Can minority languages survive around English?

An investigation into family language policy in the UK

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Abstract

Family language policy (FLP) focusses on how languages are dealt with within the home; typically how languages are used and how they are maintained or promoted by family members. The present study investigates families living in the UK, where one parent is a native English speaker, and the other a native speaker of another language, the minority language. By use of a mixed-methods design, utilising questionnaires, interviews and logs, this paper answers the questions: what are the reported language practices of children and parents in bi- or multilingual families, what ideologies about FLP do parents in these families possess and what strategies do families reportedly employ in their homes. Through a nexus analysis approach, the paper establishes connections between the historical bodies, the interaction orders and the DIP of the families in order to account for their language behaviours in the home. The nexus analysis suggests that although parents show positive attitudes towards minority language use, it is the macro-level societal factors that are most powerful in determining language use within the home. That is, space plays an important role in choice of language practices. This finding suggests that children need more minority language exposure outside the home, therefore this paper suggests that the UK government could promote and encourage minority language maintenance through the implementation of language policy.

Keywords

Family language policy, bilingual parenting, nexus analysis, mixed-methods design, UK, English, minority language.
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Bibi Stacey
1. Introduction

Family language policy (FLP) is a growing area of study which adopts the family as its main area of focus and incorporates both language policy and child language acquisition (King, Fogle and Logan-Terry 2008). It refers to the decision-making process that multilingual families go through regarding language use and learning within the family (Fogle 2013). A focal point in FLP research is investigating why it is that some children in multilingual families grow up to be competent speakers of both or all languages, whereas others do not (Curdt-Christiansen 2013). Family is of particular interest to linguists studying language policy due to the amount of language learning that occurs in the home (Schwartz & Verschik 2013) and FLP assumes that the family is a “critical domain” (Spolsky 2012:3) and a “key prerequisite” (Schwartz & Verschik 2013:1) regarding language learning. Meaning that language acquisition and learning begins in the home, therefore, if languages are maintained within the family circle they have a better chance of being maintained outside of the home as well (Schwartz & Verschik 2013).

This thesis aims to gain an insight into how often parents in the UK use different languages in the home and to uncover the prevailing ideologies of parents and what sorts of strategies they use to promote their minority languages at home. The research questions are:

1. What are the reported language practices of multilingual families?
2. What are the ideologies of the parents in multilingual families surrounding the notion of FLP?
3. What management strategies do parents reportedly employ in maintaining minority languages whilst raising multilingual children?

There is a lack of information available on the rate of minority language maintenance within multilingual families or within immigrant families in the UK. This is perhaps quite telling of the UK’s interest in minority language learning. But many languages other than English are used in UK homes. This is implied, for example, by 9% of all couples in England and Wales being interethnic (2011 census) and either one or both parents of 31% of UK born children being foreign (Hall 2013 cited in Hua and Wei 2016).

Foreign language learning in schools is compulsory throughout the UK from age 7 to 14 (Hopper 2015) and languages have been introduced into the English Baccalaureate (Griffin 2016) which is taken by approximately 90% of students (Long & Bolton 2016). However, the number of students continuing languages after this age has been unstable, with a recent decline in numbers (Hopper 2015). Further, it must be added that ethnic minority languages are not well represented in the national curriculum (DfEE 2000 cited in Kirsch 2012), and language policies in the UK do not support the maintenance of minority languages, rather, they focus more on the development of the children’s English skills (Blackledge & Creese 2010 cited in Kirsch 2012). It is therefore unsurprising that out of those in the UK who have a mother tongue that is not English,
two thirds do not have a qualification in their home language (Williams 2015). This lack of help from the government results in minority language maintenance being a matter dealt with in the home. More research, therefore, is needed to find out about language issues within the home environment in the context of the UK.

The results of this study can have implications for parents who fit the criteria of the participants of the study. In addition, due to Britain’s apparent insufficient promotion of minority languages\(^2\), and with no specific policies aimed towards aiding the maintenance of minority languages, the results of this study could have implications for education and language policy in the UK.

2. Literature review

Language policy is typically concerned with three areas: practices, ideologies and management; meaning the use of language, the attitudes towards language use and strategies put in place to aid the maintenance of languages, respectively (Spolsky 2004). This notion of language policy has been applied to the family context, as the use of dominant and minority languages can be observed and compared, the attitudes and beliefs of parents regarding language use in the home can be investigated, along with the practices of parents attempting to maintain and manage the minority language (Spolsky 2004). The difference between language policy and FLP is that the speech community in FLP is the family in the home (Schwartz & Verschik 2013). Studies in the past have investigated FLP in families with varying circumstances, for example looking at families trying to maintain a language that is dying out (Smith-Christmas 2016), couples with two different native languages (Piller 2002; Okita 2001), immigrant families (Stavans 2012), diaspora communities (Pérez Baéz 2013) and adoptive families who have different mother tongues from their adopted children (Fogle 2013). In investigating these families, researchers aim to find out how parents’ ideologies affect their decisions regarding language use and the management of the languages and how this then influences their children’s language use (Spolsky 2004). Studies have also investigated strategies that are chosen by parents to promote bilingualism, as well as concentrating on what causes the loss of minority languages (Curdt-Christiansen 2013). The wider picture is also of importance in this field, that is, FLP is not just concerned with languages in the home and how family life affects these, but also how the country’s policies on language and education can affect FLP (Curdt-Christiansen 2013).

Although studies on FLP are growing in number, there has not been extensive research carried out in the UK, and very little specifically in families in the UK where one parent is a native English speaker and one is not (but see Okita 2001; Kirsch 2012). It is important that the UK is investigated, due to its unique relationship with foreign languages in comparison to other countries. Whilst most studies into FLP have taken an ethnographic methodology (e.g Smith-Christmas; Caldas 2006), the current study uses a mixed methods approach to identify potential patterns in several families, as well as being able to take a more detailed look into a small number of families, further details provided in Section 4. This literature review firstly concentrates on the different effects

\(^2\) Minority languages are defined for the purpose of this study as those languages spoken in the home that are not any of the official languages of the UK (e.g English, Welsh, Gaelic).
of ideologies on FLP, followed by the societal influences on FLP, then moving on to the influence of people other than the parents on a child’s language practices. The literature review then concludes by focussing on the mother and the pressures they face in FLP.

There is much support for the idea that ideologies play an important role in determining practices and strategies put in place in homes (e.g Curdt-Christiansen 2009; King et al 2008). De Houwer (1999 cited in King et al 2008) states that the impact of ideologies influences children’s linguistic behaviour. She explains that this also works the other way around, for example the children’s choice of language can affect the parents’ practices and decisions (De Houwer 1999 cited in King et al 2008). In accordance with these claims, Hua and Wei’s (2016) study explored the reasons behind language maintenance in the homes of Chinese immigrant families living in the UK. Each of the families reported different reasons for wanting to maintain the heritage language, including: a need for a sense of belonging and identity, to provide opportunities for their children to move and work abroad and to feel up-to-date and connected with China and its culture (Hua and Wei 2016). These reasons all positively impacted on the management strategies and practices resulting in minority language maintenance in the home (Hua and Wei 2016).

Similarly, in Piller’s (2002) study, parents reported benefits surrounding bilingualism in the home, such as the ability to travel to or live and work in other countries, being a ‘world citizen’ and emotional connections with parents and their culture. As a result of their positive ideas about bilingualism, the parents employed strict strategies of language use, such as one-parent one-language (OPOL) and minority language at home (ml@h), in the hope of producing balanced bilingual children (Piller 2002). But further to this, Piller (2002) warned of the effect that ideologies can have on FLP, as some parents reported disappointment in their children who did not become balanced bilinguals. She stated that positive ideologies regarding bilingualism could be as harmful as negative ideologies as parents create such high standards that may be unrealistic for their children to reach (Piller 2002). In contrast, Li (1999) emphasises the positive influence of minority language parents’ optimistic ideologies on their children. She states that these attitudes, which are conveyed via everyday conversations between parent and child, are extremely valuable as they have an impact on the child’s own personal attitudes towards languages and cultures (Li 1999). In investigating Russian-Jewish immigrants in Israel, Schwartz (2008) found that it was the child’s own ideologies that had an impact on their practices. And as opposed to Li’s (1999) reporting, the results showed that parents’ ideologies “did not even have a minor impact” on the children’s practices of the minority language (Schwartz 2008: 415).

Kirsch (2012) found in her study, that the ideologies of Luxembourgish mothers were in competition with those of the wider society in Great Britain. The mothers reported feeling most comfortable with Luxembourgish as their native language and they explained that learning Luxembourgish was their children’s gateway to learning other languages (Kirsch 2012). But despite this, the mothers used increasingly more English to accommodate for those who did not speak Luxembourgish and to avoid being viewed as an outsider or foreigner (Kirsch 2012). The reason she gave was that Luxembourgish mothers are comfortable switching to English due to having been brought up switching between languages and therefore incorporating switching into their language practices in Britain (Kirsch 2012). Kirsch’s (2012) findings also show contrasting findings to some of those mentioned above, suggesting that ideologies of parents can be
overridden, specifically by norms outside of the home. Further, Curdt-Christiansen (2009) stresses the role played by socio-political and economic factors in FLP. Chinese immigrant families in Québec recounted their experiences, stating that they felt that the minority language, Chinese, prevented them from pursuing certain careers or being recognised in school in Canada (Curdt-Christiansen 2009). The research suggests that parents believe that the addition of speaking French and English, children are provided with the skills needed to overcome “impenetrable barriers” and that would bring “economic advantages” and “social advancement” not available to them without these skills (Curdt-Christiansen 2009:364-365). This highlights how influential the wider macro level factors can be on the planning of languages.

Researchers have also emphasised the effect of those outside of the immediate family on FLP. For example, in an ethnographic study in London, Ruby (2012) reported that the third-generation child’s learning of the minority language was felt as the responsibility of the first-generation grandmother, as given by the mother. Ruby (2012) stated how positive this role model can be for grandchildren, as grandmothers enable their grandchildren to learn about the minority language, culture and their identity in an environment adapted to their needs and their unique situation, where there is no pressure for the child. In addition to this, a bond is created between first and third generations, enabling learning from both sides (Ruby 2012). Smith-Christmas (2016) found a similar situation in Scotland in a family attempting to maintain the endangered minority language of Gaelic. Following three generations of a family, she highlighted the important role played by the paternal grandmother in encouraging the use of Gaelic, being the main driving force behind its use within the family (Smith-Christmas 2016).

Further, Smith-Christmas (2016) showed how those outside of the family can also have an impact on FLP. She mentions the negative influence of classmates, noting that the participants in her study reported bullying and pressure from monolingual peers to fit in and be ‘normal’ and therefore adopting English over the minority language (Smith-Christmas 2016). She stated that the children’s preference for the majority language then, in turn, influenced the parents, who switched to the majority language when the children spoke it to them (Smith-Christmas 2016).

Thus, the impact of others in the immediate surrounding can have a knock on effect on FLP; this supports the claims made by De Houwer (1999, cited in King et al 2008) about children’s choices affecting the parents practices. In addition, in his study on bilingualism in a monolingual setting, Caldas (2006:114) described how a son felt that it was “not cool to speak French [the minority language] in school” and explained how the son’s classmates had made fun of him when they observed the father speaking French to his son. To prevent further embarrassment, the son ceased speaking French and also attempted to persuade his father to stop (Caldas 2006:114). Preference for the dominant language and replication of peers’ practices is again further noted by Caldas and Carol-Caldas (2000 cited in Schwartz & Verschik 2013). However, Wei (1994) shows the positive impact outsiders can have on language use. In his study of Chinese families in Britain, Wei’s (1994) results showed that those who had more contact with other Chinese speakers outside of the family were found to speak more Chinese and have better abilities in Chinese than those who socialised more with non-Chinese speakers. This suggests that communication outside of the home can also influence the practices in the home including the level of the minority language (Wei 1994).
The role of the mother in FLP and specifically the pressures they face has also been explored. For example, in investigating Japanese mother-British father families in the UK, Okita (2001:222) stated “bilingual-child rearing was not a ‘natural’ process” as such an effort is made to achieve bilingualism in children. The study found over half of the mothers switching to using English most of the time due to four main reasons (Okita 2001). They were: internal conflicts, simultaneously balancing the needs of the each of the family members, continuous monitoring of language and defending their choices if the child was underachieving or experiencing problems (Okita 2001). These “emotionally demanding” reasons, according to Okita (2001:226), would also be experienced by European mother-British father families, but perhaps to a lesser extent due to language similarities and geographical location. In a different scenario, where the mother was told by professionals to raise her child with one language, Bernier-Grand (2009) explains how she felt guilt and distress as she did not use her native language with her son. Again, this shows the emotional strain that FLP can have on mothers.

Collectively, these studies show the different aspects of FLP that can be researched and how they have varying effects on FLP in diverse situations and contexts. Ideologies can have a powerful impact on the FLP, but sometimes other factors take priority. Many factors outside the home can affect the way languages are used, for example economic factors (Curdt-Christiansen 2009), or the people family members come into contact with (Ruby 2012; Smith-Christmas 2016; Wei 1994). But it is also the role of the mother that plays an important role in the decision making surrounding FLP, which in turn influences the practices of the other family members (Okita 2001; Bernier-Grand 2009). Clearly, then, FLP is a complex and multi-layered phenomenon, and in line with previous studies (e.g. Palvalainen & Boyd 2013), the present paper incorporates nexus analysis (Scollon & Scollon 2004) as the theoretical framework to tackle the complexity of FLP; this is further described in the next section.

3. Theoretical framework

The framework of nexus analysis will be adopted in the present study and applied to family language policy. This model is described as closely related to mediated discourse analysis, which links discourse and social action (Lane 2009). The framework can be usefully applied to language policy studies to map the actions of people in social contexts in relation to explicit or implicit language policies (Hult 2015); this can be further applied to studies of family language policy (cf. Palviainen & Boyd 2013).

The analysis begins with the identification of a social action (Lane 2009). This leads to the identification of the wider nexus of practice in which the social actions occur (Hult 2015). In the current study the nexus of practice is language use at home and the social actions that make up family language policy are, for example, interactions between parents or interactions between mother or father and child. Nexus analysis consists of three main orders of discourse that shape the social actions relating to a policy action, which occur in the nexus of practice. These are historical body, discourses in place (DIP) and interaction order (Hult 2015). As noted by Scollon and Scollon (2004 cited in Hult 2015:223) “every policy action is potentially mediated by, and therefore becomes a nexus point for, the three types of discourse”. These three discourses range from the micro to the macro level, emphasising an interaction between each other but also within each other (Hult 2015).
The historical body deals with the micro-level individual, focussing on information to do with people’s personal history, for example, demographic information, information about “the skills, experiences, and beliefs held by individuals” and how that affects their decisions, also in connection to language choice (Blommaert & Huang 2011, cited in Hult 2015: 223). In the present study, the historical body refers to the personal trajectories of the members of the family, their attitudes towards and feelings about languages, and any personal experiences they have had that might affect decisions made about languages in the home.

DIP refers to the macro level, that is, the institutional, community, national, regional and global scales, it creates a link between a policy action and the wider picture of the policy (Hult 2015). Two types of context are relevant or “in place” when discussing DIP: material and conceptual, as they can both impact on the actions (Blommaert & Huang 2011; Scollon & Scollon 2004; cited in Hult 2015:224). For example, in the present study, a material context could be reading minority language books to children, whereas the conceptual context is the language norms of society (Hult 2015).

The third discourse is the interaction order, this deals with interpersonal, community and institutional scales, therefore this has to do with how individuals behave with other individuals and interact with one another to “co-construct” discourses (Hult 2015:225). This discourse layer lies in between the micro and the macro and therefore creates a link between the historical body and DIP (Blommaert & Huang 2011, cited in Hult 2015). This aids the idea that the three discourses bridge the gap between individual and societal levels of language and this enables the investigation of connections between all three discourses and the reasoning behind language policies (Hult 2015). The interaction order in family language policy relates to how the members of the family use languages in the home and in the wider society and how certain strategies that are chosen to be put in place aid language practices.

An important feature of nexus analysis is the fact that it acknowledges that the discourses involved in the nexus of practice are not fixed but changeable across the scales (Hult 2015). This means that the way that FLP works within a family may not always remain consistent. For example, children beginning school or preschool may result in one language being favoured over another which was previously more widely spoken in the home (Palviainen & Boyd 2013). Hult (2015) notes the impact of the researcher, explaining that they can bring certain ideas to participants’ attention that they may not have been aware of previously, therefore perhaps affecting the decisions surrounding policies or influencing the way the participants’ think and reason. The awareness of this, also known as the reflexivity of the researcher, is also mentioned by Pérez-Milans (2016). This is significant in studies like the present one that focus heavily on interview data, as it strengthens the procedures used by presenting another dimension of understanding the data (Pérez-Milans 2016). This adaptability proves to be an essential attribute of the nexus analysis as it means that the model accepts and allows for the investigation of unfixed events, as FLP has been known to be changeable (Palviainen & Boyd 2013).
The nexus analysis model can be compared to Spolsky’s (2004) more traditional tripartite view of language policy, as nexus analysis incorporates Spolsky’s (2004) three concepts. Practices and management relate to the interpersonal level in interaction order and ideologies are acknowledged in the historical body under the beliefs of participants. But the difference lies in that the nexus analysis explores these ideas much further, for example, by not simply investigating the ideologies of an individual but also their past experiences, an understanding can be established about why certain management strategies, or policies are in place (Hult 2015). This is especially relevant to FLP as the individuals under investigation are the ‘policy maker’ themselves or those very close to the policy maker, therefore the personal history may play a bigger role in the family language policy scenario. Spolsky (2004) also fails to distinguish between a material and conceptual context, as the nexus analysis does in the DIP (Hult 2015) which means that the nexus analysis provides a more enriched view of how the setting influences decisions made about language policy.

As Lane (2009:453) states “A recurring challenge for most sociolinguistic research is to bridge the micro–macro level gap by answering the question of how we can provide support for the thesis that there is a connection between an action on the micro-level and large-scale social factors”. Spolsky (2004) does note links between the three concepts and language policy; he states that ideologies can affect or be affected by practices and management, but this does not reflect the true interconnectedness of what impacts on conclusions made about language policy. In his investigation into a language policy meeting, Hult (2015) explains that the nexus analysis shows how actions from one scale
can work together with actions from another scale resulting in a particular language policy. This shows a more complex web of scales and actions that Spolsky’s (2004) idea fails to illustrate.

Finally, as previously mentioned the nexus analysis recognises that FLP is not static (Hult 2015). This is not incorporated into Spolsky’s (2004) view, which creates a shortcoming in his framework. Because the nexus analysis includes this in the model, it means that it is much more fitting to the reality of FLP; certain situations in families are bound to bring on linguistic change. For example, in Palviainen and Boyd’s (2013) study, they found that parents and children would change their language practices based on the situation they were in, and one family also changed their management strategy. The study’s identification of these changes made for a fuller view of FLP.

4. Methodology

The present study uses a mixed methods design. Many researchers in the social sciences believe that a qualitative or quantitative method alone is not enough to gain a full understanding of human phenomena (Ivankova, Creswell & Stick 2006). The use of both qualitative and quantitative data in this study means that the research allows for a detailed investigation into what happens in a small number of bilingual families in the UK, focussing on the individual level, as well as yielding results that could identify a potential pattern among many families that fit the relevant criteria, looking at the broader societal level (Merriam 2009). This design avoids specific limitations that each of the approaches involve separately, such as overly general results in quantitative approaches, or results that are too specific in qualitative approaches (Dörnyei 2007). Combining methods means that a wider range of questions can be asked and consequently a wider range of answers can be discovered (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie 2004), something that is needed to fully understand a complex topic, such as FLP, that involves “social relations and human affairs” and that may have implications for policy (Gaber & Gaber 1997:98). Furthermore, researchers have claimed that mixed methods increase the accessibility, external validity (Dörnyei 2007) and credibility of a study (Gaber & Gaber 1997).

In the present study, a sequential explanatory strategy is used (see Figure 1), whereby the weighting is equal and the mixing is done through connecting, that is, mixing during the data collection stage, and combining, mixing during the interpretation stage (Ivankova & Greer 2015). The quantitative data was collected first, the results of which informed the approach in the subsequent qualitative data collection (Creswell 2009), therefore the results of the quantitative and qualitative data are presented separately (see Section 5.1 and 5.2, respectively). Quantitative data was collected from participants through questionnaires and qualitative data was collected through interviews and logs as well as through voluntary additional comments in the questionnaire, after which the methods were further mixed in the discussion (see Section 6). The study aims to meet the functions of mixed methods, those being; triangulation, development, complementarity, expansion and initiation (Greene, Caracelli & Graham 1989). Firstly, this study realises triangulation as many of the findings from the quantitative data support those from the qualitative data. Development is achieved using the quantitative results to inform the qualitative data collection. Complementarity is found in this study through the qualitative data exploring the reasons for the results of the quantitative data
further and therefore the qualitative data expands on the quantitative resulting in expansion. Finally, initiation, which highlights areas to be further developed (Greene, Caracelli and Graham 1989) is accomplished through the inconsistencies found between the questionnaire and interview results, which are detailed in Section 6.

The sequential explanatory strategy of mixed methods is praised for its “straightforwardness” (Ivankova et al 2006:5) and its facilitation of further investigation into unanticipated quantitative findings (Morse 1991 cited in Creswell 2009). Researchers have claimed that drawbacks of this design are accessibility of both qualitative and quantitative data (Ivankova et al 2006) and time (Creswell 2009) but these were not found to cause problems in the present study.

![Figure 1. Visual representation of mixed methods design in current study](image)

In what follows, details are given in connection to the instruments and tools used in this study and the participants who took part in it. Participants were adults who lived in the UK ranging from the age of 18-64. The participants came from families made up of one native English speaking parent, one parent whose native language was not English and young children up to 11 years old. More detailed information on the questionnaire sample and interviewees is given in the subsections 4.1.1 and 4.2.1, which are preceded by information on each method.

### 4.1 Questionnaire

The questionnaire was created on Google Forms. The primary reason for choosing to create an online questionnaire was so that it could be easily accessed by people from all over the UK. Additional benefits of using this method was that it was free and simple to create, and enabled anonymity for the participants, as the questionnaire did not ask for any names or email addresses. Google Forms was also beneficial as the results could be downloaded as a CSV file and used in SPSS. In conducting a study also using Google Forms, Kayam and Hirsch (2012) noted that this form of questionnaire enabled participants to choose whether to participate with no pressure, and the digitally recorded results decreased the chance of error by humans.
However, the use of Google Forms is not without disadvantages. Kayam and Hirsch (2012) mention that using this method could entail data pollution, meaning that participants may fill in the form more than once, or they may not put in their full effort to participation. They also state that the data could be unrepresentative due to the random sampling and inaccessibility of the form for certain people, as not everyone has access to the Internet (Kayam & Hirsch 2012). In addition to this, in the current study it was found that as the responses to the questionnaire were voluntary, it was only those who were motivated and interested in the topic who gave their views and took part. This resulted in overrepresentation of some groups, for example mothers, and underrepresentation of others, for example fathers. Furthermore, during the current study it was found that the anonymity of the questionnaire was slightly problematic. If a respondent had misunderstood a question, they could not be contacted for clarification, for example, answering “not applicable” to questions that were applicable to the respondent. However, on reflection, it was judged that maintaining the anonymity and not asking for email addresses of participants counteracted the problem of not being able to contact participants. In addition to a research ethical requisite, maintaining the anonymity of respondents was thought to attract participants, as they could be sure they would not be contacted again after the response was recorded. Another disadvantage to this method was that participants may not have been who they said they were and there was no way of checking their identity. This is considered a minor drawback, due to there being little incentive for someone to give false information in this questionnaire. It must also be noted that the participants were asked to report on their practices, management and ideologies, which could have caused response bias. This means that in some situations, participants may have given the answer they feel is more socially desirable, but is not necessarily true of their situation, therefore this must be considered when reporting results (Arnold & Feldman 1981).

The questionnaire was aimed to be filled out by either mothers or fathers that fit the previously mentioned criteria. The questions were written based on typical queries adapted from Baker (2014). The questionnaire began with a paragraph informing participants about the study which included an email address for participants to contact if they had any questions regarding the study or participation. The second page of the questionnaire included a statement of consent with which all participants had to agree in order to continue with the questionnaire. The first questions asked for personal information about the participants, such as their age, where they live, their children’s ages, the languages that they and their partner speak. The following questions in the questionnaire were multiple choice. The next section dealt with the use of languages at home, where the participants were asked to estimate how much (always/often/sometimes/rarely/never/not applicable) they spoke certain languages or switched between languages with the other members of their family. Next the parents were asked about their language practices with their children, including how often they visited the country of the minority language. They were then asked about their language management strategies and then about language and the community. The last section dealt with statements with which participants had to state how much they agreed or disagreed, and finally a space where the participants could add any other information they felt might be relevant. This final section proved very informative, with several participants adding interesting insights into their language use, strategies or ideologies.
4.1.1 Questionnaire participants

Following the running of a pilot of the questionnaire with 8 participants, after which minor amendments were made in alignment with their feedback, more participants were recruited. Participants were found through personal connections and Facebook groups. A total of 21 groups were found, a message was sent to the administrators and a post was made on the page with some information about the study and a link to the questionnaire. Examples of the groups were ‘Raising Bilingual/Multilingual children’ and ‘Spanish mums in London’. In total, 233 responses to the questionnaire were received, with participants and their partners coming from a range of 44 different countries, predominantly European, and collectively speaking 43 languages at different levels. 93% lived in England, 4% in Scotland, 1% in Wales, 1% in Northern Ireland and 1% did not specify where in the UK they lived. 225 (97%) respondents were mothers and 8 (3%) were fathers. This imbalance, along with the reason mentioned earlier, was perhaps due to the nature of the recruitment, as 4 of the 21 Facebook groups were aimed at mothers rather than both parents, for example ‘Finnish Mums in London’, ‘Dansk Mor i London’ (Danish mothers in London). Even in the groups aimed at parents for example ‘Norske Foreldre i London’ (Norwegian Parents in London), ‘Genitori Italiani a Newcastle’ (Italian Parents in Newcastle), there was often more of a presence of mothers than fathers posting in the groups. The overrepresentation of mothers may also be due to mothers in the UK often being ‘typically’ seen as the main carer for their children, especially as shared parental leave was only introduced in Britain in 2015, and fathers taking paternity leave for extended periods of time is still fairly uncommon in the UK (Osborne 2015). It should also be taken into consideration that the respondents were mostly the parent whose native language was not English, with 212 respondents being native speakers of a language that was not English, 17 native English speakers, 3 respondents who reported having an equal level in both English and another language and 1 trilingual native in English, French and German. Again, this overrepresentation of native foreign language speaking parents was most likely due to the questionnaires being voluntary and therefore the personal interest of this group resulted in more responses from them.

For the reader to have a clearer image in mind when reading the results, an overview of the prototypical respondent of the questionnaire is provided. The typical participant is a non-native English speaking mother living in England, aged 35-44. She is a stay at home mother and has a post-graduate degree. She comes from one of the Nordic countries and her partner comes from England and they live in London and have been together for 11-15 years. Together the couple have 2 children between the ages of 13 months and 4 years old. The participant can speak 2 languages; her native language and English and uses both languages to communicate with her children. Her partner is a monolingual English speaker and therefore only speaks English with the children and the parents speak English with each other.

4.2 Interviews

With the aim of exploring the research questions in more depth, two families were selected for further interviews (more details about the families are provided below). The families were recruited based on the researcher’s existing network of acquaintances. Four interviews were carried out; two with each family, each ranged from 48-82 minutes. The interviews were carried out twice with each family to ensure that enough information had been collected and to allow for more detail in the logs, further
information on these are provided in Section 4.3. The interviews were conducted with
the mother and father together, and in one instance with the child involved as well, to
create richer information by each parent encouraging the other to speak or add
information themselves, similar to how the dynamics function in a focus group (Patton
2002 cited in Merriam 2009). This was also set up to make the interview feel more like
a conversation rather than an interview, as informal conversation is a well-regarded data
collection technique in ethnographic studies (McCarty 2015), and by extension, in
ethnographically-informed studies like the present one. The interview was semi
structured including both open and closed questions to allow for the intended questions
to be answered (Richards 2009) but also to create space for further questions to be asked
if it was felt appropriate (McCarty 2015). The interviews were written as based on the
answers given by the individual interview participants in the questionnaire. This
information from the quantitative to the qualitative makes for more “context-sensitive”
interview questions resulting in more informative answers (Gaber & Gaber 1997:99). In
addition to this, open ended questions were included to discover more about the parents’
personal history and background, such as where they grew up and which languages
were used around them when they were young. The questions for the second interview
were based on the first interview, to find out more about the reasons certain answers
were given by the participants previously (Merriam 2009).

4.2.1 Interview participants
There were 2 families for interviews. Family one is a Finnish-British family; the
mother, Sofia†, Finnish, and the father, Neil, English, have been together for 15 years
and have an 8-year-old son, Ben. The couple have lived in a town in the South West of
England together for 13 years and both work as nurses in a nearby city. The family
dynamics are very equal; both parents spend the same amount of time with their son and
support each other in decisions made. The languages in the home are English and
Finnish. Neil is from northern England, and is a monolingual speaker of English. He
learnt French at school but was put off by poor teaching and a lack of need for the
language and as a result, discontinued learning after it was no longer compulsory. Sofia
grew up in Southern Finland speaking Finnish at home and learnt English, along with
French and German, at school. Today she uses English at work as a nurse and at home
with her husband, Neil, and son, Ben. She also regularly uses Finnish with Ben, and will
always speak Finnish when contacting her family in Finland. Additionally, her use of
Finnish with Finnish friends in the UK is not impacted by the presence of non-Finnish
speakers, such as Neil.

The second family is a Cypriot-American family; the mother, Maria, is Cypriot and the
father, Matthew, American, have been together for 9 years and have a 4-year-old
daughter, Eleni. The family reside in a city in the South West of England, where the
couple have lived for 8 years and both parents are university lecturers. The couple are
very involved in their work, and often travel for research, additionally, they are also
often given sudden strict work deadlines which they must work to which impacts on
their social lives. The languages used within the home are English, Greek and a small
amount of Cypriot. Maria is a fully bilingual speaker of English and Greek/Cypriot.

† All names used are pseudonyms, to protect the identity of the participants.
This was a result of being born to a Cypriot mother and a Cypriot father in Scotland, and being raised in Cyprus, where both English and Cypriot were used in the home. Today, she uses mostly English in her day-to-day life in the UK but speaks Greek with some acquaintances at work and regularly uses Cypriot to speak to family on the phone. She also speaks Italian and French, which she uses when occasionally abroad. Matthew grew up in LA as a native speaker of English. In school and university, he learnt Spanish, which he reported that he often heard spoken around him during his upbringing, but does not use regularly today. He lived in Nepal for 2 years whilst taking part in the volunteer programme, Peace Corps. During this time, he learnt to speak basic Nepali, which he does not use today. When he and Maria met, he began to learn Greek, but noting that he missed several classes. He can follow basic conversations in Greek, but cannot hold a conversation himself. Interestingly, the couple state that they sometimes communicate in Greek to prevent their daughter from understanding them. The minority language in the home is Greek, rather than Cypriot, which was a conscious decision made by the mother for a few reasons. One reason for this was that because both parents feel that learning Greek, rather than Cypriot is more worthwhile as there are more speakers of this language. Following this, when Eleni was at an English-speaking nursery, one of her teachers was Greek, and this teacher taught the class songs in Greek. Therefore, the parents also felt it was most appropriate to keep the language consistent between the nursery and home. Further, Maria also expressed how she feels that it would be “weird” to speak Cypriot to a child who is too young to respond, especially one being raised in England as Cypriot is an “obscure” dialect. The father also pointed to the fact that as Cypriot is an oral language, the books they read her are in Greek, therefore this is also an issue of consistency. In addition to these factors, Maria’s parents also now live in Greece, which is where the family visits once a year, thus Greek is more prominent than Cypriot.

4.3 Logs

Typically, studies into FLP take an ethnographic approach, studying one or several families over time (e.g Smith-Christmas 2016). Due to time restrictions, this was not possible for the current study, therefore the decision was made to include logs in the data collection, resulting in two out of the three of the “ways of looking” that Wolcott (2008 cited in McCarty 2015) states makes up ethnographic research included in the study. This resulted in the use of enquiring and examining but not experiencing (Wolcott 2008 cited in McCarty 2015). Logs were chosen as the best method to apply in addition to interviews since they are regarded as a key part of ethnographic research (Schensul and LeCompte 2013 cited in McCarty 2015) and also due to how detailed and rich the information in them can be (McCarty 2015). Another benefit of this method was that the data for the interviews and logs could be collected simultaneously which was a huge advantage as families with young children and working parents do not have a huge amount of spare time to give up. During the interviews, notes were made by the researcher to later be expanded on and developed into full log entries (McCarty 2015). The log made an account of the setting, the participants and any activities that occurred during the time spent together (McCarty 2015). As suggested by McCarty (2015) the log was regarded as a reflection, calling upon personal feelings and understandings to build up an understanding of each of the families. A log was written for each interview session plus one extra regarding a brief, informal meeting with Sofia and Neil, resulting in a total number of five; two for Maria and Matthew and three for Sofia and Neil. Each
log ranged from 100 to 700 words long. The log protocol can be found in Appendix E and an example log in Appendix F.

5. Results

5.1 Quantitative data

This section deals with the quantitative data gained from the questionnaire.

5.1.1 Practices

Participants in the questionnaire were given three contexts; parent to child, child to parent and parent to parent. They noted how much: always, often, sometimes, rarely or never, they spoke English and the minority language. Percentages of language use can be found in Appendix G. Ordinal data was created by assigning numerical values to different answers on the scales. A higher score would mean there is more minority language in the home and a lower score would mean there is more English in the home. The highest possible score was 10 in all contexts, and lowest was 1 in the parent to parent context and 2 in the remaining two contexts. In the parent to child and child to parent contexts, if the mean score was 5.4 or below, the person would be reported as using more English, if the score was 5.5-6.4 the person would be reported as using both languages equally and if the scores were 6.4 and above the most used language would be the minority language. Whereas in the parent to parent context, the means were 5 and below, 5.1-5.9 and 6 and above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parent to Child</th>
<th>Child to Parent</th>
<th>Parent to Parent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M 6.9</td>
<td>SD 1.92</td>
<td>n 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M 4.85</td>
<td>SD 2.64</td>
<td>n 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M 2.69</td>
<td>SD 1.69</td>
<td>n 233</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Most used language reported in different contexts

The results, shown in Table 1, show that most parents report mostly using the minority language to communicate with their children, most children were reported as using mostly English to communicate with their parent and most parents used English to communicate with one another. Further, a spearman’s rank correlation was carried out to test whether there was a correlation between parents’ language use to children and children’s language use to parents. The correlation coefficient was calculated as 0.430. This means there is only a moderate correlation between them, suggesting that there is not a particularly strong correlation between children’s and parent’s language practices.

5.1.2 Ideologies

This section deals with data from only multilingual respondents (total of 232) so that the choice of language of the parent is not skewed by the fact that monolingual parents only have the choice of one language. The answers to statements around the topic of ideologies were converted to numerical data; more positive ideologies resulted in higher scores. The scores were split into quarters, the lower two quarters indicating strongly negative and negative ideologies, and the upper two implying positive and strongly positive beliefs. The mean score for the ideologies of all participants was 18.4, indicating that generally multilingual parents had positive attitudes towards having more than one language in the home. Specifically, while parents generally do not
believe that it is incredibly important that their children speak the minority language outside the home, they do believe that having more than one language in the home is an advantage and overwhelmingly do not worry about the effect of having more than one language in the home. Additionally, although parents are keen for their children to speak the minority language, they put less importance on being able to write in the minority language, and they generally do not believe that culture is more important than language. A Spearman’s rank correlation on the data of parents’ ideologies and children’s language use shows a correlation coefficient of 0.273 which indicates a weak correlation between them. In conducting the same test to identify the correlation between ideologies and parent’s minority language use, the correlation coefficient was 0.281. This suggests that parent’s positive ideologies do not impact on their children’s use of the minority language or their own.

Further, it was found that there was a slight majority of people who find it difficult to incorporate their minority language into everyday life in the UK compared to those who do not. But a larger majority of speakers (59%) feel speaking in the minority language is most natural for them, with almost all (97%) of these respondents being native speakers of the minority language. Those who feel that English is most natural to speak with their children made up 30% of the sample, and interestingly, 86% of this 30% were not native English speakers. Reflecting the practice findings, 94% of multilingual respondents agreed or strongly agreed that English was the most natural language to use with their partner. These findings are discussed further in Section 6 and raw data and percentages from this section can be found in Appendix H.

5.1.3 Strategies

Almost three quarters of parents planned their language use with their children⁴; the most popular strategies used by parents were support from relatives, reading minority language books to children and visiting the country⁵ of the minority language. The impact of each of the strategies on children’s minority language use was investigated, with the results presented in Tables 2 and 3. The higher the mean, the more minority language use. The strategies that showed a significant effect on minority language use of children were language planning, OPOL, relying on relatives, reading books to children in the minority language and children watching TV in the minority language. In families that used these strategies, more minority language was spoken by the children. Whereas, the strategies that did not show a significant effect on the minority language use of children were being part of a community, children attending minority language classes and visiting the country of the minority language. Although not a strategy, it was also found that children in the home that attend English school do not have an impact on the amount of minority language spoken in the home. The raw data from this section can be found in Appendix I.

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⁴ Language planning is defined as “an attempt by someone to modify the linguistic behaviour of some community for some reason” (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997:3), more specifically related to this study, it is seen as any act by parents to control the language use in the home in order to aid the maintenance of the minority language. This could range between a simple discussion between parents about language use to the implementation of strategies to encourage the use of the minority language.

⁵ This also acknowledges more than one country where the minority language is spoken, and is used throughout the paper.
The results presented in this Section show that overall there is a preference for English in the home, with only the context of parent to child mostly using the minority language, further these practices are not strongly affected by the ideologies of parents. It has also been shown that the planning of languages increases minority language use, specifically through the use of OPOL, relying on support from relatives and reading books and watching TV in the minority language. The next section delves deeper into some of the issues found in this section, namely investigating the reasons for the findings in this section.
5.2 Qualitative data

This section deals with interview and log data from two families; Sofia, Neil and Ben, a Finnish-British family, and Maria, Matthew and Eleni, a Cypriot-American family. Sofia is a native Finnish speaker who has passed her language on to Ben, but not to Neil, and Maria is a native speaker of both Greek and English. Matthew and Eleni are both beginner learners of Greek, at slightly differing levels. Additionally, data from parents in the questionnaire who provided further comments are also included in this section.

5.2.1 Practices

Starting with an overview of how languages are used in the home, there is more Finnish used in Sofia, Neil and Ben’s home than there is Greek used in Maria, Matthew and Eleni’s home. The mothers differ in their language use to their children; Sofia speaks equal amounts of Finnish and English to Ben, whereas Maria’s language use is dominated by English, with a small use of Greek words and phrases on a regular basis. Both women use only English to communicate with their partners, whom they both perceive as non-minority language speakers. However, despite their lack of fluency in the minority languages, the fathers have a positive impact on the minority language practices in the home. Maria noted how Matthew often prompts her to speak Greek by using Greek words. Similarly, Neil does not attempt to partake in conversations with his wife and son when they are speaking Finnish, stating that he would rather that Ben is able to practice his Finnish. This shows how even if a parent is not a fluent speaker of the minority language, they can still have a positive impact on its use within the home. Additionally, although the fathers are not regarded as speakers of the minority languages, they do attempt to speak it; both families note their children’s reactions of embarrassment and disapproval to the fathers speaking the minority language.

In line with their mother’s linguistic behaviours, Ben and Eleni’s language practices differ from one another. Ben’s parents report that he can speak fluent, although not entirely error-free Finnish and is able to switch between English and Finnish appropriately depending on the situation. He uses both Finnish and English on a regular basis with his mother, as shown by his language use with his mother in the interviews, and uses only English with his father. As with Maria, Eleni speaks almost exclusively in English to both her parents. She is reported as unable to construct her own sentences in Greek and having difficulties in understanding conversations and pronouncing words in Greek. Despite this, Maria reported that if someone speaks to Eleni in Greek, she will attempt to reply in Greek, but with difficulty and often making mistakes. Maria also explained that Eleni has a distorted view of her own language abilities, telling her parents that she can speak Greek, while her parents disagree with this. This may have something to do with Eleni’s enthusiasm for Greek culture and her heritage as well as her identification as Greek, which is explored further in Section 5.2.2. In contrast, the questionnaire results show a different pattern in language use of children to parents, with several parents reporting that their children speak English in reply to the parent speaking the minority language. This shows that in many instances, children are able to understand the language, but they have a preference for speaking English, suggesting that they are passive speaker of the minority language.
The proportions of minority language to English used in conversations with the extended families and minority language-speaking friends also differs between Maria and Sofia’s families. Although both sets of maternal grandparents are able to speak good English, it is only Maria’s mother who speaks English to her granddaughter. In fact, many of Maria’s family members will use English with Eleni, and on occasion speak in Greek, which is likely due to their familiarity with English. Maria will speak Cypriot with her family and her family will accommodate to Matthew by speaking English. Therefore, typically the conversations include Cypriot, Greek and English. Additionally, when with Greek friends in the UK, English will often take prevalence as non-Greek speakers are usually present. In the company of Sofia’s extended family and Finnish friends, on the other hand, Finnish will dominate; Ben will speak Finnish to his grandparents, cousins, aunts, uncles and family friends, as will Sofia. When Neil is present, there is more English used but the language that takes precedence is still Finnish.

Although the language practices in both homes seem secure, with little change in their use, both mothers reported how the language practices in their homes have changed since their children were born due to their children attending English-speaking nursery or school. Maria recalled that when Eleni was an infant she used Greek up to seventy percent of the time, but she recognised that when she began nursery aged one, English became more prominent and Maria used much less Greek to interact with her daughter.

Maria: so when she was very little when she went to nursery I spoke to her a lot more in Greek more exclusively and if you- we look back at videos of her being a you know six month old and her response to everything I say in Greek when she starts nursery at the age of one and her language skills are still not developed at that point right so she’s still just listening and responding I can tell that she understands and I was doing really well up to that point I was very adamant that she was going to be a fluent Greek speaker before she was born um then when she goes to nursery and she starts evolving in language socially her nursery with her friends it’s English

The introduction of Eleni into an English-speaking nursery has shown to have a huge effect on her language abilities, as Maria notes in the extract that she believes that, as a 6-month-old, Eleni understood what her mother was saying in Greek, whereas she reports that now Eleni does not always understand conversations in Greek. Maria further explained that this has resulted in the Greek words and phrases that she regularly uses with Eleni today being those that she used frequently with Eleni when she was an infant. For example, commands that relate to activities like putting on pyjamas or brushing teeth. Therefore, the level of Greek used in the home has not advanced with age. In Sofia’s case, the increase of English in the home started a little later, after Ben had started speaking Finnish. She explained how Finnish became impractical in certain conversations with her son.

Sofia: yep yeah but since he started school I’m speaking more English to him because just by necessity because he had to start reading obviously I was reading to him in Finnish- Finnish children’s books but then he started school so I had to by necessity start reading to him in English…and do all his homework in English and obviously explain things in English because…when you go to school you know, he needs to know what romans is, I can’t do that in Finnish, you can’t do that…and to do it in Finnish and translate when it’s new to him as well…I keep switching to English as well because English is kind of easier but more of an effort now to but I find myself now when I pick him up that I ask in English and then I you know it’s just keeping it in mind

Bibi: yeah so do you feel like you have to sort of make a conscious…effort in your head
Sofia: yeah yeah yeah…and more so because we have to do something in English as well
Bibi: okay so has that been a challenge for you
Sofia: yeah I do have to keep it in mind yeah I have to remind myself

Sofia reported that she feels that she must be aware of the languages she is using, suggesting that, now, Finnish is not natural to speak in all situations with her son, as she must prompt herself to speak Finnish rather than English. This shows how Ben going to school does not only influence the language used in conversations about school but also other topics of conversation and everyday tasks. Furthermore, and in support of this argument, questionnaire respondents also reported that they feel that their children starting school had a negative impact on the minority language use in the home. A comment from respondent 233 illustrates this idea:

Helping children with their homework in the minority language is difficult if not impossible. Small children learning to read or count need help to do so in the language in which they're learning it (English!) and for us this was the point when I started to speak to them in English.

Additional comments, such as one from respondent 48, also suggest that the monolingual, or non-minority language-speaking, environment changes the way in which languages are used in the home.

It is not so clear cut. It is hard to speak minority language when we're out and about and in the presence of non Spanish speakers. Also my son's English is more sophisticated than his Spanish from school, TV, grandparents, which means it's harder to answer in Spanish. We also don't have as much contact with the Spanish family as with the English.

Others, like respondent 189, reinforced the idea of passive exposure to a language and noted the importance of time.

The amount of time spent with the children is a problem for working parents trying to pass on a minority language. OPOL was harder than I thought it would be when everything around is in the majority language.

These comments highlight a few of the factors that result in the change in practices, specifically, the decline of minority language use, emphasising that the maintenance of a minority language can be difficult due to influences from outside the home and practicalities of family life.

5.2.2 Ideologies
As well as differing in practices, the reasons for wanting their children to learn the minority language varied between the two families. Maria and Matthew expressed how language is needed to grasp an understanding of culture and identity, which is especially important for Maria as the family do not live in Greece.

Maria: well for me it’s cos that’s- that’s the um cultural language that’s- that’s part of her heritage and culture and if you don’t speak the language you’re missing a huge dimension of your culture that’s my- that’s the big thing for me…you know but for me the Greek urgency is I want her to have a sense of who she is and her roots…there’s a huge component of the culture in the language, huge, and as you know with any culture it’s the same thing uh and I definitely believe that and i- it gives you a different sense of being, a different sense of origin…
This extract shows how Maria feels that culture is contained within language, therefore in order for Eleni to be able to understand and connect with her heritage, she needs to be able to speak the language. Less concerned with identity, Sofia and Neil concentrated on the idea of communication between Ben and his Finnish family as well as Sofia’s own need to speak her language whilst residing in England. They stressed that it would be “tragic” and “awful” if Ben was unable to communicate with his maternal grandparents and cousins. Neil added that the couple were also influenced by their friends’ experiences, in that they had not raised their children bilingually and felt great disappointment, which motivated Sofia and Neil to actively avoid that situation.

When speaking about the advantages that bilingualism brings to their children, the families expressed the same ideas; improved cognitive abilities and the opportunities to work, study and travel world-wide. Specifically, Neil explained how, thanks to his language learning, Ben is very confident and is achieving better than his peers at school. While Matthew and Maria agreed with the previously mentioned benefits, Matthew indicated how he feels that bilingualism is only truly beneficial if the situation in which the second language is added is natural, perhaps implying that this is not the situation he feels that his family is in. This view was also reported by a questionnaire respondent 4.

Of course it is beneficial for kids to be multilingual but not to the detrimental of family life and the rigidity I have seen in some families is shocking!

This shows how some parents feel that if the addition of a second language is not organic, it does not have the same overall advantages compared to if it is. But Sofia nor Neil expressed this view, in fact, Sofia suggested that if Ben were to become disinterested in speaking Finnish, she would simply continue, suggesting that the importance of maintaining Finnish was a high priority for her. Alternatively, perhaps this was due to her own preference for speaking Finnish or her strength weighted in the minority language over English, which Maria does not have.

Both couples agreed that there are no disadvantages in bilingualism, but there are difficulties. Sofia mentioned that a difficulty lies in the fact that Ben will perhaps not fully grasp Finnish grammar or written Finnish. But this seemed to be of little worry to her, likely as it would not prevent Ben communicating with his Finnish family. But for Maria, the difficulties were more troubling. She reported a struggle and a lot of effort in teaching her daughter Greek as it does not come naturally to Eleni. In addition to this, in the interviews, there were several instances where Maria implied feelings of disappointment about her daughter’s language abilities, for which she put the blame on herself.

Maria:…especially because it’s not her fault
Matthew: yeah
Maria: right it’s mine so…you know what I mean like it’s not her fault that she can’t speak it by this point I should’ve- it would’ve been under- in my sort of role to make sure she could speak at this point…yeah so what was great for me has ended up being a detriment to my offspring
Matthew: well it’s- it’s- not a detriment
Maria: to her bilingualness…I will always feel though no matter what you both say I will always feel that I could have done a lot more and i- like I’ve missed that opportunity…

This extract shows the amount of pressure that Maria feels in Eleni’s language learning, she feels that she is the person who is solely responsible for her daughter’s Greek
learning and her own language abilities may have affected that. This is further reflected in questionnaire comments by respondents 4, 40 and 50.

Have many regrets and my kids don't speak Swedish.

All in all it is up to me to make a greater effort to establish German more in my children's day to day life.

My first two children were bilingual until age of three but have now 'lost' their Swedish sadly. In simple terms I have been too lazy.

These comments reflect Maria’s feelings and highlight the different pressures that parents in bilingual families face in raising their children bilingually. The comments show self-blame and indicate that parents believe it is purely up to the minority language speaker to aid the minority language maintenance, and if this is not achieved this parent commonly feels disappointment. But despite this, Eleni shows how even with a lack of minority language skills it is possible to have a connection with the minority language heritage. Maria recalled a conversation she had with her daughter:

Maria: we say “Eleni you’re half American half Greek” and actually fully British but anyway and she’ll say “I’m NOT half Greek I’m whole Greek!”

This contrasts slightly to Ben’s case, who, despite stating that he is “Finglish” and shows a great deal of enthusiasm for Finnish culture and speaking Finnish, feels more British. Eleni’s case suggests that the culture is not embedded in the language in the same way that Maria believed, but the culture has overtaken the language for Eleni, whereas Ben’s description of his identity suggests that one would feel more of a connection to the country of the language they can speak most fluently. However, Maria and Matthew make a point of telling Eleni she is Greek, whereas Sofia and Neil stated that they do not regard cultural identification as important. Therefore, it could be argued that it is not the language that determines the culture one identifies with, but the environment one grows up in. This point is developed further in Section 6.

5.2.3 Strategies

As shown, it is not always the ideologies that have a strong impact on their children’s and parents’ language use, therefore the paper now turns to the strategies’ effect on practices in the home. Both the families reported having a plan before their children were born regarding language use in the home, but neither reported employing OPOL. Sofia’s reasoning for the lack of OPOL was primarily because she wants Finnish to be fun for Ben, and she feels that she does not have the energy to be strict in her language use. Additionally, she is put off by a “militant” approach that she has seen others employ, with Neil supporting this decision by adding that Sofia’s relaxed approach is well-suited to Ben. By contrast, rather than looking to her own preferences, Maria’s reasons behind the rejection of OPOL are based more upon her own upbringing.

Maria: well that’s the plan [OPOL] that most people will adopt if they’re in this kind of situation and I sort of consciously said no because that’s not how I am I can’t be like that I was never even in my own family I wasn’t speaking exclusively Greek because we had this mix- mish- mishmash of speaking English and Greek together as a family
She added that she believed that as it had worked in her family, it would also work with Eleni, admitting that she overlooked important factors, namely her English-speaking husband and the English-speaking society they live in. This shows how both mothers, in their own ways, called upon their own experiences in determining their language use with their children. This is discussed further in Section 6.

Although the parents in both families rejected OPOL, this has not meant that the mothers handle their languages in the same way. While Sofia reported that she felt that Finnish was a language that she felt was manageable within the family, Maria felt the need for outside help, most likely due to her strength in, and therefore often preference for, English. Although they had differing opinions on how much support they believed they required, they both agreed that speakers of the minority language outside the home are motivators for the children, as they believe that it helps the children realise that the minority language is something beyond just their mothers. Specifically, Sofia stated that she feels that Ben’s cousins and friends in Finland are a great motivation for him to continue speaking the language. Consequently, Sofia and Ben visit Finland twice a year; once in the summer and once in the winter, with Neil joining only in the summer. A decision made by Neil so that Ben can speak exclusively in Finnish for the whole time he is away and immerse himself in the language, which Sofia reports aids Ben’s development in Finnish.

Maria also feels that annual trips to Greece aid Eleni’s Greek, but the couple disagree on that they rely on Maria’s family for Eleni’s Greek learning. Maria made the point that they are the only resource she feels she has, and she presented a Greek colouring book that her brother had sent to Eleni from Cyprus, suggesting that her family are supportive in Eleni learning Greek. However, Matthew explained that due to the amount of English they all speak around Eleni, Maria’s family do not support the maintenance of Greek, but he does agree that visiting Greece is a motivator. Matthew explained how the couple prepare Eleni to speak Greek, providing her with useful phrases and words, as well as encouraging Eleni to play with other Greek children in Greece. But despite trips to Greece, there is still a lack of Greek in the home back in England. Comments by questionnaire respondents, like respondent 165, imply that speaking the minority language is required when meeting the family or visiting the country, but not when at home in the UK.

All 3 children understand Swedish very well but rarely speak Swedish to me. However, they happily switch to Swedish when visiting cousins in Sweden etc.

This suggests that the impact of visiting the country and the family may affect the children’s language practices at the time of visiting, but may not have long lasting effects that mean the minority language is used in the home. Speakers of the minority language closer to home are often found in communities set up to share the minority language and culture. Questionnaire respondent 211 highlights the importance of the community to her and those she knows.

Although my area is full of Latinos and Spaniards, there is no space for mothers or fathers of the minority language to meet up and learn songs and read stories in the minority language. I created this space for free in our local children's centre and it is now oversubscribed. It shows how important this type of space is. Creating a context where the child hears the minority language is crucial.
Not only does this highlight the idea that physical space is central in shaping people’s language repertoires, this also shows how parents feel that they must take action in providing support to other parents and their children in regard to minority language and culture learning; a service which is not provided by the UK government. The respondent emphasises the popularity of her group, which highlights the lack of and need for this sort of support in UK society. This suggests how many parents feel, unlike Sofia, that they require help from other minority language speakers for them to keep it alive in their own home. In support of this notion, the majority of questionnaire respondents who were part of a community felt that it aided maintenance of the minority language and most of those who were not part of a community felt that it would be desirable to be part of one and it would help their minority language use (data in Appendix H).

When asked further about this topic in the interviews, both families, neither of which had a community, agreed that befriending people based on one’s shared native country seemed artificial, and both also explained the difficulty in terms of logistics of attending a community due to their children’s extra-curricular activities and their fulltime work. But despite a lack of time for a community, Maria and Matthew organised for Eleni to attend a Greek class, something that Sofia and Neil did not feel was necessary for Ben. In a similar fashion as explained in the previous comment by respondent 211, this is a class that they set up themselves through their own contacts; the teacher being an old nursery teacher of Eleni’s who is a native Greek speaker and the other classmate is a peer who comes from a half Greek half Dutch family. Maria shows pride in the fact that Eleni attends this class, as shown by her proud presentation of Eleni’s work from the class, and states that she notices an improvement in Eleni’s Greek, again backing the idea that parents in bilingual families require help from outside sources in the maintenance of minority languages.

6. Discussion

This paper started by asking three main research questions, revolving around: (1) the reported language practices of multilingual families; (2) the ideologies parents in multilingual families have around the notion of FLP; and (3) the management strategies that parents reportedly employ to maintain a minority language whilst raising multilingual children. It was found that while generally there is a preference for English in the homes of the families, multilingual parents show a preference for speaking the minority language to their children, and the majority of parents have positive ideologies about raising children bilingually and language learning, which they see as an advantage, but one that comes with certain challenges. In addition, most parents explicitly reported planning their language use at home. The strategies that had a higher impact on increasing the use of the minority language in the home were the application of OPOL, reading books and watching TV in the minority language, and relying on relatives. That said, however, answers to the three research questions are far from being that simple and straightforward, and more needs to be said in connection to them.

In discussing the results, quantitative and qualitative data presented above are employed to explore the nexus of practice, that is, language use and ideologies in the home. Through establishing a connection between the historical bodies and the interaction orders of participants, it is argued that the historical bodies of parents play an important
role in the decision-making process regarding strategies and practices, that is, experiences and skills of parents result in them making decisions based on what they are most familiar and comfortable with. Following this micro level of analysis, the macro DIP are investigated to account for the interaction order of participants. As mentioned in Section 3, DIP can be split into conceptual contexts and material contexts (Hult 2015). The conceptual context refers to the language norms of UK society, that is, the languages spoken by those in the contexts outside the home and the material contexts in the present study refer to English schooling, time, communities, visiting the country of the minority language, classes in the minority language, minority language books and TV and relying on the minority language speaking relatives. It is within the macro level analysis where the most prominent finding of the paper is found. The dominant use of English outside the home has been shown to have a larger impact in several instances. This means that even in situations where parents are found to have positive ideologies about bilingualism, it is the impact of society that takes precedence over their feelings towards language learning. These points are developed in the following paragraphs.

Both Sofia and Maria’s historical bodies impact on their interaction orders in the home. Sofia’s childhood in a Finnish speaking home and learning languages at school, has meant that she is used to speaking one language at a time, which has affected the way she uses those languages in her home today. Rather than mixing languages, she speaks one or the other, and is not afraid to speak Finnish in the presence of non-Finnish speakers. By contrast, as suggested by Kirsch (2012), parents who are more familiar with switching, like Maria, are perhaps more prone to accommodate to the language of others around them, therefore the skills and past experiences of a person can perhaps determine how likely they are to use languages around certain others. Further, a familiarity in switching or a strength in English could perhaps account for the 44% of the respondents in the questionnaire who stated that they felt it was difficult to incorporate the minority language into everyday life in the UK. Other aspects of Maria’s historical body have impacted her language use today; Maria’s past interaction orders with Eleni have impacted her present interaction orders in the home, as she continues to use Greek commands and phrases that she used with Eleni as an infant. Similarly, this simplified use of Greek in the home may also be influenced by Matthew’s skills in Greek, as he does not possess conversational skills, but knows words and phrases. Matthew’s past experiences, too, have impacted this use and encouragement of Greek, as language learning has been a fundamental part of his life since he was at school, which has meant that learning Greek was a natural decision.

By contrast, Neil’s growing up in a very monolingual environment paired with his negative experiences with language learning has resulted in reluctance to learn Finnish in the past and today. But despite this, he has a willingness for Ben to learn Finnish and it could be argued that Neil’s lack of languages has encouraged him to want more for his son, and in turn influenced him in supporting Ben’s use of Finnish. Similarly, decisions made about strategies can also be influenced by historical bodies. Maria’s reasoning for not applying OPOL is based on the way she was raised and her past experiences. In line with this, Sophia’s preference for a more relaxed teaching style is based on her own ideologies regarding language learning and Neil’s choice to support Ben’s Finnish by joining family visits to Finland only once a year is based on his knowledge of Finnish. This finding is similar to Piller’s (2002) suggestion that parent’s views of benefits of language affected their choice of strategies, and it shows the way in which the different aspects of the historical bodies of the mothers shape the way they
plan language use in the home. Additionally, Neil’s reference to others’ experiences to inform their choices about FLP shows how it is not only the participants’ historical bodies, but also the historical bodies of their acquaintances that can have an impact on their language choices in the home.

Further, positive ideologies from Ben and Sofia also have encouraged the use of Finnish in the home. Ben uses Finnish often because he feels a sense of pride in speaking the language and being able to associate with Finland, likely something that has been passed on from his mother and Finnish relatives, which backs Schwartz’s (2008) findings that ideologies of children impact on their language use and Li’s (2013) claim that parent’s ideologies are easily acquired by their children. It was also found that the practices in the home can affect the ideologies of parents, showing how the connection is not one-way. Specifically, many mothers reported feelings of unfulfilled expectations about their children’s language use and further upset and regret as they had not taught their children their minority language. This supports that which was found by Okita (2001), Bernier-Grand (2009) and Piller (2002) and shows how historical bodies and interaction orders both have the potential to affect each other.

However, the historical body does not determine all aspects of FLP. Looking further into the ideologies, it was found that often ideologies of parents are not reflected strongly in their children’s language use in all cases, which is in contrast with findings by Hua and Wei (2016) and De Houwer (1999 cited in King et al 2008). Supporting evidence in this study came from a weak correlation between positive ideologies and both children’s and parents’ language use, and further through Maria’s strong desire for Eleni to be in touch with her culture, but her family’s lack of Greek spoken in the home. Further, Eleni’s enthusiasm for Greece and the Greek language does not necessarily translate into a significant use of Greek, nor does it necessarily have a positive effect on her mother’s Greek. This suggests that even in cases where parents and children are very passionate about learning about language and culture, it does not necessarily mean that a language will be passed on in the home. As previously mentioned, some respondents made the point that they believe bilingualism is only really advantageous in the family setting if it occurs through an organic process, which supports conclusions drawn by Okita (2001) who suggested that raising children bilingually was not natural for minority language mothers. These views suggest that the ideologies of parents can be counteracted by factors of practicality and the wider environment. This begins to show how Maria and Sofia are differently impacted by the conceptual DIP.

As previously stated, despite her positive attitudes towards language learning, Maria is more likely to use English and accommodate to English speakers than Sofia, which results in less minority language exposure for Eleni. The lack of minority language use in the home could also be caused by Eleni being exposed to societal norms from a very young age, having started nursery aged one, resulting in a preference for the most natural language for her, English. Therefore, the conceptual DIP have had a larger impact on this family than on Sofia’s family, resulting in Maria feeling that Greek is not manageable purely inside the home, but she needs outside support. This is in line with Kirsch’s (2012) findings that societal language norms can outweigh positive attitudes towards language learning. In addition, many other respondents in the present study reported being affected by non-minority language speakers in the social setting. This is further supported by the overwhelming preference for English between parents, as well as the majority of those who feel it is most natural to speak English with their children.
being minority language natives. This suggests that the macro interaction order norms of UK society, that is, the dominant use of English in society, plays an important role in determining the language practices of parents and children. The presence of these discourses results in parents feeling that they must switch to English more regularly and, consequently, children are less exposed to the minority language. The effect of the conceptual DIP could also account for the finding of a moderate correlation between parents and children’s language use and further, the finding that even though most parents may feel most comfortable using the minority language with their children and do speak the minority language to them, most children end up speaking English more frequently.

The conceptual DIP in society were shown to have less of an effect on Sofia’s family, predominantly shown by how the presence of the non-minority language speaker in the home did not greatly influence the amount of Finnish spoken. This suggests that the language norms of UK society are not always a detriment to minority language use in the home. Perhaps in Sofia’s case, it is elements of her historical body, that is, her experience of the use of Finnish and her positive ideologies regarding Ben’s language use, that have a stronger influence on her interaction orders. This highlights how families who live in different situations and have different experiences of language use can be affected by the present and the past of their language learning and use in different ways. Maria’s experience of accommodating to others has resulted in her selecting the mutual language of those around her today, that being English, which has further led to the normalisation of the use of this language for her. Whereas the experiences and ideologies Sofia has had has meant that she is not strongly affected by the language norms outside the home.

An aspect of DIP that did affect both families along with many questionnaire respondents was a material one: the shift to English that was caused by English schooling. This is likely because the child spends most their time at school and in addition, school is brought directly into the home. That is, the child will speak with their parents about what they have learnt in English, perhaps not knowing the words in the minority language for what they have learnt. Also, as Sofia highlights, having to do homework with children requires English, indeed doing school homework in the minority language is reported as less practical. School is also the child’s first experience of making friendships with their peers, so it is required that they speak English with them so that they integrate. Therefore, the child’s advancement in English over the minority language is in many cases unavoidable and inevitable. A further similarity between the two families is in that the mothers adapt to the setting that they now live in, rather than basing all their language practices in the home on their experiences growing up. Sofia, who comes from a family where one language was spoken in the home, now uses two languages in her home, and Maria, who comes from a family with two languages equally used in the home, now lives in a setting where one language takes precedence over the other. This, again, suggests that the environment can be more powerful than the historical bodies. These norms are reinforced by the children, which is shown by the children’s alarm at their fathers’ use of the minority language and the reflection of the mother’s language use in their practices; the children reinforce interaction order norms of the home in the home, showing how the home environment impacts their own interaction orders.
A lack of time has been reported by several participants as hindering minority language use. Those participants, including Sofia and Maria, indicated that although bilingualism may be desirable, in reality, it is not always practical. Busy, working parents have less contact with their children, resulting in having less of an impact on their children’s language use. Further, they must prioritise ease of communication over complicated conversations where the minority language is used, which again is what Okita (2001) found to be true of her participants. Time issues were also referred to regarding accessing minority language communities. Furthermore, questionnaire results found that families who had minority language communities do not necessarily speak more of the minority language, which could be argued as additional evidence to suggest that the non-minority language speaking environment is more influential than the minority language speaking environment. This is further supported by the result that visiting the country of the minority language does not affect the amount of minority language used in the home. These results are likely due to the families being in less regular contact with the minority speaking community and countries than the majority language speaking setting. This does not support Wei’s (1994) finding that outsiders who speak the minority language can increase its use, but perhaps, as previously suggested in Section 5.2.3, it is because the home setting does not require the children to speak the minority language, as all speakers of the home can also speak English, whereas this may not be the case in the community or abroad. Therefore, the effect of the increase in the minority language use is not extended to the home.

This argument could also account for the general lack of increase in minority language use in children who attend minority language classes; their immediate setting that determines the language that they use. However, Maria’s reporting that Eleni’s attendance in Greek classes has resulted in Eleni attempting to speak more Greek shows how the access to material contexts of DIP can affect the interaction orders in the home in that it is possible that they promote minority language use. Further, questionnaire data shows other material DIP that were found to have an impact on minority language use were minority language books and TV, as well as relying on support from relatives. Matthew’s mentioning that Maria’s family, and specifically her mother, often uses English with Eleni, as well as Sofia’s reporting that Ben communicates regularly with his grandparents in Finnish, suggests the influence of the third generation that was mentioned by Ruby (2012) and Smith-Christmas (2016), only that in Eleni’s case, her grandmother is supporting the use of the majority language. These material aspects further emphasise the way in which support from resources other than the parents can have an impact on the minority language use of children, though not always in a positive way.

7. Conclusion

Through a mixed methods approach, this paper has investigated FLP in the UK through both an in-depth and a more general view. Using a nexus analysis, the paper aimed at answering the questions of what the language practices are of English-minority language multilingual families in the UK, as well as the ideologies that parents have and the strategies they employ in a bid to maintain the minority language. The paper has highlighted the importance of societal factors and space in FLP. That is, it has showed how space can overtake ideologies in restraining or enabling languages. Further research might focus on this spatial dimension of FLP utilising triangulation. It is also
suggested that the inclusion of observations would be beneficial, as they are often not used due to difficulties with time and commitment of families. In addition, as previously stated, the goal of this paper was to provide an overview of multilingual families in the UK, but further research could narrow down the study to languages of similar kinds, for example English and another major world language or English and a less widely spoken language.

Conclusions drawn from the paper have implications for families in the UK who want to raise their children bilingually. Additionally, it shows how there are many obstacles for parents in the UK raising their children bilingually and emphasises the impact of factors outside the home. This implies that parents require outside support in maintaining minority languages, therefore UK government is called upon to integrate these issues into language policy in order to increase the use of minority languages and facilitate and promote foreign language use in UK society.
References


Office for National Statistics, 2011 Census: Digitised Boundary Data (England and Wales) [computer file]. UK Data Service Census Support. Downloaded from: https://borders.ukdataservice.ac.uk/


 Appendix A

Informed Consent for Participants in Research Projects Involving Human Subjects

Provisional project title: Can minority languages survive around English? An investigation into family language policy in the UK.
Investigator: Bibi Stacey

I. Purpose of this research
This project aims to explore family language policy, which is the planning of language use in bilingual or multilingual families. The study is focussing on families in the UK where one parent is a native English speaker and one is a native speaker of another language (the minority language). The purpose of the research is to reveal information about the usage and management of the dominant and minority languages, the ideologies of parents and the practices they employ in maintaining the minority languages.

II. Procedures
You are invited to 3 interviews. The interviews will be audio-recorded and the audio recording will be transcribed and stored electronically. The interviews will take approximately one hour each.

III. Extent of Anonymity and Confidentiality
The audio recording of the interview may be transcribed by someone other than the researcher in this project. Your name will not be connected with the audio recording. Written reflections, transcripts and audio recordings will be stored on a password-accessed computer and will not be labelled with your name. Passages from the reflections and transcripts may be used in scholarly publications and presentations. Efforts will be made to protect your confidentiality as an informant for this research. Any documents labelled with your name or personally-identifying information will be stored in a locked office.

IV. Freedom to Withdraw
You are free to withdraw from the study or refuse to participate in any part of the study at any time.

V. Permission
I have read the Consent Form and conditions of this project. I have had opportunity to discuss the consent form with a researcher. Any questions I have about this research have been answered to my satisfaction. I hereby acknowledge the above and give my voluntary consent:

Name _____________________
Signature __________________ Date ____________________

If you have any further questions about this study, please contact:
Appendix B

QUESTIONNAIRE
1. Family Language Policy
The purpose of this questionnaire is to find out about the bi- and multilingual families in the UK, where one of the native languages of the parents is English and the other is not English. Specifically, the questions aim to uncover findings about language use and management, opinions of parents and realities of raising children in bi- or multilingual families in the UK. This research is a part of a MA thesis conducted at Stockholm University, Sweden.

The questionnaire will take around 5-10 minutes to complete. It will begin with some information about yourself, followed by multiple choice questions about language use in the home, language practices, language management, language and the community and finally your opinions. The results of the study will be completely anonymous.

N.B: Minority language refers to the language in your family that is NOT English.

If you have any further questions regarding the study, please contact bibistacey2@hotmail.co.uk

2. I give consent for my responses to this questionnaire to be used in MA thesis research for Stockholm University. You must select 'agree' in order to take part in the questionnaire.
(Agree)

3. Personal Information
1. Are you the mother or father of your child/children?
   (Mother/Father)
2. How old are you?
   (18-24/25-34/35-44/45-54/55-64/65+)
3. What is your occupation?
4. What is your level of education?
   (Secondary education (GCSE, O levels or equivalent)/Post-Secondary education (College, A-Levels, NVQ3 or below, or equivalent)/Vocational Qualification (Diploma, Certificate, BTEC, NVQ 4 and above, or equivalent)/Undergraduate Degree (BA, BSc etc.)/Post-graduate Degree (MA, MSc etc.)/Doctorate (PhD))
5. Which country do you come from?
6. Which country does your partner come from?
7. Where in the UK do you live?
8. How long have you been together with your partner?
   (5 years or less/6-10 years/11-15 years/16-20 years/21 years or more)
9. How many children do you have?
   (1/2/3/4/5 or more)
10. How old is your child/are your children?
    (0-1 years/13 months- 2 years/3 years/4 years/5 years/6 years/7 years/8 years/9 years/10 years/11 years/12 + years)
11. Which languages do you speak? (Rank in order of level of proficiency, beginning with native language)
12. Which of these languages do you speak with your child/children?
13. Which languages does your partner speak? (Rank in order of level of proficiency beginning with native language)
14. Which of these languages does your partner speak with your child/children?

4. Language Use at Home
Multiple choice answers for questions in this section:
(Always/often/sometimes/rarely/never/(not applicable))

15. I speak English with my child/children
16. I switch between languages with my child/children (not applicable to those who do not speak a minority language)
17. I speak the minority language(s) with my child/children (not applicable to those who do not speak a minority language)
18. Our child/children speak(s) English with me (not applicable to those whose children do not yet speak)
19. Our child/children switch(es) between languages with me (not applicable to those whose children do not yet speak)
20. Our child/children speak(s) the minority language(s) with me (not applicable to those whose children do not yet speak)
21. I speak English with my partner
22. I switch between languages with my partner (not applicable to those who do not speak a minority language)
23. I speak the minority language(s) with my partner (not applicable to those who do not speak a minority language)

5. Language Practices with the Child/Children
Multiple choice answers for first three questions in this section:
(Always/Often/Sometimes/Rarely/Never)

24. I use whichever language feels most natural at the time with our child/children
25. We read stories to our child/children in the minority language(s)
26. The child/children watch(es) television programmes in the minority language(s)
27. We visit the country/countries of our minority language(s)
28. (More than once a year/once a year/once every couple of years/we have visited once before/never)

6. Language Management Strategies
Multiple choice answers for questions in this section: (yes/no)

29. We planned how we were going to use our languages with our child/children
30. We have adopted the practice of one parent one language in our home (a method often used in families with more than one language whereby one parent speaks only one language to the child/children and the other parent speaks only the other language to the child/children)
31. I use only one language in the home and a different language outside the home
32. We send our child/children to language classes to maintain their knowledge and use of the minority language(s)
33. Our family has a community/communities in the UK with whom we use the minority language(s) to communicate (yes = section 7, no= section 8)

7. Language and the Community
Multiple choice answers for questions in this section: (Strongly agree/agree/neutral/disagree/strongly disagree)

34. The community/communities we have in the UK help us maintain the minority language(s)
35. We rely on the community for our child's/children's minority language learning
36. We rely on the community for our child's/children's learning of the culture of the minority language's country

8. Language and the Community
Multiple choice answers for questions in this section: (Strongly agree/agree/neutral/disagree/strongly disagree)

37. A community/communities in the UK would help us maintain the minority language(s)
38. I would like a community in the UK with whom we could share the minority language
39. I would like a community in the UK with whom we could share the minority language's culture

9. Do you agree?
Multiple choice answers for questions in this section: (Strongly agree/agree/neutral/disagree/strongly disagree/(not applicable))

40. We feel that our child's/children’s school/playgroup encourages the maintenance of the minority language(s) (not applicable to parents whose children are not yet at school/playgroup)
41. We aim to apply ‘one parent one language’, but it is difficult to adhere to this in practice (not applicable if you do not aim to apply this method)
42. It feels most natural for me to speak English with our child/children
43. It feels most natural for me to speak the minority language(s) with our child/children (not applicable to those who do not speak the minority language(s))
44. It feels most natural for me to use both/all languages with our child/children (not applicable to those who do not speak the minority language(s))
45. It feels most natural to speak in English to my partner
46. It feels most natural to speak in the minority language(s) with my partner (not applicable to those who do not speak the minority language(s)/those whose partners do not speak the minority language(s))
47. It feels most natural when I switch between languages with my partner (not applicable to those who do not speak the minority language(s)/those whose partners do not speak the minority language(s))
48. It is least confusing for our child/children if I speak English with them
49. It is least confusing for our child/children if I speak the minority language(s) with them (not applicable to those who do not speak the minority language(s))
50. It is least confusing for our child/children if I use both/all languages with them (not applicable to those who do not speak the minority language(s))
51. I worry about the effect that having more than one language in the home can have on our child/children
52. I feel that having more than one language in the home is a benefit to our child/children
53. I find it difficult to incorporate the minority language(s) into everyday life in the UK (not applicable to those who do not speak the minority language(s))
54. It is important that our child/children can speak both the dominant language and minority language(s) that we use in our home
55. It is important that our child/children can write in both the dominant language and minority language(s) that we use in our home
56. Maintaining the minority language(s) means maintaining the culture of the minority language’s country/countries within our family
57. Maintaining the minority culture(s) is MORE important than maintaining the minority language(s)
58. Maintaining the minority culture(s) is JUST AS important as maintaining the minority language(s)
59. Maintaining the minority culture(s) is LESS important than maintaining the minority language(s)

60. It is important that our child/children speak(s) the minority language(s) outside of the home as well as in the home

61. We rely on our relatives to help with the child’s/children's minority language learning

62. Please, add anything that you would like to share and that may not have been covered in the previous questions.
Appendix C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
Sofia & Neil Interview 1:
1. Where were you born?
2. Where did you grow up?
3. How many people were in your family?
4. Which languages did you use in your family?
5. What type of school did you attend?
6. Which languages did you speak with your friends?
7. What languages did you hear around you?
8. Have you lived in any other countries?
9. Which languages did you use there? Why?
10. Sofia, when/why did you move to the UK?
11. How/when did you meet?
12. Have you always spoken English together?
13. How long have you lived in the UK together?
14. Where was Ben born?
15. Have you ever lived together in Finland or another country? Was that ever a consideration of yours?
16. Who usually looks after Ben?
17. How do you identify as a family?
18. Neil, have you ever wanted to learn Finnish?
19. Do you think it separates you from the Finnish culture if you cannot speak the language or do you feel you are still able to learn about and take part in Finnish cultural activities?
20. Sofia, you mentioned a third language in the questionnaire – what is it?
21. How proficient are you in that language? Do you use it nowadays?
22. You say that you planned how to speak your languages with Ben. What were your aims? Did you stick to them? Did you find any struggles?
23. Why did you not decide to employ OPOL?
24. Does Ben show enthusiasm in/enjoy speaking Finnish?
25. Does he show an interest in Finland and its culture?
26. You both mention that you sometimes read to Ben in Finnish, and he rarely watches TV in Finnish. Why is there a preference for books over TV? Is this Ben’s choice or yours?
27. How about for you? Do you read books or watch TV in other languages?
28. You do not send Ben to Finnish classes, what is the reason for this? Would you like to?
29. You both agreed that it was important Ben speaks Finnish outside of the home. Does this happen often? Does he have anyone other than Sofia in the UK who he speaks Finnish with?
30. You both suggested that Ben being able to speak Finnish was more important than being able to write in Finnish. What is the reason for this?
31. You disagreed on if the school encourages the learning of the minority language: Sofia you said it did (agreed), Neil you said it didn’t (strongly disagreed). What is the reason for both of your answers? Do you have specific experiences that led you to these conclusions?
32. Does the school encourage other language learning? Does Ben learn any other languages?
33. Do you ever feel that Ben is confused by the languages you use in your home?
34. You said that Ben sometimes mixes languages, does it matter if he mixes languages?
35. How does Ben identify?
36. You mention you visit Finland more than once a year. Is it always all 3 of you who go together?
37. How long do you stay for?
38. Do you stay with relatives?
39. Do your relatives speak English?
40. Does Ben enjoy going to Finland?
41. How do the languages get used when you’re in Finland?
42. Does Ben have cousins at a similar age to him? What language does he use with them?
43. Do the Finnish family ever come to England? How do the languages work then?
44. Sofia, you said you believe you rely on your relatives for Ben’s Finnish, whereas Neil disagreed with that. What’s the reason for this?
45. How often do you speak with your family in Finland when you’re in the UK? How often does Ben speak to them?
46. You say you do not have a Finnish community in the UK. Is this something you have looked for?
47. Sofia, you said a community would be good for sharing your culture with, but were neutral about a community aiding language maintenance – what is the reason for this?
48. Neil, you said a community would support language and culture maintenance. Do you believe it would help you feel more connected with Sofia’s culture as well as Ben?
49. Sofia, you stated you find it difficult to incorporate Finnish into everyday life in the UK. What kinds of activities are you doing when you speak more Finnish? Are there certain topics of conversation that mean you speak more Finnish? Do you speak more Finnish in certain locations?
50. Sofia, do you feel you have to make a lot of effort to speak Finnish in the home?
51. Has Ben experienced difficulties with either language?
52. If Ben refuses to use one of the languages, what will you do about it?

Sofia & Neil Interview 2:
1. Are there any advantages you can see with Ben being raised bilingually?
2. Do you both agree on these?
3. Do you think there are any disadvantages? Difficulties? Pressures?
4. Do you both agree on these?
5. What are the most important factors in raising a bilingual child?
6. Is the mother more important than the father in the child’s language development?
7. Do you both feel that you get support from each other re Ben’s language learning?
8. Neil, how do you feel that you encourage Ben’s Finnish?
9. How important is it for you for Ben to feel that he can identify as both British and Finnish?
10. Do you feel that OPOL can be an effective way for children to learn a language?
11. What influenced you to use Finnish the way you do?
12. Was rejecting OPOL a joint decision?
13. Why is it so important for you not to be militant about Ben’s Finnish?
14. Neil, how long has it been since you started to go to Finland only once a year?
15. Do you think that it has helped Ben’s Finnish?
16. Sofia, you mentioned that when you and Ben are alone together you speak Finnish, are there any situations when you’re alone when you wouldn’t speak Finnish?
17. Neil, you said that you want Billy to continue speaking Finnish, but do you feel that you are missing out if he speaks in a language you do not understand?
18. Neil, you said that language learning in schools now is very different from when you were younger – what did you mean by this?
19. What do you think have been some positive changes to the schooling system in regard to language learning?
20. Any negative ones?
21. Do you feel that Ben’s school does all it can to promote language learning?
22. How much do you think that Ben’s schooling influences his Finnish language learning or abilities?
23. Do you feel it’s important for Ben to learn other languages?
24. How much do you think that Ben is influenced by his friends?
25. He mentioned that he had quite a few friends with foreign parents, do you think that this encourages him to connect with his Finnish roots?
26. Sofia, you said that Ben has started speaking more English now that he’s at school – does that worry you?
27. Do you worry that as Ben spends more time with English speaking friends and goes further into his school years he will lose some of his Finnish?
28. What would you do to try and keep it up?
29. Neil, you implied that going to study in Finland would be preferable over studying in England. What was the reason for this?
30. Is it as important for you to keep your British traditions as the Finnish ones?
31. When holidaying with your family once a year, what happens with the languages there?
32. Neil, you mentioned that it was a “shame” that you don’t speak any other languages. What holds you back from learning languages?
33. You said that you would like to move to Finland, but you think that it would be too difficult, what are the reasons for this?
34. Do you think that minority language learning is more promoted in Finland than in England or vice versa?
35. Sofia, you said that you speak Swedish, is that something that you would ever consider passing on to Ben? Why/why not?
36. Sofia, you mentioned that the people you communicate in Finnish with in the UK are the two families in Bristol and Ben? Any others?
37. Are there any other reasons other than the ones you mentioned last time for why you wouldn’t want to be part of a Finnish community in the UK?

Maria and Matthew Interview 1:
1. Where did you grow up?
2. How do you identify?
3. Maria, what were the languages used in your home as you were growing up? Were both of your parents Greek-Cypriot? When did they move to the UK?
4. Matthew, did your parents ever speak any other languages to you growing up?
5. Matthew, when did you move to the UK?
6. Have either of you ever lived in any other countries?
7. How did you meet?
8. How long have you lived in the UK together?
9. Have you ever lived together in any other countries? Have you ever considered moving abroad?
10. Where was Eleni born?
11. Do you both spend the same amount of time with Eleni? Is it often together or one parent at a time?
12. Maria, you say you always speak English and sometimes use Greek or switch languages. Why do you think you don’t use more Greek with Eleni?
13. Matthew, you state that you only speak English with Eleni, but you also state that you rarely switch between languages. Which language do you use if you are not speaking English?
14. Matthew, you also state that it is less confusing if you speak the minority language, was this a misunderstanding of the question?
15. You both gave different answers regarding if Eleni switching between languages, Maria you said Eleni never does, whereas Matthew you said Eleni rarely does. Is this Greek? Can you think of an example?
16. I have noticed Eleni code switch before – she used the Greek word for “slippers” – does she do this sort of thing often? Words and phrases rather than whole conversations in Greek?
17. You both said Eleni never speaks the minority language with you. Why do you think this is? When does she mainly use Greek?
18. Maria, you said that you “agree” that it is most natural for you to speak in English/both languages, but you disagree that Greek is most natural. Why is this?
19. You state that you find it difficult to incorporate the minority language into life in the UK. Why is this? When does Greek get used more? Are there certain activities which you find you are speaking more minority languages? Certain topics of conversation? Certain locations in which you speak the minority language more?
20. Matthew, you stated that you “agreed” with the statement “having more than one language in the home is a benefit”. Why did you not strongly agree?
21. You say that you always/often read stories in the minority language, but Eleni sometimes/rarely watches TV in the minority language. Is this always Greek? What’s the reason for the difference in books and TV? Is this intentional? Is it your choice or Eleni’s? If books are being read in Greek is it always Maria reading them or does Matthew read them too?
22. Does Eleni show enthusiasm for speaking Greek?
23. Is Eleni interested in her Cypriot culture?
24. Do you think Eleni identifies as Cypriot/American/British?
25. What was the reason for choosing the name ‘Eleni’?
26. You both said you strongly disagree with the statement that Eleni’s school/playgroup encourages the minority language learning. What makes you believe that? Specific experiences?
27. Does Eleni learn other languages at school?
28. You both imply that learning to speak the minority language is more important than learning to write, what is the reason for this? Is it to do with communicating with family?
29. Maria, you implied that Eleni feels least confused when you speak English to her, do you ever feel that Eleni is confused by the languages that are used in your home?
30. Matthew states that he is neutral about the statement that you rely on your family to help with Eleni’s language learning, whereas Maria you strongly agree – what is the reason for this? Who do you think is relied on most?
31. Do all of your Cypriot family live in Cyprus?
32. You say you visit the country of the minority language once a year. Is this always Cyprus?
33. Does Eleni enjoy holidays there?
34. Does Eleni speak Greek when you’re there?
35. Do you feel that holidays improve Eleni’s Greek?
36. Do you stay with family?
37. Is it always all three of you who visit together?
38. How do the languages work when you’re there?
39. Do your Cypriot family ever visit you in Bristol?
40. Which languages do you speak then and how often?
41. How often do you speak with your family when you’re not visiting them?
42. How often does Eleni speak with the Cypriot family?
43. You say you did not plan your language use with Eleni – what’s the reason for this?
44. You both state that you did not use OPOL, but Maria you stated that you believe it is difficult to adhere to, does this mean that you tried it?
45. Why did you not consider OPOL?
46. You send Eleni to Greek classes. What was your reason for choosing to do this? Was it a joint decision?
47. How often does she go?
48. Does she enjoy it?
49. Does it help her Greek?
50. What kinds of activities does she do?
51. Does she learn about the culture?
52. Are there other children her age there? Does she meet them outside of classes?
53. Matthew, you say that you do not rely on the community for minority language or culture learning. What is the benefit of the community for you?
54. Maria, you say that you do rely on the language and culture learning. Why is there a difference in your answers?
55. What are the main advantages of having more than one language in the home?
56. Do you think there are any disadvantages?
57. Do you find difficulties or pressures in raising Eleni with two languages?
58. Do you feel you have to make a lot of effort to speak Greek in the home?
59. Has Eleni experienced difficulties with either language?
60. Do you feel that you get support from one another re: Eleni’s language learning?

Maria and Matthew Interview 2:
1. Maria, how do you identify?
2. You said your mum spoke both English and Greek at home – do you think she would consider herself bilingual?
3. What is the ratio of English to Greek when your mum speaks with you Maria?
4. When you lived in Cyprus when you were growing up were there any other
   people you would regularly speak English with apart from your mum?
5. Was there anyone you would regularly speak Standard Greek with?
6. What was the reason you got married in Greece rather than the US?
7. Maria, did you learn Italian at school? What other languages did you learn?
8. You both said you can speak other languages – Matthew- Spanish and Maria-
   Italian. Would you ever consider teaching those to Eleni? Why/Why not?
9. Do either of you watch TV or read in any other languages?
10. Matthew, when did you start learning Greek?
11. What were the reasons you learnt Greek?
12. Matthew, do you ever communicate in Greek to Maria’s parents?
13. Maria, who are the people in the UK you speak Greek/Cypriot with?
14. When Eleni speaks Greek does she use single words/phrases or does she form
    her own sentences?
15. Language mixing – does it matter to either of you if Eleni mixes between
    languages?
16. When you were on your own with Eleni when she was younger, how much
    Greek did you speak in proportion to English?
17. Was it Maria who decided how Greek was going to be used in the home or was
    it a joint decision?
18. Has Matthew being at home now more often affected the amount of Greek you
    speak to Eleni?
19. If Eleni refuses to speak Greek what would you/do you do to try and encourage
    her?
20. You mentioned that Eleni will ask how to say certain things in Greek, when does
    this usually happen?
21. How are the languages used when you’re in Greece compared to in England?
    For example, at the dinner table?
22. How much of an effort is it for you to speak Greek instead of Cypriot dialect?
23. When might your dad not speak Greek to Eleni?
24. What is the main reason you want Eleni to be able to speak Greek?
25. Is it important for you that Eleni masters Greek?
26. Is it important to you for Eleni to speak Cypriot dialect?
27. Do you think that if your parents lived in Cyprus instead of Greece it would be
    more important to you for Eleni to learn Cypriot dialect rather than Greek?
28. You refer to “Greek” a lot rather than “Cypriot” when speaking about identity. Is
    it the same to be Greek as to be Cypriot? e.g difference in Eleni identifying as
    Greek vs Cypriot?
29. Are Greek and Cypriot culture the same?
30. You said you haven’t searched for a Greek/Cypriot community in the UK as you
    want it to be organic/natural. Are there any other reasons?
Appendix D

EXAMPLE TRANSCRIPTION OF INTERVIEW

Participants: Matthew and Maria
Interview number: 2

Bibi: so I was gonna ask you Maria do you identify as Cypriot? Greek? British?
Maria: actually I’ll tell you one thing is when I’m here I feel like Greek Cypriot but when I’m in Greece or in Cyprus I feel more English
Bibi: do you?
Maria: yeah because
Bibi: but obviously
Maria: fundamentally I’m in the middle I’m both but I’m neither
Bibi: mm yeah yeah yeah
Maria: I’m neither British I’m neither Greek Cypriot anymore it’s what do they call it?
Third space
Bibi: yeah
Maria: there’s a cultural term for this
Bibi: okay
Maria: and most people these days are not of any place
Bibi: yeah yeah yeah
Maria: they’re in a third space
Bibi: mm
Maria: and I definitely identify as being in that third space but when I’m here I feel much more strongly
Bibi: yeah
Maria: Greek but when I’m there I definitely do not feel Greek
Bibi: yeah
Maria: if you know what I mean (laughs)
Bibi: I know exactly what you mean yeah yeah yeah okay cool
Maria: yeah
Bibi: um and then I was also wondering you said your mum spoke both English and Greek at home
Maria: mhmm
Bibi: do you think that she would consider herself bilingual or?
Matthew: yeah
Maria: I think she would mhmm
Matthew: definitely
Bibi: okay
Maria: but her English is not as good as mine these days
Bibi: okay and also I was wondering-
Matthew: oh I mean come on her English is fine
Maria: she does have a little bit of-
Matthew: she’s not as good as you because she’s not as educated as you are but her English-
Maria: but even accent-wise people would- if she-
Matthew: yeah yeah of course her accent is strong
Maria: she would consider herself bilingual let’s not protract
Bibi: (laughs)
Matthew: no she has an accent
Bibi: okay
Matthew: whereas
Bibi: yeah you just sound British
Matthew: you have an accent but it sounds like something weird I dunno
Bibi: um I was also wondering when your mum speaks to you
Maria: mmmm
Bibi: is it- would you say that it’s fifty fifty like English Greek?
Maria: mmmm
Bibi: you- yeah so it’s not kind of like Greek with a bit of English or English with a bit of Greek?
Maria: mm depends on the conversation
Matthew: switches
Maria: it switches and so we
Bibi: yeah and so like
Maria: we can switch
Bibi: she’ll say like a whole…
Maria: mm
Bibi: in- okay yeah cool um and then I was also wondering when you lived in Cyprus when you were growing up were there any other people that you regularly spoke English with like outside of the home was it mostly just your family or?
Maria: um I had one friend- uh a couple of friends
Bibi: okay
Maria: from separate circles
Bibi: yeah
Maria: that would speak English as well and that’s a South African- her mum’s South African her- Jenny we spoke English and Greek together and they were raised bilingually
Bibi: okay
Maria: and another friend of mine um an older friend of mine from when we were kids so we spoke English and Greek as well so there were different family circumstances but there were people outside the home that I would speak English to mmmm
Bibi: yep okay cool um and then
Matthew: and you did some English courses at like A-Level
Maria: yeah but-
Bibi: mmmm yeah you maybe would have done that anyway?
Maria: the sort of functional yeah that’s because I was preparing to come to the UK
Bibi: yep
Maria: yeah
Bibi: okay okay um and then so I know that you said that you spoke Cypriot dialect
Maria: mhm
Bibi: and in school would you read and write in Standard Greek
Maria: mmmm
Bibi: would you speak it there as well or would you speak?
Maria: in class you speak in Standard Greek
Bibi: okay
Maria: in playground you would speak in dialect
Bibi: okay was that difficult for you to switch?
Maria: (shakes head) no
Bibi: was it just really natural?
Maria: that’s what everyone does
Bibi: yeah
Maria: mm
Matthew: mm
Bibi: that’s just so like crazy to me
Maria: it is weird
Bibi: obviously it’s so normal to you
Maria: it’s hard to understand yeah yeah
Matthew: I think it’s probably true in a lot of places they have that
Maria: yeah
Bibi: yeah I think so probably
Matthew: the kind of formal language and then the dialect
Maria: mm
Bibi: yeah
Maria: even if you’re speaking to your teacher you sort of- even if you have a slight Cypriot accent you will speak the proper syntax the proper words as you would with the Greek
Bibi: oh okay
Matthew: actually like
Maria: especially in-
Matthew: in countries like in Nepal there’s a national language Nepali but most Nepali’s speak several other languages as well
Bibi: really?
Matthew: and they have mother tongue and so basically when they’re in school there where you know talking in Nepali you know in lessons and they go out in the yard and
Bibi: y-
Maria: mm
Matthew: talk their native tongues it’s the same kind of thing
Bibi: yeah I mean obviously if you’ve grown up with that then that’s just the most normal thing
Matthew: mm
Maria: mhmm
Bibi: but like for someone like me I’m like that’s so crazy (laughs)
Maria: it does sound crazy yeah
Bibi: yeah
Maria: mm
Bibi: um so and then also this is changing the subject a little bit but what was the reason that you got married in Greece rather than the US? was it just practical? Or was there something else?
Matthew: well uh maybe we were being traditional and her family was the-
Maria: I don’t- we- the US wasn’t even an option
Matthew: (inaudible)
Bibi: it wasn’t an option?
Maria: we did do a wedding party in the US in the- in LA we did a wedding party
Bibi: okay
Maria: after the wedding for all the people who couldn’t come to our wedding
Bibi: okay yeah yeah yeah so it was kind of-
Maria: of which there were plenty
Matthew: (inaudible)
Bibi: everyone had a- the- an option
Maria: yeah it wasn’t like a- it wasn’t a wedding it was like a dinner
Bibi: okay
Maria: but we did do a party- like a dinner party for everyone who couldn’t come but a-i- I don’t think it would have been- we wouldn’t have been able to organise anything there LA is further than Greece
Bibi: yeah
Maria: yeah
Bibi: was that kind of like the reason cos it was a bit more easier for people to get to?
Maria: and also-
Matthew: we never- we never even discussed it
Maria: we never discussed it
Matthew: actually we just
Bibi: was it just like obvious?
Maria: it was obvious
Matthew: well it’s like her dad just got a job position where um he was you know managing hotels and one of them you know was the perfect place to do it and like great
Maria: it became like a destination wedding
Matthew: yeah
Maria: we wanted to be somewhere Greek islands you know uh LA would have been a nightmare for everybody to you know no one wanted to
Bibi: yeah it’s quite hard to yeah
Matthew: it would have worked out we would have gotten a better photographer
Bibi: (laughs)
Maria: (laughs)
Bibi: was that a problem?
Matthew: yeah a big problem
Maria: well no we just didn’t have one
Matthew: we didn’t have one
Bibi: oh
Matthew: we hired a- a complete quack
Maria: a local (inaudible) who’d never…you know
Matthew: (inaudible)
Maria: you can imagine
Bibi: oh no
Matthew: so we have no wedding photos
Bibi: oh no that’s such a shame
Maria: that’s alright we had a good wedding though
Bibi: yeah that’s nice okay
Maria: anyway yeah that- we didn’t even- yeah America wasn’t even an option (laughs)
Bibi: so it wasn’t much of a discussion okay
Maria: yeah
Bibi: um and then I know that last week you also mentioned that you know Italian
Maria: mmmm
Bibi: is that something that you learnt at school?
Maria: (shakes head) mm mm
Bibi: okay how did that
Maria: um no I didn’t learn it at all at school in fact I knew very little prior to going to Italy that- one of the reasons for doing Erasmus in Italy was like immersion
Bibi: yeah okay
Maria: learning
Bibi: yep
Maria: I did a teeny bit before going and then it was just like
Bibi: yeah
Maria: learn it on the fly
Bibi: w- what was the reason you wanted to kind of do Italian? Was it just-
Maria: um I would’ve- I would’ve done French or Spanish or Italian but the options for
an exchange was Italy
Bibi: cool
Maria: and so I did that
Bibi: okay
Maria: I was also- I was also learning French at the time to try and exchange with my
Martinique which is French-speaking so I was- you know trying to do both
Bibi: yeah
Maria: but then that came up
Bibi: okay okay cool so you obviously both speak other languages other than Greek I
was wondering like whether you- either of you would ever consider like teaching that to
Eleni as well? Or whether that would be-
Matthew: yeah
Maria: don’t know that I could teach- by the way
Matthew: Spanish
Maria: you were supposed to tell
Matthew: what
Maria: um Bibi last time that you speak Nepali
Bibi: you did write that in your
Matthew: oh my
Maria: not just Spanish
Matthew: did you ask that
Bibi: you wrote it in the questionnaire
Maria: she asked do you speak a second language and you said Spanish only and then
afterwards-
Bibi: but I think – but I think that was because I asked in school
Matthew: ohhh
Bibi: so I don’t know- know whether you learnt Nepali or
Matthew: well I- I learnt Nepali formally I mean in total immersion
Bibi: okay
Matthew: situation
Maria: in Nepal
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: three months of you know daily five hours a day kind of thing
Bibi: really
Matthew: so um
Bibi: was that just cos you were doing- were you doing research there?
Matthew: yeah- no I lived there in a peace corp that-
Bibi: ah okay
Maria: that’s like a
Matthew: two years of volunteering
Maria: what’s- what’s the equivalent here? um
Matthew: VSO
Maria: VSO volunteer service abroad
Bibi: ah okay okay so would you say that you were like better in Spanish or Nepali?
Matthew: oh well I mean I’m better at Spanish because I actually know all the grammar all the detail-
Bibi: okay
Matthew: you know like I learned Spanish formally for many years
Bibi: okay
Matthew: and took it at university level
Bibi: yep oh okay
Matthew: so like I could read Spanish today and
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: you know follow most of it you know but Nepali like it’s more just functional you know like I learned how to speak and get by and then I- really basic reading and writing
Bibi: mm
Matthew: but very basic
Maria: but that’s like a completely different
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: yeah
Maria: language origin writing
Matthew: yeah
Maria: system
Matthew: yeah I mean like I couldn’t- and the and I would- did not know the formal language so like
Bibi: oh
Matthew: when the news was on I couldn’t follow it very well
Bibi: was it quite different?
Matthew: oh totally different
Bibi: really?
Matthew: yeah the conversational stuff in the village is completely you know well it’s what I learned and so everything else was
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: much more complicated to do
Bibi: that’s so cool though
Matthew: cos the vocabulary like the level of vocabulary of most people is very low and then
Bibi: okay
Matthew: and then they use this kind of (inaudible) vocabulary based on Sanskrit that I just didn’t learn those words
Bibi: oh okay so would you ever- would either of you ever consider like passing on your languages? Or is that something that’s totally-
Matthew: yes- Spanish definitely I- I- I think Spanish is a very useful language Nepali is not useful
Maria: I wouldn’t only because I would focus on the Greek
Bibi: yeah
Maria: I’m struggling so much with the Greek that to start adding Italian
Bibi: and then another language would just be
Maria: like “you’re not learning Italian unless you learn Greek!” (laughs)
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: I don’t know I imagine that we go to Spain and you know
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: or Mexico or
Maria: or even or France actually when we’re
Matthew: France yeah
Maria: when we do stints in France
Bibi: yeah you did say as well
Matthew: I wanna learn French
Bibi: that last week that you both can speak French and when she hears you
Maria: yeah
Matthew: I can’t
Bibi: oh y-
Matthew: I wanna- I want to and-
Maria: he speaks French with like a Spanish accent so (laughs)
Matthew: no no I don’t even really speak French at all I
Bibi: (inaudible)
Matthew: I’ve never studied any French- any French that I
Bibi: but French and Spanish are like slightly similar
Maria: it is similar
Bibi: so I can see how you would be like
Matthew: true it’s about-
Bibi: putting your speech
Matthew: like I understand a lot of French
Maria: you don’t get the-you don’t get the French pronunciation just tell Bibi out of interest
Matthew: but I never learned
Maria: how you say- how you say the the car “Peugeot” in- in- you say “Poogeot”
Bibi: (laughs)
Maria: it just sounds weird to me “Poogeot” it’s not “Poogeot” it’s “puuuurgeot”
Matthew: anyway I- I’ve never ever studied um even phonetics in French
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: like I never even know how each letter or combination of letters is supposed
to be pronounced I never studied it I have- I’ve been trying to get a big research project
funded in France for many years
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: if that happens one day I’m gonna take a serious intensive language course
but it- until that happens there’s no reason to do that
Bibi: yeah
Maria: it’s quite (inaudible)
Matthew: you know it takes a long time
Bibi: but like Spanish definitely would be a massive help wouldn’t it?
Matthew: well Spanish yes oh yeah no when I read it I know what’s going on
Bibi: yeah I can imagine
Maria: the words are similar to Spanish it’s the pronunciation that trips him up a bit
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: that trips me up
Bibi: but that’s just totally understandable
Maria: yeah
Bibi: that that would be like how you do it
Matthew: but now I can hear it better
Maria: yeah
Matthew: I can’t say it
Maria: yeah yeah yeah
Matthew: I haven’t learned how to make my mouth
Maria: yeah your mouth naturally goes
Bibi: yeah
Maria: towards the… more… yeah
Bibi: I can imagine
Maria: it’s quite funny
Bibi: but Spanish is quite like a useful language
Matthew: definitely Spanish is great
Bibi: I would love to learn Spanish
Matthew: you can travel all through South America
Bibi: exactly
Matthew: yeah
Bibi: like you did yeah
Matthew: you can cruise around uh lots of parts of the US and talk to locals
Bibi: yeah that’s so cool
Matthew: order burritos and
Bibi: (laughs)
Matthew: (laughs)
Bibi: the useful things that you need to do
Matthew: yeah well you know there’s a huge Latino community in the US
Bibi: yeah
Maria: mm
Matthew: so
Maria: yeah it’s true it’s like everywhere
Matthew: you- yeah well for now maybe now they’re all being deported…
Bibi: yeah um okay so the next question is something I forgot to ask you last week so do either of you watch TV or read books in other languages like regularly?
Maria: not regularly I even- I used to read regularly in Greek and I’ve stopped doing that now as well
Bibi: why?
Maria: well primarily because I don’t read anymore that much (laughs)
Bibi: yeah yeah yeah
Matthew: well you read but you don’t read
Maria: don’t read before like
Bibi: fiction
Matthew: not reading books
Maria: I don’t read like so much for pleasure anymore I just- you know
Bibi: read what you need to
Matthew: you read- you read news
Maria: I read- yeah
Bibi: do you read the news in Greece?
Maria: yeah I do read the n- the Greek websites
Bibi: yeah
Maria: yeah yeah yeah I read newspapers in Greek on my phone so um but if I read a book though I read an English book it’s just I guess less hard work for me and it’s the formality of the Greek language that makes books hard work and inaccessible
Bibi: really?
Maria: yeah they’re not- English is very casual language, Greek is the opposite very formal
Bibi: so do you find it quite difficult to
Maria: yeah just the
Bibi: concentrate?
Maria: yeah
Bibi: it feels like an effort?
Maria: yeah it’s more of an effort and unless the books are incredibly well written I find them a bit tiring
Bibi: yeah
Maria: and I just maybe don’t know which ones to get anyway
Bibi: yeah
Maria: I’m not in a Greek bookshop I don’t have access- I can’t go and browse so if someone sends me something and it’s not to my taste- but I do have a bunch all there and I read them and that was before several years back
Bibi: mm
Maria: and now I’m sort of more on- I need to read this English book I’m finding this interesting or whatever you know
Bibi: mm yeah
Maria: even that’s very slow isn’t it my enjoyment…my recreational reading…
Bibi: yeah
Maria: so not regularly is the answer
Bibi: okay
Maria: not TV either
Bibi: is that the same for you [Matthew]?
Matthew: yeah well I don’t read any other language right now I mean there- there was a time when I was studying Spanish you know at- in university when I had lots of things to read you know read literature
Bibi: mm
Matthew: read newspapers but- and then I travelled through South America for a while and yeah but that’s a long time ago
Bibi: now you’ve got deadlines to be doing so you haven’t got time to read (laughs)
Maria: (laughs) true
Matthew: yeah
Maria: Matthew does read at night actually
Matthew: I do I do
Maria: but yeah
Bibi: but it just
Matthew: not in Spanish
Maria: (laughs)
Bibi: is that again because it’s just easier for you and the access or?
Matthew: oh yeah I mean there’s no comparison I’m not natural
Bibi: mm
Matthew: speaker
Maria: the level of what you’d be reading yeah
Matthew: I’m- it would be slow-going I have read stuff in Spanish but it’s slow-going in English I can just…
Maria: power through
Bibi: yeah yeah
Matthew: and even then like I’m lucky if I get in a few pages a night before my eyes shut
Bibi: yeah
Maria: that’s why- that’s why I’m slow because I read one page and then I’m off to sleep
Bibi: yeah yeah yeah
Matthew: but i- but I always like to keep you know one or two books going at all times just to you know…stimulation
Maria: wonder if you can get kindles in Greek
Matthew: of course you do
Bibi: surely yeah
Matthew: course you do yeah
Maria: because that would be that you could choose any book and things like that
Matthew: course they do
Maria: things like that
Bibi: yeah
Maria: (inaudible)
Bibi: yeah and TV is just
Maria: there’s no TV in Greek we don’t have access to that
Bibi: yeah do they not have anything on like some obscure TV channel or something?
Maria: not that I’ve ever seen no
Matthew: the only Spanish TV we’ve watched is uh (laughs)
Maria: what
Matthew: um uh what’s that show the Sabado um
Maria: Spanish?
Matthew: yeah the Sabado Gigante
Maria: oh we don’t hardly call that watching
Bibi: (laughs) what is it?
Matthew: we see- we pick like a- occasionally
Maria: once a year
Matthew: we’ll be like in The States at a hotel and we’ll pick up Sabado Gigante
Bibi: ahh
Maria: yeah I wouldn’t call that like watching
Bibi: (laughs)
Matthew: it’s hilarious like variety show like a really over the top variety show in Spanish
Bibi: oh okay but that’s just when- is that when you’re in…
Maria: when we’re in a hotel in the US and you can imagine when that is
Matthew: (inaudible)
Bibi: the last resort
Maria: it’s like a bit of a (inaudible)
Matthew: no cos it’s- you’re flipping through like “oh Sabado Gigante”
Bibi: (laughs)
Matthew: it’s like the German- the German cartoon
Maria: I know yeah (inaudible) brot
Matthew: (inauible) brot
Bibi: (laughs) um okay so then I also wanted to ask you Matthew about your Greek learning and like-
Matthew: mhm or lack thereof
Bibi: when did you- (laughs) there is some- when did you start learning Greek?
Matthew: um well I mean
Maria: when you met me
Matthew: uh when we met yeah I learned it
Bibi: and was it because of you
Matthew: yeah
Bibi: it wasn’t just
Matthew: no no
Bibi: happened to coincide (laughs)
Maria: (laughs)
Bibi: “oh hang on a minute this is perfect”
Matthew: I travelled in Greek a long long time ago but I don’t think I- maybe I learned one word or something
Maria: you started learning in earnest
Matthew: yeah because
Maria: of me
Bibi: okay so that was the main reason?
Matthew: yeah
Bibi: and how about now that Eleni’s here has that?
Matthew: um I’m still- I’m still interested in it
Maria: you’ve improved naturally by- by
Matthew: oh yeah yeah
Maria: co-
Matthew: osmosis
Maria: osmosis
Matthew: I’m picking up a lot in fact when you were reading the story tonight
Maria: uh huh
Matthew: I’m following along reading
Bibi: yeah that actually must be really helpful
Maria: yeah
Matthew: I can follow along I mean I don’t always know- the hard part about Greek is as you mentioned is that you know everything is conjugated so
Maria: mm
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: you’re just like okay that sounds familiar but I don’t know that
Maria: mm
Bibi: mm
Matthew: you know like “omo”
Maria: but that’s why i- that’s why I point
Matthew: “omi” “omo” I know I know
Maria: that’s what I do with Eleni because it’s simple enough what I do is it’s like if there’s a story about pirates or whatever I point to the picture so she sees which bit’s about the hat which bit’s about the eye which bit’s about the parrot on the shoulder or whatever
Matthew: mm yeah
Maria: and I- as I say the word I point at the thing so that Matthew follows and Eleni follows and they know which word refers to which bit in the picture
Matthew: but the- there is- when doing that when I’m following along or whatever um I am following those things and I’m learning new tricks you know about like how you conjugate “eye” “one eye” versus two
Maria: (laughs)
Matthew: anyway but then what happens then in that process is that you lose the narrative a little bit of the book not that
Maria: right okay
Matthew: I care that much
Maria: not a massive narrative but yeah
Bibi: (laughs)
Matthew: (inaudible)
Maria: about the pig pirate
Matthew: yeah
Bibi: sounds like a fun book
Maria: yeah
Bibi: (laughs) um so the- so did- so are you learning Greek now or is it still just kind of in the family?
Matthew: no
Maria: no
Matthew: cos I did- I had formal class
Bibi: in the- in St Andrews?
Matthew: yeah yeah um
Maria: but you haven’t found one here
Bibi: but was that when you started cos you-
Maria: that’s when he started but it was only because the teacher left that you stopped
Matthew: mm yeah
Bibi: so how long was that for?
Maria: a year?
Matthew: it wasn’t very long
Maria: cos you-
Matthew: I probab- but unfortunately I missed a lot of classes
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: cos I was
Maria: cos you were here
Matthew: travelling up and back
Maria: a year-six months?
Matthew: yeah it was probably six months I did that course
Bibi: okay so that was the formal learning and then you’ve just been kind of like using-
Matthew: and it was like one day a week basically
Maria: but you could try and find something down here
Matthew: yeah I should- cos I liked it I was
Bibi: he can go to the one tomorrow (laughs)
Matthew: I was enjoying it and
Maria: where?
Bibi: he can go to the one with Eleni (laughs)
Maria: (laughs) playing here
Matthew: yeah I know the Greek embassy was paying for- or Greek whatever councils paying for this teacher and he was really good I- I was really enjoying it
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: um yeah you know I had my work book and I was practising things
Maria: yeah but there may be more stuff down here
Matthew: yeah no you’re right I should look
Bibi: yeah definitely
Matthew: add it to my list of
Bibi: yeah (laughs) the to do list
Matthew: yeah but we- we’re in the process of re-equilibrating our lives
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: figuring out what we wanna pursue
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: personally
Maria: yeah
Matthew: cos we haven’t had that opportunity
Bibi: definitely yeah completely understand um so with obviously you have like the
story books and stuff and you’re learning through that as well
Maria: yeah
Bibi: but do you ever-
Matthew: and I’m learning through the conversations that-
Bibi: do you ever speak to each other in Greek or like say the odd word?
Matthew: uhh
Maria: yeah we do
Matthew: yeah
Maria: when we’re tryna…
Matthew: hide
Maria: to understand
Bibi: help Eleni?
Maria: no! we’re trying not- trying for her not to understand
Bibi: not to understand? (laughs)
Maria: yeah so yeah cos she- if we wanna say something she hasn’t quite got yet if we
wanna say it so she doesn’t understand we do
Matthew: uh particularly when we’re talking about family members and
Maria: yeah
Matthew: don’t wanna bias her
Maria: yeah
Matthew: (laughs)
Bibi: that’s so funny
Maria: yeah
Bibi: so you don’t think that she would pick up on it? Cause I would
Matthew: later she will
Bibi: be really scared that she might
Maria: not yet later maybe
Matthew: she will
Bibi: yeah
Maria: but because her Greek is so basic she wouldn’t quite get the nuances of what
we’re talking about
Bibi: okay
Maria: I don’t think especially cos we do it in kind of code in Greek so
Bibi: yeah
Maria: she doesn’t really know words like sister and things like that
Bibi: mmm
Maria: I don’t think or brother or
Matthew: mm yeah
Bibi: or she knows exactly what you’re talking about
Maria: she probably does
Bibi: she’s figured it out
Maria: this is it
Matthew: and the truth is we often talk about that stuff in English and she knows what
(inaudible) our are (laughs)
Maria: (laughs) yeah
Matthew: there’s not much you can hide really
Maria: yeah
Matthew: in a- small house with one child you know they
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: sort of- they’re on to everything yeah
Bibi: (laughs) but is- is that the only situation where you would use Greek with each
other or?
Maria: well actually
Matthew: maybe with other people
Maria: with other people yeah so if we’re talking like if we’re on a- in a context-
Matthew: saying look at that person that looks like so and so
Maria: yeah yeah if we wanna talk– when we’re- in English
Matthew: if they’re doing something weird or you know whatever
Maria: we do talk in Greek around
Bibi: that is the best thing to use languages for (laughs)
Maria: isn’t it! (laughs) It’s a great (inaudible)
Matthew: it’s a secret
Bibi: yeah
Maria: so yeah
Bibi: but would you ever um say something-? I dunno so say you were talking in
English and then you were like “ah I can’t think of the word” or is it always-
Maria: yeah
Bibi: then you [Maria] might say it in Greek?
Maria: yeah yeah I might do that
Bibi: and then you’d [Matthew] understand?
Matthew: yeah
Maria: yeah yeah yeah I might do that but I’d ha- it’d have to be a concept that’s very
much related to the Greek something that you can’t say in English
Bibi: yep
Maria: that would- I would use a Greek word for that right
Bibi: yeah I can understand that…cool um and then the other thing yeah this was just to
confirm so the people that you speak Greek or Cypriot with in the UK are this family?
Maria: yes
Bibi: that we were talking about
Maria: in Bristol yeah and my f-
Bibi: so
Maria: and my family in London
Bibi: in London
Matthew: and Brighton
Maria: and Brighton
Bibi: Brighton?
Maria: yeah my mum’s brother and sister both live in the UK
Matthew: well brother
Maria: brother in Brighton and my aunt- my mum’s sister lives in London
Bibi: okay cool how often do you speak to them?
Maria: I speak to my aunt frequently
Bibi: okay
Maria: and I visit her frequently
Bibi: yeah
Maria: so I speak then
Matthew: uncle probably what twice a year
Maria: my uncle I probably see once or twice a year yeah but I- he’s- but they’re both married to English people
Bibi: okay
Maria: that’s why they live in the UK
Bibi: yep
Maria: but with my aunt we speak a lot in Greek
Bibi: yeah
Maria: primarily also she sometimes wants to tell me stuff so her husband doesn’t understand my uncle so she (laughs) usually it’s-
Matthew: (inaudible)
Maria: he’s been living with her for like fifty sixty years and he hasn’t picked up a single word of Greek
Matthew: but he (laughs)
Bibi: really that’s crazy
Matthew: and travels to Greece every single year
Maria: travels to Greece every year
Matthew: I learned a lot when I travelled to Greece
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: I always learned new things
Maria: yeah he’s not-
Bibi: I don’t understand how that happens cos it feels like maybe he’s so just like uninterested? Or maybe he just wants to have his own-
Maria: I know
Bibi: I don’t know
Maria: it’s such a weird thing he’s just has not
Bibi: maybe he’s just really laid back?
Maria: he is very laid back incredibly laid back and he
Matthew: I’m not
Maria: just doesn’t- he- he’s been in like- he’s seventy five
Matthew: yeah
Maria: they’ve been together since they were like twenty something
Matthew: yeah
Maria: seriously like fifty years
Bibi: but that is insane
Maria: they’ve been married fifty years right
Bibi: oh my god
Maria: and he still will turn round and say to me like “what’s that again in Greek?” and Anna literally
Matthew: for foods as well it’s like the things that like
Maria: for foods! They- she’s been cooking for
Bibi: ohh that’s the easiest thing to learn
Maria: seriously she just wants to hit her head on a brick wall she’s like (laughs)
Bibi: oh my god that’s so funny
Maria: yeah
Bibi: that’s so funny but I think that’s something with English people because
Maria: yeah
Matthew: yeah
Bibi: some people have just no interest
Matthew: it’s not genetic it’s a cultural (inaudible)
Bibi: yeah (laughs)
Maria: yeah well he’s funny he’s- like I’m not exaggerating
Matthew: no
Maria: he seriously is like
Bibi: that’s funny
Maria: yeah so I do speak to her a lot in Greek
Bibi: yeah so those are the kind of main people you would speak with on a sort of regular basis?
Maria: yeah
Matthew: I mean you have friends but you don’t talk to them very often like (inaudible)
Maria: I don’t talk to them at all yeah and actually Marina as well the teacher
Matthew: yeah
Maria: yeah
Matthew: yeah that’s true
Bibi: mm
Maria: the teacher but yeah so the- in the UK context it’s literally these three
Bibi: they- is it like with the aunts- or the aunt for example is that always Cypriot Greek or?
Maria: Cypriot always
Matthew: no you also have uh Stavros
Maria: oh yeah! I do have a Cyp- uh a Greek- Greek person in my department
Bibi: ah
Maria: who’s the lab manager and I do speak to him in Greek on a daily basis
Bibi: really?
Maria: he’s in my department
Bibi: and you never speak to him in English unless there’s other people around?
Maria: we do speak English when it’s about work
Bibi: okay
Maria: but if we’re like “hey how’s it going?”
Bibi: conversation
Maria: and making a coffee we speak in Greek
Bibi: really?
Maria: yeah yeah
Bibi: that’s so nice
Maria: yeah
Bibi: that’s cool
Maria: it’s true I forgot there are these kind of-
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: and there are a couple of- you have a few other- there was like another like um academics in another department there are various people you run into
Maria: there are yeah I wouldn’t say that
Bibi: I suppose like a university’s quite like an international…
Matthew: yeah
Maria: it is exactly so I don’t consider like even though with Stavros like I bump into him it’s like literally like a 3 minute
Matthew: yeah
Maria: “hi how are you” “fine” “fine”
Bibi: but it’s still
Maria: it’s still yeah yeah
Bibi: a bit of- a dash of Cypriot or Greek- is he Greek or?
Maria: Greek Greek yeah
Bibi: okay
Maria: and actually there’s a Greek PhD student and things like that but
Bibi: would you speak to them like-
Maria: yeah
Bibi: the PhD student in Greek?
Maria: in Greek
Bibi: that’s cool
Maria: but not for work but like if I saw them and with the kind of camaraderie that- it’s an acknowledgement that you know
Bibi: yeah
Maria: they’re Greek so yeah we would do that but um I don’t see them- I wouldn’t consider them like social circle if you know what I mean
Bibi: no but still you see them now and then kind of thing…okay
Maria: yeah yeah
Bibi: cool
Maria: yeah
Bibi: yeah cos I just wanted to kind of see if I knew that I had the story straight (laughs)
Maria: yeah no
Bibi: um and then I also wanted to know like with Eleni just to kind of like also confirm here um when she uses Greek is it more like single words and phrases or does she construct her own sentences?
Maria: I don’t think she’s ever constructed a whole sentence yet
Bibi: okay
Maria: unless we probe her and
Bibi: yeah
Maria: teach her with the exact thing to say
Bibi: okay
Matthew: which we were- we’re gonna start to do
Maria: we tried today
Matthew: we did it before we went to Greece last time
Maria: yeah
Bibi: yeah cos you were saying that you were kind of like talking-
Matthew: yeah
Maria: practice yeah but she’ll say something like
Matthew: it helps her get into it cos people go “ohh you speak very good Greek”
Maria: yeah so we yeah yeah so unfortunately- I mean a sentence like “I want water”
Bibi: yeah
Maria: she might say because it’s two words
Bibi: yeah
Maria: or three words “I want water please”
Bibi: but she would say that of her own…?
Maria: no I- she will say “water”
Bibi: okay
Maria: and then I’ll say “I want water please” and then she repeats it
Bibi: oh okay okay okay but she can say it?
Maria: yeah
Bibi: okay
Maria: and she- yeah somewhat
Bibi: yeah
Maria: not unprompted though
Bibi: yeah but that was just kind of what I wanted to figure out just to see if I’d understood correctly
Maria: mhmm
Bibi: um so then- yeah so language mixing- is this like a problem for you guys? Or does it matter to you at all? Or do you think it’s a good thing?
Maria: when you say language mixing…?
Bibi: so kind of like switching between Greek and English whether it be like one word or a whole sentence or
Maria: no
Matthew: it’s fine
Maria: I don’t mind it it’s not a problem per se
Matthew: mm
Bibi: no
Matthew: it’s fine it’s helpful it adds colour to the language
Maria: some words you can- some words do not exist between cultures to express certain things like the hygge
Bibi: my [Swedish word] hygge [Danish word] yeah (laughs)
Matthew: right and like that’s why like
Maria: and there are lots in Greek as well that don’t express-
Matthew: and French
Maria: and French
Matthew: that’s why we have so many French words in English cos the French had a better way to say it
Bibi: yeah
Maria: yeah like the word- like ‘bon apetit’ doesn’t exist in English
Bibi: mm
Matthew: “enjoy your meal”
Maria: (laughs) yeah
Bibi: (laughs) it doesn’t have the same ring to it
Maria: “have a good appetite” (laughs)
Bibi: (laughs)
Maria: um so yeah so certain things that you cannot express in certain languages it’s nice to bring them in
Bibi: yeah definitely
Maria: cos they do and in Greek there’s lots of things that you cannot translate directly so
Bibi: yeah
Maria: yeah
Bibi: yeah
Maria: uh yeah it’s- it’s fine it enriches the language
Bibi: yeah definitely um okay so I was also wondering when you were on your own with Eleni when she was like really young um what was the kind of proportion like Greek to English cos I know that you said that when she went to nursery it got a lot more English understandably before that what was it like then?
Maria: I don’t know what would you say? I think it was – I think it was much more biased towards Greek
Matthew: yeah
Maria: in the early days like I’d say seventy thirty?
Bibi: okay
Maria: Sixty four- it was more than fifty fifty
Bibi: yeah
Maria: definitely when she was younger
Bibi: yeah
Maria: I used to sing to her in Greek I used to talk to her in Greek all the time cos there’s not much- see the problem is that you don’t talk that much
Matthew: they don’t- they don’t respond
Maria: they don’t respond to talking
Bibi: no
Matthew: they’re listening but they’re not talking back
Bibi: exactly
Maria: but also you’re not talking to them twenty-four hours a day they don’t- it’s more of a-
Matthew: you’re saying simple commands basically (laughs)
Maria: yeah
Matthew: like “do this”
Maria: “food?” “water?”
Matthew: “you want this?”
Maria: “nappy” “change” “bath”
Bibi: (laughs)
Maria: you know so you’re not like talking to them the way that you’re talking now complicatedly
Bibi: yeah
Maria: so I’d say those words were predominantly in Greek
Bibi: yep
Maria: those interactions
Bibi: okay and was that kind of cos you- did you choose to use Greek? Or was that what just came out?
Maria: no I chose
Bibi: you chose
Maria: consciously wanted that to be there
Bibi: yeah
Maria: yeah
Bibi: cool okay um so now that you’re [Matthew] at home more now do you think that has at all affected how much like Greek is spoken in the home? Do you think it’s more now or dyou think it’s less now or dyou think it’s exactly the same?
Maria: (sighs) I mean now it’s such a difficult thing cos she’s so fluent in English she’s getting so eloquent in English she’s using so many advanced
Bibi: yep
Maria: words that it’s almost like going back to primitive language speaking Greek for her
Bibi: mm mmm
Matthew: yeah but it- it
Maria: I’m saying that it’s difficult because you know she’s coming up with all these sophisticated expressions
Matthew: yeah
Maria: so I- I do respond to her in English because it is you know
Bibi: yeah
Maria: um
Bibi: definitely but that might just be more related to school rather than-
Maria: it is yeah
Matthew: well
Maria: but what I mean like is it’s complicated to evaluate Matthew’s effect
Bibi: yes
Maria: in that because she’s evolved
Bibi: other factors
Matthew: shifting the base line
Maria: shifting the base line and
Bibi: yeah
Maria: her language skills in English have evolved so much that I’m not really
comparing the same thing
Bibi: no
Maria: um I don’t think it- to be perfectly honest I don’t think it affects me either way
Bibi: no
Maria: I could perfectly well speak Greek to her
Bibi: yeah
Maria: while Matthew’s at home
Bibi: and if you understand it’s not like you’re- it’s not like you’re [Maria] having a
conversation with her that
Matthew: yeah
Bibi: you [Matthew] don’t know what she’s on about
Maria: no
Bibi: so I imagine that it would have
Maria: he doesn’t feel left out
Matthew: no no
Bibi: no exactly exactly
Maria: no and actually if anything
Matthew: I encourage it
Maria: he encourages it
Bibi: exactly you’ve got quite a positive- like you want her to learn more so-
Maria: yeah yeah and actually sometimes you- sometimes you prompt me to
Bibi: that was what I was wondering whether there might be a bit more encouragement?
Maria: yeah that’s- that’s what I was gonna say so sometimes we’ll be doing something
and then Michael will speak- will *prompt* me to start speaking Greek by him saying
something to Eleni in Greek
Bibi: yeah
Maria: something simple
Bibi: yeah
Maria: like he might- he might say I dunno like “come here” or
Matthew: every morning I say good morning to her
Maria: yeah he always says
Bibi: that’s so nice
Maria: good morning in Greek and you always say “καλή όρεξη” which is bon apetit in
Greek as well while we’re eating dinner you always instigate that and you might say to
her say thank you in Greek this and that so sometimes Michael will prompt me and then
I’ll continue
Bibi: yeah
Maria: so
Bibi: that’s kind of all it takes sometimes
Matthew: yeah
Bibi: is someone else to say something and then you like- it- it just happens naturally sometimes
Maria: yeah you go “oh yeah must speak in Greek”
Bibi: yeah (laughs)
M: (laughs)
Bibi: that’s good though
Maria: yeah
Bibi: that’s really nice cos obviously I think if you didn’t speak any Greek it could have the opposite effect
Matthew: yeah
Maria: mm
Matthew: well I mean the main thing is this- these are ways of establishing cultural identity and if that exists then the desire might exist later to learn the language right
Maria: mhmm
Matthew: properly
Maria: I definitely think we’ve done a good job on the cultural side
Matthew: culture (laughs)
Bibi: yeah sounds like it
Maria: she’s like very very proud to be Greek hundred percent Greek nothing else
Bibi: that’s so cool
Maria: and the other thing is she has a- I don’t know if I mentioned this last time she has a slightly outside- outsized uh perception of her knowledge of Greek so
Bibi: okay
Maria: we put the Greek radio on
Bibi: yep
Maria: and we talk and Matthew will say “listen to that song Eleni they’re saying duh duh duh duh duh” and she goes “daddy, I can speak Greek, I can speak Greek perfect” I’m like (inaudible) “I can speak Greek what are you telling me about”
Matthew: and she tells me that I can’t speak Greek
Maria: and then they get competitive and he’s like “I speak better Greek that you!” and they start like comparing
Bibi: (laughs)
Matthew: and I said “I’m not even Greek and I speak better Greek than you?” and it takes- (inaudible)
Bibi: (laughs) “you’re meanna be like a hundred percent Greek?”
Maria: yeah (laughs) and so they start like having these competitions but she’s got this like “what are you telling me for? I’m the Greek one here and I speak Greek” so she has this outsized image of her own ability in her head
Bibi: that’s like cool though that’s good cos that means she has the confidence
Maria: exactly in her head she speaks Greek (laughs)
Matthew: yeah and she wants to
Maria: she wants to
Bibi: and she’s very proud
Maria: yeah yeah it’s just funny to me how she actually thinks that she speaks Greek
Bibi: yeah
Maria: in her mind
Bibi: but I suppose it’s probably like maybe she just- I mean it’s the same with a lot of people like you understand more than you can produce
Maria: mhmm
Matthew: yeah
Maria: I think it’s- that’s fine- like I think that’s a good thing right and it- to her it’s not like and alien- an alien concept
Bibi: I think that’s really good
Maria: or something outside of her grip it’s just like “yeah I got it it’s okay yeah sure I need a bit of work
Bibi: yeah
Maria: but I can’t roll my ‘R’s but I’m Greek I’ve got it”
Matthew: (laughs)
Bibi: yeah exactly she’s got the blood you know
Maria: yeah exactly
Matthew: can’t even say ‘R’
Maria: she can’t say- she can’t say ‘R’s she finds that very frustrating
Bibi: but how about in English?
Matthew: yeah
Maria: but- but in English it’s diff- she does
Matthew: she can’t
Bibi: but can she do an ‘R’ in English?
Maria: does she not say ‘R’ in English? Oh really?
Matthew: not really
Bibi: so it’s all different kind of ‘R’s
Matthew: that’s why you guys were having that whole thing about tree
Maria: tree … yeah
Bibi: mmm
Matthew: she’ll-
Bibi: yeah
Maria: yeah but it’s different in Greek cos in Greek you have to roll it really hard so you have to say “tRea”
Matthew: “neRo”
Maria: “tRea” “neRo” it’s not like “ner-“ “nero”
Bibi: mm yeah I know
Maria: it’s like “neRo”
Matthew: “nero”
Maria: and so she goes like “nelo”
Bibi: yeah
Maria: or “nedo”
Matthew: she cheats with an ‘L’
Maria: she puts “nelo” and then I say and then eventually she’ll try very hard and she’ll get it but it’s different from the English r where it’s like “tree”
Bibi: yeah it is hard
Maria: and I know a lot of uh English people who’ve tried over the years to teach them how to do that and it’s not-
Matthew: mm
Maria: it doesn’t ever sound the same
Bibi: yeah
Maria: as a- how you’re supposed to do it
Bibi: but I mean Eleni it’s probably just time to like- takes time for her to
Maria: yeah we- we’ll practice
Bibi: yeah
Maria: she can get a version out doesn’t she
Matthew: yeah
Bibi: that’s good though
Maria: she goes “ner- nero”
Matthew: she’s trying
Maria: she says “nero” “nero”
Matthew: it’s like when she was little and she tried radishes in France and she didn’t like it she spat it out next day wanted to try ‘em again (laughs)
Maria: she persevered she does persevere
Matthew: she kept trying them (laughs)
Bibi: that’s good that’s really good
Maria: (laughs)
Matthew: wanted to like them just didn’t (laughs)
Bibi: (laughs)
Maria: (laughs)
Bibi: um okay so that was that one so yeah I was thinking um if Eleni- I don’t know whether she does this now or openly but um if she refused to speak Greek what would you do to try and encourage her? So say yeah
Maria: um
Bibi: if she just kind of thought no I’ve had enough
Maria: I would stop really
Bibi: would you?
Maria: yeah n- i- I mean in the moment drop it for the moment not forever
Bibi: yeah…forever (laughs) can you- strong
Maria: (laughs) yeah no I would drop it in that moment because I don’t want
Matthew: yeah
Bibi: to annoy her
Maria: it to be something that she- puts her off
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: I’m sure it would be temporary
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: she would come back to it
Maria: yeah she does find it-
Matthew: cos we don’t force it down her throat really
Bibi: no
Maria: no and actually sometimes I do start speaking to her in Greek just like as I would and she’ll say
Matthew: she’ll get tired
Maria: she’ll get tired she goes “mummy
Matthew: “not now”
Maria: not now”
Bibi: so you just kind of respect that and be like okay?
Maria: and I just drop it yeah yeah yeah absolutely otherwise it’s like
Bibi: yeah you don’t wanna make it like a lesson
Maria: I might make a joke and say “but you’re Greek! You have to learn when I speak in Greek” and then she sort of says something and then I drop it
Bibi: yeah yeah
Maria: but I see
Bibi: that’s a good response
Maria: I remind her
Bibi: yeah
Maria: “you’re Greek!” like but I joke with her
Bibi: yeah yeah yeah
Maria: but then I drop it and I do it another time of course I don’t wanna
Bibi: no
Maria: make it like a thing that she hates
Bibi: yeah yeah yeah completely how about you Matthew what would you do to kind of encourage
Matthew: uh well
Maria: he gets competitive he’ll be like I speak better than you you know (laughs)
Matthew: i- I just- I let her come round to it I don’t- I don’t think it- she’s really young so
Bibi: yep definitely
Matthew: she’s- she’s not gonna be the natural Greek speaker from childhood but
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: it doesn’t matter
Bibi: no
Matthew: she’ll get there I’m sure she will
Bibi: yeah definitely
Matthew: and she’ll get there with ev- and she’s been late with almost every you know sort of milestone in her development
Maria: not with spe- not with language though
Matthew: but she’s gotten it
Maria: well
Matthew: I dunno I mean i- i-
Maria: i wouldn’t say she’s- i wouldn’t say she’s late with speaking
Matthew: probably not
Maria: at all
Matthew: but it doesn’t- these things don’t matter cos ultimately they get there
Bibi: yeah exactly
Matthew: kids get their different rates and
Bibi: and I think you’ve both just got like a good attitude towards it and you’ve both got like- you’re supporting each other
Matthew: yeah
Maria: mhmm
Bibi: and I think that’s kind of the main
Maria: yeah what can we do
Matthew: and we’ll- and we’ll spend a few weeks in Greece every year at the very least so
Bibi: exactly
Maria: yeah
Bibi: and also she’s doing these classes now
Maria: yeah
Bibi: I think it’s really
Matthew: yeah
Bibi: your- you’ve got the right idea completely
Maria: yeah
Matthew: yeah we’re trying we’re trying
Bibi: definitely
Maria: and in the future she’ll do something a bit more
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: mm yeah
Maria: formal like a bit more active learning rather than like
Matthew: she’ll take Greek in school
Maria: yeah
Matthew: or whatever
Maria: yeah yeah
Bibi: definitely no I think- yeah I was just intrigued to know what your- what you might say about that but I thought yeah
Maria: yeah
Bibi: that seems like your kind of parenting style
Matthew: yeah
Bibi: like you don’t wanna force her into things so
Maria: definitely no and actually especially because it’s not her fault
Matthew: yeah
Maria: right it’s mine so… you know what I mean like it’s not her fault that she can’t speak it by this point I should’ve it would’ve been under- in my sort of role to make sure she could speak at this point
Bibi: yeah
Maria: so I can’t ram it down her throat
Bibi: I know what you mean
Maria: and this point you know
Matthew: we have enough battles to fight
Maria: I know but I will always feel
Matthew: even though you’re very bilingual that- that very bilingual aspect of you makes it more of a challenge right to- to
Maria: yeah
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: do this
Maria: yeah so what was great for me
Matthew: right
Maria: has ended up being a detriment to my offspring
Matthew: well it’s- it’s- not a detriment
Maria: to her bilingualness
Matthew: she’ll
Maria: yeah
Matthew: we’re-
Maria: and what’s interesting
Matthew: we’re very international people we’re gonna travel
Bibi: you are yeah
Maria: yeah
Matthew: the world and she’ll be exposed to (inaudible)
Maria: I will always feel though no matter what you both say I will always feel that I could have done a lot more and i- like I’ve missed that opportunity uh I don’t know maybe I would have done
Matthew: I don’t think you have
Maria: maybe I would’ve done that because of- being at nursery full time and school full time it would have nev- I would have never been able to keep up with that level
Matthew: after the great forgetting she would have had to
Maria: no not great forgetting but
Matthew: start over
Maria: if I spoke to her even all day at home the truth of the matter is I’m not with her that many hours
Matthew: right
Maria: in a day
Bibi: yeah
Maria: I mean- I mean an hour in the morning and a couple of hours in the afternoon is not the same as eight hours at school or eight hours at nursery
Bibi: yeah exactly
Matthew: yeah and you still can do something about it
Maria: yeah
Matthew: it’s not- it’s not over
Bibi: um yeah last week you said that like Eleni kind of sometimes asks what certain things are in Greek and I was wondering does that happen- is that quite a regular thing? Or does happen more when you’re in Greece? Or is it-
Maria: no no here
Bibi: all the time?
Maria: yeah here more than in Greece actually
Bibi: really?
Maria: yeah
Matthew: well we- we don’t know cos we haven’t been- last year in Greece she was young
Maria: well she-
Matthew: a lot younger
Bibi: ahh okay
Maria: she does it a lot here yeah yeah actually last year she was three and a half now she’s- she’ll be five when we go
Bibi: yeah
Maria: uh no she was four
Matthew: she was four she was just four
Maria: four but she’s been doing that for a long time
Matthew: yeah
Maria: asking “Mamma how do we say this in Greek Mamma how do we say that in Greek” and I dunno it’s quite
Bibi: does she remember?
Maria: not al- not a lot of things
Bibi: or dyou have to kind of like reinforce?
Maria: yeah you have to reinforce cos some of those things she might ask me are quite obscure words and so she
Bibi: really?
Maria: you know so but she does she does that randomly I don’t know what- what
Bibi: that’s really good
Maria: prompts her to do that but she does yeah
Bibi: nice um and yeah I was also wondering so when you’re in Greece and then also when you’re like in England with your family how are the languages used? So I was thinking for example if we take the scenario of like being at the dinner table ha- who’s speaking to- is everyone there who’s speaking to who in which language in Greece? And then how does it happen in England? Is it the same or?
Maria: so in England if we’re with my uncle and aunt in London because my uncle does not speak- he probably speaks less Greek than Eleni (laughs)
Bibi: mm but how about with your mum and your
Maria: oh
Bibi: dad? Cause they sometimes come over…
Maria: in England?
Bibi: yeah
Maria: oh
Bibi: sorry I should have clarified
Maria: oh yeah um well in Greece how would you say it works? My dad dominates a lot in Greek and my brother…if they’re there we’ll end up speaking in Greek between us but my mum will end up engaging Eleni in English if she’s there
Bibi: mm
Maria: so it’s a bit of a mixture but I guess if we were in Greece there’d be more Greek spoken because the waiters are coming in Greek and if we’re at like say in a restaurant we end up speaking a lot more in general because it’s a Greek
Bibi: yeah
Maria: context talk about the food and be like “oh”
Bibi: and do you then talk to people in Greek like your-
Matthew: mostly it’s in
Bibi: (inaudible)
Maria: they switch they switch to speak to you in English
Matthew: yeah mostly just listen
Bibi: okay
Matthew: and then
Bibi: is that just cos that’s how it’s been? And like would you feel comfortable speaking to them in Greek?
Matthew: I- I- I don’t I can’t no I wouldn’t be able to say very much so
Maria: you say a bit just as like a joke type of thing
Matthew: yeah
Maria: but you don’t have whole conversations you can’t
Matthew: I mean it’s hard cos the- the level is too low
Maria: yeah
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: to be able to like
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: contribute in a way that fits my
Bibi: what you want to say basically
Maria: yeah yeah
Matthew: I dunno my st-
Maria: your intellectual
Matthew: yeah my intellectual status in the family
Bibi: I know exactly what you mean
Maria: yeah
Bibi: yeah definitely
Maria: yeah no so
Bibi: so it’s a bit mixed when you’re in- so that’s when you’re in Greece?
Maria: and here is the same I would say but just I think probably more dominated Greek there
Matthew: yeah
Maria: and here more English orientated
Bibi: yeah okay
Maria: yeah
Bibi: cool um yeah so then I kind of asked this already but I just wanted to- so when you switch between Greek and Cypriot dialect that’s just totally normal for you?
Maria: mhmm
Bibi: so you speaking to Eleni in Greek rather than Cypriot dialect
Maria: mhmm mhmm
Bibi: is that totally- is that just as easy as it is speaking in Cypriot dialect?
Maria: uh no it’s more comfortable for me to speak in Cypriot
Bibi: yeah
Maria: but as I’m doing- if I’m doing- if I was to do that with her I recognise in hearing it that it isn’t accessible to her because it’s out of the cont-
Matthew: what- what’s it?
Maria: the Cypriot dialect
Bibi: Cypriot
Matthew: right
Bibi: okay
Maria: so if I was to start speaking to her in Greek I actually realise it feels like it’s more distant than actually speaking proper Greek
Bibi: yeah
Maria: so it doesn’t feel that difficult to then just correct myself and say the proper words as she can relate to them from books and so and so forth so no I can I can switch Bibi: yeah so it’s not like
Maria: no Bibi: cause we kind of- cause you kind of mentioned this last time when we were just have a conv- a discussion you were kind of saying “maybe that is like why it’s not as you don’t use it as often”
Matthew: mhmm
Bibi: cos it’s Greek rather than Cypriot?
Maria: mm but if I was to u- yeah Bibi: (inaudible)
Maria: if I was to use- if I was to be- if I was to rewind the clock start all over again I- and if I had family members nearby that we spoke to regularly she would grow up with Cypriot in her ears but it’s hard to speak Cypriot to a child who doesn’t respond Bibi: yeah cos you said it was weird as well you said it’s weird to speak Cypriot to a child
Maria: to a child that doesn’t respond
Bibi: yeah
Maria: so Matthew: and we’re h- we go to Greece we don’t go to Cyprus
Maria: yeah but none the- so when my brother’s here like as an example my brother will speak to her in Cypriot and when me and my brother are together we speak- it’s in Cypriot dialect and then because there’s someone else there it’s easy but if I’m talking to a child who can’t speak any Greek (laughs) in Cypriot as a one way flow it just feels weird Bibi: yeah
Maria: so then because I can contextualise it better with what she’s reading in b- and what we’re doing in books and words and my Eng- cos my Eng- my Greek is much more simple in terms of what sentences and things like that it doesn’t feel that weird but I think if I was to do it all over again and speak to her and she was in Cyprus being brought up whatever it would have been Cypriot it would have evolved Bibi: yeah
Maria: to be Cypriot cos she would have heard - would have been hearing conversations
Bibi: yep
Maria: it’s hard to explain
Bibi: no
Maria: it’s really hard to explain but it’s a
Bibi: yeah I’m just tryna like get a little
Maria: it needs an interaction
Bibi: insight into
Maria: um but I do s-I do sa- for example the word no in Greek is óχι
Bibi: okay
Maria: in Cypriot it’s ohi
Bibi: okay
Maria: and I will sometimes say “ohi”
Bibi: yeah
Maria: you know like I will sometimes use the Greek words-
Bibi: yeah
Maria: the Cypriot dialect
Bibi: yeah
Maria: when it’s to do with things like that or um there isn’t a- so I would say “eneshi” there isn’t any
Bibi: okay
Maria: and that’s Cypriot rather than “venechi” I would use the Cypriot dialect so
Bibi: so it’s quite like a subtle difference?
Maria: it’s subtle yeah
Bibi: in some of them some of them are a bit more-
Maria: yeah it’s the same phrase but just pronounced just like totally differently and I can do that with her but if I’m tryna teach her something I end up doing it in Greek
Bibi: yeah definitely
Maria: it’s har- that’s the best way I can
Bibi: okay
Maria: or if she upsets me and I say you know “don’t do that ra ra ra” I can lapse into speaking in completely in Cypriot
Bibi: yeah
Maria: when I’m telling her off cos that comes more naturally
Bibi: yeah
Maria: but um but yeah to sort of deliberately interact I end up thinking about it a lot more and
Bibi: cos you plan it a bit more don’t you? And you kind of-
Maria: yeah exactly
Bibi: yeah
Maria: so the reactive stuff’s more Cypriot and the planned stuff is more Greek (laughs)
Bibi: yeah okay cool cool cool
Maria: there’s a summary to that (inaudible)
Bibi: (laughs) um and then I was also wondering about you know you said your dad speaks a lot of like Cypriot to Eleni?
Maria: mm
Bibi: when might it be that he might speak English?
Maria: when he- even- eventually he will because he- he- when he rea- when he recognises
Matthew: he wants to communicate (laughs)
Maria: when he wants to communicate and get a response
Bibi: mmmm
Maria: so he will and he’ll contin- he will do it and she will fake the interaction she’s quite good at sort of yeah
Bibi: (laughs)
Maria: she doesn’t get thrown by it
Bibi: you said that she liked to like please she doesn’t wanna say that she doesn’t understand
Maria: yeah or
Matthew: yeah cos
Maria: she’ll go- she’ll use a response she’ll just chance it
Matthew: it’s just her personality as well because
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: she sometimes has to deal with some weird kids at school who are a bit off and be her talk partners or whatever and she doesn’t get put off by that
Maria: no but like if my dad asks her something she’ll just fake an answer she’ll say “yes” or “no” or
Matthew: yeah
Bibi: (laughs)
Maria: or “something fine” or you know
Bibi: yeah
Maria: and it might be the wrong thing but she just tries to go along with it
Bibi: yeah
Maria: eventually
Bibi: when she’s saying that is she saying that in Greek?
Matthew: which is actually a good way to learn a language
Maria: yeah she might say something in Greek yeah yeah he’ll ask her something and she’ll say an answer it might be completely the wrong thing and eventually they’ll do that for a bit until my dad actually wants to get something out of her in Eng- and so he’ll ask- end up asking her in English
Bibi: okay
Maria: but he might say in Greek and English
Bibi: mmmm
Maria: so that she gets the gist
Matthew: mm
Bibi: cool
Maria: but uh
Bibi: okay
Maria: but usually- the hilarious thing is my parents when they- say my dad talks to her in Greek she’ll talk to him in English my dad’ll talk in Greek they just basically talk across purposes
Matthew: yeah
Maria: and completely bypass- you know one’s talking one thing the other one’s talking another and it’s just like complete mayhem
Bibi: (laughs)
Maria: you j- it’s just like random (laughs) but yeah
Bibi: um so yeah so this is a bit more general now so we spoke about the advantages of language learning second language learning last week but I was wondering like what for each of you is like the *main* reason why you would want Eleni to be able to speak Greek?

Maria: well for me it’s cos that’s- that’s the um cultural language that’s- that’s part of her heritage and culture and if you don’t speak the language you’re missing a huge dimension of your culture that’s my- that’s the big thing for me

Matthew: yeah i- I agree with that

Bibi: yep okay cool

Matthew: and just the you know the power that it gives you to communicate

Bibi: yeah

Matthew: when we travel

Maria: but for

Bibi: how about-

Maria: so yeah for me the language per se I’m a big believer in languages the more the better but if I wasn’t Greek and I was English and we were si- or American and having this conversation I’d say “I completely believe in languages” but I wouldn’t be like “she needs to learn a language now”

Bibi: yeah

Maria: I’d be like yeah I’d definitely encourage her to learn languages

Bibi: yeah

Maria: as she progresses in school and learn- you know but for me the Greek urgency is I want her to have a sense of who she is and her roots

Bibi: yeah

Maria: you know that’s-

Bibi: and do you think that if she didn’t have that then she wouldn’t understand the culture as well? Do you think-

Maria: yes definitely

Bibi: okay

Maria: definitely definitely there’s a huge component of the culture in the language

Bibi: yeah

Maria: huge and as you know with any culture it’s the same thing

Bibi: yeah

Maria: uh and I definitely believe that and I- it gives you a different sense of being a different sense of origin

Bibi: yeah

Maria: the language just in itself will distinguish any- even I think with very primitive Greek she feels different to the monolingual kids

Bibi: yeah

Maria: like you say

Bibi: yeah

Maria: she knows that she’s Greek and maybe the name helps that was very intentional

Matthew: yeah

Bibi: yeah

Maria: so there’s always a conversation point

Bibi: I think that that’s really cool

Maria: between her and you know

Bibi: yeah definitely

Maria: people will always say “oh Eleni that’s a nice name oh where’s that-” and she’ll say “it’s Greek” you know
Bibi: mm
Maria: and that was intentional but the language is- is equally important for her otherwise she’s just sort of got this ethereal concept of her culture based on once a year visits based on hearing her mum speak to her family but it’s not
Bibi: yeah
Maria: embodied in the same way it’s an embodiment of culture
Bibi: yep
Maria: the language
Bibi: yep I agree definitely um so for- do you think that it would be important that Eleni masters Greek? Or do you think that having a kind of conversational that kind of level is good enough?
Maria: I’ll take that Bibi I’ll take that I take basic conversation (laughs)
Bibi: I don’t mean now but you know like when she’s-
Maria: well you know I’d be happy if she could have conversation and I would want her to do some reading be able to do reading and writing as well not just spoken
Bibi: yeah
Maria: cos again that’s
Matthew: if she desires to do- I think conversational is uh
Maria: a priority
Matthew: is the expectation
Bibi: yep
Matthew: but beyond that it’s up to her if she decides that she wants to
Maria: it would be good yeah who knows maybe one day she’ll do what you’re doing and decide to pursue it herself
Bibi: yeah I think it’s like a really good way to…to like go and study somewhere else as well I think
Matthew: yeah
Bibi: I dunno (inaudible) it just seems like it makes sense
Maria: yeah
Matthew: yeah
Bibi: cos everyone goes off to study it would be it’s just a good opportunity to go and like you guys
Matthew: yeah
Maria: yeah
Bibi: have done as well you know…um I was- the next question I was gonna ask was is it important for either of you that Eleni learns to speak Cypriot?
Maria: mm
Matthew: nah
Maria: nah
Bibi: (laughs) “no” (laughs)
Maria: (laughs)
Matthew: she’ll be more exotic
Maria: she’ll pick that up yeah
Matthew: she’ll be more exotic if she went to Cyprus and spoke only Greek that would be pretty sweet
Bibi: (laughs)
Maria: yeah
Matthew: she’ll be like “oh Greek”
Bibi: she’ll just seem very formal all the time maybe (laughs)
Matthew: well they- they have Greeks that come over all the time
Maria: she’d pick up a bit of
Bibi: mm so you’re not really that worried about that
Maria: no
Bibi: dyou think that that’s down to your parents living in Greece or dyou think that
that’s down to the fact that it’s Greek is more widely spoken
Maria: yeah Greek is more useful than Cypriot so Cypriot is just uh half a million
people in Cyprus Greek is- it’s more transferrable
Bibi: yep
Maria: plus if she’s
Matthew: twenty million (laughs)
Maria: plus if she’s- plus if she speaks Greek she can speak Greek in Cyprus she
doesn’t have to speak Cypriot dialect
Bibi: exactly it gives her more options
Maria: yeah
Bibi: yep
Maria: exactly
Bibi: um and then I also wanted to talk about you kind of refer to like Greek rather than
like Cypriot
Maria: mhmm
Bibi: when you’re talking about like culture and identity
Maria: mm
Bibi: dyou think that they’re like interchangeable like being Greek is that the same as
being Cypriot?
Maria: no it’s not the- not at all the same actually they’re ver- quite different cultures
Bibi: mm
Maria: but I use Greek as a kind of catch-all because iden- every single Greek Cypriot
which is what I really am I’m a Greek Cypriot
Bibi: mm
Maria: um will identify with the Greek culture as being the mother culture
Bibi: mhmm
Maria: so there is- it’s like it’s- it’s- imagine that you’re on a- on a- an island you are-
you’re Greek Cypriot you have your own subculture but when you go to Greece you
have affinity feel like you’re in the mother land and even though the lang- the dialects
are different it’s the same for Greek islands Crete and Rhodes and all the little islands
have very different dialects compared mainland Greece so in that sense you feel just a
part of a different a sub version of a different culture
Bibi: mhmm
Maria: so I- I feel like predominantly…so if I meet Greek people
Bibi: yeah
Maria: there’s an affinity there’s a- there’s a commonality we have the same national
anthem we have very similar foods we have you know the- inherently it’s the umbrella
culture and then Cypriot’s like the subculture
Bibi: okay
Maria: it’s a subdivision of the culture
Bibi: okay
Maria: so I feel predominantly Greek
Bibi: yeah
Maria: but as- as-
Bibi: so
Maria: within that i- I’m Cypriot just like someone will say I’m Cretan or I’m Italian but I’m from Sardinia.
Bibi: mhmm
Maria: I’m not from mainland Italy it’s
Matthew: or Sicilian
Maria: that- or Sicilian yeah
Bibi: okay okay okay
Maria: yeah
Bibi: so um yeah so if you meet like a Greek person
Maria: mhmm
Bibi: you feel like
Maria: definitely
Bibi: okay
Maria: definitely like my friends here the people I know
Bibi: yeah
Maria: are Greek- from Greece and there’s- it’s an immediate
Bibi: there’s no kind of like-
Maria: “ay!”
Bibi: so it’s not this kind of thing like there’s a rivalry?
Maria: no no no
Bibi: or something like that?
Maria: and ac- there’s an immediate affinity and I think when you’re away from the Greek- when you’re in somewhere like England or the States any Greek is a Greek it doesn’t matter which part of Greece or
Bibi: yeah
Maria: the Greek world they are so
Bibi: okay
Maria: it’s not eh yeah
Bibi: yep cool
Maria: we have the same names we have the same- it’s like
Bibi: yeah
Maria: similar foods ev- it- it’s just so- it’s a historic thing that we gained independence and it’s political but it- originally we were Greek so
Bibi: yeah
Maria: (laughs)
Bibi: okay cool um so yeah so yeah then Eleni identifying as Greek is the same thing as her identifying as Cypriot
Maria: yes at the moment yes although she knows that I’m from Cyprus doesn’t she? Yeah
Bibi: mkay um
Maria: uh she’s a bit confused about geography still so (laughs)
Bibi: yeah I mean yeah
Matthew: she’ll get there
Maria: she’ll get there
Bibi: completely but for you?
Maria: yeah
Matthew: yeah
Bibi: that would be the same thing if she said-
Maria: yeah
Bibi: if she said she was Cypriot rather than if she said she was Greek would that be strange?
Maria: mm no i- if people ask me where are you from I’ll say I’m Greek Cypriot
Bibi: yep
Maria: and- but if I was to just summarise it I’d say I’m Greek
Bibi: yeah just to make it easier (laughs)
Maria: do you- just to make it easier so- it- the- the culture is so eh similar
Matthew: mm
Maria: the language is what ties you right
Bibi: yeah
Maria: that’s why I mean- this is why the language is so important
Bibi: yeah
Maria: cos you could be from Cyprus which is an independent state but you’re Greek I mean it’s not the same for Spanish and South Americans who- you don’t say I’m Spanish but you say Hispanic
Bibi: mm
Maria: it’s that kind of thing
Matthew: yeah
Maria: right
Bibi: yeah yeah yeah yeah
Maria: it’s that- it’s- so think of Greek as the equivalent of Hispanic
Bibi: yeah
Maria: for all Hispanic cultures…it’s like saying “are you from Yorkshire?” you know
Bibi: yeah
Matthew: or “are you from Texas?”
Maria: “are you from Texas?”
Bibi: (laughs)
Maria: yeah
Bibi: okay and then this is the last question which is quite a small one um you mentioned last week that you haven’t searched for like a Greek Cypriot community here um cos you said that you wanted it to be a bit more natural how it is with the group tomorrow is there any other reason? Or is that the only thing?
Maria: time time
Bibi: yep
Maria: you know not enough energy to be doing that right now we’ve just about met
Matthew: also we I dunno it- you- there’s kind of thing where you end up meeting people for the right reasons or you
Maria: yeah organic
Matthew: connect with people naturally and then if you try to force connections
Maria: yeah
Matthew: it often doesn’t work very well and you feel like “oh god now there’s this weird obligation”
Bibi: yeah yeah
Matthew: so yeah I think we try to avoid things like that (laughs)
Bibi: I can understand that
Maria: yeah
Matthew: given that our time is limited and
Bibi: yeah exactly definitely
Maria: yeah
Bibi: and you’ve also got that little group now
Maria: yeah
Bibi: so there’s not as much of a need for it now really
Matthew: yeah
Maria: yeah no definitely not right now
Matthew: serving the purpose at this age
Maria: I mean even that we could barely keep up with
Matthew: yeah
Bibi: mm
Maria: logistically it’s a hassle you know like tomorrow to organise this thing it’s like
“we’ve got swimming at 10:15” you know “we finish swimming at 10”
Bibi: yeah
Maria: you know “your house? My house?” you know
Bibi: yeah and cos it’s not like an actual thing that you- it’s more casual
Maria: yeah
Bibi: it makes it probably harder to
Maria: well if it was fixed we would probably never- we’d miss half the lessons because just
Bibi: yeah
Maria: it’s the weekend so people have plans and stuff but it’s logistically two families
a young teacher (laughs)
Matthew: if they lived closer it would be
Maria: yeah I guess maybe
Bibi: mm
Maria: that’s it
Bibi: eh that was all of my questions but is there any el- anything else that you’ve thought of that you wanted to say or
Maria: mm not really
Bibi: mention
Maria: we’ve covered a lot I think (laughs)
Bibi: we have covered a lot you’ve been really interesting to talk to
Appendix E

SAMPLE LOG PROTOCOL

Participants: __________________________________________________________

Languages of participants: __________________________________________

Date: __________________________ Time:

__________________________________________

Location: __________________________________________________________

Observation number: ______________________________________________

Comments by Observer: 
Appendix F

EXAMPLE LOG FROM STUDY

Participants: Neil, Sofia and Ben

Languages of participants: English, Finnish

Date: 13th February 2017          Time: 16:00

Location: The family’s home, Clevedon, North Somerset

Observation number: 2

Comments by Observer:
The house was full today, as the couple had guests, a Finnish mother and her son, who also live in England. Sofia told me a little about these visitors in the interview. She recalled how they (Sofia, Ben, the other Finnish mother and her son) had gone on a day out together and had inadvertently spoken Finnish all day, despite the friend’s son usually being reluctant to speak Finnish.

In the home, I noticed that the mothers only spoke Finnish to each other even when I was in the same room as them. I found this slightly unusual, based on my own personal experiences with bilingual friends, as I am used to bilingual speakers accommodating to those around them, even if they are not speaking directly to the person who does not speak the language. I noticed that this same thing occurred when Neil was in the room. It was clear that he made an effort to stay out of the conversations in Finnish, either by doing something away from the two Finnish mothers, (he was gardening when I arrived), or sitting away from them even when in the same room. From the conversations I have had with Neil, I understand that this is to encourage more Finnish. I wonder whether it is always a conscious decision or whether it has become more of a habit that he does not pay much attention to now.

During the interview, I made note of a couple of things. Firstly, I noticed more about the dynamics in the relationship between Sofia and Neil. For example, when I spoke to them about how in Sweden they have the “modersmål” [mother tongue] system whereby children learn their home languages. Sofia’s initial reaction was an emphasised positive one, but Neil seemed slightly sceptical. I noticed after Sofia heard Neil’s response, she began to question this too and her reaction to the idea changed from almost excited to slightly more apprehensive. Additionally, Neil seemed slightly more positive after hearing Sofia’s initial reaction. This gave me an impression of how the two parents support each other in their thoughts and feelings, and showed me how both parents respect each other’s points of views.

Secondly, I asked Neil what he felt held him back from learning languages. He answered that he felt that he was too unintelligent. I thought to myself that this was not the case, as I have noticed that many monolingual English people feel that their lack of knowledge of other languages is due to not being clever enough. Sofia also disagreed with what Neil had said and said that those in the UK aren’t given the same opportunity
as they are in continental Europe in terms of the exposure to languages, which he agreed with.

As I left, I noticed that the children (Ben and the Finnish friend’s son) and Sofía’s Finnish friend were all watching English TV. Presumably they were not watching Finnish TV, as they mentioned in the interview they cannot access it easily from home. I also noticed how Sofía told the boys in English that their dinner was almost ready. My initial thoughts led me to believe that the reason for this was that, as Sofía stated in the interview, the son of her friend did not speak much Finnish. But she had stated how the mothers and sons had spoken Finnish with each other on their day out, therefore perhaps there was another reason for her choice to use English at this point. Perhaps it was for Neil to be able to understand, or also perhaps for me to understand so that I would know it was time for me to leave.
## Appendix G

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Equal</th>
<th>Minority Language</th>
<th>Not Applicable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parent to Child</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child to Parent</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent to Parent</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Difference in language most used in three contexts
Appendix H

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I worry about the effect that having more than one language in the home can have on our child/children</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel that having more than one language in the home is a benefit to our child/children</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important that our child/children can speak both the dominant language and minority language(s) that we use in our home</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important that our child/children can write in both the dominant language and minority language(s) that we use in our home</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important that our child/children speak(s) the minority language(s) outside of the home as well as in the home</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintaining the minority culture(s) is MORE important than maintaining the minority language(s)</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ordinal data results ideologies of multilingual parents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Not Applicable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It feels most natural for me to speak English with our child/children</td>
<td>22 = 9%</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>57 = 25%</td>
<td></td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>64 = 28%</td>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It feels most natural for me to speak the minority language(s) with our child/children</td>
<td>71 = 33%</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50 = 22%</td>
<td></td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 = 3%</td>
<td></td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It feels most natural to speak in English to my partner</td>
<td>171 = 74%</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51 = 22%</td>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41 = 18%</td>
<td></td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It feels most natural to speak in the minority language(s) with my partner</td>
<td>6 = 3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50 = 22%</td>
<td></td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41 = 18%</td>
<td></td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I find it difficult to incorporate the minority language(s) into everyday life in the UK</td>
<td>38 = 16%</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51 = 22%</td>
<td></td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41 = 18%</td>
<td></td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ideologies about parents own language use. N.B not applicable applies where the speaker or respondent does not speak the minority language.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The community/communities we have in the UK help us maintain the minority language(s)</td>
<td>27 = 20%</td>
<td>65 = 49%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>5 = 4%</td>
<td>1 = 1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A community/communities in the UK would help us maintain the minority language(s)</td>
<td>41 = 41%</td>
<td>39 = 39%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>4 = 4%</td>
<td>0 = 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would like a community in the UK with whom we could share the minority language</td>
<td>34 = 34%</td>
<td>46 = 46%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>2 = 2%</td>
<td>1 = 1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would like a community in the UK with whom we could share the minority language's culture</td>
<td>34 = 34%</td>
<td>44 = 44%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>1 = 1%</td>
<td>1 = 1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ideologies of parents about community
## Appendix I

### Most used language of child to multilingual parent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Planning 167 participants (144 speaking) = 72%</th>
<th>No planning 65 participants (64 speaking) = 28%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English 66 = 40% (46%)</td>
<td>44 = 68% (69%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal 24 = 14% (17%)</td>
<td>10 = 15% (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority Language 54 = 32% (38%)</td>
<td>10 = 15% (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Applicable 23 = 14%</td>
<td>1 = 2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentages of language use by child to multilingual parent in families who planned their language use compared to those who did not.

### Most used language of child to multilingual parent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OPOL 129 participants (114 speaking) = 56%</th>
<th>No OPOL 103 participants (94 speaking) = 44%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English 39 = 30% (34%)</td>
<td>71 = 69% (76%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal 22 = 17% (19%)</td>
<td>12 = 12% (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority Language 53 = 41% (47%)</td>
<td>11 = 11% (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Applicable 15 = 12%</td>
<td>9 = 9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison of percentages of language use by child to multilingual parent between families who employ OPOL and those who do not.

### Most used language of child to multilingual parent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family relies on relatives for minority language learning 176 participants (158 speaking) = 87%</th>
<th>Family does not rely on relatives for minority language learning 26 participants (25 speaking) = 13%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English 79 = 45% (50%)</td>
<td>19 = 38% (46%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal 28 = 16% (18%)</td>
<td>4 = 14% (17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority Language 51 = 29% (32%)</td>
<td>9 = 31% (38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Applicable 18 = 10%</td>
<td>5 = 17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison of percentages of language use by child to multilingual parent between families who rely on their relatives for minority language learning and those who do not. N.B: participants who strongly agreed or agreed with the statement “I rely on my family for minority language maintenance” were seen as relying on their relatives, whereas those who disagreed or strongly disagreed were considered as not relying on their relatives, neutral responses were excluded.

---

6 Speaking refers to the participants whose children were old enough to speak. This is continued throughout the tables regarding strategies.

7 Data used in analysis was only that of children who were old enough to speak.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most used language of child to multilingual parent</th>
<th>Frequently reads books to children 161 participants (140 speaking) = 69%</th>
<th>Infrequently/Ne ver reads books to children 71 participants (68 speaking) = 31%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>57 = 35% (41%)</td>
<td>53 = 75% (78%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>28 = 17% (20%)</td>
<td>6 = 8% (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority Language</td>
<td>55 = 34% (39%)</td>
<td>9 = 13% (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>21 = 13%</td>
<td>3 = 4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison of percentages of language use by child to multilingual parent between families who read to their children in the minority language frequently and infrequently/never. N.B: frequently refers to parents answering that they read books to their children in the minority language always or often, and infrequently/never referred to answers of sometimes, rarely or never.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most used language of child to multilingual parent</th>
<th>Frequently watches TV 85 participants (77 speaking) = 37%</th>
<th>Infrequently/ Never watches TV 147 participants (131 speaking) = 63%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>26 = 31% (34%)</td>
<td>84 = 57% (64%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>17 = 20% (22%)</td>
<td>17 = 12% (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority Language</td>
<td>34 = 40% (44%)</td>
<td>30 = 20% (23%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>8 = 9%</td>
<td>16 = 11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison of percentages of language use by child to multilingual parent between families whose children watch TV in the minority language frequently and infrequently/never. N.B: frequently refers to parents answering that their children watch TV in the minority language always or often, and infrequently/never referred to answers of sometimes, rarely or never.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most used language of child to multilingual parent</th>
<th>Community 132 participants (116 speaking) = 57%</th>
<th>No Community 100 participants (81 speaking) = 43%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>55 = 42% (47%)</td>
<td>55 = 55% (60%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>22 = 17% (19%)</td>
<td>12 = 12% (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority Language</td>
<td>39 = 30% (34%)</td>
<td>25 = 25% (27%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>16 = 12%</td>
<td>8 = 8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison of percentages of language use by child to multilingual parent in families with communities compared to without communities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most used language of child to multilingual parent</th>
<th>Children go to MiL Classes 56 participants (51 speaking) = 24%</th>
<th>Children do not go to MiL Classes 176 participants (144 speaking) = 76%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>26 = 46% (51%)</td>
<td>84 = 48% (54%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>9 = 16% (18%)</td>
<td>25 = 14% (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority Language</td>
<td>16 = 19% (31%)</td>
<td>48 = 27% (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>5 = 9%</td>
<td>19 = 11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison of percentages of language use by child to multilingual parent between families who send their children to minority language classes and those who do not
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most used language of child to multilingual parent</th>
<th>Frequently 211 participants (188 speaking) = 91%</th>
<th>Infrequently/Never 21 participants (20 speaking) = 9%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>95 = 45% (51%)</td>
<td>15 = 71% (75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>34 = 16% (18%)</td>
<td>0 = 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority Language</td>
<td>59 = 28% (31%)</td>
<td>5 = 24% (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>23 = 11%</td>
<td>1 = 5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison of percentages of language use by child to multilingual parent between families who visit the country of the minority language frequently and infrequently. N.B: participants who answered that they visited the country of the minority language more than once a year and once a year were regarded as visiting frequently, whereas those who visited once every couple of years, once before or never, were regarded as visiting infrequently/never.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most used language of child to multilingual parent</th>
<th>Not School Age 71 Participants (48 speaking) = 43%</th>
<th>School Age 94 Participants = 57%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>22 = 31% (46%)</td>
<td>48 = 51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>12 = 17% (25%)</td>
<td>16 = 17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority Language</td>
<td>14 = 20% (29%)</td>
<td>30 = 32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>23 = 32%</td>
<td>0 = 0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison of language use by child to multilingual parent in families in which there are school aged children (0-4) to families in which there are not school aged children (5 and older).