communicates when you're not being taped?
13. What is communication like between you and your children's teachers? Have there ever been any problems in how they react to your being deaf?
14. Do your children sometimes interpret for you? If so, in what kinds of situations would you like them to interpret, and in what kinds of situations do you not ask them to? Why?
15. Is communication in your family like that in other families you know with deaf parents and hearing kids? How would you compare them?
16. If you had deaf friends who had just had a hearing baby who asked you for advice on raising hearing kids, what would you tell them?
17. I've noticed that there's a lot of variation in how well CODAs sign – why do you think this is?

Appendix B. Questions for the Interviews of Hearing Adults with Deaf Parents

B.1. Language Assessment

1. How would you characterize your variety of sign (ASL, Signed English, etc.)?
2. What was your first language?
3. What is your dominant language? If it's changed, when did it change?
4. When seeing you sign, do Deaf people ever mistake you for Deaf?
5. Can you comfortably discuss professional or academic topics in sign?
6. In a professional or academic discussion carried out in sign, how often do you have to paraphrase, pantomime, or fingerspell to make up for not knowing a sign?
7. Can you easily have a casual conversation with someone you don't know?
8. Can you easily have a casual conversation with someone you know?
9. Can you easily have a casual conversation with your parents?
10. In a casual conversation carried out in sign, how often do you have to paraphrase, pantomime, or fingerspell to make up for not knowing a sign?
11. Can you tell an anecdote or story most easily, quickly, and completely in sign or in speech, or are the two the same?
12. Can you comfortably communicate basic information to people you don't know?
13. Can you comfortably communicate basic information to people you know?
14. When signing with a Deaf person, if you don't know or can't think of a sign, what do you do most often? (paraphrase/pantomime/fingerspell/other/give up on trying to communicate that concept)
15. When Deaf people you don't know sign to you, how much do you understand?
16. When Deaf people you know sign to you, how much do you understand?
17. When your parents sign to you, how much do you understand?

B.2. Main Interview

1. How do you and your parents communicate? How much speech do your parents use? Has this changed across your lifetime?
2. Parents' education? How did they learn sign?
3. When you were growing up, did your parents sign to you the same way that they did to each other? Do you think your being hearing affected they way the signed to you?
4. When you were growing up, did you interpret for your parents? If so, in what kinds of situations? Describe one.
5. Do you think that technologies like TTY, captions, etc., made a difference in how/how much you/your sibling(s) interpret(ed) for your parents? Did you interpret TV programs?

6. Are there deaf people in your extended family? Grandparents?
7. If you have siblings, would you say you all sign the same way, or are there differences? If differences, can you think of reasons for them?
8. Do you and your siblings have a similar degree of connection to the Deaf community?
9. Was learning English ever an issue for you? Where did you hear spoken English as a very young child?
10. Now, or as a child, does your sign affect your English, or vice versa?
11. Do you feel like you're part of the Deaf community? Why/why not? Feel accepted by?
12. Would you describe yourself as hearing or Deaf or both or neither or something else?
13. How strongly would you say you identify with Deaf culture?
14. How important is it to you to be able to sign well? How would you define "signing well"?
15. Do you work in/with the Deaf community? Why did you make this job choice?
16. Do you have contact with other CODAs (besides your siblings)?
17. How do you feel about the term CODA? Does it describe who you are? When did you first hear the term?
18. Do you know other families with Deaf parents and hearing children? How do those families compare to yours?
19. Did/do you sign with anyone other than your parents?
20. Do you and your sibling usually sign or talk to each other? In which situations do you do which? Are you likely to sign in noisy situations, or at a distance? Is this the same as when you were growing up, or has it changed?
21. When you signed outside the home, did you ever feel like people were watching you? Did it bother you, or didn't you care? Did you ever sign outside the home so other people couldn't understand you? Same now, or changes over time?
22. Did you and your sibling ever talk to each other so your parents wouldn't know what you were saying? If so, did it work?
23. When you were growing up, did you have deaf friends your age? Do you have deaf friends now?
24. Do you (often) sign and speak at the same time? In what kind of situations? Ever when the person you're talking to doesn't know sign? If signing and speaking simultaneously, do the sign and speech influence each other?
25. Do you ever talk with ASL-like word order/grammar? If so, is this just for a short time (say, one sentence), or might you have a whole conversation this way?
26. Was language use (either sign or speech) ever an area of conflict in your home? Did people (parents, grandparents, etc.) explicitly tell you to sign or to speak, or how to do either?
27. How did your teachers react to your having deaf parents? Reaction of hearing friends?
28. If/when you have children, do/will they learn to sign? Why/why not?

29. Could you imagine marrying a Deaf person? Or another CODA? Would connection to deafness make any difference?
30. What advice would you give to young deaf parents with a new hearing baby?
31. I've noticed that there's a lot of variation in how well CODAs sign – why do you think this is?

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Chapter 10
Unity in Discourse, Diversity in Practice: The One Person One Language Policy in Bilingual Families

Åsa Palviainen and Sally Boyd

10.1 Introduction

When parents with different first languages have a child, the question arises as to what language or languages the new family should use.[1] Most parents wish for their child to learn both their first languages (Tuominen 1999). There exists a large body of literature on language strategies used in raising children bilingually. These include scientific studies (e.g. Döpke 1992; Lanza 1997; Juan-Garau and Pérez-Vidal 2001; Barron-Hauwaert 2004; De Houwer 2009) as well as more popularly oriented literature, such as parental guides (e.g. Saunders 1988; Arnberg 1988; Baker 2000; Harding-Esch and Riley 2003; Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson 2004). Typically, researchers as well as parents seek to find a strategy which optimizes bilingual language proficiency outcomes. A common strategy intended to achieve this is that the parents each consistently speak their first language to their child; this is known as the one person – one language (OPOL) strategy (Ronjat 1913; Leopold 1970).

However, as we will see below, it is rare that families who say they use the OPOL strategy actually strictly adhere to it in everyday life. This fact shows the complexity of the issue, which has also been pointed out by Schwartz (2010, p. 177):

[1]This study is based on data collected and transcribed by Janni Lehtonen and Terhi Valli (2012). We gratefully acknowledge their permission to use the data.

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M. Schwartz and A. Verschik (eds.), *Successful Family Language Policy: Parents, Children and Educators in Interaction*, Multilingual Education 7,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-7753-8_10, © Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2013

"…the declared language ideology of one or both parents does not necessarily coincide with the strategies followed consciously or unconsciously in language practice with children". The study of family language policy thus needs to take into account not only what beliefs and ideologies the family members have and efforts they make to accomplish certain goals, by e.g. applying OPOL, but also what they do with language in day-to-day interactions (King et al. 2008). Both laymen and researchers who advise using this strategy to achieve bilingualism rarely discuss situations that might lead to departures from this general OPOL rule, as well as the ways children themselves become agents in the family's language strategy or policy (Luykx 2005; Gafaranga 2010).

This study aims at understanding and describing how a language policy is co-constructed, by its members, within three different bilingual Swedish-Finnish families in a Finnish-speaking part of Finland, i.e. at a certain point in time and space. The parents have different first languages but all are bilingual in varying degrees. The families have a 3–4 year old child at the time of data collection, who is raised bilingually reportedly using the OPOL policy. The aim is not primarily to search for relationships between applications of OPOL and their bilingual outcomes for this child, but rather to analyze how the family members explain, give support for and enact their policies. More specifically, we are interested in identifying the commonalities of the FLP's as co-constructed by the three families, as well as differences among them.

10.2 FLP as a Semi-planned, Dynamic and Jointly Constructed Enterprise

King et al. (2008, p. 907) define family language policy as "explicit (Shohamy 2006) and overt (Schiffman 1996) planning in relation to language use within the home among family members". Although language planning is usually seen as something carried out by states, language planning can thus also be performed by individuals and apply to a family context (Piller 2001). Piller (2001, p. 62) uses the term 'private language planning' to refer to "language planning practices of individuals, specifically parents who plan the linguistic future of the children". She is drawing on Grosjean (1982) who talked about childhood bilingualism as "a planned affair" and of a "planned bilingualism in the family" in referring to parents who make a conscious decision to raise their children bilingually.

The word planning indeed implies that policies regarding language use are made explicitly by the parents (or other individuals or states), to achieve a certain goal. However, we suggest, and attempt to demonstrate, that many of the decisions and practices performed as part of the creation and maintenance of an FLP are not necessarily explicit, overt or planned. As Schwartz (2010, p. 180) reports, family decisions of language use within bilingual families "do not always involve clear processes and arise at times spontaneously, without discussion." Schwartz also refers to Spolsky and Shohamy (1999) who contend that the absence of an explicit

decision concerning initial language choice in communication with the children may be interpreted as the absence of a *conscious and motivated* FLP [our italics]. In this study, we will use the term FLP in a broader sense than in the definition provided by King et al. (2008), and include also less explicit, less overt and less conscious language decisions and practices in a family as part of FLP.

The environment in which the family and its policy are situated has an important impact on FLP and the child's bilingualism in relation to it. Most studies of early simultaneous bilingual language development, from Ronjat (1913) and Leopold (1970) onwards, tend to focus on the unfolding language competence of the individual child. Snow and Ferguson (1977) began a strong strand of research focusing on interaction between parents and children in monolingual development. Lanza (1997) and others have extended this research to early bilingualism. We believe that further research in this area needs to take more consideration of the wider sociolinguistic context of the bi-/ or multilingual child's language development as recent studies of FLP have begun to do (e.g. King et al. 2008). This wider context includes the status of different languages in the national and local area where the child is growing up, the language policy (in the broad sense) of various institutional contexts in which the child may spend time (e.g. daycare, public play environments, religious contexts) and family and private interactions outside of the nuclear family, including both grandparents and other relatives, adult interlocutors, siblings and age peers.

It is also well known that the language use and language policy in the family may change in response to changes in the external context: the move from one area to another, a summer stay in another country (Lanza 1997), the visit of a monolingual relative, the birth of a sibling, new friends (Lanza and Svendsen 2007), starting pre-school (Lanza 1997) or school (Juan-Garau and Pérez-Vidal 2001), the family's changing language proficiencies and preferences (Tuominen 1999; Luykx 2005). It is certainly possible to attempt to describe the FLP of a family at a certain point in time, while FLP's may also remain relatively stable over a longer period of time. However, a FLP is by its very nature dynamic and fluctuating and subject to re-negotiation during the ongoing life of a family. Rontu (2005) shows, for example, how FLP, dominance and code-switching strategies change over time in her longitudinal study of two Finnish-Swedish bilingual families.

In this chapter, space does not allow us to take all these important actors and contexts involved in early childhood multilingualism into consideration in describing the three families' language policies. However, we include a short description of the language situation in bilingual Finland, as well as short descriptions of how the six parents acquired and learned Finnish and Swedish, which provides some context for the bilingual development of the three children who are in focus in this study. Moreover, although research literature, and particularly parental guides, often point to the importance of the parents' decision-making for language use in bilingual families, there are also studies acknowledging the role of children in forming FLP's (cf. Tuominen 1999; Luykx 2005; Gafaranga 2010). In this study, we see the children in the families as important participants and co-constructors of the FLP. Their role will be particularly evident in our analysis of the examples of interaction in the family.

10.3 Language Strategies as Part of FLP

Importantly, language strategies such as OPOL – whether consciously employed or not – are not the same thing as FLP, but a part of it. Cross (2009, p. 28), working within a Vygotskian sociocultural framework, suggests that policy functions as a mediating tool between "a broader macrocontext for human activity that then unfolds within the microcontextual domain as actual, concrete practice". In other words, certain language strategies may help a family in navigating the language use in everyday practice and are at the same time "manifestations of values, attitudes, and understandings of those who use them" (Cross 2009, p. 30). Despite this inherent dynamicity and complexity, Piller (2001, p. 63) contends that the identification of parental strategies has tended to be only a side-issue in literature on childhood bilingualism and "a back-drop against which the child's bilingualism acquisition occurs". The very use of the term *parental strategies* also points to a previous focus on strategies employed only by *parents*. Again, it should be pointed out that the mono-/bilingual nature of the parent–child interaction is mutually constructed and not completely controlled by the parent's choice (Mishina-Mori 2011). Also this thinking tends to neglect the importance of the wider context of family interaction.

Piller (2001), summarizing previous studies, distinguishes between four major types of language strategy that may be employed in a variety of bilingual settings, (disregarding the distinction between native- and non-native speaking parents): One person – one language (OPOL), Home language vs. community language, Code-switching and language mixing and Consecutive introduction of the two languages (see also e.g. Romaine 1995; Grosjean 2010). Clearly, the OPOL strategy is the best-known one among bilingual families as well as among educators and has become axiomatic in recommendations from both professional and lay sources. Parents with different first languages (at least when they come from the middle class and Western society) tend to consider it to be the most natural strategy and the best way to balanced bilingualism in the child, especially, but not only, when the parents have different language backgrounds (Piller 2001, p. 65). Beginning with the classical study of Ronjat (1913), studies on early bilingual language development of children in families employing the OPOL strategy by far outnumber studies where other parental strategies are used (e.g. Döpke 1992; Lanza 1997; Barron-Hauwaert 2004). However, two surveys presented by De Houwer (2009, pp. 110–111), comprising over 1,500 bilingual families in Flanders (De Houwer 2007) and Japan (Yamamoto 2001), showed that strict use of OPOL was rare. Rather, the two most common patterns of language use reported in bilingual families were that both parents addressed children in the same two languages, and a pattern where one parent addressed children using only one language, while the other parent used the same language plus another one. OPOL turned up as only the third most commonly reported strategy. Moreover, De Houwer (2009, p. 109) shows that parents who generally adhere to the OPOL strategy report occasionally switching languages or using mixed utterances. Hence, in practice, it is probably very rare that families strictly apply OPOL (if this is indeed possible), but they may use the strategy as a main principle to follow and a tool to use in the everyday family language practice.

Piller (2001) examined parental arguments and discussions about how to raise a child bilingually by collecting naturally-occurring, written and published data from English-medium parental newsletters and internet sites based in Germany. In addition, she interviewed 51 couples, most of whom lived in a German-speaking or an English-speaking country. She found four major themes in the discourses used by the parents. First, *childhood bilingualism as an investment*, where early bilingual language acquisition was regarded to happen without effort and result in "native-like" proficiency in both languages. Early bilingualism was then seen as a gift, an investment in the future of the children and as an "asset". Second, *the importance of the consistent application of a strategy*, where the necessity of being strict and consistent in the application of a certain language strategy is pronounced, often by using adverbs such as "always" and "never". The third issue brought up by parents which is related to the first theme, was *the importance of starting at an early age*. There was a strong belief expressed, that in order for languages to develop "unconsciously" and "naturally", the children should receive bilingual input from as early an age as possible, preferably from birth. If exposed to language only at a later point, the argument goes that the process of language learning will include much more of conscious effort. Finally, there was a theme of *balanced bilingualism as the expected outcome and measure of success*. The common assumption was that, "if the parents do the right thing, their children will be highly proficient, balanced bilinguals" (Piller 2001, p. 76).

The issues raised by the parents in Piller's study are commonly recurring discourses in society but the parental views are not necessarily grounded in research. Piller as well as King and Fogle (2006) show how parents draw on the experiences of other families (e.g. family acquaintances, internet sites and newsletters), parental guides and popular literature, but understandably only rarely or very selectively on research literature (Moin et al. 2013). This may lead to unrealistic expectations, disappointment and self-doubt when goals based on popularized views are not achieved, for example, if OPOL does not seem to lead to balanced bilingualism. It was also commonly the case that parents' own personal experiences with language learning tend to be of importance for how decisions on language use are made (King and Fogle 2006). As we shall see, this was also the case in the families in our study.

In order to describe a family's language policy, there is thus a need to analyze on the one hand language strategies as a reflex of the language ideology, social context and personal experiences of the family members, and on the other hand, how these language strategies are enacted in interaction. There is need for a structural, but at the same time flexible and dynamic framework integrating the separate components of language beliefs or ideologies, language practices and efforts of language management (Schwartz 2010, p. 172). For this purpose, we use nexus analysis (Scollon and Scollon 2004), which can be regarded as a discourse analytical tool of meta-methodology (Hult 2010), primarily used within ethnographic sociolinguistics. Although nexus analysis has been used in other areas of research, this is the first major attempt at using it for family language policy; we would like to show its potential for research in this area.

10.4 Co-construction of FLP as a Nexus Point

The core of nexus analysis is to identify social actions and, to find the crucial actors carrying out these actions, to observe the interaction order and to determine the most significant recurring discourses in the actions (Scollon and Scollon 2004, p. 154). The social action – the nexus – to be examined in this study is thus the co-construction of an FLP, and especially the role of OPOL in it. The empirical materials to be used are parental interviews in combination with audio-recordings of everyday interaction in the families.

Nexus analysis is about understanding how people, objects, and discourses circulate through a certain identified nexus and how these are linked together (Scollon and Scollon 2004, p. viii). In nexus analysis, social action, i.e. "any action taken by an individual with reference to a social network" (Scollon and Scollon 2004, p. 11), is at the core. However, although a social action may be thought of as a single unique moment, such as a teacher handing over an exam paper to a student in a university class, social action can be interpreted flexibly and in a wider sense, depending on the research perspective and the social issue of interest. The nexus might, for instance, refer to a newspaper debate with many actors (Boyd and Palviainen under review), policy implementations (Hult 2010) or a multilingual site (Pietikäinen 2010). King et al. (2008) refer to the bilingual family in the latter sense:

> The family unit, therefore, can be seen as a site in which language ideologies are both formed and enacted through caregiver-child interactions. It is within the family unit, and particularly bi- or multilingual families, that macro- and micro-processes can be examined as dominant ideologies intersect and compete with local or individual views on language and parenting. (King et al. 2008, p. 914).

This characterization of the family unit as a site where macro- and micro-processes intersect illustrates very well the idea of nexus: "[B]roader social issues are ultimately grounded in the micro-actions of social interaction and, conversely, the most mundane of micro-actions are nexus through which the largest cycles of social organization and activity circulate" (Scollon and Scollon 2004, p. 8).

The nexus of this study is a joint social action, rather than a site. This means that we analyze the acts of negotiating FLP among individual family members. The joint social action – the nexus – is thus referred to as the *co-construction of FLP by the family members at a certain point in time and space*. Importantly, a nexus is built up by many social actions and aggregates of discourses and is in that sense multi-layered. For all nexuses and social actions it is the case that that they occur at the intersection of *the historical body* of the participants, *the interaction order* and the *discourses in place* (see Fig. 10.1).

The *historical body* refers to the history of personal experience, beliefs and attitudes within an individual engaging in a certain action. In our study, this refers to all members of the family, including the children, and may be previous experiences of and beliefs about language use and learning. These are not necessarily linguistically encoded, explicitly formulated or even conscious, but play a role for how the social

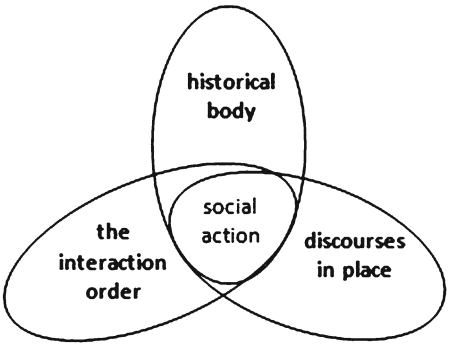

Fig. 10.1 The three elements of social action (Scollon and Scollon 2004, p. 154)

action is carried out. The concept of *interaction order* is based on Goffman's work (e.g. 1983) and will in this study refer to family language practice, such as interactional rules, expectations and norms, e.g. who speaks what language, when, where and how. The use of OPOL as a language strategy is an example of an interaction order which the participators may follow or reject. The environment – the home, the daycare center, the supermarket etc. – is part of the interaction order, as well the participants in the interaction and whether the talk takes place around the dinner table or while playing a game. The *discourses in place* (henceforth DIP) refer in Scollon and Scollon's terms to all types of discourses circulating through a nexus (including for instance materials, tools, pictures) but we will use discourses in a more linguistic sense in this study. DIP in this study refers to explicit discourses about strategies (i.e. about the interaction order) and beliefs (historical body). The parental discourses provided in Piller (2001) and Schwartz et al. (2011) seem to be examples of DIP in this sense.

10.5 Finland – A Bilingual State by Constitution

In order to understand the context of the study, it is important to know that Finnish- and Swedish-speakers have lived in what today is Finland since at least the twelfth-century (McRae 2007, p. 14). The area was an integral part of the Swedish realm for six centuries, until it became an autonomous Grand Duchy under the Russian czars in 1809. Finland gained its independence just over 100 years later, in 1917, in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution. Swedish was the language of administration during the long period of unity with Sweden; during the century of Russian domination, Finnish developed into a modern all-purpose language prior to independence. Although Swedish was the first language of only about 13 % of the population, by the time Finland gained independence, Swedish and Finnish were given equal status in the first Finnish constitution of 1919. The original Language Act, which regulates the use of the two languages, dates from 1922 and the equal status for Swedish and Finnish was confirmed in the renewal of the Language Act of 2004.

Each individual in Finland is assigned a linguistic affiliation (in terms of 'mother tongue') by his or her parents shortly after birth (or reported by the individual when settling in Finland, in the case of immigration). The population as a whole is currently about 90 % Finnish-speaking and 5.4 % Swedish-speaking (Statistics Finland 2012).[2] These numbers however must be interpreted with caution, since each person is only allowed to report one language. Although the proportion of Swedish-speakers has decreased over time in the census, the number of bilingual Finnish-Swedish speakers, i.e. persons growing up in families where the parents officially have different mother tongues, has increased (Tandefelt and Finnäs 2007). The census also serves as a base for the language policy of municipalities. If the proportion of Swedish-speakers is above 8 % in a town or municipality, it is categorized as bilingual. If the proportion falls under 6 %, it is categorized as monolingual Finnish. The rights to use language and to be given service in one's preferred language are guaranteed in bilingual municipalities and towns, while these services are limited to the majority in monolingual ones. Currently only the Åland islands and three small municipalities on the west coast are monolingual Swedish-speaking, whereas 30 are bilingual and the remaining 287 of Finland's 336 municipalities are monolingual Finnish.

The municipality where the families in this study live is situated in an officially monolingual Finnish-speaking community, with a very low proportion of Swedish-speakers. Despite this low proportion, there is Swedish-medium daycare available, as well as a Swedish-medium compulsory school (through grade 9). This means that the curriculum specifies that instruction should be in Swedish only; in practice, Finnish is used to varying degrees in Swedish-medium pre-schools and schools. The option of education in Swedish is thus available, not only in Swedish and bilingual communities, but also to some extent elsewhere. However, the area where the study takes place is very much dominated by Finnish and everyday contact with municipal service, such as e.g. healthcare or service in shops and so on in Swedish is very limited. To reproduce a discourse often heard: "you never hear Swedish in the streets here".

The system of "parallel monolingualism" (Heller 1999) in Finland, and the bilingual policy on the state level aiming at maintaining the two languages in Finland and allowing monolingual life styles on the individual level, means that the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland enjoys a high level of institutional completeness, to use Giles, Bourhis and Taylor's (1977) term. The maintenance of this situation is due to the constitutional protection of both languages' equal status; details of the language policy are debated with regular intervals, but the basic rights of both groups are only rarely seriously challenged. No political party has as part of its platform to make Finnish the only official language, although a couple of right-wing parties question some current policies such as the obligatory study of Swedish for Finnish-speakers and requirements of bilingualism for some civil service jobs (see e.g. Palviainen 2013; Hult and Pietikäinen 2014). In sum, it can be said that both

[2]Here and later, "Swedish-speaker" and "Finnish-speaker" refer to persons who have registered themselves as such in conjunction with the Finnish census.

languages enjoy relatively high status and bilingualism is, in general, positively valued, particularly among the better educated and among Swedish-speakers. At the same time, Swedish-speakers feel uneasy about the long-term future of their language in Finland, due to the steady decrease in the number of persons who register as Swedish-speakers in the census, the steadily decreasing number of Swedish monolingual or bilingual municipalities and the perennial challenges to the high level of institutional support for the Swedish-speaking minority.

10.6 Method

10.6.1 Data Collection Procedures

The families in this study were recruited through the Swedish-speaking daycare center in the city. The criteria for participation in the study were that there should be one child in the age of 3–4 years, one of the parents should have Swedish as his/her L1 and the other Finnish and they should express the goal of raising their child/children bilingually. Three families accepted to participate in the study. The data collection took place in two steps: first, an interview and second audio-recordings of everyday situations in the home setting.

Parents were interviewed by two researchers (Lehtonen and Valli 2012), in the homes of the families. Both parents in each family participated in the interviews and they could decide themselves which language to use in the interview; one family chose to perform the interview in Swedish and the other two in Finnish. The interview was semi-structured and had three major themes: background of the parents and their own language identities; the use of Swedish/Finnish in the family and in the environment; and the parents' beliefs on language identities of their child and the child's future. The children were also present in the interview situation but they were not actively involved in the interview. The interviews lasted for approximately 1 h and were tape-recorded and later transcribed. After the interview, tape-recorders were provided for the families and they were asked, during a 2-week-period, to record typical everyday situations at home. They were instructed to record at least two different types of situations; one by the dinner table with the whole family present and one play situation where the child was playing with a sibling or a friend. Besides these recommended situations, the recordings also covered situations of the families' own choice, such as book reading with a parent, playing board games, a family party and visiting grandparents. The number of recordings was evenly distributed among the families: 12 from family I, 10 from family S, and 13 from family L. The recordings varied in length, between 1 and 49 min, and in quality. Approximately 6 h of recorded interaction was analyzed. For the purpose of this chapter, one transcribed example of interaction from families I and M each, and two examples from family S, were selected to illustrate negotiations of interaction orders and child agency.

Table 10.1 Characteristics of the families by the time of the data collection (Data on target children in boldface)

	Children (Name of target child)	Age of children (years; months)	Start in pre-school (years; months)	Mother	Father
				L1	L1
Family I	**girl (Ida)**	**3;4**	**3;0**	Swedish (and Finnish)	Finnish
	boy	5;0	4;8		
Family S	**girl (Sara)**	**3;9**	**1;6**	Swedish	Finnish
	boy	2;0	1;6		
Family L	**boy (Luka)**	**4;0**	**3;0**	Finnish	Swedish and Finnish

10.6.2 Participants

By the time of the data collection, the target children were between 3 years and 4 months and 4 years old and two out of the three had a sibling (see Table 10.1).

The parents of the families had different backgrounds. Ida's mother grew up in a municipality on the west coast of Finland, where Swedish-speakers were in the majority. She reported two first languages – Swedish and Finnish – but the home language was Swedish as the father did not speak Finnish. Most of the extended family members were also Swedish-speakers. They spoke a dialect which differs in many respects from standard varieties of Finland-Swedish. She went to a Swedish-medium school, taking Finnish as a foreign language from Grade 3, at 9 years of age. Ida's father grew up in a monolingual Finnish-speaking area, in a monolingual Finnish-speaking family where Swedish was rarely heard or used. He attended a Finnish-medium school and studied Swedish only as a mandatory school-subject from Grade 7 (at 13 years of age). At the time when Ida's parents met, they moved together to a Finnish-speaking city and started their university studies. Ida's mother improved her Finnish skills considerably during this period. The parents then moved to another European country for a couple of years, where Ida's big brother was born, and then returned to the Finnish-speaking municipality where they live now. Ida was born soon after their return to Finland. The mother stayed home with the children until Ida was 3 years old and the brother about to turn 5, when both children started at the Swedish-speaking daycare center.

Sara's mother grew up in western part of Sweden in a Swedish-speaking environment[3] and before meeting Sara's father she had no particular connections with Finland or with Finnish-speakers. Sara's father grew up in a monolingual Finnish-speaking municipality and environment, and attended a Finnish-medium

[3]The variety of Swedish spoken in western Sweden and the standard variety of Swedish spoken in Finland are fully mutually intelligible. Both varieties have relatively high status. One of the varieties spoken by Ida's mother, however, is quite different from these varieties, and many speakers of other varieties of Swedish would find it difficult to understand it fully. It still enjoys high status, however, as a "genuine" dialect of Finland Swedish.

school. He studied Swedish as a school subject for 6 years but before meeting Sara's mother, but he did not actively use Swedish. After Sara's mother and father met, they moved to Sweden and stayed there for about 5 years. Sara was born during this period and she was about 1 year old when the family moved to Helsinki in Finland – officially a bilingual municipality – for half a year, before they moved to the current monolingual Finnish-speaking municipality. Sara's little brother was born soon after moving to Finland. Sara attended the Swedish-speaking daycare from the age of one and a half years, part-time, and eventually, by 3 years of age, full-time. Sara's little brother attended the same daycare.

Luka's mother came from a Finnish-speaking family and attended a Finnish-medium school. She studied Swedish as a foreign language from Grade 3 (at 9 years of age) and had bilingual friends, but she reported that the language of her childhood was mainly Finnish. Luka's father grew up in a bilingual home. The mother in the family – Luka's grandmother – had Swedish as her mother tongue and the father – Luka's grandfather – Finnish. In Luka's father's home, the parents used Finnish with each other but both used Swedish with the children. The siblings used Swedish with each other. Luka's father attended a Swedish-medium school and took Finnish-classes intended for mother tongue-speakers all the time he attended school. He had Swedish-speaking friends at primary school, and although the friends often used Finnish when talking to each other, he always used Swedish. Luka was born when his parents still lived in this village and when Luka turned three, the family moved to the monolingual Finnish-speaking city where the study was carried out. By the time of the study, Luka had attended the Swedish-speaking daycare there for 1 year.

10.7 Results and Discussion

The results of the nexus analysis will be presented in three parts. First, the language practices of the families, as the parents explicitly reported on them in the interviews, will be presented. The analysis also includes the parents' reports on how and why interaction orders have changed over time. Second, the discourses the parents used in the interviews to motivate the interaction orders are analyzed as discourses in place (DIP). These DIP's are analyzed as a reflex of the historical bodies (including beliefs, attitudes and personal experiences and ideologies). Third, the negotiations of interaction orders are analyzed through transcripts of tape-recorded interactions between family members. In particular, the children's active role in the negotiation of interaction orders is examined.

10.7.1 Interaction Orders as Described by the Parents

The analysis of the current OPOL interaction order in the families need to be seen in the light of the fact that four of the six parents in the study – all except for Luka's

father and to a certain extent Ida's mother – grew up in families where only one language was used as the means of communication. At the same time, all except for Sara's mother (who grew up in Sweden) came in contact with both languages to some extent during childhood. When they met their spouses, there were thus at least two shared languages in two of three families – Swedish and Finnish – and for all three families, over time, the proficiency in the less dominant language improved for all parents. Ida's as well as Luka's parents reported that the joint language mostly used in their communication was Finnish. However, Swedish was reported to be used occasionally, in certain situations and for certain purposes. Since Sara's mother did not know any Finnish when she met her spouse, the interaction order between her and Sara's father changed considerably over time: The common language in the beginning of their relationship was English, which later became Swedish mixed with English when they moved to Sweden and Sara's father needed Swedish at work. After moving to Finland, Sara's mother reported that she actively worked on learning Finnish (taking some courses, using Finnish at work and with friends) and by the time of the study, the parents reported to use "about 70 % Finnish and 30 % Swedish" in their joint communication.

It should be noted that we did not explicitly ask in the interview for a description of possible changes in the joint communication habits over time. But the parents themselves were eager to explain that their use had shifted its nature over time, depending on factors such as where they lived, their own and the spouse's language proficiency and the shifting language requirements at work. The interaction order over time had thus been organic, changing its shape due to individual factors, dynamics within the relationships of the parents and outer circumstances. Although the interview aimed to find out what the current interaction order of the families was, the parents all seemed to have a need for explaining and describing its historical body. Moreover, except for Sara's mother who made an active decision to learn Finnish when moving to Finland and therefore deliberately introduced Finnish in the joint communication with Sara's father, the agreements of language use between the parents seem to have appeared automatically and with no major discussion or planning of language use (for similar findings, see Okita 2002).

The birth of the children introduced further dynamics into the interaction orders. In Ida's and Luka's families, where the joint language of the parents was Finnish, Swedish enjoyed a more prominent role than before. All three families were explicit about making use of a principle which demanded that one parent speak Finnish to and with the child and the other Swedish. In other words, they applied an OPOL policy. In Sara's family, the parents reported that they strictly adhered to this policy, using the adverbs found by Piller (2001; see above): "and n-e-v-e-r that we have mixed the languages, we have been really strict with that" whereas Luka's parents reported that they basically followed the OPOL principle, but with some exceptions, for example that Luka's Finnish-speaking mother sometimes read books for Luka in Swedish. In Ida's family, planning and use of languages had been a more complex issue, since Ida's mother had to make a conscious decision on whether to speak her dialect or standard Finland Swedish with the children. As with Luka's parents, they sometimes deviated from the OPOL policy, for instance when reading books.

They also reported on changes in their language strategies over time; they reported being more strict in applying OPOL when the oldest child Mattias was born, whereas they were more flexible with the younger one, Ida. The mother said she used to be very consistent in repeating a word in Swedish if Mattias said something in Finnish, but that she found it a too exhausting strategy when the second child, Ida, was born: "It's too much trouble now" (in Finnish: "Nyt ei enää jaksa"). Moreover, she explained the changes in strategies as a result of the OPOL principle being easier to stick to when the family lived abroad where there were neither Finnish-speakers nor Swedish-speakers around. When they moved back to Finland and the Finnish-speaking environment, and Ida was born, the mother sometimes used Finnish in speaking to the children: "For instance, in the playground, it often happened that I switched to Finnish if there were only Finnish-speaking children around". After Ida's mother became a bit worried about Ida's Swedish competence, she said that she started to be more consistent in her use of Swedish with her. She thus made an explicit decision to change the interaction order as she felt it was necessary for Ida's language development.

Ida was, according to her parents, "well on her way to becoming as proficient in Swedish as she is in Finnish". She was reported to mix the languages to a great extent. By the time of the study, Ida had only recently started to speak Swedish in response to her mother. Sara's parents reported that Sara's proficiency and use of the two languages had varied over time. Her strongest language used to be Finnish but her use of Swedish had recently increased and improved. Sara could sometimes switch to Finnish when speaking Swedish, but parents reported that she never switched in the opposite direction. The oldest child in the study, Luka, spent his first 3 years in a language environment dominated by Swedish and his Swedish was very strong. During the year in the Finnish-speaking municipality, Luka's Finnish proficiency had improved and Finnish then enjoyed a more prominent role in the whole family. Luka's parents reported on Luka himself being strict on the OPOL principle: "He doesn't like at all if I [the mother] speak Swedish with him. Mother ought to speak mother's language and father ought to speak father's language." This is in accordance with what Baker (2000) refers to as the child creating *language boundaries* where a language is associated with certain individuals, contexts or situations and that the crossing of these boundaries may cause the child to react. Code-switching was, according to the parents, rare in Luka's speech; it only occurred when Finnish- as well as Swedish-speakers were present in the speech situation, and for some vocabulary items, which he knew better in one of the languages.

Ida's and her brother's play-language was usually Finnish. Sara and her brother, in contrast, typically spoke Swedish when playing together. Both pairs of siblings were however reported to change the language of play communication sometimes, and even mix languages. All families also reported on communication with extended family members, which basically followed the OPOL principle. However, in the main, the uses of languages were in all three families reported to be flexible and pragmatic depending on the physical and social speech context (see also Doyle 2013; Kopeliovich 2013), and as the example given above of Ida's mother changing and adapting her language strategies in interaction with her daughter, the language

practices also changed over time. All participants in the study – parents as well as children – were flexibly using both languages in their everyday context, challenging and contesting the static notion of one person speaking only one language.

10.7.2 Discourses in Place about Interaction Orders

The DIP's brought up by the parents were basically of two types: on the one hand, motivations behind the interaction orders of the families and, on the other hand, discourses around the advantages of the child being bilingual. Notably, although the parents admit that there were challenges involved in raising their children bilingually which they had to face, they all took it more or less for granted that the interaction orders employed would lead to bilingualism in the child.

There were three recurring discourses within the first strand of discourse: motivations for applying the OPOL principle. The first of these was that many parents expressed the idea that the application of OPOL from the birth of the child was a completely natural and basically unconscious process. The OPOL principle was thus not explicitly planned, discussed or decided upon in connection with the birth of the children. Sara's parents said that they deliberately made use of the two languages but never made an *explicit decision* on the strategy. Luka's mother expressed it as "I think that it has been just like a *natural thing* to do. That if there are two languages present they should of course be used". Ida's father pointed out that "it was not a decision made [that the mother speaks Swedish and the father Finnish], but it came *automatically*". Ida's mother agreed saying that the OPOL principle came naturally, "*by itself*". In all three families, the interaction orders being applied after the birth of the children were thus not about explicit and overt language planning, but something that they parents found natural (Schwartz et al. 2011). Notably, what felt most natural to all the parents was to use their mother tongue with the children, regardless of their pattern of language use with other interlocutors, including their spouses.

The second discourse connected with motivations concerned the language ecologies and dominance relations, more specifically the quantity of language input available in the local community. The parents were aware of and concerned by the dominance of Finnish – the majority language – in the surrounding environment and therefore made active choices so as to increase the amount of Swedish the child heard in her/his daily life. Thus, efforts to assure sufficient interaction with and in Swedish outside the home, were intentionally made (cf. Schwartz et al. 2011). For example, regular contacts with Swedish-speaking relatives were considered important. The parents had particularly strong beliefs on the importance of Swedish as the medium of daycare and (in the future) school. They had actively chosen the Swedish-medium daycare center instead of Finnish-medium alternatives closer to home. Luka's parents even said that if there hadn't been Swedish-medium daycare available, Luka would have stayed home with his Swedish-speaking father, in order to develop his Swedish skills. Sara's mother pointed out that "the daycare is the only

place here where the kids can use Swedish outside the home". Ida's mother expressed her concern that the Swedish skills of the children would weaken if they attended a Finnish-medium school, instead of a Swedish-medium school. Ida's father confirmed the importance of daycare in Swedish: "In any case, living in a Finnish-speaking area now, Finnish won't disappear in any case. If it's possible to get Swedish into the picture, that's just good." All three families entertained the possibility they may move (back) to Swedish-speaking areas in the future in order to increase the contacts with Swedish and improve their children's proficiency in Swedish. Considering that the parents discussed the importance of interaction in both languages at length and that they saw a potential risk that the minority language (Swedish) should not develop as well as the majority language (Finnish), it may come as a surprise that none of them questioned that the language used between the parents in all families, in the home, was currently the majority language (Finnish). In one family, it had even changed from Swedish to Finnish.

A third type of discourse regarding motivations concerned references to social networks, expertise and other sources of information about bilingual development (cf. Piller 2001; King and Fogle 2006). The families expressed the belief that the social environment – including the extended family members – supported their OPOL policy. Sara's mother had experiences from working in a Swedish-medium preschool in another part of Finland and there she learned "how important continuity is in raising bilingual children" (cf. Piller 2001). She also "read somewhere that there is no limit to how many languages a child can learn simultaneously". Luka's parents and their OPOL policy had been appraised at the early childhood health clinic but they also had experiences of people warning them that raising children with two languages simultaneously may result in stuttering problems. Further, Ida's mother had heard from others that applying the OPOL strategy may result in delay in language development. Ida's mother referred to choices of other families as 'negative' examples (in this case, Swedish-speaking families choosing Finnish-medium schools for their children): "I know of Swedish-speaking families where Finnish has taken over completely". Similarly, Sara's mother had noticed that "Swedish-speaking parents who start to speak Finnish will forget their mother tongue and as a result, the children won't learn that language [Swedish]." The contrasting of one's own approaches with those of other families in order to motivate one's own practices was also found by King and Fogle (2006).

The second major theme of the DIP's was to argue for child bilingualism. Within this theme, there were three distinct discourse cycles appearing in all families. First, childhood bilingualism was seen as *a gift*, that it was a *natural and easy thing to learn two languages* at an early age and that the child *receives* two languages *for free*. Discourses like these were also found in Piller (2001). Within the same discourse cycle an often (in Finnish contexts) repeated expression was also reproduced: *bilingualism is richness* (in Finnish: "kaksikielisyys on rikkaus"). Second, and related to the first discourse cycle, was the belief that bilingual competence *facilitates learning other languages* at a later age. Finally, the parents found bilingualism an important key and door-opener to the future. The child would be able to choose between different schools and educational programmes,

having advantages in applying for jobs, and be able to choose where to live (Finnish-speaking, Swedish-speaking or bilingual parts of Finland or in Sweden). Thus we can see a combination of arguments based on current lay thinking ('bilingualism is richness', i.e. intrinsically good) with arguments based on research ('facilitates the learning of other languages') with arguments based on future economic and educational advantages.

10.7.3 Interaction Orders Enacted

In the interviews the interaction orders and historical bodies of all family members – including the children – were reflected on and represented only by the parents. In the following part of the nexus analysis, the interaction orders as they were *enacted* by the families will be analyzed, with particular reference to child agency (Tuominen 1999; Gafaranga 2010). The analyses of family language policy enactments and child agency will here be presented for the three children in turn: *Ida*, *Luka* and *Sara*.

Ida In Example 10.1, Ida is reading a book written in Swedish together with her Finnish-speaking father. The father uses both Finnish and Swedish, as does Ida.

The dialogue reveals that Ida is very familiar with the text in the book (cf. lines 03, 05 and 07). Ida gives a reprimand to the father as he changes the wording and after he corrects himself, she confirms his correction (lines 10–13). The father then admits that it may be that Ida's Swedish-speaking mother "knows this [book] better" (line 14). The contextual speech in the dialogue is completely performed in Finnish, by the father as well as by Ida. The embedded use of Swedish in the dialogue is instead used for a specific purpose. This pattern confirms what the parents reported in the interview: that Ida rarely reacts if the parents use "the wrong language" – i.e. a violation of the OPOL strategy. However, in contexts of reading books, she can correct parents if they "read incorrectly". The interaction further illustrates that Ida occasionally switches from Finnish to Swedish (see for example line 03), something which the parents reported never happens (in contrast to switching from Swedish to Finnish). The switching of languages may be due to the parallel and co-existing policies: the language used with the father is usually Finnish, whereas the book is in Swedish and usually read by the Swedish-speaking mother. The use of the word *pinteliä* (spider) in line 17, which is the word *spindel* in Swedish, phonotactically adapted to and inflected in Finnish, also shows how Swedish appears in a Finnish utterance by Ida. The Finnish word is *hämähäkki*. She also uses the Swedish word *ankunge* (duckling) in an otherwise Finnish sentence (line 18), but without adapting in to Finnish.

Luka In the interview with Luka's parents, the principle of OPOL was reported to be quite strictly adhered to and the parents said that Luka himself was dedicated to following the interaction order. In Example 10.2, Luka is playing a game with his Swedish-speaking father.

Example 10.1 Ida is reading a book with her Finnish-speaking father (in the English translation: underlined text = Finnish, boldface text = Swedish)

01	Ida:	isi, missä isi on? missä tämmöinen toinen on? tuo toi… toinen on puussa, toinen lentää!
		dad, where is this? that, the…one is in the tree, the other one is flying!
02	Father:	toinen lentää
		the other one is flying
03	Ida:	missä te näin… **där kommer en mus. inte där. men där!**
		where you like this… **there comes a mouse, not there, but there!**
04	Father:	mikäs toi juttu on?
		what is that thing?
05	Ida:	piip piip! se on isi tämä! **inte där, inte där, men där.** piip piip! no niin!
		piip piip! this is the father! **not there, not there, but there!** piip piip! all right!
06	Father:	ai niin!
		oh right!
07	Ida:	äiti voitetaan niinki. **det kommer en liten mus.**
		the mother will win anyway. **there comes a little mouse**.
08	Father:	ai tääl?
		oh here?
09	Ida:	**men**, mutta sano vaan.
		but, but just say it
10	Father:	aha, **‘där kommer en liten mus’**
		aha, **‘there comes a little mouse’**
11	Ida:	**mä mä,** sano **‘inte däääär’**
		but but, say ‘**not theeere**’
12	Father:	**’inte där, inte där men där’! pip pip!**
		‘**not there, not there, but there**’**! pip pip!**
13	Ida:	no niin!
		right!
14	Father:	ai niinkö? no joo, äiti osaa sen paremmin.
		okay that’s right? oh well, mum knows this better
15	Ida:	missä tämmöinen, isi on?
		dad, where is this thing?
16	Father:	tuolla
		there
17	Ida:	ne on vaarallisia. muumilaaksossaki on pinteliä. joku sanoi siellä ‘ääää’!.
		they are dangerous. spiders can be found in the Moominvalley too. someone said there ‘wooooo’!
18	Ida:	kato kato **ankunge!** täältä isi voi mennä tää.
		look look **a duckling!** dad, this can go from here

As was also the case with Ida and her father (Example 10.1), Luka and his father use both Swedish and Finnish in this activity (Example 10.2), following certain principles. Finnish is here used primarily in a game-based formula – *in the hat of the wizard is found* – whereas Swedish is used for most other communication between Luka and his father. The use of Finnish for the game’s formula probably lead them

Example 10.2 Luka is playing a board game with his Swedish-speaking father (in the English translation: underlined text = Finnish, boldface text = Swedish)

19	Father:	**hur många steg får du flytta?**
		how many steps can you move forward?
20	Luka:	**ett, två…**
		one, two…
21	Father:	**ett, ännu ett steg.**
		one, then another one
22	Luka:	**två**
		two
23	Father:	**så, nu är det min tur.**
		so, now it's my turn
24	Luka:	**jag sku vilja ge den åt dig.**
		I would like to give it to you
25	Father:	**oj**
		oh
26	Luka:	‘taikurin hatusta löytyy’… punain… ‘taikurin hatusta löytyy’ punainen Pikku Myy
		in the hat of the wizard is found…re… In the hat of the wizard is found a red Little My
		[the game continues for several minutes]
27	Father:	taikurin hatusta löytyy… sininen taivas. **du får ännu prova, efter mig. det kan bli** tasapeli. **en, två, tre. nu om du får två eller mera så blir det** tasapeli. **snurra, kasta tärningen. man kan inte vinna varje gång.**
		in the hat of the wizard is found… a blue sky. **you should try once more, after me. it may be** tied. **one, two, three. now, if you get two or more it will be** tied. **spin, throw the dice. you cannot win every time.**
28	Luka:	äitiiiiiii
		mummyyyyy
		cries
29	Mother:	sitte ei voi pelata jos ei…
		then one cannot play if not…
30	Father:	**Luka, då kan vi inte spela om man ska vinna varje gång. pappa tycker inte spela.**
		Luka, then we cannot play if you have to win every time. dad doesn't like to play.
31	Luka:	äitiiiiiii
		motheeeer
		cries
32	Father:	**nu plocka vi bort, du vann första spele hör du!**
		now we put the game away. hey, you won the first round!
33	Luka:	**jag vill vinna ännu en.**
		I want to win one more
34	Father:	**men Luka, man vinner inte alltid. så är det, när man spela så vinner man inte varje gång.**
		but Luka, you can't always win. that's how it is, when you plays you can't win every time.

to continue their utterances in Finnish (lines 26 and 27). This may also have an impact on the father using the Finnish word *tasapeli* (tied) rather than the Swedish word *oavgjort* in line 27. The OPOL principle comes in conflict with other principles which may be part of this family's FLP, such as that of using the language of the game for the game formula and that of completing a sentence in the same language as you began the sentence in. When Luka loses the game, he starts crying and calls for his Finnish-speaking mother, in Finnish (lines 28 and 31). The mother and the father then express the same content (*one cannot play if…*), the mother in Finnish (line 29) and the father in Swedish (line 30).

Sara In the interviews, Sara's parents declared that they have been very strict about separating the languages in speaking with the children. The mother pointed out that "it's important too that it is not about a conscious choice that the child makes [in using the respective languages]. The child cannot herself decide when she speaks Swedish or Finnish but it comes automatically." The utterance is part of the same discourse cycle which presented bilingualism as something natural and automatic (see above) and not necessarily conscious (Schwartz et al. 2011). However, the mother also told Sara to be able to differentiate between the languages, referring to them as "mother's language" and "father's language", respectively. The dialogue in Example 10.3, between Sara, her mother and her father, indeed shows that Sara is very aware of the two languages, about the principle that her father speaks Finnish and her mother Swedish and puts her father in his place when he is not following the expected interaction order, i.e. that Finnish is "father's language".

The key utterance in this interaction is when Sara's Finnish-speaking father says *åtta* (eight) in Swedish (line 38). Sara does not accept this and does not let him back into the dialogue until she had prompted her Swedish-speaking mother to utter the word in Swedish (line 52) and declared to her father, in a teacher-like tone, that *åtta* (eight) is mother's language: "mother says…" (line 53). Sara's father then admits that he made a mistake, provides her with the word in Finnish (line 54) and confirms the rule of the interaction order by stating "father counts…" (line 55) in Finnish. In this passage, Sara efficiently makes use of non-verbal means, such as body language and intonation, as well as explicit statements, to establish, discuss and confirm the rules of the interaction order in the family, OPOL. This is a nice example of child agency in that Sara effectively confirms her adherence to the interaction order of OPOL.

As the interviews revealed, Sara's parents showed substantial changes over time concerning the joint language used. Only recently, Sara's Swedish-speaking mother had started actively to speak Finnish with her husband as she wished to improve her own skills. The dialogue in Example 10.4 illustrates the undergoing change of the FLP regarding the father's and mother's joint language and that the interaction orders are being negotiated. This re-negotiation includes not only the parents, but also Sara.

From this short exchange of utterances it becomes evident that Sara finds it awkward (lines 70 and 72) that her mother speaks Finnish to her father (lines 64, 66 and 69). She does understand her mother's utterance in Finnish (line 69), but still

Example 10.3 Sara is counting together with her Swedish-speaking mother and Finnish-speaking father (in the English translation: underlined text = Finnish, boldface text = Swedish)

35	Sara:	**sex sen va kommer efter sexan?**
		six then what comes after six?
36	Mother:	**sjuan**
		seven
37	Sara:	**sjuan**
		seven
38	Father:	**åtta**
		eight
39	Sara:	**näe**
		no
		turns down father's contribution
40	Sara:	**mamma vilken kommer före den som…**
		mum what comes before the one that…
		turns to mother, leaves father (who acted inappropriately) out
41	Mother:	**före vilken?**
		before which one?
42	Sara:	**före den**
		before that one
43	Father:	seitsemän jälkeen tulee kahdeksan.
		after seven comes eight
44	Sara:	mhm
		huh-uh
		reacts negatively to father's speech turn
45	Father:	mitä? tulee tulee!
		what? sure it does!
46	Sara:	**mamma**
		mum
		turns to mother
47	Mother:	**mm**
		mhm
48	Father:	et usko isiä niikö?
		you don't believe father, do you?
49	Sara:	**säg vad det heter …** kaheksan
		tell me what it is called … eight
		to mother (ignores father)
50	Mother:	**efter sjuan menar du?**
		efter seven you mean?
51	Sara:	**mm.**
		mhm
52	Mother:	**åtta.**
		eight.
53	Sara:	äiti sanoo että '**åtta'**!
		mother says that '**eight**'!
		turns to father to declare that 'eight' (in Swedish) is the word in her mother's language

(continued)

Example 10.3 (continued)

54	Father:	nii minäki sanoin ensin että '**åtta'** … mutta 'kahdeksan'.
		yes I also first said '**eight**' … but 'eight'.
		confirms the breaking of the rule and corrects himself
55	Father:	isi laskee yksi, kaksi, kolme, neljä, viisi, kuusi, seitsemän ja kahdeksan.
		father counts 'one, two, three, four, five, six, seven and eight'
		confirms the rule
56	Sara:	mhm.
		mhm
		rejection
57	Father:	mitä 'mhm'! laskenpas!
		what 'mhm'! now count!
		annoyed
58	Sara:	yks kaks kolme neljä viisi kuusi
		one two three four five six
59	Father:	seitsemän
		seven
60	Sara:	kaheksan
		eight
61	Father:	yhdeksän
		nine
62	Sara:	neljä
		four
63	Father:	kymmenen
		ten

Example 10.4 Sara's mother talking about a purchase with Sara's father (in the English translation: underlined text = Finnish, boldface text = Swedish)

64	Mother:	mä ostin tämmösen eilen.
		I bought that kind of thing yesterday
65	Father:	ai mistä?
		oh, from where?
66	Mother:	Life kauppa semmonen.
		Life shop that kind of
67	Father:	aijaa
		aha
68	Sara:	**jag tycker inte om Life.**
		I don't like Life
69	Mother:	maksoi seitsemäntoista.
		it cost sventeen.
70	Sara:	**vad sa du mamma?**
		what did you say mum?
71	Mother:	**att det kostar ganska mycket, den här…**
		that it costs quite a lot, this…
72	Sara:	**hahahaha!**
		hahahaha!
		laughs
73	Mother:	**mmmh. vi ska köpa…**
		mhm. we will buy…
		amused

asks her mother to repeat it, in Swedish (line 70). Sara thus manages the discourse and directs her mother to use Swedish. Her laughter (line 72) is probably meant as a comment on the awkwardness of her mother speaking Finnish. The mother then abandons her newly introduced policy to speak Finnish with her husband, when she continues in Swedish (line 73).

The parental interview situation where Sara was present provides a further illustrative example of child agency: a 3-year-old girl negotiating family language policy. The topic of discussion was language use in the family, and the father turned to Sara and asked her in Finnish: *Which language do you speak with father?* ("Mitä kieltä puhuu isän kanssa?"). She then responded, in Swedish: *The same language as you.* ("Samma språk som du.") Although it may appear as a violation of OPOL that she used Swedish as a response to a Finnish utterance by her Finnish-speaking father, she seems to follow one of the other principles in the family's FLP, namely to adapt to the socio-linguistic context and the language policy of the interview: the interview situation as a whole was performed in Swedish.

10.8 Conclusions

The parental discourses used for explaining and motivating the interaction orders in this study provide evidence for the FLP's being a result of clear explicit and overt language planning (cf. King et al. 2008) as well as of unconscious and non-planned practices. We therefore argue for a re-definition of FLP, including also less explicit and less overt decisions on how language is allocated in a family. Whereas the families had made explicit decisions regarding for example the Swedish-speaking daycare center and, in the future, a Swedish-speaking school alternative to strengthen the children's proficiency of the minority language (cf. Schwartz et al. 2010; Schwartz 2013), the OPOL strategy was reported to have appeared automatically, naturally and without any explicit or conscious decisions. In contrast to the study by King and Fogle (2006), which focused on families attempting to achieve additive bilingualism for their children and which in many cases require parents to actively use and teach a language that is not their first language, this study concerned families aiming at simultaneous bilingualism for the children where parents used their first language more or less consistently with their children. It was thus not about actually *choosing* to speak a certain language, but a natural and "automatic" thing to do, according to the parents.

It is interesting to note that these parents consider it natural to raise their children bilingually, although almost all of them were raised in only one language. On the other hand, they may consider it "natural", because they are raising their children in the language they themselves were raised. The parents did not have first-hand personal experience of growing up in a family using the OPOL principle to achieve simultaneous bilingualism. The OPOL strategy can be seen as based on a monolingual norm; the aim is for one person to speak only one language. Indeed, four of the parents grew up in monolingual families and environments, and although two of the

parents had either a bilingual parent or a parent having the other language as his first language, there was only one language used with the children. The situation of the three families is a win-win one: the parents can do what they are best at, i.e. using their first language with their children and at the same time they hope to achieve what they unambiguously see as something positive for their child, simultaneous bilingualism.

Another result of the nexus analysis was the evidence for FLP being in constant flux. The current FLP's were set in historical, language ecological and sociolinguistic perspectives by the parents and they explicitly said that the policy had changed its nature over time. There were certain milestones given as explanations for adjusting the FLP's, such as conditions surrounding how the parents met, when and where the children were born, moving house between countries or areas within Finland, the children's or the spouses' language development and proficiency, new jobs, starting daycare etc. Moreover, principles for language use among the family members were reported to be pragmatic and to be flexible depending on sociolinguistic, situational and interpersonal factors in unique moments of interaction. FLP's are thus non-static in their nature and should be studied as such. Schwartz (2010, p. 186) acknowledges this fact and states that an important object for further study would "… concern the longitudinal consequences of FLP and the manner in which it changes over time and possible directions in modifying the FLP as the children grow older."

The analysis of the audio-recorded interactions between the parents and the children showed that the interaction order was mutually constructed and negotiated upon. Tuominen suggests that bilingual children "may determine not only the language they will speak, but also that which their parents will speak" and that the children in the long run are able "to change the rules, setting new ones" (Tuominen 1999, pp. 71–72). The examples of Sara, who was 3 years and 9 months old, showed rather that she acted as a "language police" when the father challenged the OPOL interaction order by saying a word in the "wrong" language (see Example 10.3) and when the Swedish-speaking mother unexpectedly used Finnish with her spouse (Example 10.4). In the latter case, Sara seemed not to have yet been accustomed – or perhaps gently protesting against – the change-in-progress regarding the policy of language use between her parents.

What Piller stated in 2001 is to some extent still true: "It is important to note that most of the research literature on childhood bilingualism is mainly concerned with the processes and patterns involved in bilingual acquisition rather than the parents' role and perspective. In particular, there is comparatively little consideration of their language planning activities." (Piller 2001, pp. 65). We agree that further work is needed regarding how parents shape family language policies. Moreover, although there has been a great deal of research on children's meta-linguistic awareness, in monolingual as well as bilingual pre-school children, we know very little about the role of the preschool child as a co-constructor of family language policies. This is an important area where much yet remains to be explored and which also may require methodological re-considerations and innovation. If child agency is to be investigated, we need to develop new methods to do so, (in addition to analyzing interaction in different contexts), such as quasi-experimental methods in order to

gain access to children's conceptions of language and bilingualism as well as the principles that underlie language choice. The rewards will potentially be great, as we in this way can begin to see the child as an active participant in her/his bilingual development and the development of language policy in her family, institution and community.

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Chapter 11
Happylingual: A Family Project for Enhancing and Balancing Multilingual Development

Shulamit Kopeliovich

11.1 Theoretical Background

Family Language Policy (FLP) is a recent rapidly developing field of study (Spolsky 2012) rooted in the tripartite model of Language Policy with its three inter-related components: ideology, management, and practice (Spolsky 2004). Li Wei (2012) states that family language policy has been under-explored; therefore, it currently attracts a wide audience, whereas multiple questions are still to be answered. Kopeliovich (2010) studies inconsistencies and dramatic clashes between the parents' linguistic ideology and actual family practices, while language management strategies undergo evolutionary changes driven by these conflicts. Schwartz and Moin (2012) focus on the parents' beliefs and misconceptions playing a crucial role in the formation of the family language policy. Tannenbaum (2012) views the family language policy as emotionally loaded negotiation between the demands of the family heritage and the pressures of the outside society. King et al. (2008) define FLP as explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members and discuss its relation to the field of child's language acquisition. King and Fogle (2006) investigate how parents frame their family language policies for the promotion of additive bilingualism. Stavans (2012) deals with the mainstream school-minority home interface; Conteh (2012) discusses the interaction between the minority family and complementary schooling. Hoffman and Ytsma (2003) investigate trilingual family, school and community environment. The present chapter contributes to this pioneering field of FLP research by analyzing my personal experience in planning, negotiating and implementing a family language policy attuned to

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M. Schwartz and A. Verschik (eds.), *Successful Family Language Policy: Parents, Children and Educators in Interaction*, Multilingual Education 7,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-7753-8_11,

the delicate sociolinguistic ecology of the multilingual Israeli society. The chapter yields an insight into the heuristic and dynamic nature of this process with its dogmas, doubts, outbursts of enthusiasm, bitter feelings of disappointment, unexpected creative solutions to difficult problems, and immense satisfaction created by the parents' open dialogue with the complex linguistic reality.

Sociolinguistic studies based on the researchers' personal experience of raising multilingual families constitute a fascinating corpus of longitudinal research with rich vivid data and profound theoretical and practical conclusions (Caldas 2006; Fries 1998; Fantini 1985; Saunders 1988; Cruz-Ferreira 2006; Hoffman 1985 and others). Thus, the present research is rooted in a well-established research tradition.

Another relevant aspect of bilingualism research is the study of siblings' influence on the multilingual development of a child. Barron-Hauwaert (2011) reveals a multidimensional picture of interaction between diverse factors related to the siblings' influence on an individual child and on the whole family: sibling relationship, inter-sibling language use, gender, age, family size, birth order and many other variables. Gregory et al. (2004) and Obied (2009) show how sibling relations shape the family linguistic environment and how the older siblings scaffold the development of their younger siblings' literacy skills. Most of the research papers in the field of multilingual child rearing usually study families with two or sometimes three siblings, while the present research follows the development of four siblings.

Okita (2002), Barron-Hauwaert (2011) and other researchers address the issue of negotiating FLP between spouses; the present research gives a vivid insight into this covert process.

Current studies in the field of bilingual child-rearing and FLP give ample evidence to the particularly complex processes that require a combination of different perspectives: Schwartz (2008) compares formal language testing and parents' subjective evaluation; Caldas (2006) complemented his data on family interaction during mealtimes with the children's self-evaluation and their teachers' surveys. The present study also combines distinct perspectives in order to create a more adequate representation of complex processes: the parents' language management, the development of each individual child, relations between the siblings, the influence of the peer groups within the close community of immigrant families, relations with the dominant society. In the diachronic perspective, at each stage of the 12-year-long research project, the focus constantly shifted between these aspects and explicit efforts were made to tie up the results and study the interaction of diverse factors.

Moreover, the studies cited above create a long list of functions that parents have to perform as FLP makers: negotiating and moderating the choice of languages, dealing with emotional sides of multilingual interaction, balancing competing demands and setting priorities, modifying their own everyday behavior, choosing schools, reading materials and entertaining, etc. (see also Okita 2002). The present study refers to these important aspects, in addition, it incorporates a new perspective "parents as language teachers in the multilingual family", implying that the parents actually plan, conduct, and evaluate explicit systematic educational activities (home lessons, shows, thematic units of study, craft sessions, creative-writing projects) enhancing their FLP goals.

Over the years of the family research, this multidimensional and flexible FLP has received an original name – a *Happylingual* approach. It reflects the positive

emotional coloring of the complex processes related to the heritage language transmission, a special emphasis on the linguistic aspects of childrearing, unbiased attitude to diverse languages that enter the household and respect to the language preferences of the children. The framework of the present research refers to *Ecology of Language* theory (Haugen 1972) defining language ecology as "interactions between any given language and its environment". Among other factors, it focuses on the interaction of all the languages in a studied area (Hornberger 2001).

11.2 Methodology

The present research project follows the linguistic development of my four children bilingual in Russian and Hebrew: Yotam (12), Hana (9), Rachel (7), and Yehiel (4) from their birth and until the present moment. Similarly to the research projects conducted by the parent-linguists and annotated in the previous section, the main methods of data collection combine ample ethnographic notes and audio records (cf. Caldas 2006). The strength of this research tradition is a practically unlimited and easy access to natural speech data and deep insights into the hidden areas of the family life that usually escape an outsider's attention.

I started to write my first spontaneous notes when Yotam was two; in this unsystematic diary, I simply recorded his utterances that seemed cute and amusing in order to preserve them as sweet family memories and vivid signs of his intellectual and linguistic growth. When other siblings started to talk, I initiated a separate diary for each child and all the four diaries have been continued up to the present moment. Recently, the older siblings started to participate in collecting amusing utterances of the younger ones and to remind me about their own utterances that need to be recorded.

In 2006, a new carefully planned stage of the Family Language Policy research started. "Emergence of bilingualism" is a log of detailed systematic ethnographic entries. At present, it consists of two thick hand-written notebooks of 100 pages each. This source of data includes immediate accounts of weekly ethnographic observations over my children's development with the focus on the following topics:

- the proportion of Hebrew and Russian in the linguistic repertoire of each child,
- sibling interaction and influence,
- linguistic properties of contact varieties based on the interaction of Hebrew and Russian (overt codeswitching and convergence at the phonological, semantic and syntactic levels),
- bilingual humor,
- the influence of the outside Hebrew-speaking society,
- the parents' language management strategies in the light of the actual practices,
- emotional significance of the children's language choice.

This ethnographic log also contains self-reflection notes, fragments of conversations between the parents, brief comments interpreting the findings in the light of current research in the field of bilingual development.

Although I made special efforts to write down the children's utterances as precisely as possible, only audio records could give adequate data for a linguistic analysis of their speech. More than 100 h of audio and video records have been collected at home or at the family trips: individual speech, role playing, quarrels, creative activities, meals, visits of Hebrew-speaking friends and other vivid samples from the family everyday life. During the most fruitful and organized periods (from 2006 to 2009 and from 2011 till the present moment) when this family research had a priority over many other multiple and simultaneously accommodated goals, each sibling was recorded once in 2–3 months and two or more conversations involving sibling interaction were recorded each month. In addition, multiple speech samples were spontaneously recorded in addition to the pre-planned schedule (for example, when I expected that a situation may yield some valuable data or when I wanted to obtain a recorded sample illustrating a certain phenomenon observed and described in ethnographic notes). The recordings were immediately annotated and classified to facilitate my future access to this corpus of data, clear explicit links between the ethnographic notes and tape-recorded data were specified.

However, there was a period of decline in the pace of the family research. During the 2 years after the traumatic birth of the fourth child, the amount of data dramatically decreased due to my health problems, unresolved emotional conflicts and outside pressures. At that point, it seemed that this period could end the family research project or undermine its validity as a longitudinal study. Yet, the retrospective review of the data revealed that this period of a seeming stagnation yielded deep insights into the process of accommodating the parents' language management strategies to severe external pressures, physical and emotional fatigue.

An additional valuable source of data is the collection of artifacts: the kids' notes for the parents or siblings, letters, samples of spontaneous independent writing in each of the languages or in their mixture. Particularly interesting artifacts are related to the children's games: doctor's prescriptions, lists of dolls and stuffed animals attending a "kindergarten", lesson plans and worksheets for younger siblings, maps and historical documents related to imaginary lands, a peace treaty signed after a big quarrel, a dictionary of a non-existent language invented by the children, and many other original items.

Finally, as explained in the description of the theoretical background, the present project adds a new dimension to FLP research by presenting the parents as actual teachers of languages or, at least, of certain linguistic skills in the family.[1] Both parents are linguists and language teachers; therefore, the family bilingual child rearing project is deeply influenced by our professional background.

Moreover, in this project, the parents function as educational researchers. One of the most widespread qualitative-research traditions in education is action research. Mills (2000) defines action research and provides historical and theoretical contexts

[1] In this aspect, my deepest gratitude go to my husband David (Dmitry); the nature of our creative partnership in teaching languages within the framework emphasizing values of multilingualism and elite literary education will be evident in the data presented in the following sections.

for its use. Action research belongs to pre-planned educational activities unlike strategies that belong to everyday behavior. Although action research is traditionally associated with more formal educational settings, it has proved to be an indispensible methodological tool for the development of the present family educational project promoting the maintenance of a heritage language. According to Waters-Adams (2006), action research involves the careful monitoring of planned change in practice. Thus, the action is used as a research tool. Both elements of action and research are of equal prominence in the approach. This orientation towards the practice rather than towards abstract ideas or theories made this research methodology relevant to the present project.

At the simplest level, action research involves a spiral or cycle of planning, action, monitoring and reflection. This basic structure has been elaborated in different representations of the same process – see, for example, Elliott (1991), Kemmis and McTaggart (1982), Ebbutt (1985), McKernan (1988) – each of which promotes the same cyclical or spiral approach to action and reflection. In preparing home lessons and activities, my husband and I creatively apply this approach. In our case, most of the planning and reflection take place at the night tea-time after the kids go to sleep. Only some of these conversations have been recorded on paper because of the time pressure. However, this conscious involvement into the endless cycles of action research has become a background habit that constitutes the innermost basis for the methodology of heritage language teaching at the family level presented in this chapter. We have made efforts to document the educational activities and collect video recordings, written descriptions, lesson plans, children's notebooks, creative-writing projects. Yet, it is still very difficult to adequately present the results of this process. Waters-Adams (2006) warns about the true nature of action research:

> All representations of the action research process on paper are simplistic. In reality, life is complex and things rarely go as planned. Indeed, although action research may start with a carefully planned action, the nature of the process makes the outcomes uncertain. Links emerge with aspects that were not anticipated and the inquiry can deviate from its original path as these aspects are explored (p. 45).

To sum up, the present research combines three distinct qualitative methodologies, namely, ethnographic observations, recording spontaneous speech and action research. This chapter is the first attempt to review and analyze this large and heterogeneous corpus of qualitative data with a special emphasis on the FLP issues. Since the linguistic development of the four siblings rapidly progresses, the process of data collecting continues according to the principles specified in this section.

11.3 Findings

The presentation of the results combines both topic-based and diachronic perspectives on the family project of multilingual child rearing. First, it discusses the parents' initial linguistic ideology and childrearing views. Second, the linguistic development of the first-born son is analyzed and the strategies of the parents' FLP

are stated. Third, the chapter discusses the cases of three younger siblings and shows how the parents' strategies were modified. Finally, the conception of *Happylingual* approach to family language policy and to teaching the heritage language at home is briefly analyzed.

11.3.1 Focus on the Parents' Initial Ideology at the Onset of the Family Project

Both parents immigrated from the Former Soviet Union to Israel after "perestroika" as young adults: I immigrated alone at the age of 19, and my husband arrived to Israel at the age of 21 with his parents. Both of us chose to commit ourselves to the Jewish religious way of life although we had not been raised in religious families. Both of us started our higher education in Russia and, then, graduated from Israeli Universities with MA degrees: I specialized in teaching English as a second language, and my husband made a switch form the Russian philology and literature to the Hebrew linguistics and Bible. By the beginning of our family life, both of us have been actively trilingual and highly proficient in Russian, Hebrew and English in our professional life, academic study and personal relations. Yet, the choice of Russian as the most intimate language to communicate in the family was natural and obvious for both of us: we had a strong motivation to preserve Russian in the family and transmit it to our children. Yet, we did not have any goals of cultural isolation or segregation from the Israeli society. We also shared a strong commitment to high educational and cultural standards in child rearing (including extensive reading of classical and modern literature, knowing the history of art and music, creative writing, and intensive development of high-order thinking skills). Many of our conversations at that moment dealt with problems of harmonizing between these educational goals and the Jewish Orthodox way of life. Similarly to many Russian-speaking parents, we thought about our family language planning in terms of Russian maintenance (assuming that the Hebrew development will take care of itself) rather than in the paradigm of bilingual childrearing, as formulated in many parents' guides published in the US or Europe. We were not aware of the existence of this literature.

As a result of my marriage, I joined the community of religious Russian-speaking immigrants where my husband had belonged. Back in the Soviet Union, the core families of the community learned Hebrew and observed Jewish traditions despite the sever persecutions of the Communist authorities. In Israel, the community has developed a sophisticated multicultural outlook combining a strong motivation to integrate into the Israeli society with a commitment to the maintenance of the Russian language and in-group cultural values. In the course of my academic studies I was especially interested in the questions related to inter-cultural sensitivity, immigrant identities, preservation of minority languages in the global world. Therefore, I had an exciting feeling of reaching a harmonized multilingual and multicultural paradise after many years of searching alone for a new original identity.

Yet, the euphoric vision of a safe place for raising little speakers of Russian as a heritage language gradually dissolved. As a young couple we were regularly invited for Sabbath meals into 10–15 families with 4–8 children of different ages. We witnessed heated inter-generational debates about the use of Russian and about the value of classical culture; many parents were bitterly disappointed by the results of their tiresome efforts to preserve Russian in the family. This was a starting point for my PhD dissertation project (Kopeliovich 2009). As a qualitative researcher, I was deeply involved both into the emotional aspects of the adult participants' efforts to transmit Russian to the next generation and into their children's intensive search for their independent identities. I sympathized with their rebellion against the home culture (sometimes followed by reconciliation and linguistic rebirth), attempts to gain emotional protection and intimacy through the parents' mother-tongue, cold resistance to the adults' ineffective language management strategies and affected admiration towards the Russian linguistic heritage.

Although my husband was not interested in the research aspect of heritage language maintenance, the perspective of transmitting Russian to our children was a burning existential and spiritual question for him. We were involved into exciting discussions prior to the birth of our first baby. As long as our own FLP project gradually moved from the level of abstract beliefs and expectations towards practical actions, we were working out some more specific and action-oriented principles derived from the analysis of the experience of other families with similar language ideology.

First, it has become clear that the main focus of the FLP and the main criteria to evaluate its success should be practice rather than ideology: we planned to direct our energy towards involving the children into actual use of Russian rather than into explaining our expectations, preaching the heritage language values, persuading, debating, reproaching.

Second, when the goals of FLP are formulated as "heritage language maintenance" and the parents measure their success only in terms of how close to native speakers their children become, the parents are vulnerable to despair and feelings of failure. Fries (1998) describes her "gnawing feeling of failure" caused by her bilingual children's inability to reach an absolutely native proficiency in the family language. In our own environment, we encountered many well-educated Russian-speaking parents measuring the results of their FLP against the yardstick of Standard Russian and admitting that they have failed to transmit Russian to their children. Instead, we wanted to reformulate our goals and view the Russian maintenance in a wider context of the Israeli multilingual ecology; thus, we invented a new formula to direct our efforts: "*balancing and fine-tuning multilingual development as a subtle tool for the Russian maintenance*".

Third, according the core principle of our FLP, the language itself has a value in the eyes of the parents rather than in the world outlook of little children. The latter are more likely to be attracted to some unique content, a charismatic person, an engaging activity using language as a helpful tool. We planned to use strategies that would fully exploit this tendency.

Fourth, we frequently observed in different families that straightforward FLP strategies like requests/orders to switch to the heritage language or to avoid mixing

languages were usually futile and ineffective (Kopeliovich 2010). Yet, it was not clear which strategies we could use instead.

Finally, one of the major components of my dissertation project was a linguistic analysis of the mixed Russian-Hebrew linguistic variety spoken by the second generation of immigrants, often defined by parents as an "impure", "contaminated" or "broken" Russian. From the onset of our family project, I made efforts to avoid prescriptivism, accept the value of using the bilingual mode in communication, and view this variety as a legitimate basis for our FLP efforts rather than as an enemy to fight against. For my husband, however, to define contact-induced changes as "linguistic variants" rather than as "mistakes" or "inaccuracies" meant to surrender to an ideology that backs up deteriorating standards of speech correctness and grammaticality. In his opinion, the ideal model was the one of aristocratic Russian families back in the nineteenth century (as described in Tolstoy's "War and Peace"): the children were taught to speak French as well as other European languages. His idea was to separate the languages and strive for the use of each language in its most pure form. Yet, we did not view this difference as a clash of contradicting opinions. Intuitively, we felt that each of us grasps a certain aspect of a more sophisticated and dynamic reality. In the course of the development of our FLP through years, this unresolved disagreement has never disappeared; moreover, it has become a vital point where we could refine our views and complement each other. This delicate point has been nourishing our most effective FLP strategies attuned to multiple factors involved into the process of intergenerational transmission of the heritage language.

11.3.2 Our First-Born Son Yotam: Working Out Our FLP Strategies

During the first 3 years of his life, our first-born son enjoyed the parents' undivided attention and fresh enthusiasm. Until the age of 3 he was fully immersed in the linguistically rich Russian-speaking environment: the family spoke and read to him only in Russian, he listened to songs, watched movies and puppet shows in Russian. He started to talk in Russian at the age of 12 months and rapidly progressed to speaking in full sentences as a monolingual child.

A strong factor promoting Russian maintenance was the influence of his grandparents. In the mornings, they took him for a walk in the local park where other elderly Russian-speaking caretakers and grandparents gathered with the kids under the age of 3–4 (the age when the children enter the state preschool kindergartens). This natural enclave provided social ties for Russian-speaking pensioners, fostered intergenerational bonds in the immigrant family and promoted the heritage language maintenance; it played a role of a sociolinguistic "nature reserve". Trying to build an ecologically sensitive FLP, we felt that it is important for parents to recognize, protect and use such resources. Following the success with the first-born child, the grandparents were willing to continue these morning walks with the next three siblings,

giving them a life-long present, namely, 2–3 early years of warm communication in Russian. After the kids started schooling in the Hebrew environment, it was much harder for the grandparents to attract their attention, find common interests and elicit meaningful conversations. As parents, we had to protect these ties by fostering the children's feelings of respect and gratitude, by arousing their childhood memories, and by motivating the children to make efforts and communicate with the grandparents in Russian.

During the first 3 years of his life, Yotam was immersed in a purely Russian monolingual environment in the family. Only when Yotam was three and a half, we started to introduce Hebrew into his daily life through the Bible stories and conversations around the Shabbath table, thus, providing a clear area where the family used Hebrew. This step was an integral part of our pre-planned approach to bilingual child-rearing. It can be characterized as "first language first" (the family heritage language) followed by the gradual immersion into L2, the language of the dominant society. Both of us agreed that this was an optimal strategy: it gave Yotam enough time to develop an age-appropriate proficiency in Russian within a pure Russian-speaking milieu, yet, preparing him to interaction in Hebrew half a year before entering the Hebrew-mediated kindergarten. We assumed that the best way to preserve his Russian was to avoid confusion between languages at early stages of language development and that our important parental goal was to protect the child from stresses caused by entering an unfamiliar linguistic environment. Our decision was intuitive rather than rooted in any theoretical literature (Cf. Schwartz 2013). On the basis of our own multilingual experience, we concluded that each language should be deeply embedded in a certain cultural environment to facilitate the child's bilingual acquisition; therefore, we found Shabbath and the Bible the most appropriate domains for introducing Hebrew. Yotam eagerly accepted this new game and participated in it using gestures and separate Hebrew words.

During the summer before his first year in the mainstream Hebrew-mediated kindergarten (at the age of 3 years and 10 months), we enlarged this area and taught him Hebrew through role playing, games, reading Hebrew books, and teaching new vocabulary. At this point, in the course of our parental discussions, the main principles for our home educational activities were explicitly formulated as simple rules for all the family members:

– a book is discussed in its language,
– an answer is given in the language of the question,
– there are certain games and puppet show kits that are assigned to a weaker language (without long explanations about the importance of this language for the child's future).

At that point, the language requiring our special efforts was Hebrew, while later it was Russian that needed our attention and protection. These 'officially' stated simple rules of our FLP remained the same for years, although it was much harder to follow them. At the first glance, these principles might undermine our efforts to foster Russian: when the children started a conversation in Hebrew, they insisted that the parents should answer in the same language. For a family policy maker

narrowly focused on the maintenance of the heritage language, this protected legitimate place for the threatening dominant language in the family communication may seem an unnecessary concession, as some of our Russian-speaking friends interpreted it. However, in the long run, this "neutral" (i.e. not in favor of any language) formulation of our FLP rules was beneficial: it reduced personal confrontations about language preferences, and, in fact, protected the place of Russian in the family.

As a result of the summer educational activities at home, Yotam was able to communicate in Hebrew starting from his first day in the kindergarten, so that his preschool teacher did not believe he had not attended any Hebrew childcare center. He felt secure not only about his Hebrew, but also about his Russian and about his bilingual competence. He was proud to offer his translation services helping the teacher to communicate with the Russian-speaking children who did not know Hebrew (mainly because of the common parental belief that the dominant language will take care of itself). Thus, the intensive language preparation before entering the Hebrew learning environment helped the child to develop a secure image of himself as a competent bilingual individual and to strengthen the positions of Russian in his self-perception.

During his first year in the kindergarten, Yotam rapidly developed his proficiency in both languages, while the differences in the cognitive levels that he could grasp in each language were striking. In Russian, he was read aloud thick books recommended for schoolchildren, like Pushkin's poem "Ruslan and Ludmila" written in a very difficult and rich language with a lot of archaic words. He enjoyed being read in Russian, willingly discussed the details and loved to tell his own stories based on the Russian books and modified by his free imagination. In Hebrew, he listened attentively to short simple books from the kindergarten library like "A story of five balloons" or "Father's big umbrella".

After several months in the Hebrew kindergarten, first instances of codeswitching and convergence to Hebrew syntactic and semantic structures in Yotam's Russian were registered in my diary. Thus, as discussed in the previous section, we faced the unresolved tension between the idealistic desire to foster the use of clearly separated fully developed languages and understanding the strong sociolinguistic forces governing the emergence of contact varieties. Although, the contradiction seemed impossible to resolve at the ideological level, the language practice prompted its own solutions. The child's thinking and communicating in his bilingual mode resulted in fascinating creative outcomes showing the bilingual child's meta-linguistic sensitivity to word structure and phonological similarities:

Yotam: Ты знаешь почему Меора назвала Инбар Ин**бал**ь?
Ti znaesh pochemu Meora nazvala Inbar Inbal?
Do you know why Meora [the substitution teacher] called Inbar – In**bal**?
[she apparently confused two popular Israeli names for girls: Inbar and Inbal]
Mother: ???
Yotam: Потому что она **бал**овалась!
Potomu chto ona **bal**ovalas!
Because she *was naughty* ["**bal**ovalas" - Russian]
(mother's diary, 2004, translated from Russian)

Multiple utterances similar to this example made it clear that the child's experiments with the languages in contact constituted an integral part of his linguistic development. They were as valuable as his earlier experiments with the morphology and meaning of Russian words in a monolingual mode. Besides, his bilingual utterances produced a charming humorous effect and enlivened the family communication leaving practically no space for any serious prescriptive intervention.

Thus, through multiple successful and unsuccessful attempts analyzed in our parental discussions, we worked out a set of important principle related to the linguistic side of our FLP. My grasp of research in the field of contact linguistics, codeswitching and convergence (Myers-Scotton 1999, 2002; Auer 1998) contributed to the solid linguistic basis of our FLP. Understanding the nature of bilingual speech prevented us from futile fighting against strong natural tendencies for languages to interact and merge in the bilingual speech. Due to my husband's firm commitment to high literary standards in both languages, educational goals related to aspiring for clear grammatical speech did not completely disappear from our family agenda. Thus, we have come up with a balanced symbiotic view: although we make efforts to cultivate the norms of speaking correct Russian and Hebrew without mixing them, all the signs of unavoidable interference between the languages are accepted with humor and understanding. Since then, bilingual humor has become one of the most enjoyable and cherished themes in our family communication and creativity. When we dealt with the routine codeswitching, we chose simple friendly requests to restate the whole sentence in one language or in both languages. Sometimes, the best strategy was just to help the child remember or learn words that he knew only in one of his languages. When the child applied the rules of the Hebrew syntax to his Russian utterances, we turned these cases of convergence into linguistic riddles and the child was delighted to solve them with the help of the parents' guiding questions:

Mother: Как ты думаешь, почему ты сказал «он дал мне удар»,
Why do you think you said "he gave me a stroke"?
[Russian, ungrammatical, convergence to Hebrew]
Yotam: Потому что на иврите говорят "hu natan li maka"!
Because in Hebrew you say "hu natan li maka"
[he gave me a stroke – Hebrew, grammatical]
Mother: А как надо сказать по русски?
And how do we say it in Russian?
[After trying different variants, the child comes up with the right form "on menya udaril" – he hit me – Russian]
(Ethnographic log, 2006, translated from Russian)

Until the present moment, we successfully apply this system with all the four children. These short bilingual games-riddles take several minutes and do not require any special equipment; the speech of our bilingual children constantly gives ample linguistic material. We can play them in the family car or in a doctor's waiting room.

Since the desire to transmit the cultural and literary values is one of the primary motives driving our heritage language project, teaching literacy constitutes an important aspect of our multilingual endeavor. Yotam started to learn Russian letters

at the age of four and a half: it was important for us to teach him to read in Russian before he started to learn Hebrew reading, since we were afraid that he would not want to read in Russian after he masters the Hebrew reading skills in the mainstream educational setting. At that stage, weekly lessons of Russian with the father started and have not ceased till the present moment. The same tradition continued with the other siblings despite all the competing pressures in the parents' life and despite all the periods of decline in the children's motivation. In the preschool years, Yotam was delighted to participate in these lessons, and rapidly progressed in his reading skills, while the father-teacher made special efforts to involve him into enticing linguistic games, stories and riddles based on the literary texts.

At the age of 5, Yotam became more and more involved into his Hebrew environment in the kindergarten and in his afternoon activities. When he came back home, we always gave him time to share his fresh impressions in Hebrew showing respect and maintaining a conversation in Hebrew (it is another strategy that we have been using with all the children since then). During his first pre-school year, he willingly switched to Russian soon after he shared his emotions in Hebrew. However, at the age of 5, he was reluctant to switch to Russian even several hours after coming home! He started to express clear preferences towards Hebrew over Russian. The ethnographic log registered his frequent phrases like "*I love Hebrew more*", "*It is boring to speak Russian*". He started to use only Hebrew when he played alone with his toys, he actively resisted our attempts to switch the family conversation from Hebrew to Russian; he completely switched to Hebrew in his communication with his friends from Russian-speaking families with whom he had previously communicated in Russian. It was very hard for us to accept this behavior. This strong connection between language and emotions goes in line with the research into the emotional aspects of intergenerational transmission of the heritage language (Okita 2002). However, we were ready for a long process requiring a lot of patience and optimism, we had to learn not to be discouraged and disappointed by the signs of the dominant language intrusion. Besides, we realized that the question of language preferences and use is more complex and multi-faceted than the child's straightforward claims (Caldas 2006). We chose to avoid arguments and reproaches, as we were afraid to stick a label that could later force the child into the role of a "linguistic rebel". Besides, despite Yotam's clearly formulated anti-Russian position at that period, we always knew that his actual proficiency in Russian is very high (close to a native-speaking child), and this language cannot just disappear from his repertoire. The following conversation conducted in Russian (!) is one of multiple illustrations to this idea:

Yotam [firmly]: Я больше не хочу говорить по-русски!
Ya bolshe ne chochu govorit po-rysski.
I don't want to speak Russian anymore.
Father: Тогда нам придется перестать читать «Очарованного принца»! Это тоже по-русски.
Then, we will have to stop reading aloud "The Enchanted Prince". It is also in Russian!
Yotam [startled]: Нет, нет, чтение – это другое!
No, no. Reading is something different!
(ethnographic log, March, 2006, translated from Russian)

Indeed, reading aloud in Russian has been the most enjoyable and effective FLP strategy that never aroused any objections. We clearly saw its advantages with Yotam and we have used it daily with all the children: even when they are able to read themselves we do not stop reading aloud.

During his first two school years, the situation has become balanced: although Yotam was the main stable source of Hebrew for his younger siblings, he did not mind to keep a conversation in Russian with the family members who addressed him in Russian. In fact, it was a period of his searching for some clear definitions that could help him to grasp his multilingual identity where Russian had its secure place, albeit a secondary place of a limited value. The following conversation is one of several similar ones registered at that period:

Yotam: Я хочу знать много языков… Пять. Иврит (само собой!), русский (потому что это **ваш** родной язык), арамейский (гемара…), английский и французский.
I want to know many languages… Five: Hebrew (of course!), Russian (because it is **your** native language), Aramaic (for Talmud), English, and French.
Mother: Но, я думаю, русский – это и **твой** родной язвк!
No ya dumayu russkiy eto i tvoy rodnoy yazik
But I think Russian is **your** native language as well.
Yotam: [thinking] Да… Но иврит роднее!
Da, no ivrit rodnee!
Yes, but Hebrew is more native!
(ethnographic log, 2007, translated from Russian)

According to our FLP principles, it was important for us to control our warm feelings towards the beloved language and accept such honest answers without criticism and personal confrontations.

In the field of literacy, it was a period of certain balance between Hebrew and Russian reading skills: Yotam continued his weekly lessons with his father. Although it often required a lot of efforts to mobilize his energy and start the activity, he worked well and enjoyed these home literacy classes. My husband added activities related to teaching formal Grammar rules (syntax, orthography and morphology) according to the system accepted in the Soviet schools and inherited from the traditional Slavic philological studies. Yet, in the course of our family action research, these traditional methods were complemented by activities based on bilingual communication. Thus, multiple translation exercises were used for two different purposes:

1. Creative translation of literary texts from Russian to Hebrew and vice versa: the discussions and explanations naturally emerging in the course of translating are particularly valuable, as they help to develop the child's intuitive grasp of subtle shades of meaning, idiomatic expressions, structural differences between the two languages (see Grosjean 1997). Audio records of such translation classes give lively insights into the sophisticated mechanisms of language interaction in the rapidly developing bilingual mind (the detailed analysis of these records may require a separate article).
2. Exercises highlighting structural differences between the languages and stimulating the development of meta-linguistic awareness: these exercises were used as a

starting point for teaching formal aspects of the heritage language. For example, children speaking Russian as a family language usually fail to master its complex system of noun declension, since it includes six cases, three genders, singular – plural distinction, and many exemptions from the basic rules. My husband started his lesson asking Yotam to translate from Hebrew to Russian a set of phrases "the mother", "without the mother", "to the mother", "by the mother", "about the mother". Mobilizing his intuitive knowledge of Russian, the child gradually discovered that while in Hebrew the noun does not change, in Russian, the noun gets a different inflection in each phrase. After some serious training, my husband and Yotam started to invent new nonsense cases "missing" in the Russian language: "*rugatelniy*" (related to scolding), *"vitatelniy"* (related to dreaming), etc. These non-existent words phonologically resemble the names of the Russian cases, e.g. "roditelniy" (Genitive). [The description is reconstructed from the notebooks used in the home lessons]

Although most of the literary activities in Russian were initiated by adults, sometimes, Yotam initiated his own activities. He took thin Russian books for very little kids and read them silently or to his young siblings. Once he was so interested in reading "Robin Hood" in Russian that he took the volume to school. The artifact data from this period contain several self-made books that he started to write in Russian (and never finished). In the development of Yotam's Hebrew, his father played a crucial role by setting high standards of following the Hebrew syntactic and morphological rules, although many native Israelis make mistakes in grammatical gender and plural forms. Our FLP strategies in the field of literacy are backed up by a very powerful factor: both parents actively use their literary heritage putting it in dialogical relations with the dominant culture and with the ancient Hebrew heritage. We read and reread Russian books, pay special attention to translated literature. We make constant and conscious efforts to speak a clear literary Russian and minimize codeswitching and convergence to Hebrew.

Starting from his third grade and until the present moment, we actually observed and evaluated the results of our FLP in Yotam's case. Yotam shows very stable patterns: his proficiency in Russian (both oral and literary skills) are high enough to allow him to use this language on the native level whenever he needs it, while his deep knowledge of Hebrew grammar and advanced vocabulary helped him to gain the reputation of a "Hebrew scholar" in his school and among the younger siblings. Evaluating his own proficiency in Russian, he tends to underestimate his high level, apparently under the influence of his identity perception at the moment. He defines himself as a "modern Israeli guy", while he views his parents as somewhat old-fashioned, but nice and homely immigrants. Indeed, at present, genuine interest and motivation are the key conceptions for our on-going efforts to sustain his Russian. If we find an engaging topic, he even does not pay attention that he discusses it in a rich correct Russian. If he wants to watch a certain movie (for example "Harry Potter" or "Home Alone"), we try to find its Russian version before he finds the Hebrew one.

The question of his reading in Russian may be the most difficult one. While he swallows 3–4 thick books in Hebrew per week, he never initiates reading in Russian;

he agrees to read in Russian once a week and finishes one book in 3–5 months. No matter how hard we try to remember those multiple books that we adored in our childhood, we cannot find at least one really enticing book for him to get truly absorbed and enthusiastic. We understand cultural differences between the generations; therefore, we do not reproach him. We learn to control our expectations and appreciate the fact that he reads in the heritage language. Yet, we have to admit that we share some sad feeling. In one of our evening conversations, we found a metaphor: it feels as if you have a useless banknote of 100 shekels, while you urgently need a coin to park your car. However, in the global computerized world, Yotam's passion for reading books in Hebrew may be an indirect result of our efforts to promote the heritage language literacy skills.

We evaluate our FLP in his case as positive and realistic: we have done and are doing our best to help him develop his proficiency in the heritage language, now it is his choice how to use this language and the components of his identity related to it (see also Caldas 2006). In terms of the acquisition of Russian, Yotam had very favorable conditions: during the crucial years of his linguistic development, he had no sibling impact that could promote a shift from Russian; immersion into the Russian monolingual environment made it possible for him to master the complex Russian inflectional morphology. Although we have no life-long control over his motivation to maintain Russian, we made efforts to instigate subtle psychological mechanisms that would help him harmonize his integral bilingual self in our multifaceted and controversial multilingual society. Yotam's case contradicts parental fears that a minority child who started his life being monolingual in his family language may lack behind the majority children in mastering the dominant language. However, Yotam's success in mastering Hebrew is not to be taken for granted: it has been carefully monitored and promoted by the parents.

11.3.3 Short-Lag Siblings Hanna and Rachel: Modifying FLP Strategies and Adapting to the Needs of the Rapidly Growing Family

11.3.3.1 Hanna

The main difference between Yotam and his three younger siblings is that he started his linguistic development with an almost 4-year-long period of practically monolingual Russian environment followed by a sequential exposure to the L2, while his younger siblings entered a truly bilingual household and their simultaneous bilingual development differs significantly.

Hanna was born when Yotam was three, we talked and read to her in Russian, she went for morning walks with her grandparents, started to say her first words at the age of 10 months and spoke in long well-formed sentences by the age of 2. It was the same year, when Yotam and his friends brought a lot of Hebrew to our house. At the age of two and a half, I observed and recorded a fascinating stage that we ironically called "babbling in Hebrew" (although it is not an accurate scientific

term): she pronounced strings of meaningless sounds resembling the Hebrew speech in intonation and phonological features. This phonological exercise was particularly interesting against the background of her clear and meaningful communication in Russian with long literary quotes from her favorite little books. Gradually, distinct Hebrew words started to appear in this string of Hebrew-like sounds, especially when she "talked" in her toy cell phone. At this point, I had an intuitive feeling that it is the right to time to start teaching her Hebrew words for toys, objects and actions in order to prepare her for kindergarten that she started at the age of 3. Her constant exposure to Russian continued at the daily basis, most of the reading was done in Russian, while the parents' Hebrew input had a status of short systematic home lessons or play sessions. This FLP strategy was purely intuitive rather than backed up by reading research literature or parents' guides. Yotam and his friends presented a constant lively source of background Hebrew at home, although when he addressed Hanna he normally used Russian.

Due to these home lessons and uncontrolled influence of her older brother, she had no problems communicating in Hebrew from the first day of her pre-school program. However, unlike Yotam, she was confused about the fact that she had to switch between Russian and Hebrew. She could not explain it, but I felt she was uncomfortable because she found it difficult to recognize the patterns governing the changes of languages in her environment, while the borders between these languages were not clear to her. Baker (2000) addresses the problem of a child's confusion caused by unexpected switches between the languages. Thus, we started a long process of helping her to distinguish the languages interacting in her environment. As a routine practice I asked her which language is spoken at the moment, and she often found it very hard to answer, or just randomly chose one of the two options. My guess was that the "names" of the languages were very abstract labels that had no real palpable meaning for her. She was very uncomfortable when she discovered a new word and did not know to which language it belonged or when she had already known another word with the same meaning (and did not understand that she simply knew its counterpart in a different language). This period of confusion between the languages may be viewed as one of the transitional stages in becoming bilingual: it was obvious that the girl's mind was very active throughout this stage. Through her frequent questions and her independent discoveries, this young simultaneous bilingual child gradually developed an essential ability defined by Biyalistok (2001) as awareness of arbitrary nature of languages. The following example is one of many other similar records of this period:

Hanna: Мама, как говорят ממתקים на иврите?
Mama, kak govoryat mamtakim na ivrite?
Mom, how do you say *mamtakim* ('sweets'-Hebrew) in Hebrew?
Mother: ממתקים это слово на иврите. По-русски говорят «сладости».
Mamtakim – eto slovo na ivrite. Po-russki govoryat sladosti.
Mamtakim is a Hebrew word! In Russian you say "sladosti".
[Hanna is puzzled, hesitant and uncomfortable; she chooses to stop the conversation]
(Ethnographic log, December 2006, translated from Russian)

From September to December of her first year in the kindergarten, we did not succeed much in helping her to distinguish between the languages, until she herself found a brilliant strategy. When she was asked which language she speaks at the moment, she asked: "And which language does Orna [her preschool teacher] speak?" I always answered "Hebrew". Then she could easily conclude: "Then, I speak Russian" or "I also speak Hebrew". Apparently, she used this clear case as an anchor in her confusing bilingual reality: unlike her bilingual parents and brother, Orna spoke only one language.

Later, she developed an additional helping tool, namely, the distinction "знакомый [znakomiy]" vs. "незнакомый [neznakomiy]" ("familiar" vs. "unfamiliar" language):

Hanna brought the word *ramzor* ("traffic lights" –Hebr.) from the kindergarten; she used it frequently in her Hebrew conversations and as a codeswitching item in her Russian phrases. I taught
her the Russian word *svetofor* many times, yet, she could not learn it.

Hanna: Но я не могу это сказать на незнакомом языке!
No ya ne mogu eto skazat na neznakomom yazike!
But I cannot say it in the unfamiliar language!

Mother: Почему?! Это же по-русски!
Pochemu? Eto zhe po-russky!
Why?! It is in Russian!

Hanna: А по-русски – это как Орна говорит?
A po-russki – eto kak Orna govorit?
Is Russian like Orna speaks?

Mother: Нет, это как МЫ говорим сейчас!
Net, eto kak MI govorim seychas!
No, it is like WE speak now!

Hanna: [startled] Так это на знакомом языке?
Tak eto na znakomom yazike?
Is it in the familiar language????

[Probably, she cannot understand and accept the fact that in the "familiar" language the word is
much more difficult than its counterpart in the "unfamiliar" one]
(Ethnographic log, February, the 18th, 2007, translated from Russian)

Hanna listens to Hebrew songs about Purim.

Hanna: Это מלך
Eto *melech*!
This is (Russ) king (Hebr)

Mother: Это царь! На иврите מלך, а по-русски «царь».
Eto **tzar**! Na ivrite *melech*, a po-russki tzar
This is (Russ) king (Russ). In Hebrew [we say] king (Hebr), but in Russian 'tzar'

Hanna: [disappointed] И по-русски незнакомое…
i po-russki neznakomoe!
In Russian, it is also unfamiliar…

Mother: Почему же незнакомое? Царь!!
Pochemu zhe neznakomoe? Tzar!
Why is it unfamiliar? Tzar!

Hanna: [happy] Да! Да! Да! Знакомое! Знакомое!
Da! Da! Da! Znakomoe! Znakomoe!
Yes! Yes! Yes! Familiar! Familiar!

(Ethnographic log, February, the 25th, 2007, translated from Russian)

This intensive intellectual work continued until the spring of her first year in the kindergarten (8 months since the beginning of her Hebrew-mediated pre-school program, 16 months since the onset of the L2 input at home), when she was finally able to name the language in use without any hesitation and did not feel frustrated when new words were "misplaced" in her bilingual mind. It required patience and friendly consistency, but I found this strategy rewarding and fruitful as it gradually built a clear and strong infrastructure for balanced bilingual development and preservation of the family language. In contrast to Hana, some of the children participating in my PhD research admitted that they were confused by the uncontrollable mixture of Russian and Hebrew in their environment and never knew which language they used; Russian gradually evaporated from their repertoire (and they hardly noticed it). They could say a full sentence in Hebrew with a couple of Russian words and were sure that they were 'speaking Russian' (Kopeliovich 2009).

11.3.3.2 Rachel

Rachel was born a year and a half after Hanna and seemed to follow the same pattern of developing good Russian communication skills by the age of 2 in the close environment where all the family members spoke Russian to her. However, she had an ample exposure to Hebrew through her older siblings. The intriguing stage of "babbling in Hebrew" was also registered and recorded at the age of 2 and 10 months; even Hebrew-like conversations over the toy telephone were the same as in Hanna's case. This fascinating stage in the process early L2 acquisition under the impact of the older sibling deserves further attention of researchers and parents.

The recordings of the nonsense Hebrew strings appeared 3 months after I recorded first cases of Rachel's using Hebrew phrases ("Lo! Lo nachon") and repeating very short chunks of Hebrew songs that Hanna frequently sang at the age of two and a half. Another source of Hebrew chunks at this stage was Hebrew prayers. The following ethnographic note was taken when Rachel was 2 years and 3 months:

> On the playground a group of Hebrew-speaking boys attacked Rachel and took her toys. Trying to protect her property and having no words to express her anger, she approached the boys shouting the beginning of "Kiddush", the weekly Shabbath prayer at the beginning of the meal:
> … ויחולו ...יום הוישישי
> "Yom ha-shishi… ve-yachulu …"
> The Sixth Day… And started [the Heaven and the Earth]
> (Ethnographic log, August, 2007)

Following excerpt is the beginning of the first sample of her nonsense Hebrew-like strings recorded 6 months later, when Rachel was 2 years and 10 months:

> Nagita aba! nagita aba! Ihed? Lo! Pahad? Lo! Basin? Lo!
> (only the words "aba" and "lo" are real Hebrew words)
> **Mama, ti** basin! [laughing]
> Mom, you (Russ) nonsense word from her Hebrew string
> (Ethnographic log, March, 2008)

The main difference between the nonsense example and the small chunks of songs or prayers is that the former is constructed by the speaker rather than repeated and imitated. When she suddenly had a real communicative need (to tease me), she switched to Russian. She might have probably felt that "babbling" strings did not serve real communicative purposes.

Thus, in Rachel's case, this stage of nonsense Hebrew-like phonological strings was very brief and, in fact, it was not a separate stage like in Hanna's case. The reason for this difference was the fact that the proportion of Hebrew in Rachel's environment was higher and more Hebrew speech was directed towards her with communicative purposes. In fact, Hanna frequently tried to involve her baby sister into her favorite game in Hebrew: for instance, Hanna was a preschool teacher while her toys and the baby sister were obedient kindergarten children. At the same age, Hanna just heard Yotam's Hebrew as a background language, while he addressed her in Russian.

We used our traditional strategies: we taught her Hebrew before she started the kindergarten at the age of three and a half and helped her to distinguish between the languages. She was less successful in communication in Hebrew during the first week in the kindergarten than her older siblings were; it took her almost a month to switch from gestures to Hebrew words. Tabors (2002) defines this stage of integration as a non-word stage. She was very content and happy and did not show any signs of distress. When she came back from the kindergarten she liked to play with her dolls pronouncing her nonsense Hebrew-like strings intermingled with kindergarten songs. During this period, I tried to help her as much as possible with her Hebrew by reading simple books, repeating essential vocabulary, eliciting simple phrases. Sometimes, the older siblings were happy to help me and teach her Hebrew words in a very sweet "pedagogical" manner. Yet, sometimes, they mocked bitterly at her mistakes and asked her to stop using Hebrew, because it sounded funny and embarrassing. I protected her and prohibited this behavior, but I was unable to eliminate it. By the end of her second month in the kindergarten, Rachel was able to speak in well-formed Hebrew sentences, her vocabulary was limited, yet, it was gradually growing. At this point, she almost completely switched to Hebrew both at home and in the kindergarten. Our patient friendly requests to switch to Russian as well as our attempts to start an interesting conversation in Russian did not help. Presumably, in her case the L2 exposure was much more extensive than in the case of her older siblings.

At the end of her first kindergarten year, her Hebrew became strong, rich and fluent, while her Russian significantly regressed under the pressure of Hebrew. This phenomenon is often observed in minority children (Okita 2002; Barron-Hauwaert 2011; Kopeliovich 2009). Both my husband and I had a very strong intuition that this is not a good time to foster Russian, the flexibility of our FLP allowed us to be sensible to individual differences of each child under different circumstances within the same family. The birth of the fourth baby deprived her of a cozy position of the sweet little one protected and adored by the older brother. The older sister with a strong inborn personality of a leader also threatened to occupy her secure family place. Thus, in our parental discussions, we negotiated the need to mobilize our limited

time-energy resources and direct them towards fulfilling her urgent psychological needs, while the question of her heritage language skills was irrelevant at that moment. Okita (2002) explicitly addresses this need to manage competing demands.

11.3.3.3 Hanna and Rachel as Close Playmates

When Rachel started her second kindergarten year and Hanna started her third year, they spent a lot of time together engaged in role-playing in Hebrew, watching Hebrew movies and discussing all the personally significant events, new toys and clothes, ideas for crafts and drawings in the terms accepted in their Hebrew-speaking environment. We had to work much harder to sustain Russian and had much less time and energy for it. In fact, during this period, we started to feel that Russian had become a "threatened/weaker" language in their linguistic repertoire and our FLP strategies needed some considerable revision. Although our FLP strategies worked well for Yotam at the same age, we did not succeed in transferring them to the case of his younger sisters. Moreover, in this aspect, the difference between the two sisters was also striking. Hanna who had rather advanced Russian communicative skills, insisted on using the languages the way she wanted. She could decide to use Russian and communicate successfully expressing her basic needs and even rather sophisticated emotions. Yet, if she said that she would not do it, neither our most delicate child-centered attempts to lead her towards the use of Russian, nor referring to the family rules (e.g. answering in the same language) could ever change her decision. In contrast, Rachel with her limited proficiency in Russian and a heavy accent, was always ready to switch to Russian to please the adults, yet after 2–5 words she inevitably switched back to Hebrew (either because she did not know a word, or just because it was very hard for her to express herself adequately). This fact points out that the actual level of the heritage language proficiency and the motivation to use it do not straightforwardly correspond. The complex interaction of diverse factors produces myriads of unique individual combinations to be attended by FLP practitioners.

Evaluating the situation, we concluded that the FLP strategies developed in Yotam's case were not wrong, but needed considerable adjustment: the girls had different personalities and histories of linguistic development. Moreover, the reality in the family has totally changed: we could not focus on one child anymore, the pressures of competing parental goals increased, the flow of Hebrew in the house was powerful and its mixture with Russian was hard to prevent. In our parental negotiations, we constantly discussed new challenges and the importance of flexibility and sensitivity in FLP. The family language practice gradually offered some solutions that were analyzed, refined and adopted in the course of our parental action research. We had to intensify creative and non-linguistic components of our FLP strategies. Besides, we had to develop pro-Russian activities engaging two or three children of different ages and different levels of Russian.

We did not try to oppose the powerful influence of siblings, we understood that we could not interfere with their choice of Hebrew in communicating with each

other, yet, we sometimes could covertly modify their linguistic behavior. For example, the girls played in Hebrew pretending they were doctors in a hospital. Yotam joined them and asked me to be a patient. I came to their "hospital" in the image of an old Russian-speaking immigrant who needed their help urgently and could not understand Hebrew. All the three "suddenly" remembered that they used to know some Russian in their childhood and rushed to help me. Yotam even wrote a long prescription in Russian. This authentic enjoyable interaction in Russian lasted for more than half an hour; after I left the game, the girls continued to play in Russian for an additional hour. After several similar (often humorous) interventions, a Russian-speaking personage started to appear from time to time in different games of the siblings; it is noteworthy that Yotam's strong Russian was very beneficial for the girls in these cases.

My husband started his formal weekly individual lessons with each girl between the age of 5 and 6. The rationale for this point of timing was explicitly formulated: we wanted to initiate their exposure to literacy training in Russian after each girl started to feel absolutely comfortable with her Hebrew communication skills in the kindergarten and had a certain clear routine related to the use of Russian at home. The lessons were built according to the same principles discussed in the Sect. about Yotam (11.3.2). However, the pace and the materials had to be adjusted to the level of each child. At the same time, I started to develop creative family projects based on simple Russian literary texts or on our family experiences: wallpapers and albums about our family travels, crafts or drawings illustrating the books, short home movies and puppet shows. Sometimes, these projects were carefully prepared, and sometimes they emerged spontaneously. It was important to observe the kids and understand what really inspires them. Then, I looked for an appropriate artistic form involving the use of Russian. In fact, it was not totally new for me. Yotam also drew, cut and colored his favorite Russian heroes, we prepared shadow-theater shows based on Russian poetry. Yet, those were nice marginal activities aimed at developing non-linguistic skills, I felt we needed to balance the intensity of linguistic and intellectual challenges he faced. Yet, in the case of Hanna and Rachel these non-linguistic "supplements" became major tools for promoting our linguistic goals and they still occupy a central place among the strategies that sustain the girls' Russian. My husband also started to include acting out and drawing activities into his weekly lessons of Russian. Detailed descriptions of these projects are beyond the scope of this chapter, only main principles that we developed are stated below:

1. Instead of preaching the value of the heritage language, we help the children feel that they are already deeply connected to this language. For example, after we read "The Little Prince" in Russian, I guided Hanna into preparing a beautiful poster with wise quotations and famous drawings from the book pasted around her own picture taken when she listened to this touching story.
2. "Enchant and enhance": this simple principle requires starting each linguistic activity with a creative set induction helping to avoid or minimize anxiety and tensions. Before reading the famous Russian folk tale about the fox and the crane that invited each other for meals and served the food in the utensils inconvenient

for the guest, the girls were asked to lick some jam from a plate and take nuts from the bottom of a high jar.

3. Heritage language speakers usually have limited linguistic means, therefore, they cannot immediately form mental images when they read a story. Thus, they get bored quickly. Palpable and clear non-linguistic images should give them a quick grasp of the main ideas. Shadow theater, puppets, relevant objects, masks, acting out, crafts are indispensible means facilitating the kids' access to Russian.
4. The child needs to see that the heritage language gives him//her an access to something truly unique and there is no other way to reach it. When Hanna tried to act out "her ideal positive self", she always imagined and imitated her favorite images of pretty girls from the Hebrew movies. Subconsciously, this identification strengthened the position of Hebrew at the expense of the heritage language. Similar positive images from her favorite Russian movies did not arouse her desire to identify with them or act them out. We noticed that she was impressed by a famous beautiful portrait of Pushkin's wife, and we offered her to read and learn by heart the piece of poetry "The Beauty" that the poet devoted to her. This perspective did not elicit any enthusiasm. Yet, when I promised to video tape her reciting the poem in a similar ball dress and jewelry, with the same hairstyle and fan, she mobilized her will power and learned the whole poem with all its difficult and unfamiliar words.

The real-life events often prompted unexpected simple solutions without our direct efforts. My friend from Russia raises her only child in Germany. In our telephone conversation, she expressed her concern about her daughter's poor motivation to master Russian literacy skills. I offered Rachel to write a letter to the girl, explaining that there is only one language they share, and it is Russian. This successful functional and meaningful written communication had a powerful impact on the heritage-language project in both families. As soon as each girl found a real addressee, writing in Russian was not perceived as abstract difficult chores anymore: both girls were motivated to work on colorful postcards, photos with captions, drawings with short explanations in Russian. My friends' daughter called the Cyrillic alphabet "Rachelka's sweet letters". Later we made efforts to find a Russian pen pal for Hanna as well.

Another strategy that had emerged in the course of a real-life event was adopted as an integral part of our FLP. It addresses the vulnerable issue of protecting the child's motivation to use the heritage language while setting the standards of grammatical correctness. When Rachel spontaneously decided to express her feelings towards the parents, she took a whiteboard and wrote two sentences in Russian "Father, I love you! Mother, I love you!" (The language choice was the result of her desire to please us). She made a lot of mistakes, omitted letters, or wrote them in a wrong direction. But it was her own initiative requiring tedious efforts. My first natural drive was to react to the emotional content of her message, giving her a warm answer, praising her efforts and assuring her of my loving feelings towards her. Some minutes later, the happy girl shyly noted that she might have some mistakes in her writing. I asked if she wanted to correct them: she did not mind. One by

one we erased the problematic letters, discussed each of them and she wrote the right symbol. The fact that mistakes disappeared without any trace gave her a strong feeling of confidence, while she was gradually proceeding towards a perfect writing sample in Russian. Since then, we worked out a simple algorithm for teaching writing skills: react to the content of the message giving a feeling of understanding → carefully motivate the child to improve the linguistic means → help her to identify and correct mistakes using a whiteboard, a pencil or a computer screen. Thus, the mistakes gradually disappear and the child enjoys her clean writing sample. In contrast, seeing a page with multiple corrections may discourage a young heritage-language writer.

In conclusion, at present, both Hanna and Rachel have very high proficiency in Hebrew oral and literary skills, while their Russian requires our constant efforts. Hanna can conduct a fluent everyday conversation in a variety of Russian marked by occasional codeswitching and convergence to Hebrew, she can read children's books in Russian and write simple sentences consulting the parents when she has problems with the spelling. Rachel can express her basic needs in Russian, although she lacks fluency and has a limited vocabulary, significant Hebrew accent, and multiple Hebrew-induced syntactic and semantic changes in her contact variety of Russian. She can read in Russian slowly but practically without mistakes, while her writing skills need further intensive practice, including reinforcement of basic letter recognition skills. Both girls have a very positive attitude to Russian and we try our best to advance their proficiency in the heritage language, avoiding any comparison between them as well as between the girls and their older brother. With the help of their bursting creative energy, vivid imagination and strong conflicting emotions, the sisters advanced our family project and taught us that we need to listen carefully to our children and observe them before implementing any aspect of our FLP.

11.3.4 The Fourth Child Yehiel: Entering the Household with a Stable FLP Routine

Yehiel was born into the experienced bilingual household, and his linguistic development seemed to move according to a well-developed professional route. It was especially valuable because during the first four crucially important years of his life, the family faced a very demanding period of professional, economic and emotional difficulties. Yet, the three older siblings and the established atmosphere of our multilingual household helped to promote our FLP goals. The siblings addressed Yehiel in Russian, there were always volunteers to read a Russian book for him, to play a game or show a movie. The baby also played his covert role as a family policy maker: he brought the older children back to their early childhood years associated with the Russian language. He started to talk in Russian at the age of 12 months. By the age of 3 his Russian was well-developed and full of exquisite high-style expressions picked up from his favorite Russian books and from the speech of his well-educated grandparents that continued their traditional morning walks with the baby.

Yehiel has been constantly exposed to Hebrew, his first Hebrew utterances started to appear at the age of two and a half, when he simply imitated his siblings. At this point, I started to help him to distinguish between the languages with the help of a stable formula, pronounced in Russian:

По-русски – «мальчик», а на иврите -ילד
"Po russki –*malchik,* a na ivrite – *yeled"*
In Russian [it is] a boy (Russ), while in Hebrew [it is] a boy (Hebr.)

When I saw that he was comfortable with this distinction, we started to read Hebrew books clearly announcing before each reading session: "This is a Hebrew book!" or "This book is in Russian". Then, I started to ask Yehiel in different situations "Which language is used now?" After 2 months of intensive training in distinguishing the languages, he was very comfortable with this distinction; he rapidly gained new vocabulary in Hebrew, readily engaged in simple conversations with monolingual Hebrew speakers using either Hebrew phrases he repeated as whole chunks or building his own original phrases heavily influenced by the Russian syntax. One of my records described the case where he tried to convince a Hebrew-speaking woman that she should say "*masait yaf**e**" ("truck [fem.] beautiful [masc.]") instead of "masait yaf**a**" ("truck [fem.] beautiful [fem.]"). Yehiel's phrase demonstrates a lack of agreement between the feminine noun and the masculine adjective. The source of this mistake is apparently the fact that the Russian noun for "truck" is masculine (грузовик – *gruzovik).* In addition, the phonological form of the Hebrew word "masait" with its consonant ending corresponds to the form of Russian masculine nouns.

Yehiel is going to start his kindergarten in a month. His siblings have a clear goal to teach him Hebrew and are ready to invest their time, energy and imagination into this process. In fact, we find it very positive that the initial process of helping Yehiel to distinguish between the languages had been completed by the time his siblings started to flood him with their Hebrew teaching. He seems to be well prepared for starting his Hebrew preschool and his Russian seems to have a solid basis, yet, as experienced FLP makers, we expect new challenges and questions to emerge.

Although Yehiel's early years did not pose direct challenges in terms of FLP strategies, the presence of the fourth child and difficult circumstances brought up a question of coping with the failure to keep up with the standards that the parents set for themselves. At first, I was frustrated and remorseful any time I found myself acting against our family beliefs and carefully designed FLP strategies: nagging for the use of Hebrew, ordering to switch the language, correcting the kids' mistakes in a straightforward unwise manner, talking in a mixture of languages. I felt perplexed and disgusted when I heard myself saying to my kids "*Either you talk to me in Russian, or I won't talk to you at all!*" It was exactly the same sentence I criticized in my PhD thesis as an example of destructive FLP strategies (Kopeliovich 2009). Gradually, I developed a strategy that helped me to protect myself from the negative emotional load and from mistakes it might cause.

At the critical moments, I initiated a soothing internal dialogue using one of the following phrases:

> "Do you want Russian to be the language of your anger in the child's perception?"
>
> "In the heritage-language maintenance, not only "always" counts, "sometimes" also matters…"
>
> "Do not give up your FLP strategies carved for one child. But when you have four children, it is OK to use them every fourth occasion rather than every time"

In fact, this period even had some positive effect showing the right proportion of the language question among other factors. For example, based on the conclusions of my PhD dissertation I had a very negative opinion about the pattern firmly established in many immigrant households: the parents talk in the family language while the children answer in the language of the dominant society. Yet, during the most difficult years, I discovered that this pattern is very effective when we need to talk about our children's emotional difficulties. Both sides can fully express their unresolved emotions in the most convenient language and reach profound mutual understanding. Besides, the painful period of temporary decline in the pace and quality of parental FLP efforts revealed new important insights into covert mechanisms regulating the parents' emotional well-being as one of key elements of a healthy FLP (see Okita 2002, for accounts of emotional damage caused by the parents' feelings of failure).

11.4 *Happylingual* Educational Philosophy

The review of evolutionary changes in our FLP at different stages of its development helps to grasp the underlying educational rational inspiring this dynamic multi-dimensional family project based on a flexible FLP. The term "Happylingual" in the title of the chapter refers to an ultimately optimistic family language policy striving to make a full use of the existing linguistic resources of heritage language speakers, no matter how limited they may seem. It stands for an ecological approach taking the sociolinguistic reality as it is: without unrealistic expectations and without criticism. The theory of linguistic ecology focuses on the interaction between the language and multiple diverse factors in its environment. (Haugen 1972). The term "*Happylingual*" implies looking for a delicate balance between our efforts to protect and cultivate the vulnerable language, on the one hand, and avoiding futile fights against natural sociolinguistic forces that drive the children towards the stronger language, on the other hand. We may try to understand these forces and use them to promote our goals of creating an ecologically sound linguistic environment. But if we don't succeed we choose to release the control rather than hurt the children (no matter how tiny and covert the negative impact seems). The limitations of the chapter format did not allow showing how these principles have been applied to accompanying educational activities on the community level; rich qualitative data on our community multilingual projects have been accumulated and will be analyzed in further publications.

Evaluating and summarizing our family action research, both my husband and I gradually learned to precede our FLP measures by listening to our children and observing their natural behavior; we shifted our attention from our plans and strategies to the children's spontaneous behavior, choices and initiatives. The insights into our FLP helped us to clarify the nature of our partnership and distribution of responsibilities. My husband is more prone to well-structured systematic individual lessons with each child, while I have an intuition for spontaneous projects driven by the kids' initiatives. My husband is concerned with preserving the elite literary culture rooted in the classical Russian and world literature, while I am willing to counterbalance elite intellectual endeavors by educating for cross-cultural understanding, strengthening social skills and accepting real-life challenges. Ideological arguments could emphasize the differences between our views and polarize our positions towards extremes. However, our working together in the domain of practice has refined and strengthened both positions through their constructive interaction. Therefore, our parental action research provides a unique contribution to the current field of FLP.

The present chapter focuses on the FLP issues; therefore, it does not contain a full detailed analysis of the children's linguistic development on the basis of the collected data. Many other interesting themes deserve further research in the scope of the rapidly growing data corpus of our FLP research in progress: sibling interaction, bilingual humor, acquisition of literacy, linguistic analysis of the family data, and other topics.

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Chapter 12
Negotiating Family Language Policy: Doing Homework

Xiao Lan Curdt-Christiansen

12.1 Literature Review

FLP, as a newly emerged field of study, is receiving increased attention as researchers seek to understand why members of some immigrant groups maintain their languages, while members of other groups lose their languages. Why some children, growing up in a monolingual society, become bilinguals while other children, growing up in a bilingual environment, become monolinguals. When tracing the processes of bi/multilingual development and minority language maintenance, researchers have shown that language ideology is the underlying force in parental decisions on what language to practice and what measures to employ in order to control family members' language behaviors (Curdt-Christiansen 2009; King et al. 2008). Recent studies have found that FLP in bilingual families is highly related to macro-level political structures and strongly influenced by migration pressures, national language policy, and language in education policy (Canagarajah 2008; Curdt-Christiansen 2012; Fogle 2012; King and Fogle 2013; Lane 2010). Resisting or surrendering to various external forces, parents take different measures to ensure desirable bilingual outcomes. Some send their children to heritage language schools (Curdt-Christiansen 2009; Schwartz 2008; Schwartz et al. 2010), some seek external professional help (Curdt-Christiansen 2012), while others maintain minority literacy skills through daily socialization routines (Curdt-Christiansen 2013). At the home front, some parents make conscious decisions and plans to enrich their children's linguistic repertoire or to maintain their home language. Such deliberate language strategies include one parent-one language (OPOL), minority language at home, delayed introduction to second language and mixed languages (Baker 2011; De Houwer 2009).

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M. Schwartz and A. Verschik (eds.), *Successful Family Language Policy: Parents, Children and Educators in Interaction*, Multilingual Education 7,
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-7753-8_12,

These researches have yielded much insight into the process of parental decision making and choice of family language in relation to societal contexts (Canagarajah 2008; Spolsky 2009; Schwartz et al. 2010), cultural and gender identities (Piller 2002; Okita 2002), and emotions (Pavlenko 2004; Tannenbaum 2012). However, few studies have provided details on how parents and children translate their family language policies into everyday face-to-face interactions; what language inputs parents provide for their children and how children comply or reject parents' language choice. Only a limited number of studies have reported on the actual negotiation of family policy in bilingual families (Gafaranga 2010; Kopeliovich 2013; Lanza 2004, 2007).

Lanza (2004, 2007), for example, in her study of a bilingual English-Norwegian children, identifies five types of discourse strategy that parents use to socialize their children into a particular linguistic behavior: *minimal grasp*, *expressed guess*, *repetition*, *move on*, and *code-switch*. *Minimal grasp strategy* indicates that adults have no comprehension of children's language choice; the *expressed guess strategy* is used by adults posing yes/no questions in the other language and accepting simple confirmation as answer; the *repetition strategy* means that adults repeat children's utterance in the other language; the *move-on strategy* is employed by adults indicating comprehension and acceptance of children's language choice so that a conversation continues without any implicit and explicit "disruptions"; and with *code-switch*, adults either switch over completely to the other language or use intra-sentential change of language. These strategies demonstrate parental efforts in their conscious or unconscious private language planning when children take an active role in making language choice decisions.

Gafaranga (2010) argues that research in language maintenance and shift should go beyond the macro-analysis of language attitudes and ideology to actually describing everyday interactions between adults and children. Studying language shift of Rwandans in Belgium, he found that Kinyarwanda-French bilingual children constantly use "medium request" to ask for medium-switch from Kinyarwanda to French. Describing the strategies that adults used to accommodate to children's medium request, he showed how language shift is realized through face-to-face interaction and medium negotiation.

These interactional studies have addressed an important topic – code switching (CS) – in the study of FLP and the processes of language contact, where caregivers try to maintain heritage languages and children create new codes to assert their agentive roles. Code switching, as a natural verbal behavior of bilingual speakers, has motivated scholars to study its complexities and multidimensions from both linguistic and socio-cultural perspectives. Myers-Scotton (1993, 2002) states that bilingual language users have an innate linguistic theory of social relevance and indexicality, which helps them interpret and negotiate interpersonal relationships. This is done through the markedness model where normative communication – the unmarked conversation – is 'disrupted' or rejected by a marked choice in a different code. In choosing a code, the bilingual speaker assesses the potential powers of his/her marked choice depending on the social situation in a given community. In Gafaranga's case, the Rwandan children used French as the marked choice

to negotiate "the set of rights and obligations" (Myers-Scotton 1993, p. 116) in the processes of constructing FLP.

Code switching has been widely investigated by scholars seeking to understand how social roles, identities, power relationships, responsibilities and expectations are established through language choices (Gumperz 1982; Li 2005; Rampton 1998). Zhu Hua (2008) studied bilingual intergenerational conflict talk in diaporic families in the UK. She found that speakers of different generations used CS to assert their socio-cultural values based on their life experiences. In language socialization studies, researchers have explored how CS accounts for ways of knowing, and how hegemonic ideologies about language varieties and cultural practices are established through language choices (Garrett 2011; Rilley 2011).

Although these studies have shed light on the process of language maintenance/shift, more face-to-face interactional studies are needed in order to enhance our understanding of how language practices are negotiated, language values are transmitted, and language and cultural practices are changed or abandoned in relation to societal changes and sociopolitical structures. Thus, everyday face-to-face interactions can capture the ranges of FLP from "the highly planned and orchestrated, to the invisible, laissez-faire practices" (Caldas 2012). These practices are reflected in parental language strategies such as OPOL and minority language only at home (highly planned), *repetition* (invisible) and *move on* strategy (laissez-faire). It is particular important to document how family language policies are negotiated during homework interactions, as the dialogues between adults and children can illuminate what language inputs parents provide, how the quality and quantity of inputs enrich the linguistic environment in which children develop bi/multiliterate skills. So the current study seeks to address the following questions:

1. What is the FLP spectrum in Singaporean English-Chinese bilingual families with regard to its explicitness and implicitness in language practice strategies?
2. How do parents and children negotiate their language practices through various discourse moves?

12.1.1 Methodology

12.1.1.1 Context of the Study

The city-state of Singapore is globally recognized for its efficiency and fast economic growth, as well as its multi-ethnic diversity and bilingualism/multilingualism. With a population of 5.08 million (Statistics Singapore 2010), Singapore is home to four major ethnic groups: a Chinese majority (76 %), and minorities of Malays (13 %), Indians (9 %) and others (4 %). There are, however, more than four languages spoken in this city state. The Chinese speakers comprise various dialect groups speaking Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese, and Hakka, while most of the younger generation speaks Mandarin. Among the Indians, there are speakers of

Table 12.1 Participating family profile

Family	Mother education/ language	Father education/ language	Number of children	Language at home
A	MA *Mandarin English	PhD *Mandarin English	1 Age 8	Chinese
B	High School *Hokkien Mandarin English	High School *Hokkien Mandarin	4 Age 20, 18, 11 and 6	Chinese
C	Bachelor *Teochew English Mandarin	Bachelor *Teochew English Mandarin	2 Age 13, 11	English

*: First language

Punjabi and Bengali from northern India, Tamil and Malayalam from southern India. The Malay community can be subdivided into speakers of Malay, Javanese, Boyanese, Bahasa Minangkabau, and Bugis.

Singapore adopted a bilingual policy in the 1970s where bilingualism is acknowledged for English and one of the designated mother-tongues (Mandarin, Malay and Tamil). Although all these four languages are given the status of official language, English is the language of politics, publish domains, education and business. In recent years, English has also penetrated private domains because of its wider communication and economic value both in the global and the domestic market. According to a recent report from the Chinese Language Curriculum and Pedagogy Review Committee (CLCPRC 2004), the number of Chinese students entering Primary 1 who speak predominantly English at home has increased from 36 % in 1994 to 50 % in 2004. This language shift trend has become an alarm signal, causing policy makers at both the macro and micro (family) level to pay attention to the types of language practice and language intervention implemented.

12.1.1.2 The Participating Families

This study focuses on three English-Chinese bilingual families which I call Family A, B and C. Table 12.1 shows the families' profile.

Family A has one 8 year-old boy, Cheng (all participants are given pseudonyms) who attends a neighborhood school at primary 2 (P2) level. Cheng's father is a scientist who works at a government biochemical research institution. Cheng's mother is a research assistant at a local university who is familiar with academic literature on bilingualism. Both have received their basic education in China and post graduate training in Singapore. The father and mother migrated to Singapore about 20 and 15 years ago, respectively. Cheng is an active bilingual and uses English in school and Mandarin at home. Firmly believing that balanced bilingualism has both cognitive

and broader benefits for children's intellectual development, his parents not only provide a rich linguistic environment and ample biliteracy resources for Cheng's language development, but also strictly observe a "Chinese only" language policy at home. Cheng was able to read chapter books in English at age of five and could recognize more than 1,000 characters before he started school.

Family B consists of six families members: mother, father, two boys (age 20 and 18) and two girls (age 11 and 6). The father is a Singaporean and the mother emigrated from China when she was 18. Both have obtained high school diplomas as their highest education. The father owns a furniture factory and the mother is a homemaker. Although both parents are Hokkien speakers, they alternate Mandarin and English at home with the children despite the mother's low proficiency in English. They often complain that their children use too much English at home, thus, they are concerned about the children's less developed Chinese. For this study, we focus on the homework discussion between the youngest daughter Jenny and her mother. Jenny goes to a neighborhood daycare centre where children are taught emergent reading in English and Chinese.

Family C has two children, Rose (13 years) and Kevin (11 years). The father works at a private enterprise and the mother is a homemaker. Both parents have received bilingual education as imposed by the official bilingual policy since the 70s and obtained their BA degree in Singapore. Although the parents speak Teochew, Mandarin and English, they use mainly English at home as they believe speaking English can help their children gain an upper hand in school learning. For this study, our main focus is on the homework interactions between Kevin and his mother. Kevin is enrolled in the gifted education programme. This is a special education programme established by Singapore's government which aims at nurturing gifted individuals to their full potential for the fulfilment of self and the betterment of society.

12.1.1.3 Data Collection and Analysis

Employing ethnographical tools of inquiry, this study attempts to reveal how parents and children jointly negotiate and create family/language values and beliefs through family discourse strategies around homework. Data collection included participant observation, informal conversations, and interviews. For this chapter, we focus on the interactional data. Regular home visits were scheduled once every two weeks for a period of one school semester (8 visits per family). The families were given free choice to audio tape their interactions every week and most of the time without the researcher present. Most recordings lasted between 30 and 45 min. When researchers met with the families during the home visits, the recordings were explained by the parents so that we could place their utterances in context when transcribing them. Out of the 720 min of audio recordings, we have chosen those that were around homework/school work discussions for this chapter to capture how parents and children socialize with each other to construct and enact the family language policy.

Discourse analysis was adopted as the analytical tool to describe the processes of co-construction of FLP and how FLP is achieved interactionally in the context of everyday routine family life (Li 2005; Cashman 2008; Gafaranga 2010). Focusing on sequences in the organization of talk and interaction, discourse analysis allows better understanding of how utterances and turn takings are situated as reflections of the social world (Blommaert 2005) and how social world is perceived, constructed and "talked into being" (Li 2005). Discourse analysis is particularly useful in the context of analyzing family talk with features of CS as it can identify characteristics of "markedness" and "unmarkedness" (Myers-Scotton 1993, 2002) in bilingual talk in relation to linguistic structures and social conditions of talk in action. Li Wei (2005) succinctly puts forward that discourse analysis of bilingual talk at the conversational level addresses three fundamental points: (i) relevance, (ii) procedural consequentiality, and (iii) the balance between social structure and conversational structure. The point of relevance means that CS has to be relevant to participating individuals. The analysts need to demonstrate that co-participants understand the intended meaning implicated in CS. The point of procedural consequentiality refers to the fact that extra-linguistic contexts define any conversation. The third point emphasizes that discourse analysis not only explains why speakers switch codes to 'index' their identity, language beliefs and power relations, but also illuminates "how such things as identity, attitudes and relationship are presented, understood, accepted, rejected or changed in the process of interaction" (Li 2005, p. 382).

Through close analysis of the data, I found that the three families use very distinctively varied discourse moves in establishing the "rules" of language use. In what follows, I will illustrate how the participating family members use discourse strategies to negotiate and co-construct their language policies at home. These policies can be broadly categorized into three types: highly organized FLP; unreflective parental adaptation, and laissez-faire FLP.

12.1.2 Findings: Enactment of FLP

While code-switching is a common communication strategy in multilingual communities and societies, individuals use it to different degrees depending on the situation and the acceptance of such practice. In all three families, code-switching has been identified from conscious requests to unconscious accommodation.

12.1.2.1 Highly Organized FLP

The following excerpt is a distinctive example of highly organized FLP. Mother A and son Cheng are talking about the picture/oral exercise that Singaporean primary school students are required to do for the national Primary School Leaving Exams (PSLE). Children are often given these exercises to do both at school and at

home as homework. Mrs. A has supervised Cheng doing a Chinese picture talk the previous day. Now she is asking Cheng to do a picture talk in English using the same picture as the previous day for the Chinese oral practice which depicts a bookstore. Cheng is reluctant to do the exercise. Knowing that it is a bit difficult to get Cheng going, Mrs. A tries to be specific.

Excerpt 12.1: "That's the problem"

[A = Mother A; C = Cheng (son); transcribing convention in Appendix B; code-switching in bold fond]

Turn	Speaker	Conversation	English translation
1	A	你怎么想啊?看到这幅图画, 你怎么想啊?	How do you think about it [picture]? When you look at this picture, what comes into your mind?
2	C	我就是想, 就是把中文翻译到英文那样说。	I just think about translating the Mandarin [description] into English.
3	A	啊, 你没有一个好像, 好像我们写作文一样有个提纲那样?	Ah, you don't have, say, have an outline like when we write compositions?
4	C	Not really.	**Not really.**
5	A	就是你大概要想, 先说什么, 要后说什么, 什么什么, 那 些。。。	Then you need to roughly think about what to say first, what to say after that, etc.…
6	C	说那些内容比较容易, 但是说beginning, 比如说,'这幅图描述的是什么什么', '这幅图描述了' 我不会说。	It is easier to describe the contents, but about the **beginning**, such as "this picture is describing….", "this picture describes….", I don't know how to say that in English.
7	A	你不要, 你不需要一个字一个字地翻译过去, 你就把它那个大致的意思翻译过去就可以, 想好你的 big idea.	You don't have to do word-to-word translation, you just translate the broad outline, think about your **big idea**.
8	C	That's the problem.	**That's the problem.**
9	A	You don't have any ideas?	**You don't have any ideas?**
10	C	我有idea, 但是开头, 那个, 我不知道怎么说那个开头, 比如说。	I have **idea**, but the beginning, the, I don't know how to say the beginning, such as…

Mrs. A starts the conversation by using her authority as a mother and language manager at home. She asks Cheng a specific question in Chinese, "*what comes into your mind*?" (turn 1). When Cheng replies that he is trying to translate the Chinese version into English, his mother uses a negative intonational interrogative statement to remind him that he needs to have an "outline" – thus guiding him to think about the organization of this picture talk. Feeling a bit 'defeated', Cheng switches to English by saying he does "*not really*" have an outline to cover his "embarrassment" (turn 4). In the next turn (5), Mrs. A doesn't show her 'sympathy' for Cheng's switch to English, she chooses **a move on strategy** (Lanza 2004) reinforcing and confirming

the FLP. This is done by her continued use of Chinese in giving more explicit ideas about how to structure the oral picture talk. Rejecting his mother's help in guiding him, Cheng switches back to Chinese using big words such as "*内容 (content)*" to indicate that he is capable of filling in the details for the oral practice. In attempting to gain more time to delay the exercise, he then complains that "*但是说 beginning (but it's the introduction)*" is difficult. In this negotiation of time, he uses English word "***beginning***" to "request" his mother's help. Without identifying Cheng's "metamessage"- his real intention (Tannen et al. 2007), Mrs. A gives a direct advice asking Cheng "*你不要, 你不需要一个字一个字地翻译过去 (You don't have to do word-by-word translation)*", instead she advices him to "*想好你的* big idea *(think about your **big idea**)*". To accommodate Cheng's request and emphasizing the importance of key points in this activity, she switches to English – the marked code to repair her language choice. Most intriguingly, Cheng immediately takes the lead switching to English "that's the problems". Eager to identify the problem, Mrs. A moves on in English by using again negative intonational interrogative statement disbelievingly to clarify "you don't have any ideas?" Unwilling to accept the "accusation", Cheng switches back to the unmarked code of Chinese – the language of power at home, to demonstrate that he has ideas, but it's the introduction sentence that he has trouble with.

Finally, he gives up the negotiation game. Afraid of being misjudged by his mother as incapable, he produces his introduction. The next excerpt shows how Mrs. A uses various strategies consistently in the unmarked code to provide both quality and quantity language input, thus reconfirming the language policy at home.

Excerpt 12.2: This is a book shop

Turn	Speaker	Conversation	English translation
1	C	This is a bookshop.	**This is a bookshop.**
2	A	可以啊, 这是最简单的一种说法, 对不对?平时你在英文口试的时候你怎么说,一开始你不要先说'这是哪里哪里'吗?那时候你怎么说?	That will do, this is the easiest way to say it, isn't it? When you are in the English oral test, how do you begin? Don't you begin with 'this is what or where'? How do you say then?
3	C	嗯,那时候, 忘记了。 很少考英文, 所以我有点忘记了。	Hm, then, I forgot. (I am) Seldom tested in English, so I sort of forget about it.
4	A	那你, 如果你想跟别人介绍 "这是一个书店。", 用英文你有几种介绍的方法?	Then you, if you want to introduce "this is a bookshop" to other people, how many ways can you introduce?
5	C	'This is a bookshop'是一种。。。	'**This is a bookshop**' is one way
6	A	对, 这是最容易的。	Yes, this is the easiest.
7	C	还有是。。 啊,	And …. Ah,
8	A	因为你是..这幅图画给你的。那考试你可以说, "This picture"….	Because you are given this picture, then during the test, you may say, 'This picture'…
9	C	This picture is a bookshop. . This picture….	**This picture is a bookshop… this picture…**

(continued)

(continued)

Turn	Speaker	Conversation	English translation
10	A	Is about…	**Is about**
11	C	This picture is about a bookshop.	**This picture is about a bookshop.**
12	A	Yeah… 对不对呀? 所以你至少有两种比较容易的开头的方法, 对不对?你要先跟人家介绍, 这是什么一个地方, 然后里面发生什么样的事情, 对不对? 所以说你不用像华文那样, 说“这幅图描述的是什么什么”	Yeah… isn't it? Therefore you have at least two relatively easy methods to do the introductions, don't you? You need to introduce to people, what place it is, then what happens, don't you? So you don't have to say it like what you do in Mandarin, say “this picture is describing so and so”
13	C	嗯	En.
14	A	你如果是一个字一个字翻译过去的话,那样是怎么说?	If you translate it word-by-word, how would that be?
15	C	Er.. This picture… 描述怎么说?	Er… **this picture**… how to say “describe” [in English]”?
16	A	**Describe**	**Describe**
17	C	This picture describe a book shop.	**This picture describe a book shop.**
18	A	这句话好像不太对劲呢, 我听着。	It sounds a bit weird, to me.
19	C	This bookshop is describing a bookshop. 不对不对, this picture is describing a book shop.	**This bookshop is describing a bookshop**. No, no, **this picture is describing a book shop.**
20	A	对,你要注意你的 时态。好了。。给你一分钟看一会儿这个图画,看好了, 你准备好了告诉我。	Yes, you need to be careful with your tense. Ok, you have one minute to look at the picture, when you are ready, let me know.

After Cheng produces the first sentence, Mrs. A immediately confirms his effort indicating that the introduction is acceptable, although simple and easy. In the succeeding section of interchanges, A continues to help Cheng refine his introduction of the picture talk by using various strategies: activating prior knowledge in English story telling test (turn 2), probing multiple possibilities for introduction (turn 4), challenging his ability by using statements such as “easy” (turn 6), and prompting ideas by giving ‘cues’ (turn 8), providing the needed grammatical help and vocabulary (turn 10, 16) and giving time and hints to let Cheng self-correct mistakes. Using consistently Chinese at home and firmly adhering to the established FLP, she is able to guide Cheng to complete the task by employing tag questions (turn 12), encouraging comments (turn 6), and structured guidance (turn 20).

One minute later, Cheng produces a beautiful story. Throughout the whole session, Mrs. A has firmly adhered to the family language policy – Chinese only at home – by using consistently Chinese even though she has a degree in English language and an MA in applied linguistics. Her strong conviction to raise her son in English and Chinese has prompted her and her husband to make the conscious decision to speak Chinese only at home, and as little English as possible at home even when supervising English homework (see Excerpt 12.2). Aware of the strong influence from school and the overall public domains, Mrs. A and her husband have strategically monitored Cheng's bilingual development. They provide high quality

children's literature for Cheng, motivate and encourage him to read in both English and Chinese. So when Cheng was 5 years old, he could read chapter books in English. As a routine practice nowadays, he reads at least 1 h per day in English. According to Mrs. A, it is to compensate the "Chinese only" policy at home. They also believe that using Chinese to explain Cheng's English homework can provide complex sentence structures and vocabularies for him to learn which the one period Chinese lesson in school cannot provide. It is evident from the excerpts that the decontextualized language use in Chinese has been appropriated and internalized by Cheng through the questions and thinking processes.

12.1.2.2 Unreflective Parental Adaptation

Spolsky (2009) points out that children's language acquisition depends largely on the language practices to which they are exposed, as children receive language input from what they hear and produce language output through routine practices to achieve their social ends. In the process of socialization, they not only learn the family language and values, they also exert influence on their parents' language practices and interactional strategies (Luykx 2005; Gafaranga 2010; King and Fogle 2013). Families, thus, become one of the primary sites in which different language policies come into conflict. Children, once they start school and are under the social and linguistic influence of teachers and peers, bring a new language to the home domain and start the negotiation of the legitimacy of one language or another. In the following excerpt, I present how Family B manages their language policy.

Excerpt 12.3: Do a family tree

Family B has just finished dinner, the mother B is urging her two daughters, D1 (age, 11) and D2 (6), to do their homework. As a routine before homework, she asks what they have done at school.

[B = the mother; D1 = daughter 1; D2 = daughter 2; English code in bold font]

Turn	Speaker	Conversation	Translation
1	D2	Teacher Alice 教我怎么, 怎么做那个树,	**Teacher Alice** taught me how, how to do the tree [sic].
2	B	//做那棵。。。(trying to correct her)	Do the tree (correcting D2 for the quantity particle in Chinese for tree)
3	D2	**Family tree//**	**Family tree**
4	B	哦, 怎么做 family tree 啊? 家 庭 树 (purposely drag her voice to raise D2's attention to the Mandarin translation of 'family tree')	Oh, how to do **family tree** ah? Jia-ting-shu (purposely drag her voice to raise D2's attention to the Mandarin translation of 'family tree')
5	D2	家庭树 (repeats)	Family tree (repeats).

(continued)

(continued)

Turn	Speaker	Conversation	Translation
6	B	啊, 你们把什么东西挂到那树上?	Ah, what did you hang onto the tree?
7	D2	啊, 那个一个绿色的纸张	Ah, that one [sic. piece of] green paper.
8	B	绿色的纸张啊?	Green paper?
9	D2	然后 **use glue**, 然后 **paste paste paste** 喽, 然后那个树是用一个很大的tissue paper, 不是这样子的, 平平瘦瘦的, 是那个大大的, 然后你彩上那个brown color, 用crayon	Then **use glue**, then **paste paste paste** loh, then the tree is [made] by a large [sic. piece of] **tissue pape**r, not like this, it is flat flat thin thin, it is that big big, then you **color** that in brown color, use **crayon**
10	B	做什么用的?	What is that for?
11	D2	弄树啊 [decorating the tree]	To do the tree. [decorating the tree]

In this excerpt, D2 explains to her mother, Mrs. B, what she has done in school. It's a daily routine that B does with her children before she supervises and works together with them on their homework. In this exchange, D2 uses multiple English words in her discourse. She initiates the conversation by using an English phrase "Teacher Alice" instead of the Chinese expression "Alice Laoshi" (turn 1) to establish the code of this family talk. Mrs. B takes a move on strategy indicating an acceptance of such code-mixing. The acceptance of the English choice here may due to the fact that Teacher Alice is the English teacher. However, she corrected D2 for her incorrect use of the quantity particle in Chinese for trees (ke instead of ge). D2 ignores her correction and continues with her recount by again inserting English words for "family tree". Mrs. B acknowledges her comprehension by clarifying "how to make a family tree?" Here she repeats D2's choice for "family tree" in English. Realizing that her daughter may need the Chinese input for "family tree", she then uses a repetition strategy to make D2 repeat the words in Chinese. The conversation moves on, but D2 reverses back to her switching mode, using multiple content words in her utterance. Notably, in turn 9, she not only uses content words "glue", "paste", "tissue paper", "brown color" and "crayon', she also uses the English grammatical structure to make up her retelling. In the last sentence, she explains "然后你彩上那个 brown colour, 用crayon" (then you **colour** that in brown colour, using **crayon**). In this sentence, she places the adverbial phrase "using crayon" at the end. In Chinese, the adverbial phrase would be placed right after the subject noun. In the succeeding moves, Mrs. B seems confused with all the injections of English content words, she asks for clarification "what are these for?" D2 then replies in Chinese "for decorating the tree". What is intriguing in the exchanges is that D2 does not seem to have the command of these content vocabularies in Chinese; therefore she replaces the contents with English. Mrs. B, instead of providing the Chinese inputs, continues with the conversation, acknowledging the language use implicitly or unconsciously leading to an unreflective acknowledge of code-mixing language policy. The next excerpt shows how inadequate Chinese input contributes to the continuous language mixing practices in this home.

Excerpt 12.4: 怎么办?怎么办? – What should we do? What should we do?

Mrs. B is supervising her two daughters with their homework. D2 is making a lantern for school and D1 is doing her math work.

Turn	Speaker	Conversation	Translation
1	D2	我用, 我paste 那个花, 到…	I use,, I [want] **paste** that flower, on …
2	B	//你 **paste** 哪个花?//	//You want to **paste** which flower?
3	D2	//灯笼, *我* **paste** 那个花,黄色的。也有粉红色的花.//	[On] the Lantern, I [want to] **paste** that flower, yellow color. And pink flowers too.///
4	B	诶 (sigh),为什么你, 为什么你一句话里面全部讲了, 有时英语有时华语, 这样讲的啊?	Ai (sigh), why you, why [is it] in one sentence, you use all [both] languages? Sometimes in English, and sometimes in Mandarin, why do you speak that way?
5	D2	因为, 我 **some** 我不懂华语跟英语, **some** (incoherent)	Because, I, **some**, I don't understand English and Mandarin, **some** (incoherent)
6	B	啊?	Ah?
7	D2	有时我不懂, 我不懂	Sometimes I don't understand, I don't understand.
8	B	我在用华语跟你讲的时候, 你就要用华语 回答我, 如果别人用英语跟你讲的时候, 你就用英语回答他。要全部用华语, 或者全部用英语. 你一句话里面啊, 一半华语, 一半英语, 那句话我都听不懂你在讲什么。 因为我不懂英语, 怎么办?	When I talk to you in Mandarin, you should answer me in Mandarin. If other people talk to you in English, you need to answer them in English. Should use Mandarin only, or English only. In your sentence, half is Mandarin, half is English. I don't even understand what you are saying. If I don't understand English, what should we do?
9	D1	(joking) 啊! 怎么办? 怎么办? 不懂英语怎么办? 我的天啊。(D2 Laughing)	(joking) ah, what should we do? What should we do? What are we going to do without understanding English? Oh, My God! (D2 laughing)

In this exchange, D2 requests Mrs. B's help to find the right colour flowers for decorating a lantern. Like the previous excerpt, D2 inserts the content word "paste" in English. Again, Mrs. B does not correct her or provide D2 with the Chinese input for "paste"; instead, she makes a clarification "你 paste 哪个花?" (you [want to] paste which flower?) by repeating the verb "paste" in English. This move indicates her lack of awareness of the problem of language input that may have caused D2 mixing, thus leading to an unreflexive practice. The subsequent moves show that B is upset with D2 for mixing the languages in her utterances, requesting "why you, why [is it that] in one sentence, you use all [both] languages? Sometimes in

English, and sometimes in Mandarin, why do you speak that way?" B's request (upset) indicates a conscious observation of the language mixing practice that is unremittingly used and negotiated in this family. However, B seems not be able to understand and analyze the cause of such language practice. Such an unconscious awareness of the "language problem" is also exemplified in the interchange that follows. Responding to her mother's request, D2 is unable to explain her language behaviour by asserting incoherently that "因为, 我 **some** 我不懂华语跟英语, **some**" (*Because, I, **some**, I don't understand English and Mandarin, **some..***). Not believing what she heard, B then makes a rather long speech stating the family language policy (turn 8):

> When I talk to you in Mandarin, you should answer me in Mandarin. If other people talk to you in English, you need to answer him in English. Should use Mandarin only, or English only. In your sentence, half is Mandarin, half is English. I don't even understand what you are saying. If I don't understand English, what should we do?

However, this policy announcement does not seem to have any effect on the children because D1 starts mocking her mother by imitating her "Ah, what should we do? What should we do? What are we going to do if we don't understand English? Oh, My God!" The mocking has two implied meanings: (1) the daughter seems to suggest that it is impossible for the newly announced policy to replace the already existing and long established language practice in the family as all the family members seem to be comfortable and accepting such practice; (2) the higher status of English is emphasized through the "meta-message" (Tannen et al. 2007) implying that English is much more important in Singapore, "Oh, My god" seems to indicate that it's the mother's problem that she doesn't understand English and that the existing language policy should not be changed for that reason.

The established FLP and the mother's unreflective adaption to her children's language practice suggest that a new policy is less achievable. Without employing conscious linguistic strategies and providing the children with sufficient language input in Chinese, her attempt to change her children's language behavior seems unlikely to succeed.

12.1.2.3 Laissez-Faire FLP

While Family B's FLP is conducted in an unreflective mix-code mode, Family C has a total *laissez-faire* policy. Despite both parents and children have access to linguistic resources (English and Chinese), the family's default language is English. In the next excerpt, we illustrate how this *laissez-faire* policy is carried out in the family.

Excerpt 12.5: I will take 孙悟空 (Monkey King), 挲憎 (Sandy) and 白马(the White House)

Kevin (K) is telling his mother (C) about his Chinese narrative project, the homework.

Turn	Speaker	Conversation	Translation
1	C	**So, what will you take? [for the narrative presentation]**	**So, what will you take? [for the narrative presentation]**
2	K	I will take 孙悟空, 挲憎and 白马	I will take the *Monkey King, Sandy* and the *white horse*. (Characters in the classical Chinese novel *Journey to the West*)
3	C	Why?	**Why?**
4	K	挲憎 because he can 变成鲨鱼, you know. 挲憎 can can turn into a shark you know.	*Sandy* **because he can** turn into a shark, you know. *Sandy* **can can turn into a shark, you know?** (raising tone)
5	C	What else?	**What else?**
	K	Uh…like that…in China and then the 火焰山 actually has a lot of fire that's why it's called 火焰山。And then it only can be extinguished by the 芭蕉扇 that the 铁扇公主 has. erm 铁扇公主 is married to the 牛魔王, so it's also a 凶气 to 孙悟空. Erm it's like,, they are both 徒弟 of the 道士 lah, erm and then after that erm 牛魔王 and 铁扇公主 they had a son called 红孩儿 and they thought tht 孙悟空抢走了 the son and killed him, but it's actually that 孙悟空 took the红孩儿 and put him in the 观音菩萨 the house and train him to be a good guy and then after that, erm, at the end, erm, the 牛魔王 and 铁扇公主 saw the son that he was not killed and agreed to 交 the 芭蕉扇 to 孙悟空 because before that they kept, they kept trying to kill him uh and that's all… that's why he has to go and that's why he was the one that went to extinguish the fire.	**Uh…like that…in China and then the** *huoyanshan* **actually has a lot of fire that's why it's called** *huoyanshan.* **And then it only can be extinguished by the** *Bajiao Fan* **that the** *Princess Tieshan* **has. erm** *Princess Tieshan* **is married to the** *King Numo***, so it's also a** *inauspicious-ferocious energy* **to** *the Monkey King***. Erm, it's like, they are both** *disciples* **of the** *Taoist priest* **lah, erm, and then after that erm** *King Numo* **and** *Princess Tieshan* **they had a son called** *the Red Child* **and they thought that** *Monkey King snatched away* **the son and killed him, but it's actually that** *Monkey King* **took the** *Red Child* **and put him in the** *Guanyin Bodhisattra* **the house and train him to be a good guy and then after that, erm, at the end, erm, the** *King Numo* **and** *Princess Tieshan* **saw the son that he was not killed and agreed to** *hand over* **the** *Bajiao Fan* **to** *Monkey King* **because before that they kept, they kept trying to kill him uh and that's all… that's why he has to go and that's why he was the one that went to extinguish the fire.**
	C	That's really interesting.	**That's really interesting.**

It is evident from the exchanges between the mother and Kevin that they both have access to the two codes involved. This access to the linguistic resource has allowed them to speak in a parallel mode of communication (Gafaranga 2010), where each participant chooses his/her own preferred code to achieve their communication goals. In this conversational exchange, Mrs. C opens the dialogue in English indicating that English is the default code of the family language. Replying to his mother's question, Kevin uses a mixed code inserting character names in Chinese for his Chinese narrative homework. This code-mixing could be explained by the nature of the task and the content of the narrative story as using the character names in English may lose the effect and authenticity of the retelling. It can be interpreted as Kevin's deliberate or conscious choice (creation) (Matras 2000) for this task. However, Kevin's mother, Mrs. C, does not pick up the line in Chinese, she continues the conversation in English by asking "why"? This move deflects Kevin's intention to do his narrative homework in Chinese as shown in his rejoinder "*挲憎 because he can 变成鲨鱼, you know. 挲憎 can can turn into a shark, you know*". Kevin's first mixed sentence contains a subject (挲憎- Sandy) and objective clause (变成鲨鱼-turn into a shark) in Chinese. Realizing that he might have "broken" the family rule, he repeats the utterance exclusively in English leaving only the Character's name in Chinese "挲憎 *can can turn into a shark, you know*". Showing no indication of approval or disapproval, Mrs. C. takes a move on strategy continuing to use the default home language by asking "what else?" (turn 3). This discourse move has two functions, (1) to prompt Kevin to give more details about the story; (2) to unconsciously give acceptance to the mixed mode, thus showing a *laissez-faire* attitude. In the following sequence, Kevin provides an elaborated answer detailing some of the events taking places in the stories. The amount of code-mixing found in the utterances is truly amazing. But a closer look at the utterance shows that the main construction of the utterance is in English, only character names and objects used by the characters are in Chinese. This again indicates that the family prefers English as the language of the home for everyday communication, even in a situation where Chinese language homework is concerned. Such a FLP is understandable as Singapore has not only adopted English as the language of instruction in schools, but also given English educated individuals much broader work opportunities in the past decades. What is intriguing about the interchange is that Kevin's mother understands the nature of the task and she could ask Kevin to narrate the story in Chinese, so that Kevin could practice the retelling in the required language. Therefore, her continuous language choice in English and her *laissez faire* attitude signals covertly her ideological positions toward the Chinese and English languages. Since Chinese has less importance in Kevin's academic development, English has to be the code in the family. Given Singapore's policy emphasis on English, it is understandable that many parents including Kevin's mother, consider it necessary to ensure that their children can cope with both school requirements and social demands.

12.2 Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined through a comparative lens three extended interchanges that took place among members of three English-Chinese speaking families. Based on conversational discourse analysis, this chapter contributes to the study of FLP by (1) expanding the existing literature on FLP with emphasis on parental discourse strategies; (2) shedding light on the implicit and unreflective parental inputs that take place in families with "undesirable" FLP; and (3) capturing a range of FLPs that index different parental ideologies. Although all three families live in the same socio-political context and have similar sociolinguistic environments, their enacted FLPs present distinctive differences in terms of their default language practices at home, the discourse strategies the parents use, and parental ideologies expressed through the family interactions in homework sessions.

Both Family A and B have an overt language policy in which parents tend to explicitly manage their children's language behaviour. While both mothers indicate high expectations for their children to become academically and functionally bilingual, they employ different discourse strategies to provide language inputs. Mrs. A uses almost exclusively Chinese in supervising her son's homework. In the interchanges, she provides complex sentence structures, organizational ideas and decontextualized academic vocabularies in Chinese. Between her discourses, she uses occasionally English to make requests and emphasize important points. While Mrs. B also provides Chinese language input when her daughter uses English words in her utterances, the effort is not consistent. Very often, she adopts "move on strategy", repeating the same discourse mode (i.e. with English words in an utterance), requesting for clarification. Such discourse moves are an unreflective adaptation to accommodate her daughter's language choice, which is caused by her lack of academic vocabularies in Chinese, thus leading the family to establish a habitual mixed-code mode for communication.

With regard to code-mixing situations, the children in both Families B and C seem to use this discourse model. Mrs. B is aware of her daughter's language mixing practice and has the intention to correct Jenny's language behaviour despite her inconsistent and unreflective repetition strategy. Mrs. C seems to pay little attention to her son's code-mixing in his Chinese homework practice. She neither asks Kevin to use Chinese for the exercise nor to use English, the default family language, to practice the narrative retelling. Following a parallel code pattern of communication, she adopts the move-on strategy thus leading to *laissez-faire* FLP.

The results also suggest that parental discourse strategies index their varied ideological positions. Aware of the advantages of bilingualism, Mrs. A is determined to raise her son as balanced bilingual. As a result of such beliefs, she not only controls Cheng's language behaviour, but also makes sure that Cheng has access to both social and academic vocabularies in Chinese. Mrs. B does not approve her daughter's mixing-code behaviour, most probably due to the negative connotation of CS found in Singapore (where CS indicates low linguistic proficiency in both languages). Although Mrs. C never asks Kevin to stop code-switching, her "English

only" attitude sends a clear signal about her strong conviction of the benefits of using English. So her *laissez-faire* FLP implicitly or covertly supports a monolingual English policy.

This inquiry illustrates that family talk is a complex web of policy maneuvers and conflicts reflecting parental beliefs about language and beyond language (Canagarajah 2008; Curdt-Christiansen 2009; Fogle 2013). The different linguistic strategies employed by the mothers show that in order to accomplish successful FLPs in raising bilingual children, parents not only need to consciously observe their children's language behavior, they also need to take conscious and reflective action to provide qualitative linguistic input.

In this era of globalized language battle, minority languages can easily be forced to give way to the more powerful languages, thus leading to language loss and dediversity. Parents need to be aware of both the cultural and the cognitive values that bilingualism/multilingualism entails so that maintenance of diversity will be a reality and not only a vision. As the three cases suggest, parental knowledge about cognitive and socio-cultural values as well as parental beliefs and expectations for their children are essential to establish a firm FLP. However, beliefs do not always lead to a successful FLP as evidenced in the case of many immigrant families (Schwartz et al. 2010) and family B in this chapter. The face-to-face interactions with both quantitative and qualitative linguistic inputs are the source for bilingual development. As a critical domain (Schwartz 2010; Spolsky 2012), family settings can yield important insights into the ways in which parents socialize children into habits of language and cultural practices leading to successful FLP.

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