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Linguistic Insights

Studies in Language and Communication

Albert Bastardas-Boada,

Emili Boix-Fuster,

Rosa Maria Torrens-Guerrini (eds)

# Family Multilingualism in Medium-Sized Language Communities

Peter Lang

Medium-sized language communities face competition between local and global languages such as Spanish, Russian, French and, above all, English. The various regions of Spain where Catalan is spoken, Denmark, the Czech Republic, and Lithuania show how their medium-sized languages (a term used to distinguish them as much from minority codes as from more widely-spoken codes) coexist alongside or struggle with their big brothers in multilingual families. This comparative analysis offers unique insight into language contact in present-day Europe.

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# Family Multilingualism in Medium-Sized Language Communities



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# Table of Contents

ALBERT BASTARDAS-BOADA, EMILI BOIX-FUSTER & ROSA MARIA TORRENS-GUERRINI Introduction.....	7
ALBERT BASTARDAS-BOADA Mixed-Language Families in Catalonia: Competences, Uses and Evolving Self-Organisation .....	15
XAVIER LABORDA GIL Narrative Discourse in Interviews of Linguistically Mixed Couples ....	53
ANNE LARSEN & MARIE MAEGAARD Discourses on Language and Language Choice Among Danish/English-Speaking Families in Denmark .....	77
HELENA ÖZÖRENCIK AND MAGDALENA HROMADOVÁ Monolingual Language Ideology, Multilingual Families and the Dynamics of Linguistic Diversity in the Czech Republic. Insights from Analysis of Discursive Practices in Research Interviews .....	107
SVETLANA MARKOVA Contact Between the Titular Language and the Post-Colonial Language in Bilingual Lithuanian-Russian Families Within the Context of the Growing Role of English .....	147
BIBI STACEY AND JOSEP SOLER Family Language Policy in the UK: Identity Building and Language Maintenance at Home .....	165

EMILI BOIX-FUSTER AND ANNA PARADÍS New Speakers' Ideologies and Trajectories in Bilingual Families in Catalonia.....	193
FRANCESC BERNAT I BALTRONS Language Uses and Linguistic Ideologies in Mixed French-Catalan Families in Catalonia.....	223
ROSA MARIA TORRENS-GUERRINI Mixed Couples in Catalonia: Intergenerational Language Transmission and Language Use.....	241
Thematic Index .....	311



## Introduction

When depicting multilingualism in the world, there has been a tendency among scholars and laypeople alike to employ simplistic dichotomies. Analysts, for instance, have focused mainly on the opposition between hegemonic and minority languages. As usual, however, reality is much more complicated and ambiguous. The current processes of globalisation and internationalisation under modern capitalism, for example, show a nuanced scenario in which many medium-sized language communities (MSLCs) are striving both to maintain their languages in everyday communication and to use them in high prestige domains. As set out in previous work (Boix 2015, xi), “we define MSLCs, mainly from the demographic point of view, as communities that speak languages which are not international languages, nor languages with a large number of speakers, nor (at the other extreme) minority languages or languages that are not widely spoken. In demographic terms, MSLCs are conventionally defined as languages spoken by between one million and 25 million people”. Vila and Bretxa (2013, 3-4) have added some further distinctions to this definition:

“The languages included in this intermediate group are far from homogeneous. They range from fully standardised languages with a long record of written literature, to varieties that have rarely transcended the status of oral vernaculars and tend to be regarded as dialects of other languages. Many of these languages enjoy some sort of official status in one or more countries and even in supranational institutions, while others have no legal protection at all. Some are widely used on the internet and for software facilities; others have only a marginal presence in the virtual world. Some of these communities are universally literate in their language, whereas in others literacy is universally provided in a different language. Still others are far from literacy in any language at all. Many of these languages are used as a means of instruction in higher education; others do not even enter kindergartens. Some of these languages are hegemonic in their communities’ press, radio and television, while others only rarely

enter these domains. In general terms, the majority of these languages are not considered to be in immediate danger of extinction, thanks to their demography and the advantages it provides, while some are seriously at risk. Indeed it would be erroneous to think that all these languages lead an untroubled life. Debates about the long-term sustainability of many of these languages may often be regarded as unrealistic by speakers and specialists alike. Nevertheless, in spite of all these debates, many of these languages, especially but not only those that have gained the status of official language in a nation state, constitute vivid examples of linguistic sustainability in virtually all domains of social life. This makes them appropriate for analysis in order to make progress in the field of language policy.”

A fair amount of common ground has been found among these MSLCs:

- There is no need for language shift in order to thrive economically and socially. In other words, maintaining whatever sort of local languages does not necessarily hinder progress and welfare;
- Most MSLCs use elaborate, complete languages;
- Linguistic sustainability may not require monolingual societies. Multilingualism tends to be the norm rather than the exception; and,
- There are low expectations for the learning of medium-sized languages by other people.

These characteristics, therefore, give MSLCs some homogeneity in terms of the problems and challenges they face. In this volume we address the issue of family language transmission in these comparable communities.

Family language policy is a growing research field, and an especially interesting one in that it encompasses macroscopic and structural social aspects (mainly the uneven distribution of power in society) as well as microscopic aspects, namely emotional, psychological and personal factors, which are not mutually impervious.

The two first chapters in the volume set out general transversal aspects of this subfield. The first chapter, which is by Albert Bastardas-Boada (“Mixed-language families in Catalonia: Competences, uses and evolving self-organisation”), analyses and critiques the exaggerated use of the concept “family language policy”.

Bastardas-Boada finds the very concept of family language policy to be awkward. Drawing on concepts from complexity theory, he introduces “self-organisation” and “emergence” to postulate the relative autonomy of families in their language choices. Thus, family agents are capable of determining for themselves the principles that will guide their own behaviour. Their cognitive-emotional impulses are very often more decisive than sheer calculation. Actually, a combination of three factors (personal linguistic affectivity, group identity, and perceived future utility) constrains customary language choices in the family.

Xavier Laborda’s chapter, entitled “Narrative discourse in interviews of linguistically mixed couples”, identifies and interprets discourse markers of autobiographical storytelling. His analyses stem from semi-structured interviews with partners in bilingual families. Laborda’s theoretical frame follows the Bruner-Weisser model, taking into consideration the elements that refer to agents and their actions, to the sequence of events, to the canon or rule, and to the perspective of the storyteller. Thus, the study of storytelling processes in the interviews provides references on the linguistic skills and habits of multilingual families.

The following four chapters deal with specific case studies of language contact in families in Western and Eastern Europe, specifically between Danish and English in Denmark (chapter 3), Lithuanian, Russian and English in Lithuania (chapter 4), Czech and English in the Czech Republic (chapter 5), and English with regard to other exogenous languages in the United Kingdom (chapter 6).

First of all, Anne Larsen and Marie Maegaard’s contribution (chapter 3: “Discourses on language and language choice among Danish/English-speaking families in Denmark”) discusses language ideologies in Denmark. They find that a purist ideology pervades the country and affects both Danish and English usage. For instance, poor English is perceived as an index of low educational level, whereas a good English accent is an index both of high social status and of unfriendliness and disloyalty. Based on self-reported language choices, Larsen and Maegaard present discourses on which the subjects draw in order to legitimise their various linguistic strategies and attitudes. These discourses mirror macro-discourses on language choice circulating in

society. For example, most respondents emphasise that children should learn Danish because they will learn English in any event.

Helena Özörencik and Magdalena Hromadova (chapter 4: “Monolingual language ideology, multilingual families and the dynamics of linguistic diversity in the Czech Republic: Insights from the analysis of discursive practices in research interviews”) start from the assumption that the growing linguistic diversity in the Czech Republic challenges the dominant “monolingual” language ideology and that such dynamics appear in the constellations of language ideologies in certain social settings, including multilingual families. Their contribution is based on biographically oriented narrative interviews with mothers in such families who themselves grew up in a monolingual Czech environment. The discursive practices in the interviews are analysed using H. Sacks’s notion of tellability. The analysis reveals that respondents who try to come up with a tellable answer often draw on shared metalinguistic beliefs. However, there are also instances in which shared beliefs make certain items untellable and stimulate discursive practices so that tellability is restored. This suggests that the constellations of language ideologies in multilingual families are heterogeneous, containing not only items reproducing the dominant ideology but also items reflecting the mothers’ biographical experiences.

Their chapter puts forwards a new view of the current dynamics of linguistic diversity in Czech society and especially of the challenges relating to the dominant monolingual ideology and the social groups emerging with the rebirth of diversity, including multilingual families. If the constellations of language ideologies are heterogeneous and contain items based on biographical experience that outweigh shared beliefs, it seems that these challenges are at least partly mutual. However, as far as we could ascertain, the different types of items in the constellations are distributed unevenly throughout the population. The dominant ideology, therefore, appears strikingly efficient in guiding the metalinguistic reflections of individuals regardless of the practices they observe or engage in in everyday life, unless a discursive consciousness relating to shared beliefs is stimulated by transformative, usually uneasy, biographical experiences.

The fifth chapter, which is by Svetlana Markova (“Contact between the titular language and the post-colonial language in bilingual Lithuanian-Russian families, with the growing role of English”), focuses on the problems of Russian language study, language deprivation and the opportunities for Russian acquisition and development in bilingual Russian-Lithuanian children and migrant Russian children living in Lithuania, with the English language being dominant in the environment. The author argues that the type of parental language behaviour in the family decides the attitude toward Russian language study. The research involved interviews with 6 families. The study aims to review and study not only bilingual families, but also Russian-speaking ones, because the search for respondents abroad leads one way or another to finding respondents who possess at least two languages. In addition, there were expert interviews with a teacher of mixed Lithuanian kindergarten groups and a teacher of beginners’ classes in a Lithuanian general academic school.

Bibi Stacey and Josep Soler (chapter 6: “Family language policy in the UK: Identity building and language maintenance at home”) seek both to gain insight into how often parents in the UK use different languages at 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? It was found that while generally there is a preference for English in the families’ homes, multilingual parents do show a preference for speaking the minority language to their children, and most parents have positive ideologies about raising children bilingually and about language learning, which they see as an advantage, albeit one that comes with certain challenges. In addition, most parents explicitly reported planning their language use at home. The strategies that had a greater 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.

Finally, the last three chapters focus on plurilingual families in today's Catalonia, where the most recurrent language contact occurs between Spanish and Catalan (chapter 7), simultaneously with more variegated combinations such as French, Catalan and Spanish (chapter 8), and Italian, Catalan and Spanish (chapter 9).

Emili Boix-Fuster and Anna Paradís' contribution (chapter 7: "New speakers' ideologies and trajectories in bilingual families in Catalonia") is based on thirteen interviews of Catalan/Spanish families and it shows particularly how Spanish-speaking L1 partners become Catalanised and use Catalan in addressing their children. They are then new speakers. Factors that explain this choice are pinpointed and discussed. Respondents argue that they prefer Catalan when addressing their children, because they will learn Spanish anyhow, given the demographic and social hegemony of Spanish in Catalonia today.

The last two chapters study two long-standing exogenous communities in today's Catalonia. First, Francesc Bernat (chapter 8: "Language uses and linguistic ideologies in mixed French-Catalan families in Catalonia") illustrates, based on semi-structured interviews, how the French community appears to have a very high loyalty towards its language and culture, even when living abroad.

Then, Rosa Maria Torrens-Guerrini (chapter 9: "Mixed couples in Catalonia: intergenerational language transmission and language use") gathers and analyses interviews with Catalan/Spanish/Italian mixed families. Her study presents a large number of discursive fragments that are transcribed and analysed using interactional discourse analysis and ethnomethodology, since discourse is the basis of all the results obtained. Indeed, detailed analysis of linguistic form allows for the content to be validated. For example, the study of transcodic markers and, more specifically, the function of code-switching in discourse, such as the base language used, is an instrument for reinforcing response content. The same applies to pronominal markers and other elements of linguistic form.

To sum up, while the nine chapters do not adopt exactly the same focus, the overall picture gives a variegated insight into the challenges and prospects – the vulnerability and sustainability – of several medium-sized linguistic communities in Europe. Most chapters analyse language

ideologies and language behaviour in multilingual families in the Catalan medium-sized language community in Spain. Three chapters, however, discuss this family multilingualism in three other cases, namely Denmark, Lithuania and Czech Republic. Finally, a stylistic remark: due to the diversity of their methodological and theoretical approaches, each scholar has followed different kind of transcription conventions.

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## Mixed-Language Families in Catalonia: Competences, Uses and Evolving Self-Organisation

### 1. Introduction: ‘Family Language Policy’ or ‘Self-Organisation’?

In recent years the term ‘family language policy’ has begun to circulate in the international sociolinguistics literature (cf. Spolsky 2004, 2007, 2012, King et al. 2008; Caldas 2012; Schwartz & Verschik 2013)<sup>1</sup>. From a conceptual standpoint, however, the creation and/or use of this syntagma, applied directly to the language decisions taken by family members to speak to one another, can raise questions about whether one should apply what appears rather to be a framework that pertains to actions arising out of institutionalisation, public debate, and formal decisions to a phenomenon produced ‘spontaneously’. ‘Language policy’, which is also commonly associated with the term ‘planning’, has traditionally evoked the study of actions taken by public authorities at the level of the institutional and social use of languages and of their process of decision-making, implementation and any effects on social language behaviours that may ensue. The expansion of this concept to the level of interpersonal uses in families, which corresponds to another sphere involving elements that are distinct from those of the political level or of a formally constituted organisation, can be misleading and conceal phenomena specific to this level of social reality. Applying too

1 Piller (2002:246) also speaks of ‘private language planning’ in reference to parents when they make a conscious decision to raise their children bilingual. While not denying that such conscious decisions may be taken in certain cases, the aim here is to explore whether this is always so or whether there are also cases and situations in which the behaviour is more ‘natural’ and unconscious.

mimetically that which belongs to our understanding of what we have called ‘institutionalised communications’ (Corbeil 1983) to the level of ‘individualised’ behaviours (cf. Bastardas 1999a and b) can lead to an inadequate understanding of the mechanisms involved in the decisions on language that emerge within families.

At the same time, however, there is certainly a need to account for what occurs in family units at the level of language behaviours because it is the area in which the fundamental processes of language maintenance or shift take place. If there is intergenerational transmission of the parents’ language forms, these forms constitute the basis of the language or languages of infants. And if not, those forms that are not transmitted within the family will not persist, unless individuals can acquire them elsewhere. One possible approach that may assist in our thinking about the sociolinguistic dynamics in families is to use some of the concepts developed in recent decades in the context of cybernetics and systems theory and more recently gathered under the umbrella of ‘complexity’ or ‘complexical’ perspectives (cf. Bastardas 2013, 2014, 2017, and Massip & Bastardas 2013). ‘Self-organisation’ and ‘emergence’ (Ashby 1962, Holland 1998), for instance, may be well-suited to the task of accounting for what occurs linguistically within social units as a result of interaction unregulated by the authorities. These two concepts help to express phenomena that exhibit order and organisation and that have not been *directly* ‘programmed’ by a hierarchically higher level of control, but rather are produced ‘naturally’ and not necessarily ‘planned’ by the individuals involved. This enables us to conceive of such phenomena as ‘bottom-up’ rather than as ‘top-down’<sup>2</sup>. As we shall soon see, however, given the inextricably interadaptative and

2 By using the perspective of self-organising or autopoietic systems (cf. Maturana & Varela 1973, Morin 1977, Smith & Stevens 1994), we can more clearly give an account of the procedures by which a given structure of language uses is established in a given social environment. From this view, interpersonal language behaviours are dynamically emergent and sustained by processes of mutual feedback, taking advantage of the human propensity toward social coordination. Once a given language use has been established between two people, the ‘natural’ tendency will be to fix and maintain it unconsciously as a routine. Therefore, the important point in time to maintain or change sociocommunicative behaviours is, in many cases, their initial stage. If our aim is to intervene, the most important modifications need to be primarily intergenerational (cf. Bastardas 2012). Within

interwoven—in short, complex—nature of many of the phenomena of reality, this self-organisation is often neither ‘pure’ nor contextless, but is a mixture blending dynamics relating to the various influences that can affect a process (cf. Kasper 2014). Certainly, language behaviours do not happen in a social vacuum nor in an ahistorical or apolitical moment, and they can be clearly influenced by the institutional contexts in which they take place. At the same time, their actors can nevertheless have a not inconsiderable degree of autonomy to affect the final result of what occurs linguistically in the home.

## 2. Methodology and Subjects

The data in this study come from 20 semi-structured interviews largely carried out in the last quarter of 2014 with parents who have children in the municipal nursery schools of Barcelona, particularly those located in the *Eixample* neighbourhood<sup>3</sup>. The interview guide contained sections on the interviewees’ language biography, their relationship process with their partner, their children’s linguistic socialisation, their expectations of language use in the future and any other information that may be relevant.<sup>4</sup> Qualitative methodologies are essential to gain a deeper understanding of language behaviours. From a (socio)complex perspective, in which the mind, meanings and emotions are central to an approximation of human interactive phenomena, qualitative work

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the same generation, any adaptive evolution will tend to be in relations with new individuals in new environments.

3 I am grateful to Anna Currubí for her important contribution in conducting and transcribing the interviews. I would equally like to express my gratitude to Tamara Sánchez for the data collection and to Júlia Florit for her preparatory work. My thanks also go to Elisabet Vila Borrellas for her help in processing the data and in the preparation of this text. I am indebted as well to the mothers and fathers who gave of their time to take part in the interviews, as well as to the heads of the municipal schools who lent their assistance.

4 More detailed information about the interviewees is found in Annex 1.

on mixed-language couples must be viewed as essential<sup>5</sup> (cf. Heller & Lévy 1992, 1994, Galindo & Payà 2000, Lanza 2007, Boix 2009, Boix & Torrens 2011, Aguiló 2014).

### 3. The Organisational Dynamics of the Family Language Space: A) the Language (or Languages) of the Couple

#### 3.1 *How the Couple's Relationship Develops: Intervening Factors and Circumstances*

When studying families formed by two partners who have a different L1<sup>6</sup>, it is necessary to distinguish between the different types of communication that may arise. For example, the factors that can influence the language practices of the two partners with one another are different from the factors that can determine the language or languages in which they speak to any children they may have.

In the first case—the language used between a couple—a variety of elements can come into play. One relates to their respective language competences at the time they meet. Their available competences will play a crucial role in the selection of the language that they initially use to communicate with one another. If one has *X* as the initial language and also knows *Y* sufficiently as an L2, his or her relationship with a monolingual individual whose L1 is *Y* will tend to develop in this language. If neither of the pair knows their partner's L1, but have an L2 in

5 Obviously this is not to deny the great value and complementarity offered by quantitative methodologies (see, for example, Vila 1993 or Melià & Villaverde 2008). Qualitative methodologies can be more suitable when the aim is to put oneself in the skin of social actors, while quantitative methodologies are useful to explore the extent of phenomena. From the complex perspective, thought is not either/or, but and/both.

6 L1 = first language understood and spoken, or initial language. We use 'L2' to refer to languages not acquired as L1 within the family.

common, then this language is more likely to be used in the relationship by both interlocutors. The phenomenon of interpersonal linguistic adaptation was theorised by Hamers & Blanc (1983), who explained it fundamentally as the optimal sum of the competences of two interlocutors. In general, the winner is the language most closely shared at that moment.

In cases where there are asymmetries or differences in the competences of the interlocutors, the language which the couple has used to get to know one another and thereafter adopt as a habit is very likely to be one of the major or international languages, not one of the medium-sized or small languages. This is because major or international languages are more often acquired by other language groups, which may use them as a *lingua franca* and view them as valuable cultural capital. Thus, for example, among the cases in our study in which one of the partners has Catalan as their initial language—this is the most common case—only one of the couples uses Catalan with one another<sup>7</sup>. In more than half of the cases, Spanish is used<sup>8</sup>, while the others employ languages such as English, French and Italian. Indeed, this phenomenon is not exclusive to Catalonia, but can be observed in other medium-sized language communities, such as Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, etc. in relation to English. In general, it seems likely that medium-sized and small languages will tend to have less prevalent use in mixed-language couples, given the fact that they are less extensive as an L2 outside of their customary territories. Nevertheless, this can be different if it involves the speakers of major languages who have been born or spent time residing in the society of a medium-sized language. These speakers, if sufficiently bilingualised, can also be ordinary users of the local code.

7 This would appear to confirm the statement that the partners in a mixed-language couple only relate to one another in Catalan if the partner whose first language is not Catalan has already become Catalanised before the formation of the couple (Boix & Torrens 2011).

8 This fact also concurs with the findings of Boix-Fuster (2009), who observed that a couple of mixed Catalan-speaking and Spanish-speaking partners almost always form their relationship in Spanish. In Boix & Torrens 2011, this behaviour is also predominant in couples of other origins. On the concept of 'medium-sized language' see Vila 2013.

In cases where there is a large-scale coexistence of two distinct groups of L1 in the same territory and one of the groups is familiar with the language of the other group, one of the crucial factors can then be the prevalent habits of use in the customary social settings of the couple. Arrangements such as this—for instance in Catalonia—can give rise to cases in which both interlocutors have sufficient competence in the same languages and, as a result, the social expectations of appropriate language use in varying circumstances can have a quite automatic influence on the choice of initial language for their interaction. In many of these encounters, the mostly commonly chosen language will not be a matter of available competences, but rather of the language perceived as most expected or appropriate to the situation or the participants.

The most common tendency for couples by far will be toward ‘speech convergence’, in other words, toward the use of a single language (cf. Giles et al. 1991). There is practically no case in which, at the start of the relationship, one of the individuals routinely speaks one language while the other speaks in another language. The more general propensity is, where possible, to speak to one another in a single language.

### *3.2 The Maintenance of Language Habits in a Couple*

Generally, language use between partners tends to maintain the language of their first encounters as the basis of their relationship. The habit established at the beginning appears to have an enormous power in many cases, even in those in which a later change occurs in the language competences of the individuals. This phenomenon is quite widespread in Catalonia and it certainly works in favour of a greater use of Spanish, because Spanish, as noted earlier, is the language that tends to be used more frequently at the start of a relationship between an L1 Catalan-speaker and a non-Catalan-speaker who has little or no colloquial skills in Catalan (O’Donnell 1991, Boix 2009). As a result, the strength of the person-language association and of unconscious routinisation will tend to maintain this use even if the competences of the second individual, the one whose initial language is not Catalan, have

changed and he or she is now in a position to speak Catalan with greater fluency (cf. Bastardas 1990, 1994).

This continuation of the language habit established at the outset of a relationship is what accounts in large part for why, despite clearly increasing competences in Catalan, there continues to be a high degree of use of Spanish by people who are, in many cases, quite bilingualised. Thus, they may use Catalan with new acquaintances, but often maintain their daily use of Spanish with L1 Catalan speakers whom they have already become accustomed to addressing in Spanish<sup>9</sup>:

- Interview 1<sup>10</sup>
- Interviewer: and in what language did you first start speaking to one another/
- C.H.-E.: in Spanish/ yes\_
- Interviewer: okay. I suppose it was spontaneous. right/ in other words:
- C. H.: yes, it was. it was the natural thing to speak Spanish.
- Interviewer: of course. if you didn't know Catalan. And what language do you use now/ do you use Catalan or Spanish now/
- C.H.: on the cell phone only Catalan. when we speak, we try to speak in Catalan. but like I said. **in minutes we are speaking Spanish.**

9 It may even be the case that partners speak publicly in one language—the one they consider most suitable in a particular social setting—and yet tend to revert, in private, to the initial language in which they established their relationship.

10 See the transcription conventions at the end of the chapter, after the references. In footnotes, original words in Catalan (or in Spanish). In bold we emphasize the most meaningful fragments:

- Entrevistadora: de tot. i en quina llengua vau començar a parlar entre vosaltres/
- C.H.- E: en castellà/ sí\_
- Entrevistadora: bè. suposo que va ser espontani. no/ o sigui:
- C.H.: sí. sí. era la cosa natural parlar en castellà.
- Entrevistadora: clar. si no sabies català. i quina llengua fas servir ara/ quina llengua feu servir ara el català o el castellà/
- CH.: per mòbil només el català. quan parlem tractem de parlar en català. però com t'he dit. **als minuts ja estem parlant en castellà.**
- E.: **és un estira i encoje en castellà.** no/ que tots dos tractem de parlar en català. però és massa difícil. el castellà mos torna molt fàcilment.

- E.: **it’s a back and forth in Spanish, isn’t it/** we both try to speak in Catalan. but it’s too hard. Spanish comes to us more easily
  
- Interview 3<sup>11</sup>
  - Interviewer: um: that is ... what language did you ... did you both start speaking in Spanish or have you always spoken in Spanish\
  - S.C.: yes. **always in Spanish**\_
  - Interviewer: did you make a decision or not \_ was it spontaneous/
  - S.C.: no. It was spontaneous.
  - Interviewer: okay. xx
  - S.C.: because me. when I met her. I didn’t know French and she didn’t know Catalan no:: basically she speaks Spanish. she could understand it. but she didn’t speak it\
  
- Interview 16<sup>12</sup>
  - J.S.: when I make friends with someone in one language, even if I change country. the place and wherever I am. the **friendship remains fixed in that language.** and that’s it ....\

In the conceptual framework of the complexical approach, this tendency toward permanence is viewed as a fact corresponding to the ‘emergent’, feedback-driven characteristic of many phenomena of interaction. That is, to the self-organising emergence of cooperative social structures that are quite stable and durable over time, because their own feedback processes encourage their conservation. Upon

- 11 –Entrevistadora: em: o sigui.. en quina llengua veu... veu començar a parlar castellà i heu parlat sempre en castellà\  
–S.C.: [sí]. **sempre en castellà**\_
- Entrevistadora: ho veu decidir o no\_ va ser espontani/  
–S.C.: no. va ser espontani.  
–Entrevistadora: vale. xx  
–S.C.: perquè jo. quan la vaig conèixer no sabia francès i ella el català no::.. bàsicament parla el castellà. l’entenia. però no el parlava\  
12 –J.S.: a la que jo faig una amistat amb un idioma. ja em pot canviar el país. el lloc i onte sigui. que **l’amistat ha quedat com fixada en aquell idioma.** i això...\



the establishment of a functional structure that adequately serves the needs of human beings—in this case, their communicative needs—the structure tends to maintain itself automatically and unconsciously as a *habitus* (cf. Bourdieu 1980, Bastardas 1994, 1995, Boix & Vila 1998, Kasper 2014).

Even so, changes can occur, particularly if, in the case of couples, the two members explicitly review their behaviour and quite consciously find it desirable to change. If they agree and can successfully make the new behaviour automatic in a social context that supports it, they can change their initial behaviour and speak to one another in the new code. There are also cases in which the change is partial, such as the frequent introduction of words and expressions from the other language, particularly when it is present in the context, and even clear code-mixing, especially when there are children. These can lead to changes in the frequency of the languages used in the home.

- Interview 9<sup>13</sup>
  - D.C.: well. basically my Italian at that time was quite dismal and she spoke Spanish. **we started to speak in Spanish\**
  - Interviewer: and what language do you speak in now/ in Spanish still or not/
  - D.C.: I don't know\
  - Interviewer: what do you mean you don't know/
  - D.C.: now:: **I would say that at home.. I would say that maybe 60% of the time we speak in Italian and then the other twenty and twenty in Catalan and Spanish\_**

- 13 -D.C.: bueno. bàsicament el meu italià en aquella època era bastant lamentable i ella parlava en castellà. **vem començar a parlar en castellà\**  
 -Entrevistadora: i ara en quina llengua parleu/ en castellà també o no/  
 -D.C.: no se sap\  
 -Entrevistadora: com que no se sap/  
 -D.C.: ara:: **diria que a casa.. diria que potser un 60% del temps parlem en italià i després l'altre vint i vint doncs en català o castellà\_**

- Interview 8<sup>14</sup>
  - Interviewer: okay. um: what language did you both start speaking in/
  - R.C: French\_
  - Interviewer: and have you always spoken in the same language/
  - R.C: no. because **we first started speaking in French. But later on she learnt:: Catalan. and now we speak in Catalan and in French.**
  - (...)
  - Interviewer: later on.. you said *we*. you and your partner always spoke in French and now/
  - R.C: sometimes we switch to Catalan\_
  - Interviewer: and you do that because the children were born xxx \
  - R.C: well. I had always thought that ... **I believe that it was largely when we came to live in Barcelona. also because I spoke to my friends and parents in Catalan.** actually. she quickly saw that.. that.. that Catalan would be more useful to her than Spanish. I mean ... and:: gradually. I kept inserting Catalan too. She learnt Spanish in Venezuela. we lived there some years ago. and she learnt Catalan later and now she speaks it very well. and I don't know\_
  
- 14 -Entrevistadora: val. em: en quina llengua vau començar a parlar/
  - R. C.: en francès\_
  - Entrevistadora: i sempre heu parlat en la mateixa llengua/
  - R. C.: no. perquè **vam començar parlant en francès. però després ella va aprendre el:: català. i ara parlem en català i en francès\_**
  - (...)
  - Entrevistadora: va passar un període.. has dit vosaltres. tu i la teva parella parlàveu sempre en francès i ara/
  - R. C.: a vegades passem al català\_
  - Entrevistadora: i feu això perquè han nascut els fills xxx \
  - R. C.: bueno. jo sempre havia pensat que ... **jo crec que va ser en gran mesura quan vam venir a viure a Barcelona. també perquè amb els amics i amb els meus pares parlo en català.** de fet. ella va veure de seguida que.. que.. que li era més útil el català que el castellà. vull dir que ... i:: de mica en mica. també el vaig anar introduint. ella va aprendre el castellà a Venezuela. vam viure uns anys allà. i el català el va aprendre després i ara el parla molt bé. i no ho sé\_

The arrival of children, which represents the daily introduction of Catalan into the home when one of the parents speaks Catalan to the children, is perhaps one of the factors that has the greatest impact on the increasing use of the language in family uses as a whole and in changing the habit of use between a couple, though the change may only be partial:

- Interview 5<sup>15</sup>
  - Interviewer: um .... what language do you use with your partner/
  - E.S.H: Spanish\_
  - Interviewer: has there been any change or have you always spoken the same language/
  - E.S.H.: **since I had children and we speak Catalan with the children, we do have some conversations in Catalan. yes, yes, before it was always Spanish and now some conversations we do have in Catalan\_**
- Interview 11<sup>16</sup>
  - E.: no. when I talk with him now. with Nico. with my partner. **before we always spoke in Italian and now we do mix a lot. often with him. I speak half-Catalan. half-Italian.** now that there are the children, I speak to them in Catalan. so it gets mixed a little\

- 15 -Entrevistadora: em .... quina llengua fas servir amb la teva parella/  
 -E.S.H.: castellà\_  
 -Entrevistadora: hi ha hagut algun canvi o sempre heu parlat la mateixa llengua/  
 -E.S.H.: **des de que tinc els nens com que parlem en català amb els nens doncs pos alguna conversació tenim en català. sí. sí. abans sempre era castellà i ara pos alguna conversació en català sí que la tenim\_**
- 16 -E.: no. quan parlo ara amb ell. amb el Nico. amb el meu company. sí que **abans parlàvem sempre en italià i ara sí que barregem molt. molts cops amb ell. parlo mig català. mig italià.** com que hi ha els nens i amb els nens els hi parlo en català. doncs es barreja una mica\

- Interview 4<sup>17</sup>
  - Interviewer: what language did you and your partner first start speaking/
  - N.S.: Spanish\_
  - Interviewer: **Spanish\_ and you haven't switched/**
  - N.S.: **yes. yes. now we speak in Catalan\_**
  - Interviewer: you do/ and .. was it spontaneous or did you decide to do that/
  - N.S.: no. it was the decision to have a baby and we want Catalan at home. so\_

#### 4. The Organisational Dynamics of the Family Language Space: B) Languages with Children

##### 4.1 *How You Speak to Your Children: Is It a Spontaneous and 'Natural' Personal Action or Mutually Planned and Decided?*

An interesting question is whether the language or languages selected by a mixed-language couple to speak with their children are the result of thoughtful consideration or automatic and subconscious. Is it closer to a spontaneous and unconscious action or to a planned and designed behaviour? In other words, is it a case of sociolinguistic self-organisation or an explicit 'language policy' that is debated and implemented by parents? In the cases we have studied, the approaches are wide-ranging. Most parents say that it was quite spontaneous and 'natural', while others clearly made a conscious and explicit decision. Thus, it would

- 17 -Entrevistadora: en quina llengua vau començar a parlar la teva parella i tu/  
 -N.S.: en castellà\_  
 -Entrevistadora: **en castellà\_ i no l'heu canviada/**  
 -N.S.: **sí. sí. ara parlem català\_**  
 -Entrevistadora: sí/ i .. va ser espontani o ho vau decidir/  
 -N.S.: no. va ser la decisió de tenir una criatura i volem el català a casa. o sigui\_

appear to be rather inappropriate to extend the conceptualisation of ‘language policy’ generally and automatically to the communicative practices between parents and children. At least in Catalonia, many cases appear to show no calculation or forethought in relation to the effects of parents’ actions on their children, except their intention that their behaviour—in this case, the behaviour of the Catalan-speaking parent—should be ‘natural’ and true to the parent.

In general, therefore, this seems to be quite a personal decision which will, nevertheless, affect the language uses in the home and is sometimes raised and discussed by the couple and sometimes less so. There appear to be cases in which the behaviour is ‘announced’ more than debated, because the individuals themselves are very clear about what they need to do.

- Interview 13<sup>18</sup>
    - E.: well, each to his own language. me with mine. Catalan. and Rubén in Spanish. though Rubén does sometimes use a phrase in Catalan. go to bed. time to sleep. in Catalan but: if he gets angry. or if he has to explain something to the child. he expresses himself better in Spanish\
    - Interviewer: okay. did you decide that beforehand or did it emerge spontaneously\
    - E.: **it emerged spontaneously\**
  - Interview 19<sup>19</sup>
    - S: no. **it emerged spontaneously. but it was quite clear to both of us. that we would each speak to the child the way we wanted to.** we are quite anarchic in this house in general\
- 18 -E.: doncs cadascú amb la seva llengua. jo amb la meva. català. i el Rubén en castellà. tot i que el Rubén de vegades fa alguna frase. al llit. a dormir. en català però: si s’enfada. o si li ha d’explicar una cosa. ell s’expressa millor en castellà\
- Entrevistadora: val. això ho veu decidir prèviament o va sorgir així espontàniament\
- E.: **va sorgir espontàniament\**
- 19 -S.: no. **va sorgir espontàniament. però cada u ho tenia molt clar. que li parlaria com volgués.** som bastant anarcos en aquesta casa en general\

In other cases, the subject is not explicitly discussed not because they are unaware of it, but because the couple has a shared view of the logic of the situation and accepts matter-of-factly that each person will speak a different language with their children:

- Interview 2<sup>20</sup>
  - Interviewer: ah: did you somehow decide that you would speak in Catalan [to the child] and she would speak in Spanish or was it::
  - I.M.: no. it is simply that I mean that **the roles were already assigned**\_ that is. the Catalan teacher speaks to him in Catalan and she because she doesn't speak Catalan speaks to him in Spanish. so ...

In other couples, the subject is more explicitly and thoughtfully discussed and they decide before their child is born how they will address the child. If we accept the analogy to public institutions, this case is the one that most closely resembles a 'family language policy':

- Interview 9<sup>21</sup>
  - Interviewer: did you two decide that or did it emerge spontaneously /
  - D.C: **we decided it**\_
  - Interviewer: how did you decide it/

20 -Entrevistadora: eh: vau decidir d'alguna manera que tu li parlaries en català i ella en castellà o va ser::

-I.M.: no. és només allò de dir que o sigui que més aviat **els papers ja estaven assignats**\_ o sigui. el mestre de català li parla en català i ella que no parla català li parla en castellà. doncs ...

21 -Entrevistadora: això ho veu decidir o va sorgir espontàniament/

-D.C.: **ho vem decidir**\_

-Entrevistadora: com ho veu decidir/

-D.C.: **vem decidir que bueno. lo que t'explicava abans. com que la llengua dèbil en el nostre cas és l'italià. si no som nosaltres els que li ensenyem italià. la nena mai serà capaç de dominar-lo i vem entendre que el català i el castellà. ja l'aprendria a l'escola.** encara que ara la portarem a l'escola italiana. vull dir que no sé com funcionarà la cosa. ah:: doncs que almenys l'idioma de casa fos l'italià. la meva dona va volguer això i jo no m'hi vaig oposar/

- **D.C: we decided that okay. what I told you before. since the weak language in our home is Italian. if we aren't the ones to teach her Italian. the little girl will never be able to master it and we understood that Catalan and Spanish. that she would learn them at school.** even though we take her to an Italian school now. I mean, I don't know how it will work. uh:: so at least the language at home would be Italian. my wife wanted that and I didn't oppose it/
  - Interview 16<sup>22</sup>
  - Interviewer: so. in the beginning. you both decided. you would speak Catalan to the child and she would speak Chinese/
  - **J. S.: yes. we decided it\**
  - Interview 4<sup>23</sup>
  - N.S.: in fact. **it was also one of the things that we thought.** right\ Spanish here is a guaranteed thing for the child\_ So we are going to guarantee Catalan\_
  - Interview 8<sup>24</sup>
  - Interviewer: and you both said. we are going to speak this language. or it emerged/
  - **R. C: I don't remember now but we did decide:: that:: we would each speak our own language** and that it was important for them to know both of them and the more the better. right/ and Spanish and German and whatever else. and what we would try
- 22 -Entrevistadora: llavors. al principi. que tu li parlessis en català i que ella li parlés en xinès. ho vau decidir/  
-J. S.: **sí. ho vam decidir\**
- 23 -N.S.: De fet. **també va ser de les coses que vam pensar.** no\ el castellà aquí el té garantit segur\_llavors. anem a garantir-li el català\_
- 24 -Entrevistadora: i veu dir. parlarem aquesta llengua. o va sorgir/  
-R.C.: **ara no me'n recordo però sí que vem decidir que:: que:: cadascú parlaria la seva llengua** i que era important que sapiguessin les dues i quantes més millor. no/ i el castellà i l'alemany i el que sigui. i que el que intentaríem era que un cop que comencés a escriure intentaríem reforçar el francès escrit\

to do was that once they started to write we would try to reinforce written French\

These last cases illustrate a more conscious and thoughtful conduct, probably encouraged by the fact that one of the languages involved is not present in the social context. In given situations, however, the respondents are doubtful whether they discussed the matter much or not, or whether they saw it as ‘natural’. On the other hand, even in cases where the couple is not very conscious about language before the birth of a child, fluctuations and changes can occur before they reach a stable organisation. At first, the couple engages in their customary behaviour with the child, but later this can change when they become more aware of the possible future impact of the behaviour:

- Interview 5<sup>25</sup>
  - E.S.H.: the truth is that we spoke it quite a lot ... and when he was very ... when Iker was very, when he had just been born we said things to him in Spanish\_
  - Interviewer: okay\_
  - E.S.H.: then gradually we spoke to him in Catalan. we went on speaking to him in Catalan and now we always speak to him in Catalan\_
  - Interviewer: **did you both agree to do that or not?**
  - E.S.H.: **well. hmm. we didn't speak about it exactly. did we say what language will we use/** of course we speak in Spanish but, but sure, we want him to know Catalan, don't we/

In some special situations, it is even possible for one of the parents to change language because they do not obtain the desired response of

- 25 -E.S.H.: la veritat és que ho vem parlar bastant ... i quan era molt ... quan l'Iker era molt.. era acabat de néixer les coses li dèiem en castellà\_  
 -Entrevistadora: sí\_  
 -E.S.H.: doncs mira poc a poc li vem parlar en català. li vem anar parlant en català i ara pos li parlem en català sempre\_  
 -Entrevistadora: **us veu posar d'acord en això o no/**  
 -E.S.H.: **bueno. sí. no en vem acabar de parlar diguéssim. vem dir amb què parlarem/** clar nosaltres parlem en castellà però.. però clar.. també volem que sàpiga català no/



convergence from a child. This can occur when the child feels ‘socially’ awkward about speaking a different language with a parent and the child decides not to speak the language in which the parent addresses him or her. In these cases, the parent may have to choose between carrying on in the code chosen to address the child or adapting to the code in which the child chooses to speak.

- Interview 16<sup>26</sup>
  - Interviewer: so then. in the beginning. you both decided. you would speak Catalan to the child and she would speak Chinese /
  - J. S.: yes. we decided it\
  - Interviewer: then you talked it over and you reversed course\
  - J. S.: we reversed course because:. because of the child’s emotional bond. to not give up her emotional bond with him. we saw that the child was turning to me much more than to her\
  - Interviewer: okay/ so that’s why the language /
  - J. S.: the language has helped out with this. and her. she had to communicate with the child somehow. but she was on her own. I couldn’t help her. if I had been able to speak Chinese, I would have collaborated with her. but my Chinese is a few words and that’s it. it is not a Chinese for:: it isn’t good enough to. communicate

- 26 -Entrevistadora: llavors. al principi. que tu li parlessis en català i que ella li parlés en xinès. ho vas decidir/  
 -J. S.: sí. ho vam decidir\  
 -Entrevistadora: llavors ho veu parlar i veu tornar enrere\  
 -J. S.: vem tornar enrere perquè:. per l’afectivitat del crió. per no sacrificar l’afectivitat d’ella amb ell. vam veure que el nen tirava molt més amb mi que amb ella\  
 -Entrevistadora: si/ per això de la llengua/  
 -J. S.: la llengua hi ha ajudat. i allavors ella. tenia que comunicar-se amb el nen d’alguna manera. però estava sola. jo no la podia ajudar. si jo hagués sapigut xinès hagués col·laborat. que el meu xinès és per dir quatre paraules i ja està. no és un xinès de:: no serveix per. comunicar sentiments. serveix per fer acudits. però no per sen: i llavors clar. per no sacrificar l’afectivitat\  
 -Entrevistadora: llavors diguem que hi havia com que hi havia com problemes de comunicació amb el nen\  
 -J. S.: sí. perquè clar. **ella parlava en xinès. però ell la veia com una cosa rara. perquè dius. tota l’altra gent li parlava en català. llavors ell no podia. és a dir. no hi havia manera\**

emotions. it's good enough to tell jokes. but not for emo:.. so that's why. to not lose the emotional bond\

- Interviewer: then let's say that there were like there were communication problems with the child\
- J. S.: yes. because of course. **she was speaking in Chinese. but he saw her as something odd. that is. everybody else was speaking to him in Catalan. that is. he couldn't. I mean. there was no way\**

#### 4.2 *Why did you take this action?*

It cannot simply be assumed that a member of a couple that has met and spoken in a dominant language, one that is spoken by a majority or can be used to communicate over a vast geographical expanse, will wish to speak to their child in a local language that is medium-sized or smaller. Such behaviour cannot even be assumed when the smaller language is the language of the territory where the family lives. As we know, there are many cases in the Catalan-speaking lands where this does not occur in the majority of instances (cf. Boix & Torrens 2011).

As a result, it is important to understand better why this behaviour occurs in those cases where it does take place. In all likelihood, a variety of factors intervene in these actions depending on personal, socioeconomic and political circumstances. I will strive to group them, but not necessarily separate them, into three fundamental categories: personal linguistic affectivity, group identity, and perceived future utility. Obviously, these factors can, to varying degrees, be interrelated to one another. Behind the Catalan-speaking parent's choice to speak Catalan to a child—unlike the choice of language to speak with his or her partner—it must also be borne in mind that there is highly likely to be a political and socioeconomic context, sufficient to maintain positive representations of Catalan. If this were not the case, the behaviour would be different (cf. Melià & Villaverde 2008, Forner 2009). It is perfectly possible that the majority of these parents believe that Catalan will be socially useful for their children, at least in Catalonia, where they currently live (cf. Boix-Fuster 2009).

#### 4.2.1 Personal Linguistic Affectivity

Based on the interviews, most cases clearly seem to reflect a parental decision on the language to use with the child that is both highly personal and taken confidently, because no other approach was conceivable. The decision—whether conscious or unconscious—is viewed as ‘natural’ and logical, even if the parent speaks with his or her partner in another language. There is a clear distinction between what is suitable for speaking with the other parent and what is suitable to use with their child. In the studied cases, there is no conflict perceived in this.

- Interview 11<sup>27</sup>
    - Interviewer: you both decided it. it was a deliberate decision\
    - E.: yes\_
    - Interviewer: or spontaneous\_
    - E.: well. we talked about it. but for me. Either way. **it doesn’t work for me. not speaking to the child in Catalan. I couldn’t speak to the child in another language\_**
  - Interview 17<sup>28</sup>
    - Interviewer: did you both decide it or did it emerge spontaneously/
    - E: well. I couldn’t decide it **because it was the natural thing to do. I suppose that if we had actually decided it. this is what we would have decided. but the thing is there was never any doubt.** and:: my husband uh:: at some point he switched more and said no. that he was comfortable speaking to the children
- 27 -Entrevistadora: ho va decidir. va ser una decisió premeditada\  
 -E.: sí\_  
 -Entrevistadora: o espontània\_  
 -E.: bueno. ho vem parlar. però a mi. igualment. **no em surt. al nen de no parlar-li en català. jo no li podria parlar una altra llengua\_**
- 28 -Entrevistadora: això ho veu decidir o va sorgir espontàniament/  
 -E.: bueno. jo no ho podia decidir **perquè és lo natural. fins i tot suposo que si ho hagués hagut de decidir. és el que hagués decidit. però és que no ha estat mai en dubte.** i:: el meu marit e:: en algun moment barrejava més i va dir no. que jo em trobo còmode parlant-los en castellà. i sí que ara els hi parla sempre en castellà. però crec que és bastant com a natural\  
 \

in Spanish. and now he always speaks to them in Spanish. but I think it's quite natural\

- Interview 18<sup>29</sup>
  - Interviewer: so did you both decide it or did it emerge spontaneously. that each of you spoke to the child in your own language. how did it happen/
  - R: well. **in my case it was clear. it was clearly my language. and. she was really clear about it too.** we talked about it. but both of us were very clear. or it would be lost. there would be no problem with Catalan. I wouldn't have chosen any other language. but it is present in the environment. as for Dutch. since it isn't present in the environment. the child had to learn to communicate with the cousins. so it emerged spontaneously and at the same time it was a decision\
  - Interviewer: okay. but let's see. you sat down first and said. I will speak to the child in this language. you in that one.\
  - R: no. I think it just happened that way. it was simple logic. I don't know. **it just wouldn't work for me to speak to [the child] in another language. and the same goes for my wife. later we talked about it. not to decide it. but to put it out there\**

Many of the interviewees state that this language behaviour is “what works for them” and that they could not conceive of speaking to their child any other way. The Catalan-speaking respondents show that, at least for this

- 29 -Entrevistadora: llavors això ho veu decidir o va sorgir espontàniament. que cadascú li va parlar amb la seva llengua. com va anar/  
 -R.: bueno. **jo en el meu cas ho tenia clar. era la meua llengua clara. i ella en el fons també ho tenia clar. ho vam parlar.** però tots dos ho teníem molt clar. sinó es perdria. amb el català no hi hauria problema. jo no hagués decidit cap altra llengua. però en l'entorn està present. en qüestió del neerlandès. com no hi és present en l'entorn. l'havia d'aprendre per comunicar-se amb els seus cosins. aleshores va sorgir espontàniament i al mateix temps va ser una decisió presa\  
 -Entrevistadora: o sigui. però a veure. abans us havíeu assegut i havíeu dit. li parlaré amb aquesta llengua. tu amb aquesta altra \  
 -R.: no. jo crec que va sorgir així. per lògica bàsica. no sé. **a mi no em sortiria parlar-li amb una altra llengua. i la meua dona el mateix. després a part ho vam parlar. però no per decidir-ho. sinó per exposar-ho\**

purpose, their perception is not that of a marginalised minority group that is harmed if they transmit their L1 to their children. The current sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia appears to allow L1 Catalan-speakers to feel fully legitimated in using their language with their children, even in cases in which they do not use Catalan with their partner.

#### 4.2.2 Group Identity

Another factor that can affect the language selected by parents is their explicit awareness of identity and membership in a given group. In the field of linguistics, this factor is also known as ‘language loyalty’ (Weinreich 1963). Indeed, we do not know the point at which this factor can be distinguished from the previous one. However, some interviewees did clearly express their group identification as a motivation to use the language. The domain of group identity may account for why, even when a person accepts that the language may contribute comparatively little as an economic enabler, he or she quite often values the cultural elements of the group and makes a commitment to maintain these with their children:

- Interview 4<sup>30</sup>
    - Interviewer: okay. um: do you think there was some reason/ for their future or::
    - N.S.: well. no/ first. because I feel more comfortable in Catalan and because. well. **because we decided that it interested us as an identity.** but no .. it’s not because it would open many doors\_
  - Interview 16<sup>31</sup>
    - J.S.: Catalan is very small. I don’t think Catalan should be lost. not from a patriotic viewpoint. but out of interest. **there has to be a lyrical part. a part of the heart that you can’t kill\_**
- 30 -Entrevistadora: val. mh: creus que per alguna raó/ pel seu futur o::  
 -N.S.: bueno. no/ primer. perquè jo em sento més còmoda en català i perquè. bueno. **perquè vam decidir que ens interessava com a identitat.** però no .. no és perquè obri gaires portes\_
- 31 -J.S.: el català és molt petit. jo crec que el català no es pot deixar perdre. ja no des d’un punt de vista patriòtic. sinó interès. **hi ha d’haver una part lírica. una part del cor que no la pots matar\_**

- Interview 20<sup>32</sup>
- C.: no. no. it was me. I spoke to them in Spanish. no problem. I made myself understood with them in Spanish. they made an effort to speak in Spanish. but it was me that no. I decided that I wanted to speak in Catalan. because I feel {(F)very} Catalan. and I didn't have that feeling of being very Catalan. if I didn't speak Catalan\  
[...]
- Interviewer: we're almost finished. just one more question that it's closely related to what you just said. by speaking in Catalan, you feel more Catalan\  
[...]
- C: by speaking in Catalan. I feel more Catalan, no. **I feel {(F)very} Catalan. and because I feel Catalan I want to speak Catalan. it's not the other way round\  
[...]**

#### 4.2.3 Perceived Future Utility of Languages

In a globalised, highly mobile society, many couples can appreciate the usefulness of giving multilingual skills to their children. They view such skills as cultural capital that may be useful to their children in their future working life. An appreciation of polyglotism is common among the parents interviewed and this view leads some of them, as we have seen, to be conscious and explicit about the subject of language and to adopt family practices that will help their children to develop multiple skills, taking advantage of parents' language diversity. Our interviews appear to corroborate the fact that the explicit decision to educate infants bilingually is spreading among classes that do not see themselves as the elite (Barron-Hauwaert 2004), whereas this behaviour used to be observed at an international level only among the upper

- 32 -C.: no. no. vaig ser jo. jo parlava amb ells en castellà. cap problema. m'entenia amb ells en castellà. ells feien l'esforç de parlar en castellà. però vaig ser jo que no. que vaig decidir que jo volia parlar en català. perquè em sento {(F)molt} català. i no entenia que sentint-me molt català. no parlés català\  
[...]
- Entrevistadora: ara ja acabem. només una pregunta. que és molt relacionada amb això que has dit. per parlar en català et sents més català\  
-C.: per parlar en català. em sento més català. no. **jo em sento {(F)molt} català. i per sentir-me català vull parlar en català. no és a l'inrevés\  
[...]**

classes. The pursuit of a bilingual strategy in the family appears poised to grow, and even more so amid a process of globalisation. It is a phenomenon of adaptation to new contexts.

- Interview 6<sup>33</sup>
    - Interviewer: okay. did you both decide/ what language you would speak to your children in/ or did it emerge spontaneously/
    - M.G.D.: it emerged spontaneously\_
    - Interviewer: or did you talk about it/
    - M.G.D.: it emerged spontaneously. but we also decided it. I mean. me. for example. it was clear to me that I. being here. I would speak to them in Catalan. and **it was also very clear to us. that we wanted Ervin to speak to them in Flemish. we didn't want to lose any opportunity.** right/ to learn. even if just to understand. and now we can see that they do. they understand all of it. in: in Flemish\_
  
  - Interview 9<sup>34</sup>
    - D.C.: it's random. but in general we speak Italian more than anything else at home. because:: given that it is not the language..
- 33 -Entrevistadora: val. ho vau decidir/ en quina llengua parlaríeu als fills/ o va sortir espontàniament/  
 -M.G.D.: va sortir espontàniament\_  
 -Entrevistadora: o ho vau parlar/  
 -M.G.D.: va sortir espontani. però també ho vem decidir. és a dir. jo. per exemple. tenia clar que jo. estant aquí. els hi parlaria català. **i això ho teníem molt clar també. que volíem que l'Ervin els hi parlés en flamenc. no volíem que perdéssim cap oportunitat.** no/ d'aprendre. encara que fos entendre. i ara veiem que sí. que ho entenen tot. el: el flamenc\_
- 34 -D.C.: és aleatori. però en general parlem més que res italià a casa. perquè:: donat que no és la llengua .. a vera. al final. la meva filla viurà en un ambient. rodejada de català i castellà\_  
 -Entrevistadora: sí\_  
 -D.C.: però en canvi. no de italià. amb lo qual. lo que estem intentant. **el que estem intentant és que l'idioma de casa sigui l'idioma feble. l'italià. perquè el pugui aprendre. perquè els altres ja els aprendrà.** jo. per exemple. vaig aprendre el castellà mirant la televisió i amb els companys de l'escola. és una cosa.. com que és una llengua tan viva. d'alguna manera s'aprèn\_

look. in the end. my daughter will live in a setting. surrounded by Catalan and Spanish\_

– Interviewer: yes\_

– D.C.: but by contrast. not by Italian. that is why. what we are trying. **what we are trying to do is that the language at home is the weak language. Italian. so that she can learn it. because she will already learn the others.** me. for example. I learnt Spanish by watching television and with my classmates. that's one thing.. since it's such a living tongue. she'll learn it somehow\_

• Interview 8<sup>35</sup>

– Interviewer: and you said. we're going to speak this language. or did it emerge/

– R. C: I don't remember now but we did decide.. that:: we would each speak our own language and **that it was important for them to know both of them and the more the better.** right/ and Spanish and German and whatever else. and what we would try to do was that once they started to write we would try to reinforce written French\

• Interview 20<sup>36</sup>

– R.C.: yes\_ right now yes. the child's relationship with the mother is much closer. the child spends much more time with her. she doesn't work. and. as a result. the child understands French much better. even though because of where we are and growing up. we understand that the child will wind up speaking. because of

35 -Entrevistadora: i veu dir. parlarem aquesta llengua. o va sorgir/

-R.C.: ara no me'n recordo però sí que vem decidir que... que:: cadascú parlaria la seva llengua i **que era important que sapiguessin les dues i quantes més millor.** no/ i el castellà i l'alemany i el que sigui. i que el que intenteríem era que un cop que comencés a escriure intenteríem reforçar el francès escrit\

36 -R.C.: sí\_ ara mateix sí. la relació amb la mare és molt més propera. està molt més temps. la mare no treballa. i. per tant. entén molt millor el francès. tot i que per qüestions d'on estem i el creixement. entenem que acabarà parlant. per qüestions d'escola. acabarà parlant català. i per qüestions d'on viu. i de relació que pugui tenir al carrer. parlarà castellà també. **la intenció és que acabi parlant els tres idiomes. i si pot ser un quart. que sigui l'anglès\**



school. the child will wind up speaking Catalan. and because of where the child lives. and in relation to what can happen in the street. the child will wind up speaking Spanish too. **the intention is for the child to speak three languages. and if there is a fourth. English too\**

When asked about the utility of languages, many couples have a clear idea that English plays a role as the language of international communication and they express their interest in their children being about to master it, alongside other major languages such as Spanish and Chinese. An awareness of globalisation is clearly present:

- Interview 15<sup>37</sup>
  - Interviewer: okay. what language do you think is most useful\
  - J.: most useful/ English\, I don't know. Catalan and English\
  - C.: it depends on where the child is and for what. if the child is here. obviously Catalan is a big help. but English too. but. depending on who you work with it's absolutely necessary. and as things are going now it is also an attitude toward life. we can't close ourselves off here\
  - Interviewer: yes. yes. yes.\_
  - [...]
    - C.: like I told you before. because it depends on where. but useful in life. they are all useful. but okay what I think is going to be

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37 -Entrevistadora: vale. i quina llengua creus que és més útil\  
 -J.: més útil/ l'anglès\ jo que sé. el català i l'anglès\  
 -C.: depende de dónde está y para qué. si está aquí. obviamente catalán ayuda mucho. pero también inglés. pero. según con quien trabajas es absolutamente necesario. y tal cómo van las cosas ahora también es una actitud hacia la vida. no podemos encerrarnos aquí\  
 -Entrevistadora: sí. sí. sí\_  
 [...]  
 -C.: si ya lo he dicho antes. porque depende de dónde. pero útil en la vida. son todos útiles. pero bueno lo que creo que le va a servir más. si decide que quiere.. inglés. claramente. aunque esté trabajando aquí. pero después es que **sin inglés no te va a coger nadie**. ningún multinacional. es que el mundo se está abriendo. **esto catalán. encerrado. no puede. no tiene suficiente fuerza. creo. no es suficientemente internacional\**

more useful. if the child decides and wants to.. English. clearly. even if the child is working here. but later the thing is **without English nobody is going to hire you**. no multinational. because the world is opening up. **this Catalan. closed off. it can't. it doesn't have enough strength. I believe. it's not international enough**\

- Interview 16<sup>38</sup>
- J.S.: But. we Catalans have to be prepared to be open. because we are small. and then it happens that English. **it isn't the people who speak English. it's the language of the whole world**. and I think that if you have it that the world's establishment is English. the world's proletariat. that is, in the sense of the people of the southern hemisphere. Spanish is another one. there are 400 million speakers. in the United States there is a lot of Spanish. and I think that the legacy of Spanish. of the Spanish language. and enriched by South America. and also. it is a very important cultural legacy. and Chinese is a language that a lot of people speak\_

## 5. Conclusions

### 5.1 *About the Data*

The linguistic organisation of mixed-language families is a dynamic phenomenon that can exhibit aspects of self-organisation that may be rather 'spontaneous' and relatively unreflective or more consciously decided and planned by family members. Once they have been

- 38 -J.S.: però. els catalans hem d'estar preparats a estar oberts. perquè som petits. i després passa que l'anglès. **no és la gent que parla anglès. és la llengua de tot el món**. i jo crec que si tens que l'establishment del món és l'anglès. el proletariat del món. és a dir en el sentit de la gent de l'hemisferi sud. el castellà té una. són 400 milions. a Estats Units hi ha molt castellà. i jo crec que el legat del castellà. de la llengua castellana. i enriquida per Sud Amèrica. a més. és un llegat cultural molt important. i el xinès és una llengua que la parla molta gent\_

established, interpersonal behaviours have a tendency toward continuation, but they can also undergo change because of the increase in language competences among members of a couple and/or because of the ongoing relation with the family or the social network of the Catalan-speaking partner.

In certain cases, the fact that each parent speaks a different language to their children has arisen automatically as ‘natural’ and ‘expected’. In other cases, by contrast, the subject has been discussed by the couple and they have taken a joint decision on the family’s linguistic organisation. This is particularly so in those cases in which there is a language that is not strongly present in the social environment.

From the complexity perspective, which frequently adopts the concept of self-organisation to account for certain phenomena involving a multiplicity of actors that organise themselves and behave based on simple instructions, it is interesting to note that we are dealing, at the level of human beings, with intelligent agents capable of determining for themselves the principles that will guide their own behaviours. People can follow certain actions as a matter of routine—such as the selection of which language to speak with someone—but they can also consider the matter consciously together and then adopt a specific pattern of behaviour.

In other words, the so-called linguistic ‘norms of use’ are not necessarily set in stone, eternal, and impervious to change. Rather, it is possible to change them through dialogue—social and internal—and through conscious effort. Of course, this will require undoing the automatic rules in place, and it can necessitate joint effort. However, it is not always impossible. These rules do not inevitably have a ‘life of their own’, a claim often made by sociology. Like all life, they depend on their ecosystem, which in this case is sociocultural, and they will adapt or not, depending on the evolution of this ecosystem and the interests and representations of social agents.

The data presented in this chapter show the mechanisms by which interpersonal language habits are formed in families, the strength of their persistence once established, but also the possibility of their evolution. As a result, any language policy—in the genuine sense of the concept—that seeks to act upon a given situation must take into account

both aspects in order to intervene most effectively in the transformation of reality. It must reckon with behaviours that will tend to persist, but it must also address the opportunities to change these behaviours within the family, one example of which is the presence of children. Mixed-language families need to be encouraged to practice polyglotism while, in the case of Catalan society, the social use of Catalan is also fostered. Equally important, therefore, are the most traditional governmental policies and the imaginative micro-interventions occurring in social areas that fall outside the official realm.

### *5.2 About Family Language Uses and the Continuation of Medium-Sized Languages*

For medium-sized language communities, this challenge is crucial for their continuation. In a 'glocal' world, interpersonal relations with individuals of other communities will become ever greater in number. In general, as we have also seen, the tendency will be to use major languages in these interactions, because they are the ones acquired by members of smaller groups and not the other way around. Nevertheless, as we have seen, the non-use of a medium-sized language like Catalan with one's partner is not determinant in causing the code not to be transmitted to the next generation, at least according to the OPOL (one parent, one language) formula.

In the case of medium-sized languages and very clearly in cases such as Catalan, the political organisation of language uses takes on exceptional importance, because it will have an extraordinary influence on facilitating the competences of individuals. As already noted, this is a decisive factor in the establishment of language behaviours in first encounters, which subsequently tend to remain quite stable. The institutional processes of socialisation must ensure the smooth and agile development of communicative abilities in the language. Equally, the change and/or establishment of social habits in the use of codes, tending in the direction of formulas to better safeguard communicative practice in one's own medium-sized language, are of enormous importance, especially in childhood and adolescence.

Given the apparently quite widespread custom of adopting Spanish and not Catalan at the start of an interaction in which one is uncertain whether or not the other person is a Catalan-speaker, there is a strong possibility that Spanish will then be the language adopted for subsequent relations between the individuals. Expanding knowledge of Catalan must be accompanied by effective strategies to promote the code as the initial language of interaction in order to increase its customary social use. Primary schools and, especially, secondary schools bear a major responsibility in this regard (cf. Bastardas 2012).

### *5.3 About 'Self-Organisation' and 'Family Language Policy' as Theoretical Approaches*

This chapter began by asking whether it was more useful to view the formation process of family language behaviours as 'bottom-up' phenomena of self-organisation and emergence or as 'top-down' phenomena. The 'top-down' approach gives priority to the pressures and influences that may be exerted by the explicitly hierarchical organisation of society, with the State at the forefront. Certainly, our attention is much more frequently focused on this level and we do analyse the policies and legislation of countries as major determining factors in people's language behaviours. However, a more realistic view that nevertheless does not deny the importance of decisions taken by the public authorities and others on the subject of language must also take into consideration the relative autonomy of human beings in the actions they take. As we know, there are cases in which speakers, in spite of the guidelines of official policies, do as they wish, ignoring, if they can, the pressures of institutional power. And this is, for instance, what leads, in varying degrees and despite the pressures of public institutions, to the maintenance of dialectal varieties that are remote from the standard ones, as well as 'doomed' lexical or grammatical forms, and languages under dictatorships.

As a result, understanding the dynamic evolution of sociolinguistic processes requires being attentive not only to institutional and official levels but also to microsocal phenomena. A view of the whole, which entails an integrated view of dynamic interactions both bottom-up *and*

top-down, must be the best perspective to ensure not only that we understand phenomena but also that the objectives of public policies meet with success, though such success is never guaranteed.

From the standpoint of the conceptual discussion, the terminology ‘family language policy’, as we have said, can conceal the most spontaneous and least considered processes that take place within families. The term, as it is used internationally, tends always to presuppose a significant degree of thoughtful reflection on the part of parents when they are deciding their language behaviour with respect to their children, for example, in situations of minorisation or immigration. As we have seen in our data, however, there are quite a few cases, at least in Catalonia, in which these behaviours with children are rather ‘performed’ or ‘executed’ as a product of the *habitus* and in complete harmony with the probably unconscious representations of the individuals involved. Thus, the bilingualism of children can be the result more of interactions determined by the cognitive-emotional impulses of their parents than of calculation and planning relating to the children’s future competences.

However, even in cases in which the choice of language is more deliberate and thoughtful—as when there is a ‘foreign’ language involved—the process does not cease to be self-organising. We can speak of an attempt at ‘planned self-organisation’ in that there is an agreement to have certain behaviours, which later may be maintained or not. The interlocutors themselves will have to carry out practices that will have impacts on the socialisation of human beings, who will also have to carry on certain language behaviours with their parents. As the children grow up and come into contact with other external socialising agents, their family language behaviours may be confirmed or altered. Over the course of this process of socialisation, the family as whole can also undergo changes, as we have seen, in the extent to which languages are used and in relation to disequilibriums in the OPOL model. The ‘family’ phenomenon, from a linguistic standpoint, is dynamic and evolving, and it depends on internal sociocultural equilibriums and on the context.

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## Transcription Conventions

1. Prosodic aspects
  - *Terminal intonation of sequence*  
   / Rising  
   \ Falling  
   — Level
  - *Intensity*  
   High intensity: Forte  
   {(F) affected text}

Low intensity: Piano  
{(P) affected text}

- *Lengthening*  
Brief lengthening  
:  
Medium lengthening  
::  
Long lengthening  
:::

2. Vocal aspects

- *Simultaneous laughter with speech*  
{(@) affected speech}
- *Non-simultaneous laughter*  
@

3. Pauses and overlaps (subjective criterion)

- *Pauses*

Short

.

Medium

..

Long

...

- *Overlaps*  
[affected text]

4. Conflicting fragments

- Unintelligible fragments  
x / xx / xxx

5. Text cut to shorten transcription

[...]

## ANNEX 1. Interviewees Data

	Sex	Place of birth	First language	Partner's place of birth	Partner's first language	Place where couple met	Language of communication used with partner	Language of communication between parents and children
<b>Interview 1</b>	Male	Costa Rica	Spanish	Madrid (moved to Premià de Mar when 2 years old)	Catalan	Internet	Spanish	Respondent: Catalan and Spanish Partner: Catalan
<b>Interview 2</b>	Male	Santa Coloma	Spanish, but Catalan is language of daily use	Santa Coloma	Spanish	Santa Coloma	Spanish	Respondent: Catalan Partner: Spanish
<b>Interview 3</b>	Female	Barcelona	Spanish	France	French	Catalonia	Spanish	Respondent: Catalan Partner: French
<b>Interview 4</b>	Female	Barcelona	Catalan / Spanish	-	-	Catalonia	Initially, Spanish. Now, Catalan	Respondent: Catalan Partner: Catalan
<b>Interview 5</b>	Female	Berga	Catalan	Berga	Spanish	Berga	Spanish	Respondent: Catalan Partner: Spanish
<b>Interview 6</b>	Female	Barcelona	Catalan	Belgium	Flemish	Barcelona	English	Respondent: Catalan Partner: Flemish

	Sex	Place of birth	First language	Partner's place of birth	Partner's first language	Place where couple met	Language of communication used with partner	Language of communication between parents and children
<b>Interview 8</b>	Male	Barcelona	Catalan	France	French	France	Initially, French. Now, French and Catalan	Respondent: Catalan Partner: French
<b>Interview 9</b>	Male	Barcelona	Catalan	Italy	Italian	Barcelona	Initially, Spanish. Now, Spanish, Italian and Catalan	Respondent: Catalan and Italian Partner: Italian
<b>Interview 11</b>	Female	Barcelona	Catalan	Italy	Italian	Bologna (Italy)	Initially, Italian. Now, Italian and Catalan	Respondent: Catalan Partner: Italian
<b>Interview 13</b>	Female	Barcelona	Catalan	Basque Country	Spanish	Argentina	Initially, Spanish. Now, Spanish and, to a lesser extent, Catalan	Respondent: Catalan Partner: Spanish
<b>Interview 15</b>	Male	Barcelona	Catalan	London	English	Barcelona	English	Respondent: Catalan Partner: English
<b>Interview 16</b>	Male	Barcelona	Catalan	Taiwan	Chinese	Berkeley, California (USA)	English	Respondent: Catalan Partner: Chinese and now Catalan

	Sex	Place of birth	First language	Partner's place of birth	Partner's first language	Place where couple met	Language of communication used with partner	Language of communication between parents and children
<b>Interview 17</b>	Female	Barcelona	Catalan	Madrid	Spanish	Barcelona	Spanish	Respondent: Catalan Partner: Spanish
<b>Interview 19</b>	Male	Gavà	Catalan	Buenos Aires	Spanish	Barcelona	Spanish	Respondent: Catalan Partner: Spanish
<b>Interview 20</b>	Male	Barcelona	Spanish	France	French	Barcelona	Spanish	Respondent: Catalan Partner: French

XAVIER LABORDA GIL

# Narrative Discourse in Interviews of Linguistically Mixed Couples

## 1. Introduction: objectives and study framework

The autobiography is a self-referential storytelling that provides multiple ideological contents. The autobiography or writing about the self is a narrative text that transforms a personal life into an exemplary story in the sense of modeling experience, transforming reality and bringing awareness.<sup>1</sup>

The corpus of this chapter is a set of stories collected in form of interviews about linguistic skills and habits in multilingual families. It deals with self-referential storytelling in sociolinguistic interviews to parents of school-aged children in the context of linguistically mixed families, and it concentrates on conceptions and uses of languages. It analyzes the stories, in ten interviews, to parents forming a couple from different linguistic background. We apply the model of linguistic analysis of drama, according to J. Bruner & S. Weisser (1991), and J. Bruner (1990, 2002). Our study identifies and interprets discourse markers of autobiographical storytelling. For that purpose, it takes into consideration the elements referred to agents and to their actions, to the sequences of events, to the canon or rule, and to the perspective of the storyteller. It also keeps in mind aspects related to the autobiographical genre, such as the models offered by P. Lejeune (1975, 2005) and K.J. Weintraub (1978, 1991). Additionally, this research on life stories includes some formal discursive nuances and patterns of identification and exclusion, which is a fundamental part of the general purpose of

1 This study on narrative discourse was carried out with the collaboration of the researcher Dr. Natalia Fernández-Díaz-Cabal (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona).

the interviews, that is, to know the conditions and effects of language policies in the private sphere.

## 2. Methodology and corpus of the interviews

The main research instrument is a series of open-ended and semi-structured interviews to an adult member of these families (female, preferably), with one school-aged child, and therefore more sensitive to sociolinguistic issues. The interviews follow an outline of one hundred questions on general information, opinions, and occasionally life stories related to three areas of socialization: each member of the couple, separately, and the children. Contents are described below.

First of all, in the interview we take into consideration the socialization of the interviewed person, his/her childhood, his/her parental environment and the circumstances until his/her arrival to his/her current place of residence. This first part has 40 questions, 15 of them related to the use of languages. We give some example here:

Origin: Where are you born?

Migration: What was your impression of your neighbourhood when you came to live in Catalonia?

Family: What language did you speak at home?

Social Network: What kind of friends do you remember from your childhood or youth?

Neighbourhood: How would you describe the people who live in your neighbourhood?

The second part, with 28 questions (half of them on language), concentrates on information about the couple. Closed questions, for example numeric ones – how many people live at home? – or related to elicitation of preferences –in which language (from the total of languages spoken at home) do you feel more comfortable? – are combined with other open questions, inviting the interviewee to tell something-how did you meet your partner?- or to argue – why do you alternate sometimes with words in another language in your conversations?



The third and last part deals with the socialization of children. From a total of 34 questions, two-thirds are about languages and their academic and social implications. Questions on first languages, how easy or difficult were their acquisition, shared reading as cultural habit, family leisure and influence of grandparents. Interviews end with questions about the future and expectations of language use and identity. Questions have to do with very important issues, like what language do they prefer and which one will be most useful for the children, the difficulties of being a couple with different languages, language ability and sense of cultural identity.

The questionnaire comprises a very large outline, ideal for a semi-structured interview. Some of the hundred questions are sometimes double or triple questions, for example: Have there been changes in the use of language when you talk to your partner? Why? Would you like to bring your children to a different school? Which one? Why? The nature of semi-structured script reflects the intention of giving freedom to both interviewers and interviewees, in order to suit the course of the conversation. Hence, if we consider their duration, some interviews are brief and not very illustrative -9 minutes – while many others exceed 40 minutes. The collected material ranges from impersonal interviews, where there is an accumulation of information, to the opposite type of interview, the most common, during which the interviewee dominates the conversation and influences on the atmosphere. In some cases the partner is also present and participates to add details or refine the answers of his/her partner. The texts quoted here from the interviews are the orthographic transcription of the answers.

A hurdle we had to overcome was not only to meet, but even to deserve the trust of linguistically heterogeneous couples. The collaboration of a team of students and researchers in the field of linguistics, between October and December 2012, has allowed overcoming that difficulty of contact and involvement in the work. On the other hand, the interviewees have generously opened their home to expose habits, values and feelings about the language and its effects. Interviews have been recorded and a part of their contents transcribed, according to their relevance for the study.

The selection meets the criteria of information quantity, with enough data, and the criteria of variety, since its storytellers have different backgrounds in terms of language (and language proficiency) in

which the interview was conducted. Most interviewees live in the Barcelona metropolitan area and only some of them in other villages from the same province. There are some couples from no Catalan or Spanish origin, whose native languages are the following: Dutch (two people), English (two people), and German (one person), French (one person), Italian (one person), Norwegian (one person), Portuguese (one person) and Russian (one person). The list below shows the member of the couple who uses some of these languages, his/her nationality, his/her age, his/her profession, the age of his/her children and the duration of the interview.

- i 1 (interview number 1). Dutch, male (39 years old, clerk). 2 sons, 14 and 15 years old. (Interview: 22 minutes).
- i 2. French, female (37 years old, teacher). One daughter, 6 years old. (Interview: 30 minutes).
- i 3. German, female (45 years old, pharmacist). One daughter, 16 years old. (Interview: 40 minutes).
- i 4. Russian, male (43 years old, manager). One son, 4 years old. (Interview: 20 minutes).
- i 5. British, male (44 years old, engineer). Two daughters, 3 and 5 years old. (Interview: 35 minutes).
- i 6. Norwegian, female (32 years old, social mediator). One son, 7 years old. (Interview: 31 minutes).
- i 7. British, male (36 years old, manager). One daughter, 7 years old. (Interview: 41 minutes).
- i 8. Brazilian, female (37 years old, artist). Two daughters, 2 and 4 years old. (Interview: 34 minutes).
- i 9. Italian, female (46 years old, housewife). One daughter, 8 years old. (Interview: 39 minutes).
- i 10. Dutch, female (30 years old, psychologist) and Brazilian, male (26 years old, cook). One son, 4 years old. (Interview: 25 minutes).

With regard to the gender of the participants, the respondents are 6 women and 5 men. The reason for having a total of 10 instead of 11 interviews is because in case number 10 the members of the couple are a Dutch woman and a Brazilian man; their condition of linguistically mixed couple follows a pattern different from “Spanish partner/foreigner partner”. With regard to the language used in the interview,

Spanish is used in most cases because it is the usual language in work environments. The change of language takes place in three interviews: case 4, the interviewer in Catalan and the interviewee, a Russian man, in Spanish; case 5, in English; case 7, in Catalan. Among the respondents, there are some differences in their oral competence, depending on how long they stay in the country -at least 7 years- and their dedication to formal education, and also in their style, but they do not affect the understanding or the fluidity required.

From a material point of view, the study reveals a low or moderate birth rate per family, since seven couples have one child and the rest of them, just two. The age range of the children varies from 2 to 16, but most of them are school-aged. These conditions favour the intense involvement of parents in the care and education of their children and therefore in inclusive practices of the couple.

Interviews are anonymous, for that reason some names have been changed in the oral extracts of the chapter. The selection of these fragments and the form of transcription simply responds not only to the explicit purpose of these interviews -the link between the sociolinguistic context of the storytellers and their linguistic ideologies – but rather to the compilation of concepts for a formal analysis of narrative episodes. In this sense the model of deictic identity on exclusion and inclusion is absolutely pertinent (Schlieben-Lange 1987); also drama's theories that identify the canon and its conflicts, and thematic focal points like "inside-outside" and "commitment-independence" (Bruner 1990, Bruner & Weisser 1991).

### 3. Theoretical Model: the Bruner-Weisser constituents

There is great interest in the storytelling. The narration, together with the description, the exposition and the argumentation, is a discursive pattern. The patterns are prototypical molds or forms of organization of discourses, that constitute the most important and complex communication resources. Storytelling is the discursive pattern that reflects what happens in the world, but not only the externality of the facts, like what the people do, but the intimacy of conscience, that is, for what and in the name of

which values. A relevant method for our purpose is the self-referential story or autobiography.

If, on one hand, we have explicit autobiographies (autobiography, memoirs, diaries or epistolary), social uses impose other heterogeneous manifestations, such as dialogued autobiographies (interviews and conversations with authors), biographical essays, travel books or reports (Lejeune 1975, 2005). Besides the literary world, in personal environments, people produce life stories. They explain memories, stories, incidents or meetings. All of them are about personal evocations that form fragments of the autobiography of the storyteller. This is the narrative contribution of the interviewees to our socio-linguistic interviews.

For the *Globlinmed* project the stories of the interviewees are a valuable contribution. Therefore interviewers were advised to facilitate these narrative evocations. In the questionnaire there are some questions particularly suited to elicit personal stories. The technical reason is that these personal stories allow to ask about sociolinguistic aspects of the participants and their environment, and to make visible all these elements. As mentioned above, the purpose of the project is to understand aspects such as the selected language by a couple, the language of communication with the children, the most valued languages in the educational context or in the hypothetical world of work, and the kind of network influencing interviewee's decisions.

However, when applying the long questionnaire it occurs that the stories scarcely appear in interviews. The project is attractive, but the results do not fit the expectations on the expressive storytelling. In such a way, to an apparently attractive question as how the members of a couple met, answers use to be schematic and nominal. Sometimes they mention a social scenario, like a discotheque or a beach, or an ideal time or period, like summer or holiday.

In his approach to the storytelling pattern, Jerome Bruner emphasizes the cognitive source as something formal. The reason is that the story provides simple and ductile tools to reach a fundamental goal and it has to do with oral expression or "dealing with uncertain outcomes of our projects and our anticipations" (Bruner 2002: 28).

Now then, what transforms those anticipations or expectations into nourishment for stories? The combination of uncertainty, problem and

failure of expectations is required. Hence it is a dramatic plan, that is, with narrative interest, because it reveals the conflict. The five elements of story grammar are agent, action, goal, situation and instruments; the conflictive combination of such elements gives as result a problem. There is a story in a speech or discourse in which an Agent is involved in an Action for a Purpose, in a specific situation, using some instruments (Bruner 2002: 33). However, the real interest of a story consists in disorder among elements, a kind of mismatch; in short, a conflict.

Stories are resources to explore those turbulent realities. Drama theories focus on the dramatic deviations from the predictable or the canonical. These disorders have moral consequences. They are “deviations that have to do with legitimacy, commitment or moral values” (Bruner 1990: 61). Consequently, the stories deal with what is morally right or true, and discursively they objectify the existential complexity for the storyteller and his/her listeners.

The narrative model of J. Bruner applied to practical cases appears in a chapter published in collaboration with Susan Weisser (1991), “The invention of the self: autobiography and its forms”. Bruner and Weisser deal with a form of oral and unplanned autobiography in family environments, like the various events of our interviews. They establish four factors or “grammatical constituents”: agentivity, sequentiality, canonicity and perspective. The agentivity regards the actors or characters and their actions. Sequentiality refers to time sequence of movements or events. Canonicity is linked to the stability and adequacy of events or, on the contrary, to their ravages. The perspective is the personal position of the storyteller in relation to the story. Each of these narrative functions uses specific linguistic resources or discourse markers.

*Agentivity* -. Its elements have to do with actors and actions. An action whose main goals are controlled by agents just highlights the leading role of the actors. The most prominent discourse markers are:

- a) locative values: deictic of place, as “there”, “inside”, “close”, and names of places, such as countries, towns, neighborhoods, buildings or rooms;
- b) movements: move actions, entry or exit, zooming;
- c) modality verbs like “to want” or “to wish” and deontic verbs, such as “to must” or “to have to”.

*Sequentiality* -. It is a constituent of temporality. The events and states are arranged in a typical way, i.e. in a linguistically sequential order. Discourse markers could be:

- d) linear or cumulative: “and”, “and then”;
- e) precise: “before”, “yesterday”, “very soon”;
- f) causal: “because”, “therefore”, “hence”.

*Canonicity* -. Order and infraction alternate in this constituent. Storytelling allows expressing the nuances of what is canonical in human interaction, i.e. the preferred or the expected. Similarly, it is also a sensitive pattern to express what such an order defies or overthrows. Some simple markers, fundamental in their legitimacy, criterion and norm, are those related to temporality, variability and obligation.

- g) Frequency or temporal recurrence: “always”, “sometimes”, “once”, “never”.
- h) Variability of states by means of conjunction “or” in the sense of disjunction or distinction between possibilities, and “but” for the opposition between terms or to repeal what it is said in the main sentence.

*Perspective* -. Perspective means the affective and rational position of the storyteller. The presence of the voice, as it is called according to the model of Bruner and Weisser (1991), reveals the following aspects:

- i) epistemic element, i.e. certainty or doubt, as “maybe” or “I don’t know”.
- j) affective element, with expressions of preference, such as “I like”, and their temporal circumstances, “on vacation”, “in the morning”. It also encompasses the opposite values, like rejection or annoyance.
- k) Expletives or emphatic elements, as in “well, well. What do you say?” together with the adverb “well” with enhancer function and the rhetorical question “what do you say?”

#### 4. Results: *the application of the Bruner-Weisser's model*

In the selected interviews only a few stories appear, in the sense of complete stories. The circumspection of storytellers, perhaps impressed by the purpose of the interview, tends to limit their narrative expression. However, numerous narrative elements do appear in descriptions or ratings, according to Bruner-Weisser's model. We have collected conversations (literally in this case –first in Spanish and afterwards translated into English– and in the rest of the transcriptions) between the interviewer and M., the participant of the first interview, a Dutch man married with a Spanish woman, father of two sons.

- (1) Interviewer: Al llegar e instalarte en Cataluña, ¿qué impresión te dio este barrio? [Ocata, barrio marítimo de Masnou, población cercana a Barcelona -the text in brackets is from the author of the chapter -]

M.: Pues este barrio, ¿qué impresión? Buff, no lo sé... Bonito, sí. El sol y los..., ¿cómo se llama esto?, ¿palmas? En Holanda no hay.

Interviewer: ¿Cómo describirías a tu familia?, a tus padres y hermanos.

M.: Súper normal. Demasiado normal, sí. [Risas.]

Interviewer: ¿Cómo son tus padres?, de carácter.

M.: Bien, muy familiar, muy...

Interviewer: ¿Son simpáticos?, ¿abiertos?

M.: Sí... No, bueno, en Holanda las gente no están tan abiertos como aquí. Pero... sí, sin nada extraño, nada..., no.

Interviewer: When you arrived to stay in Catalonia, what impression did you have of your neighborhood? [Ocata, waterfront district of Masnou, near Barcelona.]

M.: Well...this neighborhood...what impression? Ugh, I don't know .... Nice, yes. The sun and ... what is this called? Palms? In Holland we have not this.

Interviewer: How would you describe your family, your parents and siblings?.

M.: Quite normal. Too normal, yes. [Laughter.]

Interviewer: How was the character of your parents?.

M.: Well, very familiar, very ...

Interviewer: Are they friendly, open?

M.: Yes ... No, well, the people in the Netherlands are not as open as here. But ... yeah, nothing strange, nothing ..., no.

That fragment reproduces the conversation of the first questions of the interview. The three questions that could be the starting point of a story, are answered in a succinct but meaningful way. Regarding the agentivity, this part of the survey introduces the actors: the storyteller, his parents and, by extension, the original family. The interviewee added an allusion to his national group thanks to expressions like “the people in Holland.” The most prominent discursive markers are locative or of identification: “this neighborhood”, “Netherlands”, “here”.

We have only descriptions, not movement or displacement, but judgments about the identity of the family. This fact explains the absence of verbs to express wish or obligation. As expected, the family normally causes no action. Therefore, the lack of action in this part excludes the use of sequential markers. However, the canonicity appears on the evaluation of the family and country of origin. Stability and orientation are canonical according to some standard rules. The “quite normal” family is typically Dutch, not as “open” as the people here, but “nothing strange”.

Finally, the fourth constituent (interviewee’s perspective) is reflected in diverse evidences. The oral modality of interviews and the diversity of interviewers, with familiarity as a main factor, facilitate the spontaneous expressivity. The expletive “ugh” as paralinguistic expression, the elongation of a word to gain time, the pauses or laughter -with ironic sense or as enhancer- are emphatic resources that show the voice and perspective of the interviewee.

These are factual aspects, related to contact and oral production that give an idea of the personal voice. Other semantic aspects have to do with the affective and epistemic position. Regarding the episteme or knowledge, the interviewed participant expresses his certainty in the following way:



- a) “I don’t know”, when he answers: “this neighborhood, what impression? Ugh, I do not know”.
- b) “Yes ... No”. The apparent contradiction arises in the statement “Yes ... No, well, the people in the Netherlands are not as open ...”. Actually it is an affirmation that combines politeness and acceptance of the topic about the friendliness and openness, comparing Spanish and Dutch people.

Finally, with regard to perspective and emotion we have collected some samples. They do not show explicit preferences in performative mode, as in the case of “I like”, but rather indirectly:

- a) The adjectives qualifying the neighborhood (“Nice, yes”) or family (“quite normal”).
- b) The oxymoron or pun that describes the paternal family as “quite normal”, i.e. very normal, as if normality had different degrees, and the irony with which he makes a value judgment alluding to a “too normal” family.

The example of an analysis of a short fragment, taken from interview number 1, shows the interest of certain discourse markers. They reveal details of the action, order, legitimacy and vision of the storyteller. A larger study, with the full contents of the interview corpus, brings a picture of the events and it allows a comparison amongst them.

## 5. Analysis of the stories

The design of the questionnaire takes into consideration the adaptation of the interviewer to the circumstances. For example, we remind him/her that he/she can remain silent in order to allow the interviewee speaking freely. In interview 1 the interviewer has taken some initiatives, such as a commentary on the sympathy of the parents or the nuance about the family, not referred to the current one, but to his primary family, formed by parents and siblings. He avoided in such a way

the confusion that has occurred during other interviews. This confusion occurs in the interview 3 with the participant S., a German woman, who lives with her Spanish husband and daughter in a village on the coast of Barcelona, where she is a pharmacist. When asked about “how would you describe your family”-implicitly, the primary family of her childhood-, she understands she had to talk about her current family and she answers in a very informative way.

- (2) S.: Aj, eh..., ¿estas tres, mi familia? Buaff... una familia normal; él trabajo en su empresa y yo trabajando en la farmacia, pero más tiempo que el normal que a trabajando en Alemania. A trabajando en Alemania, medio día sólo y aquí necesitas trabajar 34 horas en invierno y más de 45 horas a la sem..., al mes..., a la semana in verano. Oh, es mucho más. Yo..., Ana [la hija] va más sola o dejado en Casal de colegio [servicio de actividades extras]. No teníamos vacaciones juntos en verano como hacíamos antes. Ha cambiado mucho, pero... normal, como todos. Pero un poco diferente que las otras familias que tienen sus trabajo in el temporal de todo el año. No como yo, trabajando temporalmente o trabajando todo el año, pero más intensivo in verano, cuando otras familias tienen vacaciones. Yo, trabajando; ellos hacen las vacaciones, pues. Un poco diferente.

S.: Well, yes...those three, my family? Bah...A normal family. He work [*sic*] in his business and I am working at the pharmacy, but more than usually to working [*sic*] in Germany. To working in Germany only half a day and here you need to work 34 hours in the winter and more than 45 hours in the wee...in the month...in the week during the summer. Oh, that's much more...I...Ana (her daughter) goes alone or stays in the Casal of the school (place for extra activities). We have no longer holidays together as before. It changed a lot, but...it's normal, like for everybody. But a little bit different from other families working in temporary [*sic*] the whole year. Not like me, working temporarily or the whole year, but more intensive during the summer, when other families have vacation. I, working. They in vacation. Then a little bit different.

In the narration where this answer appears we have to emphasize the constituents of agentivity and canonicity. First, the three family members, couple and daughter, are the agents, but in essence the actions are performances of the storyteller, related to her work, her holidays and her family. In addition, actions are developed in two stages: in Germany -where the members of the couple met and had a daughter-and the move to Barcelona. The locative elements related to Germany compared to “here” reveal two mental scenarios.

Secondly, from the point of view of canonicity, we would say that this episode is a good example of it. The label of “normality” referred to her family has to do with the norm, with the rule. Detailed comments are given in relation to her work as pharmacist – with experiences of normality, in Germany, and abnormal situations once in Spain, due to the seasonal population of the place where she lives. Markers of canonicity are the following:

- a) Frequency or recurrence: “noon”, “winter”, “summer”, “the whole year”, “more intensive in summer.”
- b) Variability: the opposition of her life in Germany and her current life (“working in the pharmacy, but longer”, “but more intensive in summer”) and her work compared to the rest of people (“but a little different from other families”)

Participant M. (number 4) is a Russian man who lives with his Spanish partner and their son in Sant Pol de Mar, the northern coast of Barcelona. When asked about the profession of their parents he explains:

- (3) M.: Buena pregunta. El padre no sé a qué se dedicaba porque trabajaba en una fábrica de estos..., de armamento. Por lo tanto yo no sé exactamente lo que hacía. Y el... la madre era un instituto dedicado a las investigaciones..., ¿cómo se decía?, de agricultura.

M.: Good question. The father [*sic*] I don't know what he did because he worked in a factory of these ... weapons [*sic*]. So I don't know exactly what he did. And... the mother was an institute [*sic*] dedicated to research ...how do you say that?... On agriculture.

We can see here the constituents of canonicity and perspective. It would be enough, for the participant, to give the name of a profession, but instead he emphasizes the naturalness of the situation and the abnormality of his approximate knowledge about it. Epistemic markers of perspective are clear: “I don’t know the work of my father... therefore *I don’t know* exactly what he did”.

The frankness of M. in his answers contrasts with his moderation to answer the question about how they met. In each of the 10 interviews some references to “where” or “when” are given, but not a complete story. In interview number 5 to T., a British man married to a Spanish woman and with two daughters, living in Sant Cugat del Vallès (Barcelona), we asked him about how he met his wife.

- (4) T.: Ah... [sonrisas] nadando...  
 (La mujer, que está presente en la entrevista, matiza: “En un festival *mod*”.)  
 T.: En un festival de música en España.  
 (La mujer añade que fue en 2004.)  
 T.: Ah..., no recuerdo nunca las fechas.
- T.: Oh... [smile] Just swimming ...  
 (His wife, present during the interview, clarifies: “In a *mod* festival”.)  
 T.: In a music festival in Spain.  
 (She adds that it was in 2004.)  
 T.: Oh ... I never remember dates.

This improvised conversation creates a narrative scenario involving the couple. Everyone says what he/she believes it is significant, the playful bath place or the general framework of a pop concert, and a specific date or an uncertain year. A similar conversation takes place during interview number 3 with the German pharmacologist. The interviewer must insist on nuances related to “how” and then her husband adds information about other episodes.

- (5) S.: En Alemania.  
 Interviewer: ¿Cómo fue?

S.: Conocíamos en una discoteca y ya está. El a trabajando en Alemania muchos años y yo conocíamos en Alemania. Normal.  
 J. [S. husband]: Yo la conocía, como dijéramos, de paso porque a veces yo entraba en su farmacia porque iba a comprar. Pero jamás me..., me imaginé, ¿no?, que íbamos a llegar a alguna cosa. Estuve en una Universidad e hice filosofía, filología alemana, ¿no? Y entonces era la ruta que siempre utilizábamos para la Universidad, ¿no?. Entonces, pues, compraba medicamentos siempre allá y era la que me servía, más o menos. Pues con el tiempo coincidimos en una sala de baile y quedamos en “bueno, luego nos vemos”. La invité a ella, como diríamos, de vacaciones y, como en Alemania todo el mundo se conoce en vacaciones, entonces en el tiempo libre que tuvimos pues nos enamoramos y tuvimos algo. Y en el tiempo ese, pues, nació Ana.

S.: In Germany.

Interviewer: How it happened?

S.: We met in a nightclub and that's it. Him working [*sic*] in Germany for many years and I met [*sic*] in Germany. It's normal.

J. [S. husband], I met her, let's say, by accident because sometimes I went to her pharmacy to buy. But ... I...I never expected something to happen. I was at a university to study philosophy, German philology, right? So it was the path we took to the university, right?. So I bought drugs there and she was always there, more or less. Well, eventually we met in a dance hall and we said “good, see you later.” I invited her, as we say, on vacation and, as in Germany everybody meets on vacation, we had free time to fall in love and we had something. And in that time Ana was born.

The extremely short and discrete answer of S., who initially was referred to Germany, contrasts with the vivid story made by her husband. In his story we have a reference to his studies, a summer meeting, a love relationship, and finally the birth of his daughter.

Compared with the answers to this question in other interviews, the story of S., the husband of the German pharmacologist, is extraordinary, for two reasons. The first one is the quality of the story, which covers the different episodes and provides significant details about the

agents/participants and the cultural features of the country. The second reason comes from the comparison with the rest of the interviews and the fact of defining them as a whole, taking into consideration the stories that the participants give as answers to any kind of question. Indeed, the corpus reveals a very small account of complete stories.

## 6. Life script: here and there, inside and outside

There are few explicit narrations in the interviews. From them, there is one story that calls our attention because it is intimately related to the main topic of our study, concerning the use of language and its effects. The participants in interview number 9 is a couple composed by A., an Italian woman, and M., a Spanish man born in Barcelona; they have an 8 year old daughter. We asked to them about the usefulness of her daughter's language learning at school.

The model of linguistic immersion in Catalonia means that Catalan is the main language of communication, while Spanish and English are just disciplines. The opinion of the two members of the couple, who speaks Spanish as main language, is contrary to this model. They believe it would be better to use in an equal way Catalan and Spanish at school. M., the husband, explains vehemently a story that gives strength to his position.

- (6) M.: Yo..., nosotros vivimos un caso hace años viniendo de Tenerife. ¡Unos niños...! Veníamos de Tenerife en Iberia. Las azafatas no sabían catalán. Los niños querían galletas. ¡Se quedaron sin galletas porque no sabían pedir galletas en castellano! Niños con 6 años. Entonces, claro, os(e)á ... yo amo a mi tierra como el que más, pero ¡la normalidad de las cosas...! Tú estás más a gusto haciendo las cosas de una manera o haciéndolas de otra. No sé.

M.: I ... we had an experience years ago coming back from Tenerife. Some kids ... We came from Tenerife with Iberia. The hostess didn't speak Catalan. The kids wanted cookies. They didn't

receive any cookie because they weren't able to ask for cookies in Spanish! Children 6 years old. Then, of course, that is ... I love my country as anybody else, but the normal things ...! You are more comfortable doing things in a specific way. I don't know.

The story describes a case of miscommunication due to the ignorance of the language code. Some children did not have cookies because of a double incompetence: neither they talked Spanish nor the hostesses understood Catalan. Interestingly, the word 'cookie' shares the same etymology of French roots (*galette*), so that the Spanish form 'galleta' and Catalan one 'galeta' have scarcely variations in their pronunciation. It is remarkable that the word 'galeta' results not only opaque, but even incomprehensible for some crew members. In the communication between the children and the flight assistants there is no parity and, therefore, both are agents with a different degree of responsibility in the miscommunication. The latter were not only adults with international experience, but also able to identify the context of such a language exchange.

The story seems implausible to the point that it fits into the pattern of a kind of storytelling which is the urban legend. If it weren't for the fact that he claims to have witnessed the incident, some other factor of inexplicable coincidence should be taken into consideration: 1) the inability to use or understand the gestural communication, for example to indicate "eat" or to point at some food; 2) interaction between children and hostesses, with no intervention of their families or the help of other passengers, including the storyteller himself. We have to add those factors to the situation of misunderstanding.

In the succinct story he did not mention details like if verbal interaction occurred or even if children inhibited their act of communication after having experienced that they did not speak the same language. The ambiguity of the story increases because the storyteller does not make explicit the source of his story: if he was a real witness or a hearsay witness.

In any case -truthful or not- the story of the cookies is a well thought-out argument to express the interviewee's point of view about language policy in education. It is a good example because of its consequences, on which the argument is raised. We see that the story consists

of several sections : a) announcement of the story, b ) framework or circumstances, c ) the complication of the event, d ) the resolution of the event, e) evaluation), f) argumentative epilogue or moral.

- l) Announcement: “I ... we had an experience years ago coming back from Tenerife”
- m) Framework: “Some kids ... We came from Tenerife with Iberia”
- n) Complication: “The hostesses didn’t speak Catalan. The kids wanted cookies”
- o) Resolution: “They didn’t receive cookies”
- p) Evaluation: “They weren’t able to ask for cookies in Spanish! Children 6 years old”
- q) Epilogue or moral: “Then, of course, that is ... I love my country as anybody else, but the normal things ...! You are more comfortable doing things in a specific way. I don’t know”.

According to content, it is observed that the episode has three sections – b, c, d -, surrounded by the pragmatic sections, and argumentatively developed in the final section –epilogue-, where the intention of the story lies. It is significant for our analysis of storytelling to identify, in the interviews, different situations of the participants where two types of opposition are articulated:

- 1) *there* versus *here*;
- 2) *inside* versus *outside*.

The opposition between “there” and “here” refers to the forms of identification concerning the place of origin compared with the place of residence. Actually, this is not a local or geographical matter, but rather a personal interaction or transaction. That kind of interaction concerns affectivity and rationality emerging from comments on life stories, in the primary family and in the family formed by the couple and its children. It is noteworthy that the opposition does not necessarily imply preference but contrasts, for linguistic or cultural reasons, and also because of the existential change in the context of the couple and the experience of parenthood.

Many of the interview questions give rise to answers that show local and experiential polarity. One of the questions concerns the



differences that the participant perceived in her/his current place of residence. In the interview 1, the Dutch woman M says: “Yes, a lot, because I started with anything here; just clothes and some personal things; nothing more”. The description of a life starting from zero is rather an exception in our interviews, but it is quite common the experience described by T. in the interview 5. He arrives to Barcelona from a smaller English town, Portsmouth.

- (7) T.: Cuando vine a Cataluña, fue en pleno centro de Barcelona, en el Ensanche. Es raro porque cuando llegué a Cataluña iba a vivir en una gran ciudad y nunca había vivido en una así. Ahora vivo en Sant Cugat, clase media, ciudad de profesión liberal, a todas partes vas con los niños.

T: When I came to Catalonia, I stayed in the center of Barcelona, in the Eixample. It's strange because when I arrived in Catalonia I was going to live in a big city and I had never lived in a city like this one. Now I live in Sant Cugat, middle class, city for liberal professions, everywhere you go you do it with your children.

T. mentions the presence of children in the city (“you go everywhere with your children”) referring only to the accessibility of urban space, but also to a cultural characteristic trait that is absent in Portsmouth. He offers spontaneously an explanation:

- (8) T.: Los niños reflejan cómo es España en comparación con Inglaterra. En España se ve como una cosa buena tener familia, ser padre y salir con tus hijos. Pero allí es lo contrario. Si paseas con niños en Inglaterra, ya sabes, la gente, su primera reacción será: “Pstt, oh [con desaprobación], niños por la calle...”

T: Children reflect the differences between Spain and England. In Spain it's positive to have a family, to be father and go out with your children. But there is the opposite. If you walk with children in England, you know...people...their first reaction will be, “PSTT, oh [disapprovingly], children in the way...”

The distinction between “there” and “here” is not only the contrast between two opposite poles, the foreigner versus the local people, and one’s own culture versus the adopted culture. It offers some variants, using the adverb “here”, which means both “immediate” and “near”, between a “here-here” and “here-there”. This is at least the opinion of a Norwegian woman living in Barcelona and who participates in interview 6, with respect to language.

- (9) T.: Bueno, el caso de Barcelona es un poco diferente de Cataluña. Como Barcelona es muy internacional, hay gente de todo el mundo, entonces aquí con castellano vas muy bien. Obviamente fuera de Barcelona es otro asunto. Aquí, por el ambiente internacional, Barcelona es un lugar para hablar castellano.

T.: Well, Barcelona is a bit different from the rest of Catalonia. As Barcelona is very international, there are people from all over the world, therefore you can use Spanish and it works very well. Obviously outside Barcelona it is different. Here, due to its international environment, Barcelona is a place to speak Spanish.

This distinction between the metropolis and Catalonia, between “here” and “there”, takes into consideration the idea of affinity in a general sense of life when the interviewee compares Barcelona with Norway.

- (10) T.: Yo he estado viviendo en muchos sitios diferentes, pero obviamente Noruega es un país bastante diferente de un español o Cataluña. Y entonces hay unas diferencias de estilo de vida. Pero Barcelona es bastante como ser en el Norte, bastante igual como vivir en Noruega. Excepto el clima.

T.: I have been living in many different places, but Norway is obviously quite a different country from Spain or Catalonia. And then there are differences in lifestyle. But Barcelona is quite like being in the North [*sic*], just like living in Norway. Except for the weather.

After the illustration of the “there” and “here” dualism, we analyze the “inside-outside” opposition. It has to do with the identification with

our family and the social model we follow. “Inside” means a greater degree of identification than “outside”, more loyalty and commitment with concrete values and goals. The opposite of “inside” is not lack of commitment or disloyalty, but the ability of distancing oneself from that canon. The main feature of “outside” are the expressions of wish or will to make something different. The fact of being “outsider” is reflected in the interview (text 6) when the interviewed participant criticizes the language policy: “I love my country as anybody else, but the normal things ...! You are more comfortable doing things in a specific way. I don’t know”. Volitional expressions -“I love”-, optional ones -“You are more comfortable” – and constructive obligation – “(It should be) the normality of things” – suggest that the participant is out of the general and shared model.

The analysis of the stories reveals a larger and more promising study of life scripts. We need a further exploration, with details and an expanded corpus, about how that storytelling shapes existential patterns. Patterns of “here” and “there”, that reveal the involvement of each participant in her/his family, community, culture and language.

## 7. Conclusions

The study of the storytelling processes in the interviews provides references to linguistic skills and habits in multilingual families. The sociolinguistic interviews are part of a research project on conceptions and uses of languages among parents of school-aged children who are members of linguistically mixed families. The title of the research project is “Globalization and social and family multilingualism in medium-sized language communities in Europe(GLOBLINMED)”. Medium-sized language communities have between half a million and twenty million people, a category to which Catalonia, the Netherlands and Estonia belong.

The immediate model of our research is the studies on language uses in the context of bilingual couples or “family language policy”. This line of work is concerned with parental stories about their family

relationships and the use of languages of the family members. From these observations we can reach some conclusions on children's degree of language knowledge, their social identity and their cultural attitudes. In order to elucidate factors of socio-cultural influence we have highlighted the parts of the interviews with more narrative content because they involve significant formal complexity and because they communicate emotional and ideological nuances in a way that goes beyond personal identity and has to do with a communitarian background.

We have presented briefly, and then applied, the model of Bruner and Weisser (1991) to analyze 10 micro-stories from parents. They are part of a total of 20 interviews, from which we have selected 10 due to their intentionality and extension. The Bruner-Weisser model intends to identify and interpret the discourse markers that relate the four constituents of the drama: (1) agent – action, (2) sequences and temporal order, (3) moral order of events, and (4) the narrator's perspective. The constituent of agentivity or agent-action encompasses names, locations and verbs of motion. The constituent of sequentiality emphasizes linear elements as the conjunction “and”; elements of process, such as the adverbs of time “before” or “after”, and elements of causality such as “because”. The constituent of canonicity or moral order has to do with recurrence or variability, on one hand, and legitimacy or moral obligation, on the other one. Finally, the constituent of perspective concerns the presence of the storyteller through modalizers like personal preferences, cognitive certainty and expository emphasis.

The analysis of the stories following that conceptual framework allows stipulating grammatical and formal resources for self-referential storytelling. A further development of this kind of analysis can be extended to the study of life scripts, highlighting the ambivalent identity of the persons, since they oscillate between the past with their family of origin and the creation of a couple. These locations imply diverse degrees of involvement in linguistic and cultural identities, ranging from identification to the opposite. Thanks to it we could contribute to extend the study of storytelling to sociolinguistic interviews.

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## Discourses on Language and Language Choice Among Danish/English-Speaking Families in Denmark<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Another type of bilingual family

In public debate in Denmark the word “bilingual” (*tosproget*) is usually used as a derogatory term, not referring to an individual’s capability of mastering several languages, but to troublesome and criminal youth of foreign (usually Middle-Eastern) background (cf. Maegaard 2011, Nørreby 2016). Bilingual families are often portrayed as problematic, and in the debate focus is often on how bilingualism supposedly restrict children’s opportunities for learning “proper Danish”. As described by Ag and Jørgensen (2013) English is a prestige language in Denmark and is not considered problematic to the same degree as other minority languages. Bilingual families are understudied in Danish linguistic research, and there are to our knowledge no studies of families with a Danish/English linguistic background. This may be due to the fact that many other studies have been concerned with families facing a kind of challenges which may seem irrelevant to English/Danish speaking families. These are problems like not feeling included in Danish society, experiences of being positioned as different and strange etc. However, our study shows that these types of challenges are perceived as highly relevant also for Danish/English speaking families. At the same time, though, Danish/English families are in other ways positioned completely different in society, and this has implications for the discourses we find in their accounts of their daily lives and language choices.

1 This chapter is a revised version of: Anne Larsen & Marie Maegaard (2017): Diskurser om sprog og sprogvælg hos dansk/engelsk-sprogede familier i Danmark. *Danske Talesprog* 17: 99–136.

In the Danish sub-project of the GlobLinMed project we have chosen to focus on families where one parent has Danish, the other one (British or American) English as their first language. There are several reasons why Danish/English speaking families are an interesting focus point in a project like the GlobLinMed project reported in this volume. First of all the Catalan situation was the point of departure for the project, and the Catalan researchers in the project focus primarily on the use and the transmission of Castillian Spanish and Catalan in mixed families (see chapters 1,6,7 and 8, this volume). Catalan can be regarded as a potentially endangered language since the national language in Spain is Castillian Spanish, and even though Catalan is recognized as an official language in Catalonia, Castillian Spanish is the predominant language in Spain. Therefore linguists were interested in knowing if and how Catalan is passed on to future generations in Catalonia, and how bilingual families with the combination large and medium-sized language in other speech communities relate to issues of language choice.

The Catalan and the Danish speech communities are not directly comparable, and Danish cannot be regarded as a language which is under threat by English dominance. Still Danish/English speaking families are interesting in this context, because (some varieties of) English has a completely different status from all other languages in Denmark – apart from Danish. English is omnipresent in Denmark in many ways (see below), and it can be used in a range of situations where – apart from English – only Danish is applicable. Because of this English is also by some people (both in research and in public debate) described as a threat to Danish (Davidsen-Nielsen 2009; Ahrendtsen 2014). Exactly how English is posing a threat to Danish is generally not clear, but in many accounts it is about English being used in specific domains such as educational institutions and workplaces where Danish is then no longer used (cf. Davidsen-Nielsen 2009; Harder 2009; Kirchmeier-Andersen 2008; Haberland et al. 1991). Thus when English is by some people regarded as a threat, it is mainly in certain domains. The family is not one of them, and so the discussion may seem unimportant in relation to our project, but the participants act within many such domains in their everyday, and we will see how they include the relevance of the



different languages in these specific domains in their arguments about language choice in the family. Bilingual families with the combination Danish/English are furthermore especially interesting, since the special status English has in Denmark is likely to influence the experience of being a bilingual family of this type in Denmark.

We begin with a short introduction and account of English as a global language and as a high prestige language in Denmark. Then we give a brief overview of previous research in bilingual families, and finally we present the analyses of strategies and discourses about language choice in the families.

## 2. English as symbolic capital in Denmark

English is in many ways the language of globalization (Mufwene 2010). It is estimated that around 1 billion people have functional command of some variant of English (Mufwene 2010: 42). This means that English is quantitatively (measured by the number of speakers) an important language in the world, and at the same time it is an important language in Denmark.

In Denmark English holds a special position (Holmen & Jørgensen 2010: 9; Maegaard & Jørgensen 2015: 174). In school children are taught English from their first year of school, and English is without competition regarded as the most important of all foreign languages for Danes to learn (Thøgersen 2007: 106). Furthermore, communication with authorities can usually be carried out in English, and most Danes have English competence at a relatively high level. Accordingly, a Eurobarometer report from 2012 shows that 86% of the Danish respondents report to have communicative abilities in English (Eurobarometer 2012) (see also Preisler 1999; Haberland & Preisler 2015). On the other hand English speakers also experience problems exactly in communication with authorities, as several of the participants in this study tell, and of course not all Danes' English competencies are as brilliant as one might think looking at the Eurobarometer results. Nevertheless it is clear that

English has a position in the Danish linguistic landscape which is completely different from the position of all other foreign languages.

Within Danish linguistic research English as a minority language in families has not been the focus of any studies. In fact most studies of English in Denmark have not investigated speakers with English as their first language, but on the contrary how speakers with Danish as their first language use English, which attitudes they hold towards the use of English loans in Danish (Andersen 2004; Monka & Kristiansen 2006; Thøgersen 2007) and often with focus on special domains like educational contexts where English is used to a relatively high degree (Preisler 2011; Mortensen 2014; Haberland & Preisler 2015).

These studies show that English, contrary to many other minority languages, has a high level of prestige in Denmark. According to Preisler speaking “English like a native” is among Danes associated with competence, success, determination, international vision etc. Similarly, “bad English” is associated with a lower educational level, bad job opportunities, lack of motivation and low intelligence (Preisler 2011: 111ff.). In other words English is not only a language which is useful in communication in many contexts in Denmark, but also a language which is acknowledged as symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1984). However, several studies of attitudes towards and evaluation of English show that English is not unequivocally linked to positive values (Thøgersen 2007; Mortensen & Fabricius 2014; Lønsmann 2015).

Thøgersen shows in his study of Danes’ attitudes towards the use of English how English is on the one hand described positively and as a language that it is practical to master (especially in working contexts) (2007: 131), while in some cases participants also associate it with a ridiculous smartness and describe it as inappropriate when English words are used instead of corresponding Danish ones, or when, for example, advertisements are not translated (Thøgersen 2007: 44ff.). Similarly, Mortensen and Fabricius show that English among international students at a Danish University is expected at a high functional level and that while speaking “native English” with e.g. a British accent is associated with high status in some situations, it is at the same time perceived as unfriendly and disloyal (Mortensen & Fabricius 2014: 218ff.).

These studies thus indicate that there is a more complex hierarchy between Danish and English in Denmark where the use of English is not acknowledged in all contexts or in all forms, although it is also considered to be both practical and prestigious.

### 3. Language choice in bilingual families

In Denmark a few studies have been carried out on language attitudes in bilingual families. Ag and Jørgensen (2013) investigate parents' attitudes to their children's language in families with different, typically Middle Eastern, backgrounds. Their study shows that the parents use *integrative* explanations for why it is important that their children learn the minority language – such as being able to maintain contact with their grandparents and know their cultural background. Conversely, they use *instrumental* explanations for why their children should learn Danish – such as arguments about being able to do well in school and in the labour market (Ag & Jørgensen 2013: 533) (the division into *integrative* and *instrumental* explanations is inspired by Gardner & Lambert's (1972) division of motivations for language acquisition). The parents thus prioritize both languages, but most prefer the minority language to be spoken at home, arguing that otherwise the children will not be able to learn it (ibid: 533).

Møller and Jørgensen (2009) obtain similar results in their study of code-switching and language norms in three generations of Danish-Turkish families. They find that both the older generation (interviewed in the late 1980s) and the younger generation (interviewed in 2006–7) provide integrative explanations for why their children should speak Turkish, like e.g. “it is our language”, While they use instrumental explanations for why they should learn Danish.

It is characteristic of both studies that they are about a different type of bilingual family than the one we are focusing on here. In the two mentioned studies (as well as in the above mentioned) the family is bilingual in that the parents have the same first language (which is not Danish), while Danish is their second language which they master

because they live in Denmark. In the family type we focus on in this chapter, however, the parents have different first languages, and for one parent it is Danish. This means that the languages will potentially have rather different functions and values, and the family's linguistic practices may be somewhat different from what other studies have shown.

In the field of *family language policy* there are studies which touch upon some of the same topics that are being addressed in the chapters in this book – however not in a Danish context. These studies focus on language choice in multilingual families (e.g. King et al. 2008; Schwartz 2010). Within this field of research, family language policy can be defined as “explicit and open planning in relation to language use within the home among family members” (King et al., 2008: 907). The studies usually focus on language maintenance and especially on investigating which factors promote the transmission of a language from one generation to the next. Within this framework formulations like “language maintenance” and “language loss” are often used, and it is clear that most studies are designed to investigate how to avoid language loss. There is a focus on the strategies used by parents (e.g. ‘one parent, one language’) and on how the family's language policy promotes or inhibits the development of the child's multilingualism.

Our study is based on the same type of questions as those raised above – i.e. whether the minority language is passed on to the next generation in the family and which reasons the parents give for their language policy. However, we do not consider the descriptions of language choices we get in our interviews to represent the actual linguistic practices of the families, and we see the parents' explanations for language choice to be linked to larger macro-discourses on language choice circulating in society. Therefore, we do not only analyze the strategies for and attitudes towards language choice as they appear in the parents' descriptions, but also – and perhaps more importantly – the discourses they draw on in their legitimization of the different strategies and attitudes they present. This means that our study is not only a study of explicitly formulated language choice, but also a form of meta-analysis of these formulations.

## 4. Data and method

To investigate linguistic strategies and ideologies in bilingual families with Danish/English language background, we visited seven families, carried out interviews with the parents and in some families we got additional self-recordings from the parents as they interacted with their children and other family members. In this chapter we focus on the parents' self-reported language choices and the discourses about the Danish and English languages which are present in their meta-linguistic accounts in the interviews. All interviews in the GlobLinMed-project are based on an interviewguide developed by the Barcelona group. Also the Danish interview guide is based in the Catalan one, but it has been modified slightly to meet the research questions we ask and to suit the specific context of Danish society. Even though the interviews were based on the interview guide, they are semi-structured, which means that we have used a rather casual interview style, making sure that all subjects in the guide were touched upon, but not necessarily in the form or order as they appear in the guide.

In all cases interviewers were either one of the two authors, both of us, or in one case one of us together with a third researcher.

The parents were interviewed as couples. This has the disadvantage that, in some situations, one participant dominated the interview, but it also has several advantages. The participants had the opportunity to control the conversation and they could make each other argue for different positions. Since we must expect that the participants have discussed language and language choice before, the positions and the views they present in the interview are probably recurring in their conversations about these issues, and they know which views to expect from their partner. This design enabled us to see how norms are negotiated and discussed between the parents, as the two do not always express the same attitudes and perceptions as we will see in examples below. The interviews were all conducted in the families' own homes and took place in the language(s) preferred by the participants.

As described, the participants consist of seven couples; five are Danish-English and two are Danish-American. At the time of recording (2014), the couples had lived in Denmark between 1 and 12 years, and they lived in cities of different size in the Copenhagen metropolitan

area. Participants were between 35 and 55 years old and are broadly composed in terms of education levels from primary and secondary education (see Table 1).

The interviews are transcribed in the programme Transcriber following the LANCHART transcription conventions (see [lanchart.hum.ku.dk](http://lanchart.hum.ku.dk)) and modified to more reader-friendly versions.

	<b>Parent with Danish as first language</b>	<b>Parent with English as first language</b>	<b>Children's age</b>
<b>Family 1</b> Small Provincial town	Malene <b>Born:</b> 1979 in Denmark <b>Education:</b> Middle-range education	Denis <b>Born:</b> 1979 in England <b>Education:</b> Elementary school <b>Time in Denmark:</b> 12 years	Tobias: 6 Anna: 4
<b>Family 2</b> Minor provincial town	Bente <b>Born:</b> 1966 in Denmark <b>Education:</b> PhD	Richard <b>Born:</b> 1965 in USA <b>Education:</b> Higher education <b>Time in Denmark:</b> 8 years	Carl: 8 Lily: 5 Rosa: 3
<b>Family 3</b> Copenhagen	Mia <b>Born:</b> 1978 in Denmark <b>Education:</b> Middle-range education	Jenny <b>Born:</b> 1965 in England <b>Education:</b> Middle-range education <b>Time in Denmark:</b> 3 years	Mathilde: 2
<b>Family 4</b> Minor provincial town	Bo <b>Born:</b> 1967 in Denmark <b>Education:</b> Vocational training	Molly <b>Born:</b> 1966 in England <b>Education:</b> Highschool <b>Time in Denmark:</b> 1 year	Maya: 10
<b>Family 5</b> Copenhagen	August <b>Born:</b> 1977 in Denmark <b>Education:</b> Higher education	Agnes <b>Born:</b> 1977 in USA <b>Education:</b> Higher education <b>Time in Denmark:</b> 9 years	William: 5 Isabella: 1,5
<b>Family 6</b> Larger provincial town	Peter <b>Born:</b> 1959 in Denmark <b>Education:</b> Higher education	Sarah <b>Born:</b> 1969 in England <b>Education:</b> Higher education <b>Time in Denmark:</b> 6 years	Storm: 12 Mathias: 8 Josephine: 6
<b>Family 7</b> Small provincial town	Birte <b>Born:</b> 1972 in Denmark <b>Education:</b> Higher education	Jacob <b>Born:</b> 1972 in England <b>Education:</b> Middle-range education <b>Time in Denmark:</b> 7 years	Kristian: 8 Tobias: 5

Table 1: Overview of participating families.

Our analytical approach is Critical Discourse Analysis in a broad sense. In line with much recent sociolinguistic research, we understand discourse in the Foucauldian sense, i.e. as the actual language use, the concrete utterances, and as systems of ideas and practice that structure and construct subjects and the social world (Foucault 1972). As described by Blommaert: “[discourse] includes all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural, and historical patterns and developments of use” (2005: 3). Thus, we are interested in examining both what the participants say and how they say it, and also in how their utterances relate to more general discourses in society, or what is called *discourse formations* within Foucault’s theoretical framework (1972: 116).

When analyzing the interactions, we use methods of linguistic ethnography where conversational data is analyzed sequentially, but where the analysis is not limited to the individual conversation but can involve ethnographic knowledge as well (see Copland & Creese 2015; Copland, Shaw & Snell 2015; Rampton et al 2004).

## 5. Accounts of strategies for language choice

In the following we will briefly present the parents’ arguments for their language choices as they explain them to us. We will focus on the parents’ accounts without interpreting them within a broader discourse analytic perspective, and so the analysis is rather descriptive. The main focus in this section is the reported language choice as it is described by the parents.

All parents describe it as important that the children can speak both Danish and English at a high level, and they all mention the *one-parent-one-language* strategy (cf. table 2). Three of the couples tell us that Danish has become the dominant language at home, also used by the parent who has English as their first language, five couples tell us that at least one of their children speak primarily Danish to both parents, and in all the five families with more than one child, parents report that their children speak mainly Danish together (this is in agreement with data from self recordings).

When the parents argue for their language choice, they use both integrative and instrumental explanations. Integrative explanations are arguments which are based in an understanding of the languages as an important part of the child's cultural background and identity. Instrumental explanations, on the other hand, cover arguments like "you cannot talk to your friends if you do not speak Danish" i.e. practical reasons based in a need for communicating with the outside world. Furthermore, this type of reasoning covers arguments focusing on how you will be perceived if you do not speak one of the languages. This means that also explanations involving the value and status of the languages can be of the instrumental type.

Family	Parents to children	Children to parents	Children to each other
1	<b>Malene:</b> Danish <b>Denis:</b> English	<b>Anna:</b> Danish <b>Tobias:</b> Danish to Malene, mixture of Danish and English to Denis	Danish
2	<b>Bente:</b> Danish <b>Richard:</b> Mostly Danish (some English with Carl)	<b>Carl:</b> Danish to Bente, Mostly Danish some English to Richard <b>Lily and Rosa:</b> Danish	Danish
3	<b>Mia:</b> Danish <b>Jenny:</b> mixture of Danish and English	<b>Mathilde:</b> Danish to Mia, Mostly Danish, some English to Jenny	–
4	<b>Molly:</b> English <b>Bo:</b> Danish	<b>Maya:</b> English to Molly, Danish to Bo	–
5	<b>Agnes:</b> Mostly Danish to William and English to Isabella <b>August:</b> Mostly Danish	<b>William:</b> Danish <b>Isabella:</b> Mostly English to Agnes To August: not reported	Mostly Danish
6	<b>Sarah:</b> English <b>Peter:</b> Danish	<b>Storm, Mathias and Josephine:</b> English to Sarah, Danish to Peter	Mostly Danish
7	<b>Birte:</b> Mostly Danish some English <b>Jacob:</b> English	<b>Kristian:</b> Danish to Birte, mostly English to Jacob <b>Tobias:</b> Danish to Birte, mostly Danish some English to Jacob	Mostly Danish some English

Table 2: Overview of the language reported by the parents. The language reported here is conversational language use, not the reading of bedtime stories or singing, which all couples report to do in both languages.



Six of the couples rely on integrative arguments about Danish as the mother tongue of their children when they argue why it is important for the children to speak Danish. Only August and Agnes do not directly mention the cultural value as a reason to teach the children Danish. Danish is simultaneously described by the majority (also six families) as necessary to be able to succeed in Danish society. Only Bo and Molly do not directly mention Danish as important for the child to manage in Danish society. Similarly, integrative arguments about English are put forward, but only by four of the families (family 1, 5, 6 and 7) and only three couples mention that it is important for the children to speak English to communicate with their English speaking relatives (family 1, 6 and 7). Interestingly, the overriding reason for speaking English with the children is that English is seen as an important language *in Denmark*. For example the Danish father August says: “In Denmark English is definitely really important”. All parents emphasize that English is important in Denmark, and family 1, 3, 4, 5 and 7 directly use this as an argument why English should be spoken at home. This differs from the results Møller and Jørgensen (2009) and Ag and Jørgensen (2013) find in surveys of multilingual families of Turkish and Middle Eastern backgrounds where the parents give integrative explanations for why their children should learn the minority language and primarily instrumental explanations for why they should learn the majority language. This can be due to the fact that the participants in our study consist of couples in which one parent has Danish as their first language. This means that Danish as well as English can be seen as associated with cultural background and identity. At the same time English is also a widely used language in the world, and it holds a special position in Denmark as “the most important foreign language” in Denmark. Half of the couples (family 1, 5, 6 and 7) explicitly describe English as an important language for the children to learn because of its international distribution. For example, several participants emphasize that they do not expect their children to stay in Denmark for the rest of their lives, and that they want to give them the best opportunities to travel, to study abroad, or to have international careers. In connection with this it is often emphasized that English is a language that can be used to communicate and gain high status in larger parts of the world than is the case for Danish.

However, there is not always agreement about the optimal language strategy between the parents. The parents who have Danish as their first language emphasize in several interviews that it is important that English is practised at home whereas their English-speaking partners do not always agree that they need to use the *one-parent-one-language*-approach. This is seen in the example below, where the Danish mother, Malene, says that it is a shame that her husband does not speak more English to the children, while her British husband defends his choice stating that it is not a problem since the children will learn it at school.

**Example (1)**<sup>2</sup>

- Mal: if you forced them or maybe they would (.) speak more English
- XAL: mm
- Den: I: just don't [want to ] push them (.) I mean
- Mal: [so maybe]
- (.) no (.)
- Den: I know it will come (.) so I: I'm not [worried]
- Mal: [yeah ]
- Den: at all (.) really I mean it's uh school is going to take over as well so (.) put the problem on [them]
- XAL: [ha ]
- Den: ha (.) so: (.) I'm not worried at all

In the families where Danish has become the dominant language at home, parents (especially the parents with English as their first language) often explain – like Denis in Example (1) – that this is not a problem. Children will learn English anyway due to its special status in Denmark both in school and in popular culture. At the same time, they also describe it as necessary, both for the children and for the English-speaking parent, to be able to speak Danish when living in Denmark. Parents often explain that just like other bilingual speakers, they will be excluded from many contexts in Denmark if they are unable to speak Danish at a high level. This is also often used by parents who have English as their first language to explain why they have not been

2 In all excerpts the parent with English as their first language is marked in bold, and excerpts originally in Danish will appear both in Danish and in an English translation below. English excerpts are reproduced in English only.



parents in the interviews are not necessarily expressing their own personal motivations for language choice. For instance, we cannot conclude that parents find it more important that their children are able to do well in the educational system in Denmark, than that they are able to talk to their grandparents. Rather, their arguments can be seen as reflecting contemporary discourses about the values of the different languages which they find legitimate to draw on in their explanations of their own language choices. Below we will take a closer look at the different discourses about the communicative as well as status-related values of the languages, which are expressed in the parents' accounts of their everyday language use.

## 6. Discourses about language and language choice

We structure the analyses into two parts: First we will have a look at how Danish is described in the parents' accounts, and which discourses about the use and value of the language are present in them, and then we will present similar analyses of discourses on the use and value of English.

### 6.1 Danish

#### 6.1.1 Danish gives access to Denmark

All the couples emphasize that when living in Denmark as a child it is necessary to speak Danish. This is for instance seen in (3) where Peter and Sarah respond to whether it is possible as an English speaking person to get by in Denmark without being able to speak Danish.

#### **Example (3)**

XAL: men tænker I man kan (.) kan man klare sig (.)  
 uden at kunne dansk (.) {når man} kan engelsk i  
 Danmark (0.6) uden at det er et problem

*but do you think you could (.) could you manage (.) without speaking Danish (.) when you can speak English in Denmark (0.6) without it being a problem*

**Sar:** *ja nogenlunde (0.3) kunne man tror jeg (0.5) yeah more or less (0.3) you could I think (0.5)*

**Pet:** *som voksen kan man [nok] as an adult you probably [could]*

**Sar:** *[ja ] [yeah ]*

**XAL:** *[ja ] [yeah]*

**Pet:** *[men] øh hvis øh ens børn ikke får lært alle nuancer af dansk og sådan noget så (0.7) kan de jo ikke klare sig i de (0.4) mindre år (.) [but] uh if uh your children don't get to know all the nuances of Danish and such then (0.7) they can't of course manage in the (0.4) younger years (.)*

**XAL:** *mm mm*

**Sar:** *[nej] [no]*

**Pet:** *[og ] og de:t synes jeg er en fejl og (.) der kan man godt som forældre hjælpe til (0.7) med at ens børn får (0.9) {får lært} det (.) [til] [and] and I think that is a mistake and (.) you could as a parent help along (0.7) that your children get (0.9) get it learnt [ to ]*

**Sar:** *[ ja ] [yeah]*

**Pet:** *(0.4) altså det gør det nemmere i (.) børnehaven og skole (0.4) at man kan (0.7) tale dansk ikke (.) (0.4) you know it will make it easier in (.) kindergarden and school (0.4) that you can (0.7) speak Danish right (.)*

**Sar:** *ja yeah*

**Pet:** *omgås med kammerater og så videre socialize with peers and so on*

In (3) the interviewer asks if a generic *you* (“man”) can manage in Denmark with English only, but Peter immediately breaks this “man” into

adults and children, and he constructs their needs as different. Young children cannot get by, unless they master “all the nuances of Danish”. This seems to indicate that it is not enough being able to speak a little bit of Danish; as a child in Denmark you will need to have a very high level of competence in Danish to be able to communicate. Peter also mentions that competencies in Danish make it easier for the kids both in kindergarten and in school. This could point to both social and academic achievement. Several parents mention how competence in Danish is essential both for keeping up academically and for not being socially isolated. All children in the study attend common Danish child care institutions and schools, and the situation might be different for parents with children in international institutions, where Danish language competencies may not be regarded as essential.

In the above account of the strategies for language choice we saw how the fact that English would be taught in school was used as an argument for not speaking it at home. Interestingly, the similar argument – that since Danish is used in the child care institutions, there is no need for the families to practice it at home – is generally not used by the parents. On the contrary, Peter is arguing in (3) that parents ought to “help” their children achieving the best possible competencies in Danish, so that they will do well in the institutions. This is a common reasoning in the interviews, and only Sarah (Peter’s wife) states that Danish can be given less priority at home because it is taught in institutions.

Like in example (3) the parents generally emphasize that it is easier for adults than children to manage with English only in Denmark. However, it is stressed both by the parents in this family and by others, that it is often experienced as problematic not to be able to speak Danish, and that also as an English-speaking adult you can feel excluded and looked down upon. This way, several participants state that even though it is possible to get a job and communicate with authorities, and even though most Danes speak English at a relatively high level, there are contexts where Danish is considered the most legitimate language. To be included and respected in these contexts, you have to master Danish at a high level.

This brings us to another type of explanations, which have to do with something much more complex than whether or not you are able to communicate. For example, the American mother Agnes says: “if you

speak Danish, then Denmark is a fantastic country”. She elaborates on this by exemplifying with the context of a dinner party. As she says “you cannot ask twenty people to switch into English, because you don’t speak Danish”. This, however, is not about the imaginary twenty Danes’ lack of English competence, but because of the different languages’ perceived appropriateness in different contexts. In (4) Agnes and her husband August elaborates on this.

**Example (4)**

**Agn:** altså det er ikke et land hvor dit øh hvor hvor  
(1.0) hvor man føler sig særlig velkommen hvis  
ikke man kan altså (.) altså (.)

**Eng:** *well it is not a country where your uh where  
where (1.0) where you feel very welcome if you  
can't you know (.) you know (.)*

**Aug:** nej (0.4) til trods for at alle kan engelsk  
(0.3) så er det [i hvert fald]

**Eng:** *no (0.4) despite that everyone speaks English  
(0.3) then it is [definitely]*

**Agn:** [ja til ] trods for at alle  
kan engelsk

**Eng:** [yeah ] even though  
*everyone speaks English*

August introduces the phrase “even though everyone speaks English”, which is then repeated word for word by Agnes. Here, we see how they co-construct Danes as people who actually *can* but do not always *want* to speak English to others who do not speak Danish, and Agnes is stressing that you do not feel “very welcome” in Denmark unless you speak Danish.

She further explains that she has experienced many other situations where no consideration is shown towards people who do not speak Danish. In her accounts this is not only problematic because it makes it difficult for the English speaking person to understand the conversation, but also because it is based in a lack of respect for people who do not speak Danish. Example (5) follows right after a passage where Agnes has explained that even though she had decided to speak English to her son, she ended up speaking Danish all the time.

**Example (5)**

- Agn:** ej for mig var det helt klart det var stolthed  
(0.5) jeg [va:r]
- Eng:** *no for me it was definitely pride (0.5) I [was ]*
- XMA:** [ja ]
- Eng:** [yeah]
- Agn:** altså jeg ville ikke jeg ville ikke have at der  
var nogle nede i børnehaven eller nogen steder  
der troede jeg ikke kunne (.)
- Eng:** *well I didn't I didn't want anyone down in the  
kindergarten or anywhere to think I wasn't  
capable (.)*
- XMA:** nej (.)
- Eng:** *no (.)*
- Agn:** jeg har så det så meget omkring mig folk der  
ikke kunne
- Eng:** *I saw it so much around me people who couldn't*
- XMA:** ja (.)
- Eng:** *yeah (.)*
- Agn:** o:g hørte det danskere bagtale dem
- Eng:** *and heard the Danish talk about them behind  
their back*

Agnes explains that she did not want people to hear her talking English to her son, because it could make them think that she was not able to speak Danish. This indicates that not speaking Danish in some situations around the children may be perceived as embarrassing by the English-speaking parent. This points to a notion that no matter what your first language is (even if it is the, in other contexts, highly prestigious English), you need to be able to speak Danish. It is often claimed by the participants that it is embarrassing or shameful not to speak Danish, and that you need a high level of Danish competence if you want to achieve the same status as the Danes in the local community.

This is not only mentioned with regard to social life or interactions in the children's day care institutions, as in the above examples. Lack of respect due to lower Danish competence is also described by participants as common in more formal contexts, for instance in communicating with public authorities or in sensitive situations like when delivering back a product to a shop. Previous studies of Danes' language attitudes have shown that Danes generally hold quite negative attitudes towards



people speaking with a foreign accent (Hyttel-Sørensen 2011, Ritzau et al. 2009). They are regarded as e.g. less intelligent, less ambitious, more boring, and with a lower level of education than other speakers.

We have seen that the participants describe being non-Danish-speaking as having low status in certain contexts. This way the English speaking parents seem to present themselves as a minority group who, like any other group without Danish as their first language, are confronted with a range of problems related to their language proficiencies in their everyday.

## *6.2 English*

Even though the English-speaking parents present themselves as a minority group and describe how English speakers who do not master Danish will be excluded from local communities, several of them also stress that being an English speaker in Denmark is different from having other languages as one's first language. This is for instance explained by British Jenny: "I can just go off anywhere and it's fine. It is not stressful or as it might be you know when – if it was a language that is not so universal". The participants typically describe English as different from other languages in that it is in fact possible to get by in many situations in Denmark using English only. They also state that it is possible to have a job in Denmark without speaking any Danish, and that this makes the situation easier for them than for many other migrants. At the same time, they also emphasize that English is an important language in Denmark, and in some contexts they draw on discourses framing English as a language associated with high social status in Denmark. In the following we show first how English is described as an important language to master, and then how English is ascribed status.

### *6.2.1 English is important in Denmark and in the world*

The parents often emphasize that even if their children should choose to stay in Denmark, it will be important for them to have a high level of English competence. This applies both to their future careers and to

their present and future position in the educational system. An example of how this is included in the arguments is seen in Example (6).

**Example (6)**

**Bo:** it's a good thing in the long run because  
[she will]  
**Mol:** [ yeah ]  
**Bo:** (0.5) uh she will ha- she will take that with  
her into higher education (0.3) at [some stage]  
yeah  
**Mol:** [yeah ]  
0.4) becau[se of the]  
**Bo:** [uh ] that she is she is uh (.)  
she will get (0.7) she uh will get good grades  
in: in English (.) uh you know

Bo is arguing that it is a good thing that his daughter speaks English with her mother, because it is a language that she will be able to use in the educational system. He further states that this competence will give her good grades, and this way he emphasizes that English competencies are resources which can be exchanged into value in the educational system. In Bo's accounts this value within the educational system is actually the prime reason why his daughter should speak English at home. Thus English is not only presented as a language which has utility value outside of Denmark, but also specifically in Danish institutions and in this view English competencies are important if you wish to succeed in Denmark.

English is also described as important to the children's social life and leisure activities. In (7) Jacob has just stated that he believes it to be just as important for children to learn English as Danish. He and his wife Birte continue this argument:

**Example (7)**

**Jac:** there are so [many children that have this]  
**Bir:** [yeah I think you're going to]  
be excluded if you cannot do it  
**Jac:** [yeah]  
**XAL:** [mm ] (0.3)  
**Jac:** [and they communicate] online in [English]  
**Bir:** [and it's ] [yeah ]

- Jac:** [and they]  
**Bir:** [yeah ] (0.4)  
**Jac:** you know [there is a different ]  
**Bir:** [if you're if you are not] (.)  
 if you're not good at it you're going to be  
 excluded (0.4)

Birte and Jacob present it as impossible to manage in the children's world if you are not able to communicate in English. Because of the children's online social activities, and because they are carried out in English, Birte repeatedly states that "you're going to be excluded" if you do not master English. Online activities in English are seen as an integrated part of the lives of children and youth in a globalized world.

English competencies are also often presented as crucial in professional life at a later life stage. The parents formulate this in different ways, and for instance Jacob claims that "it's vital nowadays", and that "the most successful Danish businessmen I've met are bilingual". Jacob presents this bilingual competence in Danish and English as a "massive benefit", and Birte complements this by saying that "English is the language of globalization". This underlines the special status that English is believed to have compared to all other languages within this type of discourse.

Several discourses about the value of English have been present in the above: English has social value to the young people, it has value in the educational system, where you supposedly get higher grades if you master English, and it has economic value in the business world. Finally it has value as "the language of globalization", in an understanding of English as giving access to the world.

### 6.2.3 *English as the language of power*

We have seen how the parents in this study stress the importance of English both globally and locally in Denmark. In these descriptions English competencies are seen as assets socially, in professional life, and in the educational system. English competence is regarded a resource, which can be transformed to high positions in each of these fields. This indicates that according to the participants English can be transformed to symbolic capital both in Denmark and in the rest of the world and is

acknowledged as a prestige language. Additionally, it is stated explicitly that British and American English is associated with elite, high status and in some contexts can (or should, as we shall see) command respect from others.

The discourse about English being a high status language is especially clearly expressed in (8). The father Bo has just told the interviewer that his British partner Molly is being unfairly treated when she tries to speak English to people. Molly is born and raised in England, but in Bo's account of her experiences she is being unfairly treated, because she is black. He claims that she is not recognized as English, but is instead mistaken for a refugee from the local asylum centre.

**Example (8)**

Bo: I know it sounds a bit harsh but she's not from some mud hut in in in some African (0.5) uh (.) uh (.) country somewhere she's actually (0.4) an English lady (0.5) uh speaking the Queen Mother's English (.) better than: uh a lot of you guys here (0.4) so have some respect but I mean (0.5) some people (0.3) don't want to help her beca- because: when she c- she comes with a uh like (0.5) oh do uh (.) can (.) sorry (.) can you I uh (.) do you speak English do you excuse me do you speak English and they say no (0.4) and walk off or whatever [they do or]

Mol: [ ha ]

In extract (8) Bo is setting up two opposing categories of migrants: "Africans from mud huts" and "English ladies speaking the Queen Mother's English". Bo is arguing that since Molly is "actually" an "English lady" she should be granted respect, but since Molly is wrongly categorized into the "African-from-mud-hut"-category she is treated badly. In his account Bo draws on several value systems. Molly speaks "the Queen Mother's English" which is a phrase that directly associates the way Molly speaks with the British monarchy. This creates a link between Molly and high social class. Furthermore, he argues that she speaks better "than a lot of you guys here", which implies that linguistic competence in itself should also be recognized as having high value.

Interestingly, Bo is not questioning the logic behind treating people differently according to their status as African refugees or English migrants. Rather, he treats it as natural – the only problem is that Molly is categorized into the wrong category. Thereby he constructs a status relationship where there is a clear difference between Africans and Englishmen, and where Englishmen are ranging well above Africans. However, it is not only about citizenship or cultural background but also the linguistic competencies in themselves. Speaking British English is in Bo's account linked to status. Similarly, later on in the interview he refers to Danes who do not command English as “thick”, “uneducated” and “ignorant”. Lack of ability to speak English is here linked to being unintelligent, uneducated and possibly lower class.

Bo is the only participant who claims a direct link between low competence in English and being unintelligent, but several of the other participants report that they experience Danes who are uncomfortable when speaking English to them because they consider their own English competence as insufficient. This points to a power relation where being able to speak English at a high level is regarded as prestigious, whereas not being able to speak English “well enough” is related to feelings of shame. On the other hand, several of the parents also point out that it is not always unproblematic for the English speaking to be recognized as American or British, precisely because English is linked to prestige. In line with other studies (Thøgersen 2007, Mortensen & Fabricius 2014) our participants explain that the special status English has, means that the language can also be associated with being elitist and posh. This can be used in arguments about why speaking Danish at home becomes important in some of the families. In (9) Jenny explains why she wants to practice Danish at home, and she explains this by describing English people in Denmark who do not learn Danish.

**Example (9)**

**Jen:** it's the slightly old school that elitist kind  
of we're English and we can go anywhere in the  
world and just speak English because

XAL: mm

**Jen:** we're English (.)

XAL: mm (.)

- Jen:** you know we raped the world and and and you know  
and now we're kind of benefitting from it and  
it's just (0.4) it's a really horrible attitude  
and I don't like being (0.8) associated with  
that (.) I sup[pose is]
- XMA:** [mm ]
- Jen:** a bit of snobbery don't want people to think I'm  
like that (.) well I'm not like that (.) I want  
to learn Danish

Jenny states that some English-speaking people in Denmark do not want to learn Danish, because it is not necessary. By describing the historic background for why English can be used in large parts of the world negatively (the English “raped the world” and now they are “benefitting from it”), and by saying that she does not wish to be taken for one of those snobbish English who do not wish to learn Danish, she marks a strong distance to this group. She constructs English as a language connected to imperialism and power, and therefore also snobbish attitude, and this way she reproduces the discourse about English being an elite language linked to power. The example illustrates that even when English is recognized as a language of power, it can still be seen as problematic to use. English may well be a language which in certain situations has high prestige, but precisely for this reason it can also be perceived as snobbish and elitist.

## 7. Conclusion

Participants describe both Danish and English competencies as important for parents as well as children. English is described here as instrumentally important for education and career, both in Denmark and internationally, while Danish is only described as important because the families have chosen to settle in Denmark. Nevertheless, most of the participants describe Danish as the dominant language in the home. The parents emphasize that it is important both for the children and for themselves to master Danish at a high level, because people who are

perceived as foreigners and who do not speak Danish at a high level have a low status in Denmark. This together with the special status English has in Denmark, as a language the children will learn in school regardless of their home language, is used as an argument that it is not strictly necessary to teach the children English. These are generally the parents' descriptions of motivations for language choice in the family.

In the descriptions of their language choices, the parents draw on discourses about language and status that ascribes different value to Danish and English in different contexts. The parents describe not being able to speak Danish at a high level in Denmark as associated with low status and a lack of respect both in communication with public institutions and in everyday interactions. In their accounts they talk about experiences that other bilingual families probably go through too (such as being excluded due to lack of Danish competencies). At the same time, they present English as clearly different from other languages in Denmark. It is clear from the accounts that English is seen as linked to high status and to power both in Denmark and in the rest of the world. English speakers who also speak Danish, gain symbolic capital because of this bilingualism, and this is in stark contrast to other forms of bilingual citizens in Denmark. The special status that English is given in the interviews is described both as something that should naturally give rise to respect – as we have shown in the example with Molly (Ex. 8) – and conversely as problematic for the very same reasons – as we have shown with Jenny's representation of English as an elitist language linked to imperialism (Ex. 9). Thus, in the participants' description of their linguistic everyday life, complex and ambiguous values are ascribed to the two languages. Although both languages are considered to be important and associated with status, they can both be insufficient. In the parents' accounts the ability to master both languages is often presented as crucial in balancing between being respected and avoiding being perceived as either unintelligent or snobbish.

Danish/English-speaking families thus appear to be a special type of bilingual families. What seems to distinguish them from many other bilingual families is their experiences of both languages being useful and valued by society, while it may still be difficult for family members who only master one of the languages on a high level.

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## Transcription conventions

- [abc] overlap
- (0.4) pause measured in seconds
- (.) pause shorter than 0.3 seconds
- abc- self interruption
- abc restart
- : prolongation
- abc emphasis
- {abc} transcriber's doubt about what is being said
- Bill:** participants with English as their first language are marked with bold
- XAB: all interviewers are named with a code beginning with X



# Monolingual Language Ideology, Multilingual Families and the Dynamics of Linguistic Diversity in the Czech Republic. Insights from Analysis of Discursive Practices in Research Interviews.

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Czech is one of the medium-sized languages spoken in Central Europe. After more than forty years of relative isolation during the communist era, this region has recently been experiencing a rebirth of cultural and linguistic diversity. Demographers argue that the Czech Republic was the first former Eastern bloc country to change its status from an emigration to an immigration country (cf. Drbohlav 2011). The number of foreign citizens, presumably speakers of languages other than Czech, residing in the Czech Republic on a long-term basis has grown from 35 thousand at the end of the 1980s to 493 thousand in 2016 (Czech Statistical Office 2014, 2016). The number of Czech inhabitants (including Czech citizens and foreign residents) who did not declare Czech as their “mother tongue” or declared multiple “mother tongues” in the census of 2011 was over 1 200 000 (which equals 11 % of the population; Czech Statistical Office 2011). Even those inhabitants who do identify with Czech as their only “mother tongue” presumably experience a growing urge to engage in linguistic diversity, especially to acquire languages that will make them more competitive in the globalizing labor market (Czech Statistical Office 2013).

1 We wish to thank our colleagues, Tamah Sherman and Peter Kaderka, for their valuable comments on the draft of this chapter. All mistakes and omissions are ours.

The research into linguistic diversity reveals that the contemporary diversity is in no way a phenomenon new to the Czech society (Neustupný & Nekvapil 2003). Since medieval times until as late as 1993, the territory of the Czech Republic has been a part of multinational states and its own population was both ethnically and linguistically mixed. During and after WW II the ethnic diversity decreased as a result of war atrocities and both spontaneous and forced relocation of certain groups traditionally settled in the territory (Neustupný & Nekvapil 2003: 209). However, even the legislation of post-war socialist Czechoslovakia recognized the presence of groups with minority linguistic and ethnical profiles (Petráš 2009). The research, though, also reports that the self-reflection of the society contrasts with the traditionally diversified nature of the linguistic landscape. The dominant language ideology reinforces the image of linguistic homogeneity of the society and assumed monolingualism of its members (Sloboda 2010a; Neustupný & Nekvapil 2003).

One of the domains where the growing cultural and linguistic diversity in the Czech Republic manifests itself is, as in many other countries, the domain of family. A growing number of couples living together and bringing up children do not share the same linguistic background and use other languages along with or even instead of Czech. Family is also a domain that faces many practical consequences of the dominant monolingual ideology. Although the linguistic practice through which children in these families are socialized contrasts with the dominant ideology, the families often need to (and in many cases, are obliged to) seek assistance of public institutions, such as schools or medical facilities, that reinforce patterns of language acquisition corresponding with the dominant ideology. This leads to shortages in how those institutions cater to the needs of the children with multilingual family background. For instance, measures of speech development assessment are designed considering solely children socialized in a monolingual Czech environment (cf. Jehličková 2015).

This chapter is based on data that were gathered as a part of an exploratory field research on the intergenerational language transmission in multilingual families living in Prague. The data contain various accounts of language transmission patterns and strategies, but in

this chapter, we would like to approach them from a different perspective, i.e. the perspective of the individual (yet socially contextualized) reflections on language. The current growth of linguistic diversity may challenge the dominant language ideology and in some social settings, such as multilingual families, there could be a space for more nuanced metalinguistic reflections to emerge. However, it might well be the case that the diversity is actually challenged by the dominant ideology and that individuals and institutions tend to “resist” (cf. Sloboda 2016) the diversity by reproducing monolingual ideologies in their reflections on language.

We strongly believe that understanding this balance is a part of understanding the actual dynamics and prospects of the linguistic diversity in the Czech Republic and especially of understanding the situation of particular groups that (re-)emerge with the growing diversity. Particularly with regard to the fact that ideologies and other forms of metalinguistic reflections guide individuals and communities when using language and behaving “towards” it (Fishman 1971; cf. Nekvapil & Sherman 2015).

## 2. Theoretical Considerations and Language Ideologies in the Czech Republic

To substantiate our research task, we would like to introduce several theoretical considerations that are inspired by the “cluster” understanding of language ideologies. This understanding was proposed by Kroskrity to integrate several “partially overlapping but analytically distinguishable” dimensions of both language ideologies and research on them (2005: 501). This understanding suggests that language ideologies are reflections on language that (1) serve group and individual interests; (2) are multiple; (3) speakers are to varying degree aware of; (4) relate social structures to forms of talk; (5) are employed in identity constructions (Kroskrity 2005: 501). For the considerations of space, we will touch upon the first three of the five dimensions that Kroskrity distinguishes by contextualizing them

with the research on language ideologies done in the Czech Republic and the aims of this chapter.

The first issue to comment on is the fact that language ideologies are usually multiple based on the “plurality of meaningful social divisions” (Kroskrity 2005: 503). In the Czech context, research-based evidence of such plurality was brought by Nekvapil and Sherman based on a long-term ethnographic study in the Czech branches of multinational companies. The study suggested that different social settings contain “a constellation of language ideologies which then influence observable practices of language management” (Nekvapil & Sherman 2013: 2; *emphasis in the original removed*).

According to Kroskrity, the different ideologies are not tacit or indifferent but rather “juxtaposed” in “contestation, clashes or disjunctions” (2005: 503). The constellations of language ideologies in the different social setting are therefore not only a sum of the different items. The constellations are rather internally organized along with how the multiple ideologies are related to each other. However, not all the ideologies seem to have the same *weight* in the constellations. In some cases, especially in the case of so-called dominant ideologies, the probability that ideologies will be reproduced in individuals’ linguistic and metalinguistic behavior is increased by the fact that these ideologies are used as “instruments of power and social control” (Kroskrity 1998: 307).

Our research focuses on the constellations of language ideologies that can be documented in multilingual families. For the reasons suggested above we are particularly interested in what role the dominant ideology plays in these constellations. According to Blommaert, dominant ideologies are the result of historical processes in which “allocation of speaking rights, attributions of status and value to speech styles, uneven distribution of speech repertoires” emerge (1999: 8). As Sloboda documented in a case of historical transformations of different national and linguistic identities in Belarus (2013), a part of the historical process behind a dominant language ideology is the access to or even control over the discourses on the higher-level scale (Blommaert 2007). These discourses have normative power over those who take part in discourses on the lower scale of social complexity and it is through them that individual members of the society are exposed to the



dominant ideology and instructed to reproduce it in their own linguistic and metalinguistic behavior.

The dominance of the monolingual ideology over some of the key higher-level scale discourses could be observed also in the Czech Republic. Research reveals that this dominance exists for example in the state-sponsored language policy (Sloboda 2010a). For illustration, different official educational policy documents persistently operate with the underspecified term “mother tongue” to refer to the Czech language (*cf.* Department of education 2013) when describing the structure of language instruction in public schools. This fact reveals that, disregarding the complex relations between ethnic, national and linguistic identity, all pupils who are Czech citizens are regarded as monolingual speakers of Czech by the educational authorities (*cf.* Sloboda 2010a; Özörencik & Hromadová 2018).

The reproduction of the dominant ideology in the current stage of the historical process may require reconciling or even suppressing the above-mentioned contestation, clashes and disjunctures that might exist between the dominant ideology and metalinguistic reflections that originate in the growing linguistic diversity. That may include also the metalinguistic reflections originating in individuals observing the linguistic practices they engage in. One such observation may be that of parents in multilingual families, that their children do not have Czech as their “mother tongue”, have multiple mother tongues or relate to other categories.

Apart from the possible *factual* discrepancies between the individual observations of the diversity of linguistic practices and the reflection of language and its use mediated by the dominant ideology, there is also another aspect that may be a reason for a tension between the two: Both collective and individual reflections on language and communication are “grounded in social experience and often demonstrably tied to political-economic interests” (Kroskřity 2005: 501). The interests related to the different language ideologies are the second consideration we wish to touch upon. In the case of a dominant ideology, the political and economic interests represented by the ideology are integrated in the mechanisms of the social control that the ideology serves. To stick to the example of the official educational policy such interests are hinted

at in the aims the policy sets, such as making pupils “acknowledge the [Czech] language as [...] an important force unifying national society” (Department of education 2013: 18; *our English translation*). In this light, reproducing the dominant ideology by parents in multilingual families might mean aligning with socio-economic interests and social control that perceives their children as heterogenous elements in the “unified society”.

The final theoretical consideration relates to the varying awareness towards different language ideologies. A high level of naturalization of an ideology comes usually with a rather low level of awareness making the ideology tacit but effective in the way it guides the individual’s behavior, as in the case of dominant ideologies. A higher level of awareness brings the so-called discursive consciousness (Kroskřity 1998), i.e. the ability to relate to the ideology in different types of discourse proving that some ideologies are salient to individuals, often due to the fact that they are being overtly contested (Kroskřity 2005: 505). We believe that, in such social settings as multilingual families in the Czech Republic, the current stage of the historical process behind the dominant ideology may also bring an increase in the awareness towards the dominant ideology.

Combining these theoretical considerations, we wish to focus on a research task of exploring the position of the dominant, monolingual, language ideology within the constellations of language ideologies revealed by the discursive consciousness that the members of the families show. We believe that discursive consciousness of individuals in different social settings has a potential for the research on language ideologies in general as it may serve as an important input especially for the research that wishes to reconstruct the locally rooted reflections on language. However, it is also necessary to reconsider the normative power of the above mentioned higher-level scale metalinguistic discourses at this point. Along with the dominant ideology being the reinforced manner to think about linguistic practices, it is also a reinforced manner of talking about these practices in certain contexts. In the following section, we will discuss our attempt to deal with this fact.

### 3. Methodological Remarks

#### 3.1 *Language Ideologies, Normative expectations and Tellability*

Within the research literature focused on the multilingual family as a particular field of sociolinguistic inquiry, language ideologies are reflected especially in the research departing from the language policy paradigm (*cf.* Sherman et al. 2016), i.e. in the works that deal with the so-called family language policy (FLP; see e.g. King et al. 2008; Curdt-Christiansen 2013; Schwartz & Verschik 2013). The language ideologies are thus researched mainly in the context of Spolsky's domain approach to language policy (Spolsky 2004 and 2009) that the theoretical foundations of FLP research predominantly build on (*cf.* Schwartz 2010; Curdt-Christiansen 2013: 2). Spolsky (2004) conceptualizes language ideologies as a belief system that motivates different forms of language practices and that is nurtured by four different contexts reflecting the social, economic and cultural consequences of both language use and policy, i.e. the sociolinguistic, socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political context.

In studies on FLP, the scope of language beliefs is usually narrowed down to those beliefs directly concerned with children's multilingual development (*cf.* Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). Given the fact that FLP studies commonly analyze data gathered in semi-structured qualitatively oriented interviews (Schwartz 2010; Curdt-Christiansen 2013) that are subjected to content analysis (and sometimes to triangulation with other types of data; *cf.* Schwartz & Verschik 2013: 6–7), FLP scholars have provided insight especially in language beliefs about children's multilingual development that the informants, usually parents of the children, coming from different linguistic, cultural and social backgrounds, were willing (and able) to put to words in the research interviews.

However, as suggested above, the tie between language ideologies, individual metalinguistic behavior and overt accounts of language ideologies is a complex one. The motivation of metalinguistic behavior is in detail elaborated in Language Management Theory (Jernudd & Neustupný 1987; Nekvapil & Sherman 2015) departing

from different standpoints compared to Spolsky's approach mentioned above (for more details on the relation of the two approaches see Sloboda 2010b; Nekvapil 2016; Sanden 2016). Language Management Theory argues that each instance of metalinguistic behavior, i.e. each so-called language management act, departs from a linguistic behavior being noted (and evaluated) as conflicting with the normative expectations that an interlocutor holds relevant in the local context (*cf.* Dovalil 2016). That includes, for instance, the expectation about which linguistic behavior, such as the use of a certain linguistic feature, can be performed in such a context without being noted or sanctioned. The language management act can cease at this point but it can also continue and reach stages in which an adjustment is designed and potentially implemented with regard to the noted linguistic behavior. An illustrative example of a full language management act would be for instance a proofreading of a manuscript: A proofreader reads through the manuscript, marks (i.e. notes) certain language features that he or she considers improper (i.e. evaluates) and explicitly suggests deletions or substitutions (i.e. provides adjustment designs) that the author or editor subsequently accepts or refuses (i.e. implements). A great deal of language management acts can be encountered in different multilingual settings, including multilingual families. These acts can range from enrolling children in heritage language classes or Saturday school to support the acquisition of one of the family languages, to parents prompting children to use a particular language in an interaction with someone with a different linguistic repertoire, such as their monolingual grandparents.

Language ideologies serve as a "basis for particular norms" (Nekvapil & Sherman 2013: 2) and some of the expectations may therefore reflect the shared language ideologies, including the dominant one. However, normative expectation may arouse also with regard to linguistic behavior that no shared language ideology relates to or where multiple contradicting ideologies exist while none is considered dominant. One of the other possible constitutive items of normative expectations is the individual experience of successful interactions that can be (but does not have to be) further rationalized into an individual or locally shared metalinguistic belief. Normative

expectations therefore retain those items from the “ubiquitous set of diverse beliefs” (cf. Kroskrity 2005: 497) about language that individuals perceive relevant in providing patterns of linguistic behavior that goes without noting or sanctions in the given context. In this sense, the normative expectations applied by individuals provide a particular insight into their sets of language ideologies and consequently into the constellations of language ideologies in different social settings.

Normative expectations and metalinguistic beliefs in general are drawn on, for instance, in the so-called communication about language management (Nekvapil 2009: 6; Nekvapil & Sherman 2015: 8). The term comprises conversations or some other forms of communicative exchanges (e.g. exchange of documents) in which at least some of the different steps of the language management process are carried out. Communication about language management takes place typically in most instances of organized language management in which multiple actors are usually involved (Nekvapil & Sherman 2015), but also in some simple language management processes, as each phase of the process might represent “a discourse of its own” (Dovalil 2015: 86).

However, the communication can also occur detached from an instance of noting a concrete linguistic behavior, for example within a process of pre-interaction management (Nekvapil & Sherman 2009) that deals with linguistic behavior expected to happen, or even as a language management summary (Nekvapil 2004) that individuals produce generalizing or even hypothesizing different instances of language management. In this sense, also almost all sociolinguistic research interviews could be considered communication about language management as during the interviews, individuals engage in verbalizing especially what they have noted in certain linguistic behavior and how they evaluate it. The advantage of the elicited communication about language management for research purposes is that it can be initiated out of situations that are physically hardly accessible for researchers due to institutional restrictions or limited predictability. Yet surely not all types of communication about language management can be induced within the research context.

As described in detail in the next section, this chapter is also based on data acquired via research interviews. In the analysis, we will

be departing from the potential of exploring language ideologies and metalinguistic beliefs drawn on in communication about language management. In concrete, we will analyze our data along with Laihonen's observation that in a sociolinguistic research interview, language ideologies are not only referred to, but they are also embedded in the "interactional routines and structures" of the interview (2008: 669). As Laihonen suggests, focusing on the embeddedness of language ideologies allows analysts to pay attention to the fact that the sense of the interview is developed in mutual interaction of the respondent and interviewer (2008: 673). We believe that the respect to how the sense of the interview is interactionally developed helps us monitor also the potential normative power that the higher-level scale discourses hold over both respondent and interviewer.

Particularly, we will be focusing on one type of the interactional structures, which as we hope to illustrate later, rely extensively on the metalinguistic beliefs that interacting individuals, including researchers and respondents, hold, i.e. their tellability elaborations. According to Sacks, in any conversation, individuals monitor the thematic items for tellability and if they perceive their tellability as low they take effort to elaborate on it:

The point is, in her forming this thing [*i.e.* a thematic item; *our remark*] up as something she's going to tell somebody, one wants to see that she has to do it right, or that she's telling them something that's not tellable can be claimed; "Why are you telling me that?" can be raised. (Sacks 1992: 12).

Ochs and Capps, exploring "everyday conversational narratives of personal experiences", pointed out that also "personal narratives vary in their quality as tellable accounts" (2001: 33) and that interlocutors adopt different strategies to balance between low and high tellability related to the nature of the events depicted, their significance to the interlocutors and the events' rhetorical form (2001: 34). These aspects of tellability do not suggest that it is based on detachable content of the narrative but, as Norrick underlined, "on the contextual (embedded) relevance of the story for the participants involved" (2007: 127) that actually cooperate on "interactively achieving" (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008: 385) tellability by different discursive practices.

Therefore, the effort spent on achieving tellability relies on repertoires of knowledge that the teller has about both the interaction and its topic. We assume that in a communication about language management, including the one occurring in a research setting, also the sets of beliefs about language and linguistic behavior are *activated*. In particular, the tellability-related discursive practices will presumably build on the items that are considered normative as, seen in a Language Management Theory perspective, the belief held as a norm guides what is noted (and therefore potentially told) about language and linguistic behavior. In the communication about language management, especially the normative expectations that individuals hold relevant in the given context may therefore reveal the metalinguistic beliefs that make particular topics tellable and actually guide what becomes a topic of the conversation.

Our data reveal that also the ties between the different language ideologies and metalinguistic beliefs become relevant for achieving tellability. These ties can, in our opinion, reveal how the dominant ideology is related to other types of metalinguistic reflections put forward by our respondents which is a question central to our inquiry. To allow for a detailed look on these ties we decided to explore two particular instances of relevant discursive practices – coming up with an answer and resisting a question.

### 3.2 *Data*

As suggested above, data analyzed in this chapter were gathered within an exploratory study on the intergenerational language transmission in multilingual families. In concrete, the analysis is based on data from two types of interviews, a thematically oriented biographical interview (TOBI) and a follow-up interview. Both of the interviews will be analyzed mainly as conversational interactions that are (be it very loosely at some points) derived from the question-answer sequential infrastructure following the assumption that cooperative respondents seek to provide accountable answers and therefore monitor their accounts for tellability.

The consideration of the cooperation between the respondent and interviewer is in fact integral to the nature of the thematically oriented biographical interview itself. The interview is inspired by the biographical orientation in sociology, especially by the work of Schütze<sup>2</sup> (1983, 1984, 1999, 2007). Unlike Schütze's narrative biographical interview in which the topic of the interview is set to the respondent's life story and the interviewer limits his or her own input to a minimum, in the TOBI the purpose of the interview is acknowledged to the interviewees. Based on the insight of interactional studies, Hájek et al. (2014: 32) remarked that the sense of a biographical interview is constructed in mutual cooperation of the respondent and the researcher even if the researcher limits his overt contributions to the interaction, as the two involved individuals adjust their behavior to their idea of their partner's expectations. That, as the authors argued, for example implies that the system of relevances achieved in the interview is a product of a cooperation even if the interviewer's relevance system is expressed only implicitly: "Regardless of whether the biography is or is not a suitable tool to capture the respondent's authentic perspective [...] in order to achieve a successful and convincing TOBI, the identity and biographical relevance have to be made relevant, both on the respondent's and the researcher's side" (2014: 52; *our English translation*). Naturally, cooperation does not concern only the relevance systems but also overlaps between, for instance, the two actors' linguistic registers. This was the case for us especially in the first interviews that were mainly the first occasion for the researchers and interviewees to meet and talk in person for a longer period of time.

The cooperation of the two actors searching for the overlaps of the two sets of expectations is not only implicit; on the contrary, it could be reflected also in observable discursive activities including those in

- 2 Schütze suggests that the "‘autobiographical narrator’ or ‘autobiographer’ is retrospectively shaping her or his own biographical identity, but the task of the meaningful ordering of pieces of biography originally evolves from life historical experiences. [...] The meaningful order of one's own life history has at its centre the unfolding of one's own biographical identity in relationship to the overall ‘gestalt’ of concatenated and coexisting life historical processes" (2007: 9).



which both of the actors<sup>3</sup> elaborate on the tellability overtly addressing their appropriateness with regard to what they assumed about their partner's expectations. Similar considerations apply also to the follow-up interviews that were based on a common thematic outline and therefore relatively more closely tied by the question-answer organization. Even these interviews contain instances of "evaluative or argumentative talk" (Laihonen 2008: 669) that include discursive practices functioning as "floor-seekers" (Sacks 1992: 775) establishing or elaborating on the tellability of both questions and answers.

The excerpts presented in this chapter come from 5 interviews conducted with 2 respondents from the group of 9 families bringing up children in multilingual families living in Prague who took part in our research. The interviews selected for the analysis share one feature, i.e. they are centered around an experience that the respondents constructed as a harsh disappointment on how especially educational institutions were unable to cater to their children's needs. The central assumption of biographical sociology is that individual biographies tend to be organized into meaningful and ordered, therefore internally coherent structures (as searching for meaning and order is actually why individuals engage in biographical work also in their daily lives). However, some biographies or some part of them defy such organization. According to Schütze, this might be the case if the biography deals, for example, with suffering or overwhelming outer events (that are biographically transformed into so-called trajectories of suffering) or with a new or important inner development (so-called creative metamorphoses of biographical identity;

- 3 Naturally, researchers focus on the analysis of the discursive practices developed by the interviewees. Similar attention could logically be granted also to the practices of interviewers who are not excluded from the tellability constraints. Also, the interviewer's inputs in the conversation, most commonly questions, are monitored for tellability and therefore asking certain questions in a certain context (e.g. about one's wage in a research interview focused on language) would require appropriate discursive practice or negotiation. Although interviewers might willingly constrain their verbal activity in the interview to provide the floor to the interviewees (Schütze 2007) they can engage in tellability negotiations by other, nonverbal means. Above that, it is a documented fact that even the interviewees who themselves monitor their accounts for tellability monitor also the interviewer's inputs for approval as seen in the above-mentioned case study provided by Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008).

Schütze 2007: 11). Also, the biographical rendering of the experiences that we encounter in the five chosen interviews suggests dealing with important development or even suffering and it is not organized orderly at all points. However, the rendering also suggests that dealing with such experience makes the discursive practices employed to achieve the tellability of accounts more creative and more likely to reveal the discursive consciousness related to different metalinguistic reflections including the dominant ideology.

The two selected respondents, together with others in the research group, were interviewed between 2014 and 2015. With each of the respondents in the research group a TOBI was conducted (45 to 90 minutes), with some<sup>4</sup> from the group a subsequent follow-up interview<sup>5</sup> was conducted (30 to 60 minutes) and in selected cases some other data (especially video recordings of family interactions) were acquired. The research group included families that were recruited in semi-random manner (by spreading printed and online leaflets or among researchers' personal acquaintances) while three criteria were applied to secure a basic level of comparability between the respondents: The group consisted only of families where a mother socialized in a monolingual Czech family and a partner with a different linguistic background who settled in the Czech Republic not earlier than as a young adult bring up one or more children of school age (i.e. over 6 years of age) in a common household. The interviews that are the subject of our analysis were conducted with the *Czech* mothers.

The purpose of the interview was discussed with the respondents in advance, in person or via email, the research focus being specified as the experiences of plurilingual families settled in the Czech Republic. The identity and affiliation of the researchers were clear to the respondents. At the outset of the first interview, respondents were encouraged to share the story of how their family took its present shape, most of the respondents oriented their accounts on the perspective of experiences

- 4 The reasons for families to drop out of the research group in the period between the first and second interviews were reasons not related to the research itself, such as moving etc.
- 5 In the case of the two respondents selected for the analysis, two interviews (one TOBI and one follow-up interview) were conducted with Mrs. E, three (one TOBI and two follow-up interviews) with Mrs. T.

related to language. The follow-up interview covered points of biographies that were unclear to the researchers after analyzing the transcript of the first interview and the topics that appeared relevant within the entire researched group after all the first interviews had been compared.

The profile of the families and respondents clearly excludes some ways of explorability of the acquired data. Although we are aware that research in multilingualism is often criticized for limiting itself to so-called elite bilingualism (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984), or seen more generally, the privileged social groups (*cf.* Piller 2001), the researched group in our case was not controlled for any additional criteria that would suggest details of the social profile of families and mothers. Some of these details became clear during the interviews (or were known to the researchers from elsewhere), especially details about education and careers of the adult family members. Other relevant personal data, such as the economic status of the family, are unknown to us in detail. The facts known to us from the interviews suggest that the group is not fully homogenous, including both upper and middle class families, however does not include any family that would represent a social group considered “socially excluded” (*cf.* Mareš 2000) in the context of the Czech Republic. However, as we are predominantly interested in the tie between the dominant language ideology and other reflections on language, we believe that our choice of respondents is justifiable as it guarantees that the respondents have and had the dispositions, be it linguistic ones, to be exposed to the metalinguistic discourses mediating the language ideology we deal with. Additionally, as there are no data that would hint at the social and economic structure of the multilingual family population, potential success of an effort to achieve a representative (or even a relatively representative) sample would be questionable.

To provide readers with a basic insight into the profile of the researched group, several details about the families are provided in the following chart. Next to the pseudonym of each respondent, there is the sex (f – female, m – male) and age of the children in the family in years as reported in the first interview. Also, the data regarding languages used in the family is based on the respondents’ accounts. The two respondents we are focusing on primarily, are indicated in bold,

additional information that we consider relevant for the analysis will be provided in the following section.

	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3	Languages used in the family besides Czech
Mrs. B	f-17	m-15	m-11	Serbian
Mrs. F	m-7	m-5		French, English
Mrs. L	f-7			Slovak, Spanish
Mrs. O	m-11	f-9		English
Mrs. P	m-10	m-9		English, Spanish
<b>Mrs. E</b>	<b>f-10</b>	<b>m-7</b>		<b>English</b>
<b>Mrs. T</b>	<b>m-10</b>	<b>m-0</b>		<b>English</b>
Mrs. U	m-7	m-5		Turkish, English
Mrs. Y	m-11	f-7		Greek, English

Chart 1. Profile of the researched group

## 4. Analysis

### 4.1 *Coming up with an Answer*

The following excerpt<sup>6</sup> comes from the very end of a conversation that occurred in the follow-up interview with Mrs. E. This respondent is a mother of two, who met her husband while working as an au-pair in the United Kingdom from where the couple relocated to the Czech Republic. At the time of the first interview, Mrs. E's children were attending

6 In this section, relevant parts of the interviews will be presented in transcripts in both Czech and English (transcription conventions specified in Appendix 1). The transcripts were translated from Czech by the authors and the phonological features represented in the original version, especially the marking of prolonged vowels, needed to be adapted in the translation so their function is rather illustrative and should be consulted with the original. All names present in the excerpts were changed to assure the anonymity of respondents and their families.

public elementary schools, both Mrs. E and her husband were working as private tutors of English and both held a high school diploma. At the time of the second interview, Mrs. E's older daughter had transferred from a regular public elementary school to a public elementary school with an extended foreign language curriculum. Mrs. E herself had acquired a B.A. degree in humanities and started to work as a part-time English teacher in a public elementary school. Mrs. E was recruited for our research via a leaflet published by a local support group for multilingual couples, she revealed to be motivated to take part in the research by conducting a similar study of her own to meet the requirements for her B.A. degree. The central topic of the first interview was an unresolved experience related to Mrs. E's son who was in the second term of his first school year and just prior to the interview, had been diagnosed with light developmental dysphasia by an independent counsellor office treating multilingual children. However, until this diagnosis was confirmed, several school authorities and other experts who were treating the boy after presumably non-standard performance in a routine maturity screening among first graders, were suggesting that he displays lower intellectual skills. They even suggested and facilitated the boy's transfer to the socially stigmatized educational program for challenged children. At the time of the second interview, Mrs. E's son was attending a mainstream second grade and received only minor supportive measures as his dysphasia had almost vanished.

The conversation that the excerpt concludes was stimulated by a question<sup>7</sup> of the interviewer: "Could the multilingual family background be considered an advantage or a disadvantage in the context of the Czech Republic?" This question prompted Mrs. E to construct a lengthy answer (about 100 lines of transcript) in which she argued that multilingual competence, especially in English, is an advantage because it means "knowing more" (*víc toho ví*), however it takes time until the advantage is realized.

7 This question was a part of the follow-up interview outline and it was motivated by various accounts of negative experiences, especially with education in mainstream schools that were gathered in the first interviews across the research group. In this context, we were hoping to find out, whether these experiences would be related to in respondents' decontextualized evaluation of the multilingual family background.

She supported her argument also by biographically rendered accounts that suggest a change in how her daughter understood her own linguistic background. The “earliest” account (in the perspective of both biographical and storytelling time) concerned the troubles both her son and daughter had in the first years of their school attendance. In concrete, Mrs. E described that compared to their classmates, her children were missing some linguistic competences made relevant by the school, such as specialized vocabulary related to types of food, and ascribed this to the fact that they spent some of their capacity on acquiring English. This account was followed by an account of her daughter’s realization that the competence in English brings advantages and by a generalizing coda suggesting that children realize the advantage of multilingual competence with getting more mature, around the age of ten.

After this generalization, the piece of the conversation that represents a typical instance of the discursive practice that we call *coming up with an answer* took place:

*Excerpt 1*<sup>8</sup>

Mrs. E. – mother of 2 children, husband from the UK

HO – Helena Özörencik

- 1 HO hm hm hm . hm ... and up to that time she like  
 2 reflected or actively experienced it/ {(P)as you said/ the  
 3 situation}\_  
 4 Mrs. E we:ll\ I think tha:t she did yea:h/ . well e:h it is  
 5 interesting like a little bi:t/  
 6 HO hm  
 7 Mrs. E like that she’s in a way interesting but other than

- 8 1 HO hm hm hm . hm .. a do tý doby před tím to nějak jakoby  
 2 reflektovala nebo prožívala/ {(P) jak ste říkala/  
 3 tu situaci}\_  
 4 Mrs. E no:\ já si myslím že to: jako jo:/ . tak e: je to zajímavý  
 5 možná:/  
 6 HO hm  
 7 Mrs. E že jako trochu je něčím zajímavá ale jinak .. jinak asi spíš to  
 8 bylo pro ní problematický/ je samozřejmě problematický\  
 9 když musí někomu/ .. (Hi) ja {(Hx)ko}... nebo někomu ne:/  
 10 ale když mluví s tatínkem tak vona musí vyvinout nějaký  
 11 jiný úsilí , že jo\_

8           that\_ .. other than this perhaps it was rather a  
 9           problem for her/ . it's a problem of course\ .  
 10          if to someone she has to\_ .. (Hi) li{(Hx)ke}\_ ... not to  
 11          someo:ne/ but if she talks to her daddy she has to  
 12          make some different effort\_ doesn't she\_

After Mrs. E dropped the floor (as suggested by the prolonged back-channeling on line 1), the researcher stimulated further elaboration of the argument central for the previous conversation. In concrete, the researcher asked for a clarification on one of the biographical accounts, i.e. the daughter's realization about the advantages of multilingual competence encouraging Mrs. E to develop the daughter's position before the realization took place. Also Mrs. E's subsequent answer includes an account that is constructed as a biographical one ("it was rather a problem for her"; line 8–9). However, the *biographicality* is firstly altered by epistemological modifiers that are employed in the account ("rather", "perhaps"; line 8) and subsequently abandoned as the perspective switches from biographical to argumentative talk (the modality shift is expressed also in the grammatical form of predicate "she has to" on lines 10 and 11).

As the argumentative talk is launched, the expression "it was a problem" (lines 8-9) that was a part of the biographical account constructed as reproducing the daughter's experience ("for her" – line 9) is re-contextualized within a clearly evaluative statement that has a form of generalized and somewhat fragmentary language management summary (starting with "it's a problem of course" on line 9). We believe that Mrs. E did not use the expression repeatedly only to argue that certain linguistic behavior requires a certain amount of effort which is a problem. In the context of the first, biographical, part of the answer, the re-contextualization points to the existence of reasons for which the biographical account was constructed as such.

The reasons are embedded especially in the implicit normative expectations that the language management summary draws on. The expectations are hinted at in how the noted linguistic behavior is described, i.e. the formulation "if she talks to her daddy" (line 12). In the particular situation of Mrs. E's family (based on the accounts she provided) this linguistic behavior, i.e. the daughter's communication with her

father, is saliently characteristic by the fact that it is the only re-occurring interaction that makes the daughter's multilingual background and her competence in English relevant. All other people the daughter engages with in everyday life are competent in Czech. The formulation "if she talks to her daddy she has to make some different effort", in our opinion, suggests that the normative expectations are breached and that the "different effort" represents a form of a sanction. Therefore the normative expectations drawn on in the summary could be reconstructed roughly as *not using Czech goes with (noting and) sanctions*.

When this normative expectation is revealed, it becomes clear that the expression "problem" stands for an explicit evaluation of a linguistic behavior and especially how this evaluation was arrived at. These are actually the reasons for which the expression was first used on line 9. Interestingly enough, the evaluation is further qualified by the adverb "of course" (line 9). This suggests that the summary is presented as based on beliefs which Mrs. E considers shared and/or referable to as such in the conversation.

The excerpt therefore illustrates that even in the context of a research interview the answers are not only told, but discursive practices are developed to elaborate on their tellability. Besides that, it shows that the respondent coming up with an answer drew heavily on metalinguistic beliefs and despite brevity the tellability elaboration was considerably complex. The elaboration documented in Excerpt 1 relates not only to the immediate answer to the researcher's question (on lines 1–3). Through this question, it relates also to the argument that Mrs. E constructed in the previous conversation, i.e. the argument that multilingualism is an advantage as it means knowing more, however it takes time until the advantage is realized.

The argument (especially the comparative form "more") suggests that it is based on some form of comparison. The following part of her answer (preceding the piece of conversation captured in Excerpt 1) illustrates the comparative aspects:



*Excerpt 2<sup>9</sup>*

Mrs. E. – mother of 2 children, husband from the UK  
 HO – Helena Özörencik

- 1 Mrs. E a:nd I believe that their brain just works differently:/ on-  
 2 because small kids are like like table is table\_  
 3 HO hm  
 4 Mrs. E and that's connected for them/ extremely connected\  
 5 whereas bilingual children know that table can also be  
 6 ((English:)) table\ and then that's simply completely  
 7 different  
 8 HO hm  
 9 Mrs. E a different conception I think . the brain/ .. so it's a great  
 advantage of course but/ em\ I don't know\ my children  
 for example had e:h and maybe still have e:h a smaller  
 range of vocabulary\

The comparison made by Mrs. E through her argument about the advantage of multilingualism is a comparison between bi- or multilingual and monolingual children (referred to as “small children” in Excerpt 2; line 2). Here, it is embedded in another language management summary (that is itself indeed inherently comparative) organized around noting instance of linguistic behavior in an extremely generalized form, i.e. being a “bilingual child” (that most probably relates to the category of having “plurilingual family background” featured in the initial question; see above). This time, the noted linguistic behavior is not related to sanctions but to a positive evaluation. That, however, still implies that a certain normative expectation was breached and that is why the linguistic behavior is noted.

- 9 1 Mrs. E a: myslim si že jim upně ten jako mozek funguje jina:k/ na-  
 2 protože ty jako malý děti fungujou tak že ten  
 3 jako stůl je stůl\_  
 4 HO hm  
 5 Mrs. E a maj to že jo spojený/ strašně\ kdyžto ty dvojazyčný děti  
 6 vědi že ten stůl taky může bejt tejb\ a je to prostě už jako uplně  
 7 jinak  
 8 HO hm  
 9 Mrs. E jinak jako koncipovaný si mysim . ten mozek/ .. takže je to  
 10 samozřejmě obrovská výhoda ale/ ehm\ já nevim\ moje  
 11 děti třeba měli e:h a možná maj pořád e:h menčí slovní  
 12. zásobu\

The normative expectation drawn on is again only hinted at, but provided the designation “bilingual children” (line 5), it could be reconstructed roughly as *being monolingual goes without noting*. Such a normative expectation is to a high degree similar to the normative expectation drawn on in order to elaborate on the tellability in Excerpt 1. In fact it is probable that the comparison here concerns (especially) children who are monolingual users of the Czech language and that we actually deal with only one normative expectation formulated on different levels of generality. Therefore, what is revealed about the normative expectation in Excerpt 1 might also relate to the one drawn on in Excerpt 2. This concerns especially the anticipation of sharedness related to the normative expectation.

It is possible and in our opinion highly probable that by presenting the normative expectation as shared in Excerpt 1 the tellability of the entire argument about the advantages of multilingualism is elaborated on. The argument was constructed to relate to the researcher’s question that itself invited certain comparison. The presupposed sharedness of the expectation that *being monolingual goes without noting* could be the reason why the particular comparative procedure taking monolingual children as the comparison basis was applied to relate to such a question.

The two examples suggest that the anticipations about which metalinguistic beliefs are shared<sup>10</sup> might be particularly relevant for respondents coming up with an answer. The particular normative expectations drawn on in the two excerpts seem to fully correspond with the monolingual language ideology shared in the Czech society. Given the assumptions about the higher-level scale metalinguistic discourses, relating to a question based on such metalinguistic beliefs might be ascribed to their normative power. In the following section, we will be focusing on discursive behavior in which such potential normative power of the higher-level scale metalinguistic discourses is breached.

10 This includes also anticipations about the researcher being someone who can be addressed as a member of the respondent’s community.

#### *4.2 Resisting a Question*

The preceding analysis was focused on how tellability is achieved by the respondents trying to come up with an answer. Our data also contain instance of discursive practices that are actually developed to resist a question. We will proceed with illustrating what these practices reveal about the metalinguistic beliefs.

The following excerpt comes from a follow-up interview with Mrs. T. This respondent was recruited by one of the researchers who was familiar with her family situation as both of them attend the same congregation in Prague. Mrs. T met her husband while he was completing his university studies in Prague where the couple settled and now raises two sons. Mrs. T's husband, who was born in Tanzania, currently works as a specialist for company-internal trainings of engineers. Mrs. T herself was trained as a hair-stylist; at the time of the interviews, she was on maternity leave.

Mrs. T represents an exceptional case within our researched group because, unlike other respondents, three (one TOBI and two follow-up) interviews were conducted with her. That was because the family experienced some rapid changes relevant for our research that we wished to cover in different stages through the multiple interviews. In concrete, sometime after the first interview, we learned that Mrs. T's family was having a conflict with the elder son's school, which had started with disagreements between the boy and his English teacher. These had been slightly hinted at already in the first, TOBI, interview. The situation had a sort of paradoxical dimension for the family who chose the particular school as it provides instruction of English from the first grade. According to Mrs. T, the parents believed that the son would benefit from such an early instruction of a language used in his family. However, further escalation of the conflict with the English teacher led rather to the boy's serious psychological hardship and finally, the parents saw themselves forced to withdraw him from the school and switch to homeschooling. This development was reflected in the first follow-up interview with Mrs. T; the second follow-up interview covered the new homeschooling experience together with topics included in the common follow-up interview outline.

The following excerpt comes from the third interview with Mrs. T. The interaction is stimulated by one of the interviewer's questions

based on the interview outline<sup>11</sup>. The particular wording of the question (same as the sketch of the question in the outline) included the verb “to learn” (*naučit se*), which is among the most common collocations with the noun “language” (*jazyk*) in Czech<sup>12</sup>. In academic discourse this verb might refer rather to some specific models of gaining competence in a language, especially to a conscious effort, such as in school settings (as opposed to language socialization or the phrase “to acquire a language”; cf. Saicová Římalová 2016). In some contexts, such as the academic one, it would be more appropriate to avoid the verb not to restrict the scope of the question. However, we decided to opt for an expression that is common in everyday talk although it might not be fully accurate.

*Excerpt 3*<sup>13</sup>

Mrs. T – mother of 2 children, husband from Tanzania

MH – Magdalena Hromadová

Child – Mrs. T’s younger son (at the time of this interview 2 years old)

- 11 As the first, TOBI, interviews revealed that mothers assess and even predict the probability of multilingual children (not) acquiring and (not) using different languages, the question was aimed at finding out if such ideas would be reproduced also in the decontextualized form and possibly collecting them.
- 12 According to the Czech National Corpus (syn2015), it is the second most common verbal collocation after the verb “to talk” (*mluvit*).
- 13 1 MH mhm\_ a podle tebe . v tom je e jakoby/ .. co to ovlivňuje\  
 2 jestli oni se to fakt naučí nebo nenaučí\ ... ten jazyk\  
 3 jako třeba tu angličtinu nebo\_  
 4 Mrs. T =já myslím že to není učení že jo\  
 5 [umí stejně\_ ]  
 6 MH [ale jestli je to potom/] .. no právě jestli to budou umět\  
 7 jakože sou děti\_ které třeba potom pořád na toho tatínka jako  
 8 odpovídaj ang- e: česky třeba\  
 9 [když vědí že] on tomu [rozumí/]  
 10 Mrs. T [no to\_ ] [jasně\  
 11 no a to dělal Tobias na začátku\  
 12 vodpovídal česky\  
 13 MH =mhm\_  
 14 Mrs. T =jo\_ von si vybíral jako malý dítě nějaký slova který měl  
 15 [rád \_ v tý angličtině/ ale mluvil]  
 16 Dítě [e: mami/ ]

- 1 MH mhm\_ and according to you . in that there is e like/ .. what  
 2 influences\ whether they really learn or don't learn\ ...  
 3 the language\ . like English for example or\_  
 4 Mrs. T =I think that's not learning you know\ he- he knows the
- 
- 17 Mrs. T na něj česky jenom\  
 18 Dítě e:  
 19 Mrs. T [ale my sme vlastně až když sme byli v] prostředí/  
 20 Dítě [e: mami\  
 21 Mrs. T ((na dítě)) tam/ no co tam je\ okno\ ((na MH)) když sme byli v  
 22 prostředí\_ kde mu nikdo nerozuměl/ Tobiasovi\  
 23 tak on teprve začal mluvit anglicky\ . a zjistili sme\ jak  
 24 hodně mluví\_ ... do tý doby my sme vůbec netu[šili/ ]  
 25 Dítě [mami: \_ ]  
 26 Mrs. T do nějakejch jeho šesti let že je takhle schopnej mluvit\  
 27 ... protože on prostě nemluvil\ ... nebo Peter ho nutil\_  
 28 řekni mi to/ ... tu větu\_ . anglicky\_ . tak von to  
 29 [řek/ ale bylo to z donucení/ nebyla to jako plynulá  
 30 konverzace\  
 31 Dítě [(pláče) ]  
 32 MH ((na dítě)) tam/ ano\_ ano\  
 33 Dítě mami  
 34 Mrs. T no a teďka ((nesrozumitelně, mluví na dítě))  
 35 MH @  
 36 ...  
 37 Dítě ((vzdychá))  
 38 Mrs. T {(P)no\} takže\ podle mě se to [neučí\_  
 39 Dítě [mami\_] ]  
 40 MH mhm  
 41 Dítě [ma: mi: ]  
 42 Mrs. T =to není jako jenom\ [že by to měl pasivně\_] že ten  
 43 [jazyk potom přijde i aktivně/ podle mě jako\ no\_] ]  
 44 Dítě [(pláče) ]  
 45 Dítě [(pláče) ]  
 46 MH =takže se to naučí jakoby/ . sa[mi pod ]le tebe ale to  
 47 užívání přijde až:\_  
 48 Dítě [(pláče) ]  
 49 Mrs. T [=až jako m:] ... no\_ {(Hx)m}  
 50 Dítě ma:ma ((pláče))  
 51 Mrs. T [=podle mě se to nejvíc projevilo s lidma který prostě česky  
 52 nemluví\  
 53 Dítě [(pláče) ]  
 54 MH =mhm  
 55 Dítě ((vzdychá a pomalu se uklidňuje))

- 5 language [anyway\_ ]  
 6 MH [but if then it's/ ] .. well exactly whether  
 7 they'll know it\ like there are children\_ who then for  
 8 example always like answer their daddy in Eng- e: Czech  
 9 for example\ .[if they know] that he [understands/]  
 10 Mrs. T [well that\_ ] [of course\ ]  
 11 well and that's what Tobias did in the beginning\ . he  
 12 also answered him in Czech\  
 13 MH =mhm\_  
 14 Mrs. T =yeah\_ as a small child he used to chose some words he  
 15 [liked\_ in English/ but he spoke]  
 16 Child [e: mommy/ ]  
 17 Mrs. T. only in Czech to him\  
 18 Child e:  
 19 Mrs. T. [but actually only when we were in] surroundings/  
 20 Child [e: mommy\  
 21 Mrs. T. ((addressing the child)) there/ hey what's there\ a  
 22 window\ ((addressing MH)) when we were in  
 23 surroundings\_ where no one understood/ Tobias\ only  
 24 then did he start speaking English\ . and we found out\  
 25 how much he can say\_ ... up to that point we had had  
 26 [no idea/ ]  
 27 Child [mommy:\_ ]  
 28 Mrs. T until he was about six years old that he was able to  
 29 speak like that\ . . . because he just didn't speak\ ... or  
 30 Peter would push him\_ say that to me/ ... that sentence\_ .  
 31 in English\_ . so he [said it/ but that was forced / that  
 wasn't any fluent conversation\  
 32 Child [((crying)) ]  
 33 MH ((addressing the child)) there/ yes\_ yes\  
 34 Child mommy  
 35 Mrs. T well and now ((unintelligible, addressing the child))  
 36 MH @  
 37 ...  
 38 Child ((sighing))  
 39 Mrs. T {(P)well\} so\ according to me they [don't learn it\_ ]  
 40 Child [mommy\_ ]  
 41 MH mhm  
 42 Child [mo:mmy: ]  
 43 Mrs. T =it not just like\ [knowing it passively\_] like the  
 44 [language comes actively too then/ in my opinion\ yeah\_]  
 45 Child [((crying)) ]  
 46 Child [((crying)) ]  
 47 MH =so they learn it like/ . them[selves acc]ording to you

- 48           but using it comes only:\_  
 49 Child [((crying))        ]  
 50 Mrs. T [=only when m: ] ... well\_ {(Hx)m}  
 51 Child mo:mmy ((crying))  
 52 Mrs. T [=according to me it showed the most with people who  
 53           just didn't speak Czech\]  
 54 Child [((crying))        ]  
 55 MH        =mhm  
 56 Child ((sighing and slowly calming down))

As the excerpt suggests, it was also the verb “to learn” or its derivatives that was in the center of Mrs. T’s reaction to the question which in our opinion could be described as an instance of resistance. Starting on line 4, before the interviewer even dropped the floor, Mrs. T started to construct an argument overtly refusing the expression saying “I think that’s not learning” and she stuck to this argument until the end of this piece of the conversation. The excerpt is presented in full length to illustrate how Mrs. T was indeed very active, as suggested by the overlaps (line 9) and probably also by the persistence with which she stuck to the topic despite the distractions from her baby son’s calling her and crying throughout the larger part of the excerpt (line 16 and onwards).

Her resistance endured also the interviewer’s overt effort to sooth her reaction. Within this effort, the interviewer offered a reformulation of the question, in which the expression “to learn” was altered: First by the verb “to know” that Mrs. T herself had suggested (lines 4 and 7) and then by a periphrasis illustrating certain instances of the use of a language<sup>14</sup> (lines 6–9). This reformulation suggests that Mrs. T’s reaction was understood as a call for elaborating on the tellability of the question because the way the answer was altered reveals the reasons for which

14       This chain of alterations is highly interesting itself. We will not be able to pay full attention to it as it did not play a role a key role in the further development of the conversation. One of the highly interesting aspects of the alterations that could be further analysed is, for instance, the fact that the “target language” is constructed through a normative expectation that ascribes the transmission of different languages to different parents and rather takes the acquisition of a language transmitted by the mother for granted. However, it might have well been the case that this rendering was adopted to create a parallel to the situation of Mrs. T’s own family and make the periphrasis potentially more illustrative or captivating.

the question was initially asked. Following this elaboration, even Mrs. T actually affirmed the relevance (and the tellability) of the question by relating to the periphrastic illustration describing children who respond in Czech to their father (implying that he is not a speaker of Czech) saying “Well that... Of course“ (line 10) and even providing an illustration of similar behavior of her son (lines 11–17). However, soon after taking the floor again, Mrs. T returned to her initial resistance (line 19) in a way that suggests that her reasons to resist the question might have been elsewhere than in its tellability.

The discursive activity that Mrs. T developed at this point is actually her own elaboration of tellability, related to the argument “that’s not learning” in line 4. Interestingly, the reasons for the argument to be told are embedded in an account that is clearly biographical. Actually, the biographical perspective might have been adopted earlier already, when opposing the question that invites a general scope (the pronoun “they” on line 2 refers to children from multilingual families in general), Mrs. T uses the pronoun “he” (referring to her son; line 4). Adopting the biographical perspective means that Mrs. T related to the interviewer’s question by matching it with her biographical experience. Accordingly, the generalized language management summary that is featured in the researcher’s question is matched with an account of a language management act, i.e. a story revealing how Mrs. T’s son’s competence in English emerged at a certain age and in certain social settings and only then was noted by the parents.

These two accounts of language management are analogous with just one exception, i.e. the way the expression “to learn” is employed. As her tellability elaboration suggests, Mrs. T considers this expression to stand for a certain evaluation of the noted linguistic behavior. However, for the reasons embedded in the biographical account, she resists applying this evaluation when rendering her experience biographically (which is why she came up with an argument resisting the initial question). The elaboration related to Mrs. T’s argument “that’s not learning” reveals, most probably, concrete reasons for which this evaluation could not be *transferred* from the question to Mrs. T’s answer like other aspects of the generalized language management summary. It is, though, unfortunately probably impossible to identify which of



the particular aspects of the biographical account actually point to why she opposes evaluating the noted linguistic behavior as “learning” and which of them are motivated by her narrative strategy.

However, one highly relevant aspect about this evaluation is still revealed. Despite her reservations to employ the expression “to learn” as an evaluation of linguistic behavior she had noted, it does not seem that she dismisses it as an invalid evaluation of some other type of linguistic behavior. The opposite, actually, seems to be the case, because the argument “that’s not learning” implies both that the behavior described in the biographical account is something else than “learning” and also that “learning” is something else than the behavior in question (but not that a *thing* such as “learning” does not exist). Along with that, Mrs. T has signaled that she sees no need for clarification on the expression when she returned to her argument after the researcher’s attempt to improve the tellability of the initial question and even used the expression herself (line 39). The fact that Mrs. T herself elaborated on the account of the linguistic behavior but not on the expression itself may suggest that she (unlike the researcher) counted on an understanding of what “learning” stands for being shared between (at least) her and the researcher.

To conclude, the resistance to the question that Mrs. T expressed initially seems to be stimulated by a certain metalinguistic belief that Mrs. T identified in the interviewer’s initial question, especially in the evaluation of a certain linguistic behavior as “learning”. Interestingly, it is again a metalinguistic belief that is treated as shared. But unlike the discursive practices developed to come up with an answer, at this point the shared metalinguistic belief caused a resistance, i.e. a discursive activity that dealt with an inability to apply the presumably shared belief within a biographical perspective.

In the discursive practice documented in Excerpt 3, the metalinguistic belief itself seems rather intact for the respondent. We would like to add an instance of the same discursive practice in which the resistance to the question is taken a step further, i.e. the shared metalinguistic belief itself is the object of resistance. The following excerpt was a part of the first (TOBI) interview that was conducted with Mrs. E mentioned in the previous section. The conversation captured in the excerpt occurred after Mrs. E provided a biographical account of how

her children started to use Czech and English and got to a point where she rather playfully (see the interviewer's laughter on line 1) reported certain reservations that her son had in interacting with his father because he had to address him in English. The account implied that the father communicates solely in English with other family members but there was no mention about the mother's practice. So after Mrs. E yielding the floor, the researcher encouraged her to add to the biographical account, concretely to specify her choice of language(s) on the background of the interactional patterns that the family applied.

*Excerpt 4*<sup>15</sup>

Mrs. E. – mother of 2 children, husband from the UK

HO – Helena Özörencik

- 1 HO @ you spoke only Czech or/  
 2 Mrs. E {(F) I speak Czech to them but basically I don't know/} . m: if  
 3 my husband is there then we speak [English\  
 4 HO [aha/ ]  
 5 Mrs. E you know we don't stick to it\_ . I know that you should  
 6 stick to it that each parent should basically speak his own  
 7 language/ . but I like\_ . can't really imagine that that I  
 8 would like speak in one language to their daddy basically\_ . like when daddy's  
 9 same sentence/ . to their daddy basically\_ . like when daddy's  
 10 at home we speak English\_

Obviously, also this question provoked resistance from the respondent. At first, Mrs. E related to the question affirmatively but abandoned the affirmation soon after that (starting with “but” on line 2) and deliberately switched the thematic scope of the conversation from “speaking to them” (line 2) to which language is used when her husband is present (line 3). However, this discursive move was deliberate only seemingly as the subsequent turns revealed. The following brief turn of the researcher

- 15 1 HO @ vy ste na ně mluvila jenom česky nebo /  
 2 Mrs. E {(F) já na ně mluvím česky ale já nevím/} . m: když je prostě u  
 3 toho manžel tak se mluví [anglicky\  
 4 HO [aha/ ]  
 5 Mrs. E jo: že to nedodržuju (. ) já vím že se má dodržovat e: to že  
 6 jakoby každé by měl mluvit tím svým jazykem / (. ) ale já si  
 7 to jako . nedokážu úplně představit že já bych mluvila jedním  
 8 jazykem e:h voni by mluvili ve stejný vět / zase k tatínkovi  
 9 jakoby\_ . prostě když tatínek je doma tak se mluví anglicky

was a back-channeling signal (line 4) with a slightly rising pitch that might be interpreted as a manifestation of question or surprise. After that an elaboration of the Mrs. E's previous account (lines 5–10) was delivered instantly, being potentially prompted also by the researcher's reaction. It suggests, in a very explicit manner, that Mrs. E had interpreted the question as a language management summary drawing on a normative expectation that she specifies concisely saying "each parent should basically speak his own language" (lines 6–7).

Within the elaboration, Mrs. E develops an argument based on another language management summary which reveals the reasons for which the initial reaction was delivered in the particular way. Similarly to what we have observed in Excerpt 3, Mrs. E voiced an inability (this time literally: "but I like can't really imagine that"; line 7) of relating to a certain metalinguistic belief embedded in the normative expectation drawn on in the initial question. However, this time the inability was not only despite the belief being known to her as shared, but also despite the belief being known to have a normative power ("I know you should stick to it"; line 5). Most interestingly, the tellability elaboration is based not on providing reasons for which the shared belief does not apply with regard to a generalized biographical experience. The belief itself is actually questioned by the respondent.

In her language management summary, Mrs. T reported her breaching the normative expectation that she had identified in the interviewer's initial question and that indeed could be matched with the well-known one parent one language strategy of intergenerational language transmission (*cf. e.g.* Piller 2001 for a critical review). Despite the normative power of the belief, she does not evaluate her breaching the expectation negatively, but rather points to shortages of the normative expectation itself. Especially, she points to aspects of the interactional patterns that exist in her family but are not covered by the expectation. This includes other types of communication than a parent addressing a child (attention to these types is drawn on lines 8–9) and probably also the excessive reduction of the family communication to language transmission that is suggested by the one parent one language strategy.

These aspects were derived from her biographical experience or are, at least, discursively presented as so. However, unlike the previous excerpt, the perspective Mrs. E adopted through her answer is

to communicate a generalized biographical experience as the present tense indicative forms imply (e.g. “like when daddy’s at home we speak English”; lines 9–10). This rendering might, in our opinion, suggest a possibility that the generalization (vis-a-vis the normative expectation) was done already before Mrs. E faced this question during the interview. One way or another, the generalized biographical experience brought up to resist a question reveals a considerable level of (critical) discursive consciousness towards the shared belief.

The practice of resisting a question suggests that the potential normative power of the high-level scale discourses, if existent, does not regulate all the discursive practices developed in research interviews. Both presented instances reveal that the shared metalinguistic beliefs, even those considered normative, are not always employed during the interview to make answers tellable. Actually, the opposite is true, such beliefs might be conceived as making the answers respondents opt for untellable and therefore stimulate discursive practices aimed at the tellability being restored.

## 5. Conclusion

In this chapter, we wished to reveal the position of the dominant, monolingual, language ideology within the constellation of language ideologies in multilingual families living in the Czech Republic. To approach this task, we have conducted an analysis of two types of discursive practices that are documented in interviews with mothers of multilingual families. In detail, we were looking into how the metalinguistic beliefs are employed and therefore revealed when tellability is elaborated on.

We have illustrated that even in research interviews, the tellability is elaborated on by both researchers and interviewees. In the case of the interviews we have analyzed, these elaborations relied heavily on the metalinguistic beliefs available to the interlocutors. Additionally, we have seen that the assumption of *sharedness* related to a metalinguistic belief is a key characteristic that guides how it is employed in the

tellability elaborations. This fact is documented in all of the excerpts presented in this chapter. It suggests that we were right to assume that the constellations of language ideologies in multilingual families contain items that originate in the shared metalinguistic beliefs or are treated as such.

The nature of beliefs treated as shared seems (in the extent revealed by our data) to correspond with what the sociolinguistic research reveals about the dominant language ideology in the Czech society, i.e. the fact that it favors monolingualism as the norm of different language practices, including for instance language acquisition. That was clearly the case for the beliefs revealed in the Excerpts 1, 2 and especially 4 that featured actually a stable set of metalinguistic beliefs that is integrated in the so-called one parent one language strategy, which itself builds upon monolingualism. Along with what is assumed theoretically about the dominant ideology, the metalinguistic beliefs treated as shared by the respondents were ascribed a normative power and were often embedded in normative expectations drawn on in the language management summaries and other accounts of language management featured in the analyzed data. This practice could be ascribed to the normative power of higher-level scale metalinguistic discourses in which the dominant ideology is predominantly reproduced. This surely could have been the case in Excerpts 1 and 2.

However, the two types of discursive practices we have analyzed reveal that metalinguistic beliefs treated as shared could be dealt with in very different ways. In concrete, we saw that they do not only allow respondents to come up with tellable answers. At some points, the shared beliefs actually make certain items untellable and stimulate discursive practices so the tellability is restored. As the instances of the resisting a question practice revealed, these items are discursively rendered as biographical (be it generalized) experiences. This suggests (confirming the assumptions of biographical sociology) that at least certain biographical experiences might have a normative power over the discursive activities of the respondents and that this power can, in some instances, outweigh the normativity of the metalinguistic beliefs treated as shared.

As detailed above, the data presented in this chapter originate in interviews with two selected respondents. If we compare the results with other conducted interviews, it shows that while the discursive practice coming up with an answer was featured extensively in all interviews (including the nature of metalinguistic beliefs that were revealed through the interviews), the resisting a question practice is limited to the interviews with the two respondents and several isolated instances in interviews with some of the others. As we have said, the interviews with Mrs. E and Mrs. T were exceptional within the entire data set as they were dealing with experiences that were treated as biographically transformative. We therefore see the presence of the resisting a question practice and the higher level of discursive consciousness towards the metalinguistic beliefs as one of the aspects of the higher discursive creativity related to the transformative biographical experiences.

A research of considerably wider scope would have been needed to verify this assumption on a quantitative basis. However, we believe that even the limited presence of the resisting a question practice might hint at an important feature of the language ideologies constellations in multilingual families. It seems that these constellations include both items that are considered shared and items that are considered based on individual experience while both types of items could be treated as normative.

This chapter was motivated by the interest in the current dynamics of the linguistic diversity of the Czech society and especially in the challenges related to the dominant monolingual ideology and social groups emerging with the rebirth of diversity, including multilingual families. If the constellations of language ideologies contain also items based on biographical experiences that outweigh shared beliefs, it seems that these challenges are at least partly mutual. However, as far as we could judge, the different types of items in the constellations are distributed unevenly throughout the population. The dominant ideology therefore appears considerably efficient in guiding the metalinguistic reflections of individuals disregarding what practices they observe or engage in everyday life, unless a discursive consciousness related to the shared beliefs is stimulated by transformative, usually uneasy, biographical experiences.

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## Appendix 1

### Transcription conventions

[xxx]	overlapping speech
=	no pause between two speakers' turns
/\ _	pitch movement up, down, continuing pitch
-	self interruption
<u>xxx</u>	stressed part of the utterance
:	prolongation of prior sound
(Hi)	audible inhalation
(Hx), {(Hx)xxx}	audible exhalation, part of the utterance with audible exhalation
{(P)xxx}	part of the utterance with low intensity
{(F)xxx}	part of the utterance with high intensity
@	laughter
. . . . .	short, medium, long pause
[...]	a part of the transcript omitted
((xxx))	notes of the transcriber

SVETLANA MARKOVA

# Contact Between the Titular Language and the Post-Colonial Language in Bilingual Lithuanian-Russian Families Within the Context of the Growing Role of English

## 1. Introduction

In the modern world, in conditions of active migration processes, families living in different countries face the following difficulties: how to raise a child from the linguistic point of view; how to awake a child's interest in their parent's native language, so that it would at least partly become their native language too; how to maintain native language and a child's ethnic identity; is it necessary to do this at all?

In Lithuania, these problems are well-known to the representatives of national minorities, including Russians, and Russian-speakers. However, the problems the parents face have not been clarified yet, nor have the problem-solving strategies been described yet.

### *1.1 Research Objectives*

The research aims to analyse the process of acculturation and language education of children from bilingual families, where one of the parents is a Russian-speaker, as well as the choice of parental strategy in that respect.

### *1.2 Research Methodology*

- In-depth interviews on the research topic.
- Sociolinguistic interpretation methodology of collected data.

### *1.3 Description of the Research*

The research is based on qualitative interviews with 6 bilingual families (3 with Russian-speaking mothers, 3 with Russian-speaking fathers). The basis of this research is data from an international project “Globalization and social and family plurilingualism in medium-sized linguistic communities“, which took place in 2013–2015, and in which the author of this research took part. 5 interviews were conducted in Russian language, 1 in Lithuanian. Interviews were conducted and analysed by the research author, S. Markova.

Every interview lasted on average from 1 to 1,5 hours and was recorded. Interviewed were Russian-speaking residents of Vilnius aged 30 to 35 years.

## 2. Parents’ languages

Maintaining the Russian language in Lithuania is much easier in Russian-speaking families, where both the father and mother speak the Russian language with their children, than in bilingual families, because in this second case often mother and father speak only one language – Lithuanian.

Russian language maintenance takes place primarily through communication within the family, through books, movies and television, and in communication with friends and grandparents.

In reality, Russian-speaking respondents do maintain the Russian language, but this process requires a certain investment (e.g., of time or money). Sometimes, in bilingual families it is much easier for parents to choose a strategy of monolingualism, hoping that others

(e.g., grandparents, teachers or kindergarten teachers) will teach their children Russian.

Parents, who have concerns with their identity, mainly speak Lithuanian with their children, whereas Russian-speaking parents tend to maintain the Russian language.

Regarding language maintenance, according to the data analysed, it can be concluded that in bilingual families Russian is not considered to be a necessity and no need is identified for its maintenance. There has been passive language maintenance or no maintenance at all in bilingual families. According to the respondents, despite the fact that their children learn Russian (even in Russian school in some cases) their children's knowledge of this language is poor. Children are free to speak both languages, but the level of Russian language grammar is much lower than that of the Lithuanian language. If children use two languages, they might suffer confusion that affects their perception of speech and the level of their language knowledge respectively<sup>1</sup>.

#### *Russian respondents*

I do not know the Lithuanian language very well. I speak without grammar. In public places, I try to speak Lithuanian" (W, 36, sales assistant).

#### *Lithuanian respondents*

I do not know Russian very well, and I do not speak correctly. I use Russian to speak about household things ... In other cases, I speak mainly Lithuanian" (W, 30, psychologist).

The responses revealed that the level of Russian language proficiency is low. This applies to spoken language and grammar.

#### *Bilinguals*

I try not to mix languages, that is I do not use one word in one language and the others in another language. I try not to mix languages, that is, not to use one word in one language, another word – in the other language. Sometimes, I say one phrase in Russian, another – in Lithuanian (M, 35, journalist).

1 Desheriyev Y. D., Protchenko I. F. Basic aspects of bilingualism and multilingualism // problems of bilingualism and multilingualism. M., 1972. P. 26–42.

Sometimes, I mix languages, because there are expressions that cannot be translated” (W, 30, engineer).

I speak a mix of Russian, Polish and Belorussian (“tuteyshij”), but I use more Lithuanian words. I have forgotten the Russian language, because I do not use it. Previously, I was thinking in Russian, and now I already think in Lithuanian. I gradually forget Russian vocabulary. Before I start speaking, I need to think for about five to ten seconds. When I take a pen and start writing then I have just the incoherent characters as a result (M, 33, foreman).

In my mind, I do not mix languages. I mix them in conversation. It’s like a peculiarity of my conversation. I use Lithuanian and Russian words in one sentence. I can read, but I cannot write correctly. I know the alphabet, but I do not know the grammar rules. I have not been practicing Russian for 20 years” (W, 33, engineer).

### 3. Identity

After analysing the special literature devoted to the study of identity, it should be emphasized that many researchers consider identity to be a dynamic component of enculturation. It is considered dynamic because it is argued to be a process that includes both constant and changeable categories which may be perceived by an individual in accordance with changing cultural conditions.

According to researchers, identity may have a diverse nature in connection with a person’s ideology, which is formed by the changing socio-cultural environment and surroundings. Research (J. Berry, T. Stefanenko etc.) shows that a person’s identification with their own national identity has a huge impact on their choice of language strategy and family language policy, which in turn influences the development of children’s language strategies and policies. In terms of multiculturalism, the impact of other cultures blurs the boundaries of family’s own culture, creates a different world perception, as a consequence for native speakers the native language loses its value. This phenomenon can be observed more clearly in bilingual families.



Identifications have been classified into three types:

- Russian: Two informants consider themselves Russians.
- Russian-speaking: There is one Russian-speaking informant (W, 36, sales assistant).
- Lithuanian: There is one Lithuanian-speaking informant (W, 30, psychologist).
- Undecided parents (“international”): The undecided parents are those who have problems with self-identification. They do not know who they are.

I feel myself neither Lithuanian, nor Russian or Pole. I do not ascribe myself to any nationality. According to my previous passport, I was a “Lithuanian citizen” of “Polish nationality” and I finished a Russian school. So, who am I? I have a Lithuanian surname and a Lithuanian name. Who can tell me that I am not Lithuanian? I am not a patriot of Russia or Lithuania, or Poland. But I am more a European citizen. In my opinion, I am a European (M, 33, foreman).

It should be noted that in connection with the cultural conditions of a society, an individual is not always able to determine their identity. As we have seen, an individual can identify him or herself in connection with the multi-ethnicity and the presence of two or more languages.

I am international. My mom is Belarusian and my dad is Lithuanian, but who am I? (W, 33, engineer).

We have Russian names, but Lithuanian surnames. I was also once ‘lithuanized’. Starting with my grandmother, in our family, there were mixed marriages, mixture of languages and nationalities took place. Maybe my mom was confused about her religious faith and ethnicity, and therefore did not use Russian in her everyday speech. It is perhaps my mother’s identity problem, which passed to me (W, 30, psychologist).

A special attention should be paid to the choice of language strategy. After analysing the interviews of bilinguals and members of Russian-speaking families, it can be concluded that not all respondents are aware of the importance of native language maintenance, as its passive use

at home and gradual blending of foreign languages count in favour of irresponsible or even artificial bilingualism<sup>2</sup>.

The question arises whether Russian-speaking parents in different countries, particularly in Lithuania, want to bring their children up Russian-speaking, or bilingual, including the Russian language. If they want to raise their children bilingually, what Russian language level do parents have in mind (here we can speak about language competencies) and what do they undertake to achieve their goals (including strategy concept) to attain this level? Do parents see a connection between their children's Russian language proficiency and cultural awareness? How do they define this awareness (what set of information, facts, names, dates, etc. are to be mastered in their view)? According to researchers, including the Canadian psychologist J. Berry (Berry J. 2002), a person should solve two problems simultaneously in the process of acculturation — preservation of his cultural identity and integration into a foreign culture. The combination of possible solutions to these problems gives the basic strategies of acculturation: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization.

Castellotti and Moore (2002), after a series of studies in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, found that the vast majority of Russian-speakers in these countries have a dual identity – both as Russians and as the inhabitants of a certain city or another country in the region. Castellotti says: “A significant majority attach greater importance to the local identity, rather than ethnic: they are primarily the residents, and then Russians”<sup>3</sup>.

- Assimilation is a type of acculturation, whereby a person totally accepts the values and norms of a particular culture, abandoning his principles and values.
- Separation is denial of a foreign culture and continued identification with their own culture. In this case, representatives of the non-dominant group prefer a higher or lower degree of isolation

2 Vereshchagin E. M. Psychological and methodological characteristics of bilingualism (bilingualism). — M.: publishing house of Moscow state University, 1973. URL: <http://englishnursery.ru/opinions/id/15/>

3 Castellotti V., Moore D. 2002: Social Representations of Languages and Teaching. Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe: from Linguistic Diversity to Plurilingual Education. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing Division.

from the dominant culture. The isolation strategy from dominant culture is called segregation.

- Marginalization is a type of acculturation, manifested in loss of identification with one's own culture and a lack of identification with the culture of the majority. It occurs because of inability to maintain one's own identity (usually due to various external reasons) and lack of interest in obtaining a new identity (perhaps due to discrimination or segregation by the culture itself).
- Integration is the identification with both one's own and the new culture.

According to researchers, such as Clyde K.M. Kluckhohn, identity plays an important role in family language policy-making.<sup>4</sup> In his opinion, national identity and one's own attitude to one's ethnic aspect create a vast distance between native speakers and the individuals for whom it is a second language. As a result, individuals have to change their language strategy and identity in favour of the titular nation<sup>5</sup>.

Russian-speaking Lithuanians are the most striking instance of this case, as they (in comparison with Russian-speaking Estonians and Latvians) are the weakest group despite the fact that the Lithuanians clearly overestimate the power of their Russian-speaking group. This overestimation might be explained by considerations of the importance of Russian language use in media and society, as well as the fact that Russian has been the second foreign language in schools for the last ten years.

#### 4. Language strategy

In the following section, language strategy choices in multicultural environments involving Russian-speaking and bilingual families will be considered. Three strategies have been defined:

4 Kluckhohn, Clyde. *Culture and Behavior*, Free Press of Glencoe

5 Desheriyev Y. D., Protchenko I. F. *Basic aspects of bilingualism and multilingualism // problems of bilingualism and multilingualism*. M., 1972. P. 26–42.

1. Bilingualism strategy
2. Lithuanian education strategy
3. Undefined (they do not know what they want)

The bilingualism strategy was chosen by an informant (M, 35, journalist), who says that in their family he and his wife decided to follow a strategy of bilingualism, according to which he had to talk to his children in Russian, and his wife in Lithuanian. This strategy is kept in his family to this day with only one change. Since his wife is fluent in Russian (she is from a bilingual family), he often starts talking with his children in Lithuanian, and his wife in Russian.

One of the informants (W, 36, sales assistant) is in the process of changing the strategy. She has different strategies with different children. With the first son this family used a monolingual strategy, whereby both parents spoke Russian. However, she now believes that this strategy was wrong, as their son had problems with Lithuanian at school. In agreement with her husband, she decided that they would speak their native language with their second son: the mother would speak Russian, and the father Lithuanian.

The strategy of speaking Lithuanian was chosen by two respondents. One of them (M, 33, foreman) believes that because he lives in Lithuania, he must know the language. He also believes that it will be easier for his children to use one language, they do not confuse the languages:

I did not even think about speaking with my children in Russian. It was not even discussed. The language was not a problem. We made this decision because we live in Lithuania, and I am married to a Lithuanian [...] I do not even have doubts about what language to speak [...] Assimilation happened! (M, 33, foreman).

The other informant (W, 33, engineer) hopes that his children will not speak the Russian language, and if they do, their knowledge will be extremely scanty. He admits that the choice of language is not in his competence:

To speak Russian with children? It is out of the question. The “neck” in our family is not me. The language is my wife’s area. I did not even think that I could speak with the children in Russian. Lithuanian is a dominating language in our country.

My wife would like our children to speak Russian. Multiculturalism is real and it always was. But it is unreal to keep it in one family (W, 33, engineer).

According to these respondents, their families' choice of language strategy depends on social norms and conditions. They claim that the official and predominant language in Lithuania is Lithuanian, which is why they choose to speak it at home.

Two informants have doubts about which language strategy to employ. One of them (W, 30, engineer) in agreement with her husband, speaks only Lithuanian with her children. This choice was made due to the personal experience of her husband, who grew up in a bilingual family and had problems with languages, which caused him stutter. Since her husband is at work most of the time, the informant is afraid that if she does not speak Lithuanian with her children, they will not learn it. She plans to send her children to a Lithuanian school. Nevertheless, she hopes that the children will learn the Russian language too with the help of their grandparents, with whom they live now. She gives the following advice:

Do not mix languages. Even in conversation. If you decide that in your family, the mother speaks Russian, and the father Lithuanian, do not mix the languages. That is, do not use two words in Russian and two in Lithuanian in the same sentence. It is not good. If you see that your child has difficulties speaking these languages, it is better to drop one of them, until he starts speaking well the other language. And then he can proceed to learn the second language. It is going to be a big problem, if your child does not speak any language well (W, 30, engineer).

The other informant (W, 30, psychologist), speaks only Russian at home at a basic level. Her eldest daughter goes to a Russian group in kindergarten. What will happen next, she does not know, but most likely her children will go to a Lithuanian school, and the youngest daughter will perhaps go to a Lithuanian kindergarten.

However, when talking about bilingualism, the level of language knowledge should be taken into consideration. The level of knowledge, language maintenance and amount of Russian language used in general by a bilingual family are considered to be low. The language proficiency and identity of parents are directly related to the

choice of language strategy as well as the linguistic repertoire of their children<sup>6</sup>.

When the researchers ask parents what dictates their choice of a language strategy, they either do not understand the question, or try to evade it. In modern Russian families, bilingualism and multilingualism occur due to many reasons: migration, socio-political, socio-economic, spiritual issues, and national discrimination.

Russian-speaking families change their lives and their language for easier adaptation. Thus, in order to work in comfortable conditions, Russian-speaking respondents choose to talk to their bosses in Lithuanian. For comfort in social environments they speak Lithuanian language in the service sector. The same applies to the choice of educational institutions, which shall be discussed later.

The overall trend towards multilingualism in Lithuania has two aspects: internal and external. In the first case, we are talking about the pursuit of Russian-speaking families to learn the Lithuanian language which, as the language of the titular nation, enables them to fully implement their civil rights within the state. The second case refers to the ambition of educated Russian-speaking families (Russian Europeans) to integrate into the world system of informational, social and other relations and obtain the values of world cultural heritage through the study of foreign languages (English, Lithuanian, Polish, etc.).

## 5. Language maintenance

Having considered the problem of choosing a language strategy, we turn to the problem of language maintenance and its quality in terms of the passive or active position of native speakers. In accordance with the researchers' point of view, language maintenance can occur at several levels:

6 Vlasova-Kurits N., Kurits S. How to preserve Russian language in exile? About the Russian language preservation program among children of Russian parents living outside of Russia. URL: <http://www.russianwomenmagazine.com/russian/books/preserve.htm>

1. Conscious active maintenance (despite the fact that parents themselves speak Lithuanian at a high level, they preserve their native Russian language at the same time)
2. Forced active maintenance (when parents do not speak Lithuanian, but speak only Russian language)
3. Active-passive maintenance (the Russian language is maintained by others, without parents' help).
4. Passive maintenance or non-maintenance (Russian language is not maintained).

We shall consider only two levels in detail:

1. Active maintenance (parents actively maintain)
2. Passive maintenance (language in general is not transmitted)

### *5.1 Passive Maintenance*

One of the informants (M, 33, foreman) does not speak with his children in Russian. Consequently, his children never hear Russian speech:

For a child it is easier to speak one language. Many children, who learn two or three languages, get confused and then have to go to a speech therapist. It is better to learn more languages later (M, 33, foreman).

Another informant (W, 33, engineer) speaks Lithuanian like her mother and grandmother. She went to a Lithuanian kindergarten, and only some children there were Russian-speaking. She wishes to teach her children Russian, however, she takes no action other than letting them watch Russian cartoons.

### *5.2 Active Maintenance*

There are two types of maintenance: deliberate and forced. One of the informant's (M, 35, journalist) family consciously maintain the Russian language. He speaks both Russian and Lithuanian, maintaining Russian

not just through books, cartoons and movies, but also through real communication:

I want my children to maintain the Russian language, as an intellectual and cultural wealth. We maintain it through culture: books, films and other cultural phenomena. Now their grandparents help to maintain Russian in the family too. For my father, it is easier to communicate in Russian. These days, my children often see grandparents and talk to them in both languages. The grandparents try to give them more knowledge of the Russian language" (M, 35, journalist).

In another informant's (W, 36, sales assistant) family the situation is quite different: she does not know the Lithuanian language so she simply has no other choice than to communicate with her children in Russian: "My children like Russian literature and movies. They do not like Lithuanian dubbing. I teach them to read and write in Russian" (W, 36, sales assistant).

Russian people living in Lithuania represent blended families who sought not to dissolve their nation, but to assimilate to the host society culture at least. If compared, Russian-speaking families pay more attention to native language maintenance than bilingual families. Russian-speaking families read literature and study history although, by their own admission, they could do more to maintain and develop their own language.

According to one of the focus group respondents, assimilation is a common process which requires a peaceful coexistence of two or more cultures:

We need to preserve the Russian culture, but we need to do it in the right way. Russian language needs to be developed and preserved, while learning Lithuanian. I'm Lithuanian and I have a positive attitude to Russian language.

During the interviews, one of the Russian-speaking informants noted that the Russian language is maintained only at the family level. Russian is increasingly prevalent in everyday family life, yet rarely goes beyond it. The working field is characterized by a rigid dominance of the Lithuanian language, especially in high status employment. Thus, according to this informant (M, 30, engineer), it is advisable to speak Lithuanian on the request of one's boss: "I speak Lithuanian and sometimes English with my boss, but I speak Russian with my colleagues or subordinates only" (M, 30, engineer).



## 6. Children's language

Along with the native language maintenance in a multicultural situation in Lithuania, it is necessary to address the issue of younger generation's bilingualism, since all Russian-speaking families are bilingual to a greater or lesser degree, both in family and in public life they use at least two languages (Russian, Lithuanian), and often three or more languages (Russian, Lithuanian, Polish, English). Identity formation directly affects children's language choices in the family<sup>7</sup>.

Children's language:

1. Children who speak only in Lithuanian
2. Bilingual children
3. Children speaking only in Russian – no cases

### 6.1 Only in Lithuanian

One of the informant's (M, 33, foreman) children speak only Lithuanian with parents, in kindergarten, at school, and with friends. Another informant's (W, 33, engineer) children never hear the Russian language.

### 6.2 Russian and Lithuanian

One of the informant's (W, 36, sales assistant) attend a Lithuanian school:

My children do not know what language they think in. They can read in Lithuanian, whereas reading in Russian is very difficult for them. They speak well, and can read, but it is difficult for them. My youngest son can write in block letters. My eldest son can write well in Russian (W, 36, sales assistant).

Given that the multicultural conditions of society dictate the norms of language use, its strategy involves the development of both parents and

7 The Forum of experts "Russian language in the world" URL: <http://eurolog-uk.org/advice-publications/>

children. However, bilingual learning strategy often causes linguistic and social difficulties for children:

Children adapt very well to a new environment and immediately proceed to learn a new language. My children speak with each other in Lithuanian. But if there is a word they do not know in Lithuanian, they say it in Russian. If they are in the company of Russian people, they very often start talking to each other in Russian. What is their mother tongue?

My eldest son thinks in Russian. My youngest son does not know what his native language is (W, 36, sales assistant).

Another informant's (W, 30, psychologist) daughter goes to kindergarten, learns Russian songs, Russian words, but cannot speak well yet.

Another informant's (W, 30, engineer) children mix languages but can speak both languages:

My eldest daughter still has problems, but my youngest speaks well for her age. According to our speech therapist, the problem is in using two languages. Some children learn two languages easily, others do not. My daughter understands everything, but speaks badly and mixes both languages.

What language do your kids talk to each other?

Both. It depends on who the initiator of the conversation is, what the topic is, what language they know more, what cartoon they watched, Russian or Lithuanian. It very much depends on this. They speak in the language in which they received information (W, 30, engineer).

Finally, the children of another informant (M, 35, journalist) know and understand the Russian language, but their primary language is Lithuanian.

After analysing the data from interviews with bilingual respondents, one can conclude that in most examples their children do not speak Russian. This is evident from their speech and grammatical errors. Moreover, according to the examples, children have problems with the perception of Russian as well. All of these processes with the Russian language are closely related to personal identification and the process of enculturation, which due to the absorption of one culture by another, erase cultural and linguistic boundaries<sup>8</sup>.

8 Fedorov N. Features of integration of Russian immigrants. P. 258–280. In: *Diaspora*. – Moscow, “Natalis”, 1999 (2).

## 7. Conclusions and recommendations

1. Bilingual parents can be divided into three groups according to languages they speak: Russians, Lithuanians and bilinguals. Moreover, some of the parents speak Polish and/or English.
2. Four types of parents' identity: Russian, Russian-speaking, Lithuanian, and parents who do not define their identity ("international").
3. Three language strategies, which are chosen by parents from bilingual families: bilingualism strategy, strategy to study Lithuanian, and undefined (they do not know what they should choose).
4. Two types of Russian language maintenance: active (parents actively maintain the language), and passive (in general, the language is not maintained)
5. Children's language in bilingual families: children who speak only in Lithuanian, and bilingual children. According to this research, there is no category of families, in which children speak only in Russian.

The problem of native language (Russian) maintenance in bilingual families in Lithuania still exists, therefore in conclusion, a few words should be said about native language preservation opportunities.

The Russian language should be needed for something useful and interesting: club activities, participation in theatrical studios, etc. Active cultural activity and communication are needed as well: exchange trips, visits to theatres, competitions, festivals, exhibitions, international summer camps, international festivals. Attending a language school and doing homework is not enough for the effective preservation and development of language – it requires an integrated approach. Out-of-school cultural activities and communication matter.

A Finnish researcher E. Protasova (2004) gives the following general recommendations:

- To support the native language, one needs to ensure its sufficient use at home, as well as the presence of books and culture manuals. A child should communicate with other native speakers and representatives of your culture of different ages.

- It is advantageous to tell children about your own and other people's lives from the world history, etc. When watching TV, you should comment everything to your children shows in your native language
- If possible, it is advantageous to study literature, history, culture and geography of countries where the language is spoken. It is the humanities which contribute to development of communicative skills, literacy standardization, and provide information about the culture.
- You need to talk to your children in your native language as much as possible, to help them speak the language well. Tell them everything you know, have seen and feel. Tell them the truth. Teach your children your native language, so that your child is able to understand your feelings and impressions in full measure, when you talk to him or her. Talk to your child the same way he has to talk to you. Ask your friends and relatives to talk to your child in your native language. Teach your child to listen, to understand, to respond, and to find words in situations, when others would think a gesture or a facial expression are enough.

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# Family Language Policy in the UK: Identity Building and Language Maintenance at Home

## 1. Introduction

Family language policy (FLP) is a growing area of study which adopts the family as its main 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 (Curdts-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 chapter 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<sup>1</sup> language maintenance within multilingual families in the UK. This is perhaps quite telling of the UK's interest in minority or foreign language learning, even if 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). More research, therefore, is needed to find out about language issues within the home environment in the context of the UK, and the current chapter aims at addressing this research gap.

## 2. Theoretical framework

In recent years, the study of language policy has been typically concerned with the analysis of three areas: language 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 Báez 2013) and adoptive families who have different mother tongues from their adopted children (Fogle 2013). In investigating these families, researchers aim to find out

1 In this chapter, the term *minority languages* is employed to refer to the non-societal language spoken at home, in our case, the language of the non-English speaking parent. This is in line with the terminology used in most literature within FLP.



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).

Collectively, previous 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 is an influential factor 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 chapter incorporates nexus analysis (Scollon & Scollon 2004) as the theoretical framework to tackle the complexity of FLP. 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. As noted by Scollon and Scollon (2004 cited in Hult 2015:223) “[e]very 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.

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).

### 3. Methodology

The present study uses a mixed methods design. 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). 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 below separately. Quantitative data was collected from participants through questionnaires and qualitative data was collected through in-depth interviews as well as through voluntary additional comments in the questionnaire, after which the methods were further mixed in the discussion. 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 & Graham 1989) is accomplished through the inconsistencies found between the questionnaire and interview results.

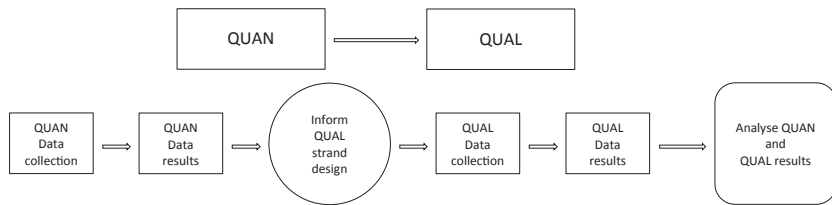


Figure 1. Visual representation of mixed methods design in current study

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.

### 3.1 Questionnaires

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 Facebook 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. Responses to the questionnaire were voluntary, so 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. This imbalance 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 still being 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.

### *3.2 Interviews*

There were 2 families who volunteered for interviews. Family one is a Finnish-British family; the mother, Sofia<sup>2</sup>, 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

2 All names used are pseudonyms, to protect the identity of the participants.

speaker of English and Greek/Cypriot. 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.

## 4. Results

### 4.1 *Quantitative data*

#### 4.1.1 *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. 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. In the parent to parent context, the means were 5 and below, 5.1-5.9 and 6 and above.

Parent to Child			Child to Parent			Parent to Parent		
M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD	n
6.9	1.92	233	4.85	2.64	233	2.69	1.69	233

M = mean, SD = Standard Deviation, n = number

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.

#### 4.1.2 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 the discussion section.

#### 4.1.3 Strategies

Almost three quarters of parents planned their language use with their children, language planning here understood in the sense of Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:3): "an attempt by someone to modify the linguistic behaviour of some community for some reason"; the most popular strategies used by parents were support from relatives, reading minority language books to children and visiting the country 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, one parent-one language (OPOL), relying on relatives, reading books to children in the minority language (MiL) 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.

	<b>Language planning</b>	<b>One parent one language</b>	<b>Relying on relatives</b>	<b>Reading books to children in MiL</b>	<b>Children watch TV in MiL</b>
<i>Percentage of respondents who use strategy</i>	72%	56%	87%	69%	37%
<i>Mean: Group that use strategy</i>	3.4	3.65	3.29	3.53	3.61
<i>Mean: Group that do not use strategy</i>	2.8	2.69	2.69	2.57	2.98
<i>Chi square</i>	13.763	37.46	13.857	30.284	15.490
<i>Mann Whitney U Test</i>	0.001	0.000	0.013	0.000	0.000

Table 2: Results from chi square and Mann Whitney U test for strategies which showed a significant difference

	<b>Community</b>	<b>MiL classes</b>	<b>Visiting country of MiL</b>	<b>English School</b>
<i>Percentage of respondents who use strategy</i>	57%	24%	91%	43%
<i>Mean: Group that use strategy</i>	3.35	3.33	3.26	3.31
<i>Mean: Group that do not use strategy</i>	3.04	3.17	2.75	3.13
<i>Chi square</i>	4.819	1.972	9.23	2.391
<i>Mann Whitney U Test</i>	0.058	0.462	0.069	0.383

Table 3: Results from chi square and Mann Whitney U test for strategies which did not show a significant difference

The results presented in this Section show that overall there is a preference for English in the home, only with the exception of the parent to child context. 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.

## 4.2 *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 her son Ben, but not to her husband 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.

### 4.2.1 *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 facilitate 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.

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.

(1) Maria<sup>3</sup>: 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,

3 The interview transcripts in the chapter do not incorporate diacritical forms given that our analytical focus here is more content than form-oriented.

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.

(2) 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:

(3) 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.

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.

#### 4.2.2 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. 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 respondent 4 in the questionnaire.

(4) Of course it is beneficial for kids to be multilingual but not to the detriment 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.

(5) 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.

- (6) Have many regrets and my kids don't speak Swedish.
- (7) 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.
- (8) 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:

- (9) 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 the discussion section below.

#### 4.2.3 Strategies

As shown, it is not always the ideologies that have a strong impact on their children's and parents' language use, therefore the chapter 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.

(10) 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.

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.

(11) 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.

(12) 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 access to particular physical spaces 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.

## 5. Discussion and conclusions

This chapter 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, 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 simple and straightforward, and more needs to be said in connection to them; to tackle these questions, we elaborate further on them drawing heavily on the qualitative results. 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 speakers' 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, Sofia'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.

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.

Importantly, then, an aspect of DIP that did affect both families along with many questionnaire respondents was externally motivated: the shift to English that was caused by English schooling. This is likely because the child spends most of 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.

To conclude, this chapter has investigated FLP in the UK through both an in-depth and a more general view. Using a nexus analysis, the chapter 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 chapter has highlighted the importance of societal factors and space in FLP. That is, it has shown 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 chapter 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 chapter 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.

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## New Speakers' Ideologies and Trajectories in Bilingual Families in Catalonia<sup>2</sup>

Languages not only inspire loyalty, they also provoke fear, hatred, resentment, jealousy, love, euphoria the entire gamut of human emotion (Pérez Firmat 2003, quoted by Pavlenko 2005: 22)

[Catalan] Un idioma que nunca será como mi piel, pero sin cuya existencia no puedo sentirme a gusto en mi piel (Maruja Torres (1997: 39) *Un calor tan cercano*. Madrid: Alfaguara)

*A language that may never feel like my second skin but makes me comfortable in my first.*

### 1. Family Language Policy

All meaningful language policy is ultimately played out in the family. As the seminal proposals of Fishman (1991) posited, the main goal of a language policy which tries to revitalize a linguistic community is to guarantee intergenerational language transmission in private domains, that is, above all in the family. Our concern is to know what happens in

1 We would like to thank as well the suggestions sent by the anonymous reviewers. The writing of this chapter also benefitted from discussions with members of the EU-funded COST network IS1306 “New Speakers in a Multilingual Europe: Opportunities and Challenges.”

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bilingual families in the current Catalan society where both Spanish and Catalan coexist and compete steadily in public and private domains, and where the percentage of immigrant population is enormous (Domingo 2014). Therefore, unlike societies with both a huge immigrant population and a well-defined host or titular language, in current Catalonia there is neither an evident mainstream group, nor an anonymous language in public life, accepted by everybody (Woolard 2016). Spanish is the dominant language in mass popular culture, in the market and in the Spanish administration, whereas Catalan is predominant in local and regional administration and in primary education.

In other words, the dichotomy between majority and minority may prove to be very often ambiguous, or even contradictory. Therefore, it is necessary to investigate language socialization processes across the lifespan where language transmission is emotionally charged: children, for example, “develop a social identity simultaneously with the development of language” (Lanza 1997: 7). Bilingual families are thus a social scenario where metapragmatic awareness is very recurrent: the effects and conditions of language use themselves become objects of discourse (Silverstein 1993). Spolsky (2004) proposed three main interrelated, complex and non-linear aspects of family language policy: ideology, practice, and management (intervention in this practice, by means, for example, of family literacies such as books, e-resources, shared book reading, homework help, and explicit teaching reading). Family language policy (FLP) could be defined as explicit (Shohamy 2006) and overt (Schiffman 1996) planning in relation to language use within the home among family members (Spolsky 2012). Some authors have given to this term a more meticulous meaning. On the one hand, King and Fogle (2013: 172) stated that “FLP addresses child language learning and use as functions of parental ideologies, decision-making and strategies concerning languages and literacies, as well as the broader social and cultural context of family life”. On the other hand, Curdt-Christiansen (2009: 352) defined language policy as “a political decision and a deliberate attempt to change/influence/affect the various aspects of language practices and the status of one or more languages in a given society”. As Schwartz and Verschik (2013: 10) proposed, “ideologies about language are of course not about language alone, rather they reflect issues of social and personal identity”. What is evident is

that family language policy in bilingual families is highly related to macro-level political structures and strongly influenced by migration pressures, national language policy and language in education policy (Curd-Christiansen 2014).

The vast majority of parents, however, do not strategically plot and plan family language policy. Family language policy is not consciously planned, but rather has essentially been predetermined by history and circumstances beyond the family's control. In our data on bilingualism in Catalan families, there is generally not such a deliberate effort. In informal, everyday life, there is not always the opportunity (or the time) of having what is called "prior ideological clarification", that is "an open, honest assessment of the state of the language and how people really feel about using it and preserving it". Thus, there is not an explicit family language policy in the sense of a visible and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members (Schwartz 2010: 180). At most a sort of continuum can be found ranging from the highly planned and orchestrated decisions (for example in educated and cosmopolitan families), to the apparently invisible laissez-faire practices of most families. The classical analytical frame proposed by Cooper (1989: 98) is appropriate, though: "What actors attempt to influence what behaviors of which people, for what ends under what conditions by what means through what decision-making process with what effect?" More often, given the growing globalization, families tend to be increasingly aware of the saliency of linguistic capitals for their children's welfare. It is not always noticeable to which extent institutionalized communications (those stemming from the state's power affecting language policy: government, mass media, education and so on) overflow into the family domain, into each family's language choices, though as an indirect and long-term result. Palviainen and Boyd (2014: 225) remind that "family language policy is by its very nature dynamic and fluctuating and subject to re-negotiation during the ongoing life of a family".

To sum up, it must be underlined that a new field of research is emerging (Schwartz 2010, Schwartz and Verschnik 2013), a field that addresses a factor that plays a basic role in the continuity or interruption of linguistic communities.

## 2. Language Ideologies and trajectories

Language ideologies are the driving force of linguistic choices in the family, since they are based on the perceived value, power and utility of various languages. Curdt-Christiansen (2009: 355, and, with minor changes, 2014: 37 as well), in **figure 1**, illustrates the complex and bidirectional links between ideology, interventions and language practices.

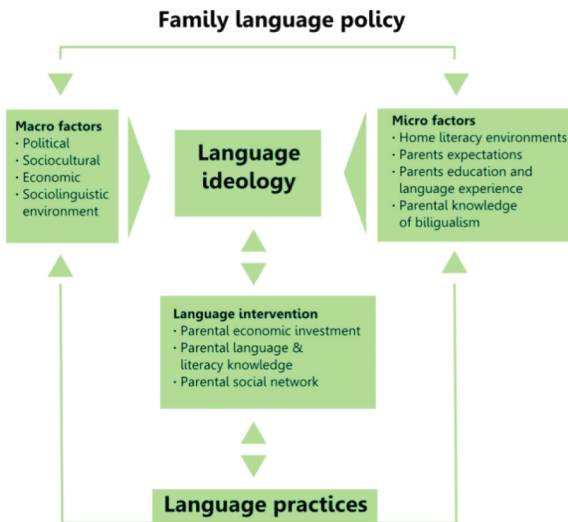


Figure 1. Family Language Policy scheme (Curdt-Christiansen 2009: 355)

Language ideologies are thus interwoven with economic, political and sociocultural factors (Schieffelin *et al.* 1998). Family linguistic choices provide a window into parental ideologies, by reflecting broader social ideologies. The state linguistic policy in democratic polities does not intervene directly in these linguistic choices within the intimacy and privacy of the families but affects them in an indirect way. We might compare it with state's birth rate campaigns: expansion of investment in kindergarten or in assistance programs for the families might help to increase birth rate numbers. In a similar vein, the use of a language

in prestigious domains may give it also prestige in the private family domains.

Our goal in this chapter is to understand how language ideologies underlie linguistic trajectories, above all parenting practices, by new speakers of Catalan in ethnolinguistically mixed families (Spanish/Catalan). In other words, the purpose of this chapter is to know “how people who have Spanish as their first language locate themselves within this context where both languages, Spanish and Catalan, coexist. Which sorts of transitions do take place? Which patterns of linguistic practices appear?” (Rovira 2012: 13; see Sauri 2015 as well). Which are their linguistic ideologies and trajectories? Considering the declared behavior by interviewed people, one can figure out how these ideologies are formed.

The ultimate factor behind linguistic choices in the family is the individual person's beliefs, her or his subjective ethnolinguistic vitality, as social psychologists call them (Giles 2001). Ethnolinguistic vitality is “what makes a group to behave as a collective and distinct entity in an intergroup situation” (Azurmendi 1999: 266). A positive subjective ethnolinguistic vitality allowing a group to survive and function as a collective entity would be the best predictor of both endogroup and exogroup behavior (Azurmendi 1999: 268).

The data on which our analysis is based on are semi-structured interviews to native speakers of Catalan in bilingual families. Can one define precisely native speaker? The idea of a pure native speaker is so misleading and unusual as the idea of a homogeneous new speaker. There are competing ideologies of linguistic authority (see for the Galician case O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013). Only purists rely on an ideal “authentic”, uncontaminated speaker. For instance, in modern Catalonia purists like Pau Vidal (2014) cry out repeatedly that the Catalan runs the risk of dissolution because of the lack of authenticity in its practice, full of unsettling hybrid forms. This author only claims legitimacy for native speakers, warning to keep the language free from Spanish influence and does not take into account that new speakers might be owners warts and all of the Catalan language as well. We can only agree with Pavlenko (2011: 3) that it is more and more difficult to locate monolingual speakers of languages other than English, and some “do not know

how to deal with the ‘messiness’ of bilingualism.’ Who are a given language’s legitimate speakers?

### 3. New speakers in contemporary Catalonia

A complex continuum of Spanish and Catalan varieties (both languages are Romance and relatively similar) coexist in current Catalonia because steady and massive immigration has been a basic milestone in its recent history. The increase of population in Catalonia during the 20th century stems above all from immigration from the rest of Spain, first, and secondly from the rest of the world. This immigration is considered to be either positive contributing to the country’s progress (Domingo 2014) or negative being a threat to the continuity of the Catalan autochthonous culture (Vandellós 1935, Rafanell 2011), which might run the risk of becoming a minority in its historical territory, the *Überfremdung*, as it is said in German.

One should inquire “how and to what extent new speakers may see themselves and/or be seen by others as legitimate participants in the speech community that have been historically constituted and imagined in contexts of language revitalization” (O’Rourke, Pujolar and Ramallo 2015: 9).

Actually, what we find in our increasingly intercultural societies is a continuum of linguistic competences. Hornsby (2015) proposes, for instance, a seven-fold typology of speakers: fluent, semi-speaker, terminal speaker, rememberer, “ghost” speaker, neospeaker and last speaker. New speakers occupy a sort of third space, located between native speakers and learners. This is the case in current Catalonia where there is a whole bunch of varieties between fluent Spanish and fluent Catalan (see, for example, the analysis of Montilla’s idiolect, the former president of the Generalitat in Woolard 2016). New speakers are “individuals who acquired the language outside of the home and who report that they use Irish with fluency, regularity and commitment” (O’Rourke and Walsh 2015: 64) In Basque, there is a specific name for these new speakers: *euskaldunberri*. There are many *catalanberri*, new speakers



of Catalan, in modern Catalonia, for instance, its former president, José Montilla (Pernau 2010). Our informants are thus peculiar new speakers: they did not learn Catalan at their native home, but they come across this language in their current home consciously or unwittingly.

As a whole, the public, politically-correct image of immigration in Catalonia has been positive. A slogan, frequently heard in political meetings and publications, has been integrative and inclusive: “Catalan are all those who live and work in Catalonia”, to what some add “and who want to be Catalans”. On the one hand, there are smooth boundaries between Spanish L1 and Catalan L1 speakers in modern Catalonia (probably it is not the case with other recent ethnolinguistic groups) (Boix-Fuster 1993). On the other hand, there is an ambiguity concerning the social connotations of Catalan: Catalan is both the language of the massive, basically working-class, immigration from southern Spain, and the language of a tiny, but powerful castilianized segment of the local population (Boix-Fuster and Moran 2014).

Popular literature has echoed this interest in these new Catalans or “Other Catalans”, as proposed a popular essay in the sixties (“Els altres Catalans”, Candel 1965). Pernau (1995) has, for example, gathered sixteen family stories of Catalan citizens who had moved to Catalonia, and who, in different degrees, had adopted its local language. This author emphasizes that language contacts among equals, among peers, among members of the same social class or network facilitate the acquisition of Catalan (Pernau 1995: 33). Most of the informants, with Spanish-speaking roots, found out that Catalan culture and language indeed existed, and most of them became new speakers of Catalan, and even came in some cases to sympathize with the Catalanist cause. All respondents are well-known public figures of Catalan society and encapsulate their personal cultural story within the context of the more global Catalan history. They acquire Catalan in a sense of achievement (Botey 1986, Woolard 2013). Saurí (2015: 205) in turn described five different paths of reethnicization and relinguification by immigrants in Catalonia, namely high appropriation of Catalan, dual linguistic uses, failed appropriation of Catalan, temporary appropriation, and high distance vis à vis Catalan.

Finally, the reader should keep in mind that these linguistic ideologies and behaviors occur in a territory where both speakers of Spanish and Catalan feel legitimized as native languages, even though Catalan is the historical or titular variety (“*llengua pròpia*” in Catalan). This social backdrop in Catalonia is very different from a society with well-defined host languages and “immigrant” languages, such as that which is described in the recent review of the topic in Schwartz (2010).

#### 4. The quantitative data: the demolinguistic context

What is the demographic weight of both the Spanish-speakers and the Catalan-speakers in contemporary Catalonia? Catalan is a minority language in primary socialization due mainly to continual immigration (most of which arrived during harsh anti-Catalan dictatorships), to low birth rates among Catalan-speaking families and to the assimilationist policy carried out by the central Spanish government (Subirats 1990 and 2012, Domingo 2014).

It is therefore extremely salient to know what happens in the intergenerational linguistic processes: “whether the offspring of such marriages are bilingual in both parents’ languages, or have only one of the two as their home language, will certainly have a large impact on the future of the subordinate language whenever such families are numerous” (Strubell 2001: 262).

Survey data show (EULC 2013) some power of linguistic recruitment by the Catalan-speaking population, located in urban areas above all in middle-class sectors. Some L1 Spanish speakers become identified with the Catalan language, as shown in figures 2 and 3 (EULC 2013). Catalan is becoming in some degree ‘anonymous’ or ethnically unmarked (Pujolar and González 2013, Woolard 2016).

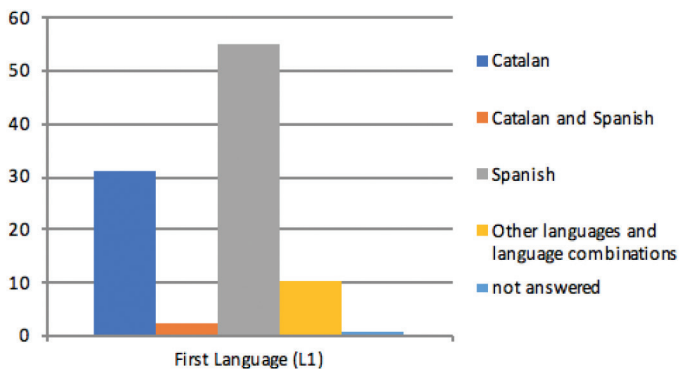


Figure 2. First language survey results (EULC 2013)

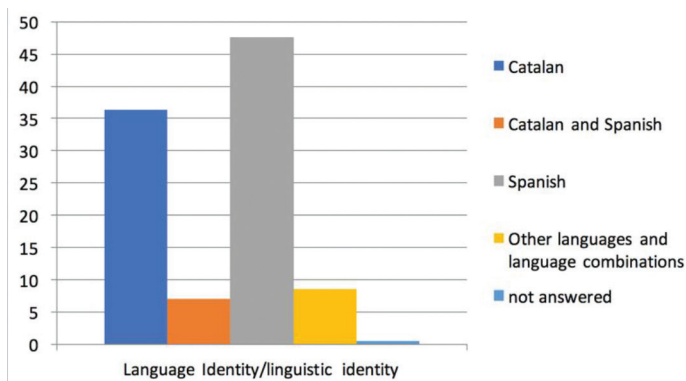


Figure 3. Language Identity survey results (EULC 2013)

This group of Spanish L1 new speakers of Catalan epitomizes the relative success of the process of linguistic normalization in favor of Catalan. Rovira (2012: 133) very acutely emphasizes that this group of new speakers is not taken enough into account in language policy campaigns in Catalonia:

They are those who see themselves scarcely mirrored in the language policy appeals to passive bilingualism, as preferred behavior for Catalan-speakers when addressing Spanish-speakers. Among those messages uttered by the Catalan administration language policy, there is a lack of messages targeting this group, making them unguilty of their linguistic promiscuity, that is, nothing else than a search of personal balance in their transit back and forth between two linguistic communities.

## 5. Qualitative data: fourteen semi-structured interviews

These data stem from seventy-nine semi-structured interviews with women of linguistically mixed couples (mainly Spanish/Catalan) with small children in the Barcelona area, carried out from 2010 to 2014. Next we are going to present some data on linguistic ideologies among Spanish L1 women, all partners of bilingual Spanish-Catalan families. All of the following fourteen interviewees have contact in a higher or lesser degree with the Catalan language in the family domain. First, we will describe those linguistic ideologies of twelve informants who have acquired Catalan as their preferred identification language or in a balanced position comparing with Spanish. Secondly, we will focus on an interviewee, who, after losing Catalan in the family, has later reintroduced it in everyday life. Thirdly and finally, we will analyse an excerpt of an interview with a Catalan L1 speaker who has abandoned somehow Catalan as their main identification language. Thus, we are dealing with opposite processes, namely processes of catalanization (1–11), recatalanization (13), and castilianization (14) (Castilian is the usual term for Spanish in current Catalonia, and we use both terms indistinctly), that take place simultaneously in the very same society.

### 5.1 *Catalanization processes (1–12)*

The first informant, SI.MA, feels she has the duty to learn Catalan, or at least to understand it, as the country's language. This is an integrative stance.<sup>3</sup> In bold we emphasize the most meaningful fragments.

- 3 This integrative ideology resonates as well in Rovira's data (2012), a similar research. A compensatory ideology appears clearly: if the parents did not gain access to Catalan, their children must do it, so they must be spoken in Catalan. He feels the moral duty to speak in Catalan to his children. He relies, like in informants 5–10, that his children will learn Spanish anyhow.

*EL., Spanish L1, married to a teacher, speaks Catalan to his children (from Rovira 2012: 251–2):*

El meu compromís era que si el meu fill ha nascut aquí, el meu compromís com a immigrant era de que... jo no estic integrat plenament però ells sí. Ells s'han de sentir com que han nascut aquí i tenen una cultura pròpia i de petit jo sempre

Throughout the excerpts, we always follow conventional orthographic conventions.

(1) SI.MA. [L1 Spanish, 37-year-old business woman, born in Barcelona, with two daughters (17 and 21 year-old). She speaks in Catalan and Spanish with the oldest one, and Catalan with the youngest one].

ENT: Creu que per ser català cal saber català?

SI.MA: Sí, el català és la llengua de Catalunya i si vius a Catalunya, com a mínim, l'has d'entendre. **Encara que tu vinguis d'un altre puesto, has d'aprendre la llengua del lloc on vius**, on cries els teus fills, on tens la teva feina.

INT: *Do you think it's necessary to know Catalan to be Catalan?*

SI.MA [in Catalan]: Yes. Catalan is the language from Catalonia, and if you live in Catalonia, at least, you must understand it. **Even if you come from another place, you must learn the language of the place where you live**, where you bring up your children, where you have your job.

The second informant, RO.GA, compares her social class with that of autochthonous Catalans in such a way that these autochthonous Catalans are seen as a positive reference group. This vision of Catalan as a

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els parlava català [...] Que la de 9 anys hasta fa poc li costava parlar el castellà. Perquè la meua obligació era parlar-li en català. La meua mare: "Ai, Antonio, que hable en castellano que no la entiendo!" [...] i jo a la meua mare li deia "És la seva llengua, mama, ja parlarà castellà quan sigui gran" [...] La meua obligació era parlar-li català perquè era la seva llengua. Els meus fills parlen perfectament el català, parlen perfectament el castellà i parlen l'idioma que sigui.

*The most important thing for me was that if my children were born here [...] as an immigrant, I wanted them to feel they belonged here, even if I didn't feel that, completely. They needed to have the sense that they were born here and that this was their culture and that's why, when they were small, I always talked to them in Catalan [...] Until recently my nine-year-old even found it difficult to speak Spanish; and that's because I actually felt a duty to speak to him in Catalan. 'Dear me, Antonio,' my mother would complain, 'I can't understand a word he's saying, make him speak Spanish!' [...] And my answer was 'But it's his language, mama; he'll speak Spanish when he's older'. [...] I had this duty to speak to him in Catalan because it was his language. And now my children speak perfect Catalan and Spanish and they can use either language, when and where they want.*

code for the wealthy, even “posh” classes (see lines 2-4) is confirmed by Victòria’s words in Rovira’s research again (2012).<sup>4</sup>

(2) RO.GA [L1 Spanish, 52-year-old woman, primary education teacher, born in Barcelona. Two siblings (20 and 16-year-old) with whom she speaks in Catalan].

**RO.GA:** A vegades a casa meva sí que ja havia parlat en català perquè **la meva mare, quan va venir de Terol, va entrar a servir en una casa de senyors que parlaven català i per ella el català era una cosa de prestigi, com de senyors.** Deia que era bo parlar-lo i recordo que, de tant en tant, a casa deia: “ara anem a enraonar en català”. I ens feia parlar a tots en català una estona.

RO.GA [in Catalan]: Myself, sometimes at home I had already spoken in Catalan **because my mother, when she came from Teruel, she began working as a servant in a wealthy house where Catalan was spoken and for her Catalan was a prestigious thing, like posh.** She used to tell us that it was good to speak it and I remember that, from time to time, she used to say: “let’s talk now in Catalan a little bit”. And she used to make all of us talk in Catalan for a while.

The third informant, FP, shows a clear-cut militant attitude (lines 1-2): she defends the Catalan language politically, which she has adopted “naturally” in her native town, Manresa. Actually, she declared herself to be more fluent in Catalan than in Spanish (lines 15–16). She states the need for mobilization in favor of Catalan (lines 10–12), but with all this put together, she recognizes her Spanish-speaking roots (line 5).

4 Victòria, Spanish L1, from Mataró, with a Gambian husband. Her mother used to work as a sewer in rich Catalan-speaking households. Victòria felt alienated from “Catalans” and she was called “xarnego” (this term is used pejoratively to refer to a person, mainly from popular sectors, who originally came to Catalonia as an immigrant from another part of Spain):

Llavors Victòria: [the interviewee’s mother]. deia: “vosaltres heu d’aprendre el català. Heu d’aprendre el català per no tenir cap problema”. Perquè ens deien xarnegos, eh?. “Heu d’aprendre el català. No vull que sigueu marginats perquè no sapigueu el català.”

[in Catalan] Then she Victòria: [the interviewee’s mother] said to us: “You’ll have to learn Catalan so you don’t have trouble because they used to call us xarnegos, right?” “You’re going to have to learn Catalan. I don’t want doors being closed in your face just because you can’t speak the language.”

(3) *FP [L1 Spanish, 58-year-old, teacher, born in Manresa, with a 23-year-old daughter, with whom she speaks in Catalan]. FP: El castellà és imposat i el castellà és la llengua que domina. De fet, és un acte de militància, de dir no. Ens hi posem perquè sí no... doncs, entens? Vull dir, està en desigualtat el català [...] Adoptar-lo [el català]? Diguem-ne... és la meva llengua, bueno, vull dir, la meva llengua també és el castellà, eh? Vull dir, perquè la meva llengua materna és el castellà. I perquè jo parli sobretot en català no vol dir que... no ho sé. És que clar, jo l'he adoptat. No sé si l'he adoptat. Sí, suposo que sí [...] Si no volem que es perdi, perquè ja prou pals li donen, no? Doncs és important que ens hi posem i que la trobem el més útil possible. [...] Si tu penses en una Catalunya, doncs la seva llengua és el català. Si te'n vas a un altre país, doncs, parlaràs l'idioma d'aquell país [...] Sí, de fet, ha estat d'una manera natural [the way she learnt Catalan] perquè des de ben petit l'has sentida i has parlat en català [...] potser em sento més còmoda parlant en català perquè sí que és veritat que és la que més, potser més anys de la meva vida, he parlat.*

*F.P [in Catalan]: Spanish is imposed on us and Spanish is the dominant language. In fact, it's a militant act, to say no. If we don't make a stand about it... you know? I mean, there is no equality for Catalan [...] Adopt it [Catalan]? Well, this is my language, well, what I want to say is that my language is also Spanish, you know, I mean, because Spanish is my mother language. And just because I speak Catalan above all else doesn't mean to say... I don't know. Of course, I have adopted it. I don't know if I have adopted it. Well, I guess so [...] If we don't want to lose it because it already gets enough stick, you know, it's important that we make an effort and consider it a language to really be used. [...] If you think of Catalonia, its language is Catalan. If you go to another country, you will speak the language of that country [...] yes, in fact it has happened in a natural way [the way she learnt Catalan] because from very small I have heard the language and have spoken it [...] maybe I feel more comfortable speaking Catalan because it really is the language that I've spoken for possibly most of my life.*

The fourth informant is influenced in her choice of Catalan by the alleged hegemonic presence of Catalan in public schools (lines 5 and 6). She keeps using both languages in the family, depending on the child she talks to. As she summarizes in lines 14–15: “When I give my good night kiss to Sara I tell her “T'estimo molt” (“I love you” in Catalan), whereas to Carlos I say “Te quiero mucho” (“I love you” in Spanish”).

(4) *MJ [L1 Spanish 46-year-old woman, born in Barcelona and living in Vallromanes. Clerk, with a 14-year-old son and a 13-year-old daughter. Her husband is also Spanish L1, but they speak both in Catalan with their son].*

*MJ: Al primer jo li parlava castellà, el Sergi (her partner) sempre li parlava en català, i amb la Sara... amb la Sara sempre en català. (...) Em va sortir natural.*

No era una decisió. Amb la Sara sí que vaig parlar català perquè em donava la sensació que no m'entenia.(...) La seva professora a la guarderia era molt catalana, els hi parlava tot amb català. I amb el gran no, era una professora que parlava català i castellà. I amb la Sara no sé per què jo pensava que quan li parlava en castellà no m'entenia... O es feia una mica la “no t'entenc”, no ho sé. (...) *[Our sons and daughters]* Ens parlen en català, però quan jo estic enfadada, o els he de renyar o recriminar alguna cosa, ho he de fer en castellà i em contesten en castellà. [...] aleshores el meu pensament és en castellà. I quan em poso seriosa lo primer que em surt és el castellà. I bueno, també quan els dic coses boniques també a vegades és en castellà. (...) Sí. **Quan els faig els petons de bona nit a la Sara li dic “t'estimo molt” i al Carlos li dic “te quiero mucho”.**

*MJ: At [in Catalan] first I spoke to him in Spanish while Sergi [the interviewee's partner] always spoke to him in Catalan and with Sara... with Sara it was always Catalan. [...] It wasn't a conscious decision; it just came out that way. But I spoke Catalan to Sara because I had this feeling that she wouldn't understand me, otherwise. [...] Her teacher at nursery school was especially keen on everyone speaking Catalan: everything had to be in Catalan. But not with our older child because that teacher spoke both Catalan and Spanish. And with Sara I don't know why I thought she didn't understand me in Spanish... Maybe it was how she reacted. [...] They [the interviewee's sons and daughters] speak to us in Catalan, but when I'm angry or I'm griping about something I do it in Spanish and they switch to Spanish, too. Then I think in Spanish. And when I get serious the language that comes out is Spanish. When I'm being tender with them, too, often it's in Spanish. [...] Yes. When I kiss them goodnight, with Sara I say “T'estimo molt”, which is Catalan, and with Carlos I say “Te quiero mucho”, in Spanish.*

The following five informants (5-10) share a similar stance. In all of their families, the Spanish speaking partner addresses her son or daughter in Catalan, by adding that she or he will learn Spanish anyhow given the social dominance of Spanish in current Catalan society. Hybridity is the common trait as Rovira (2010: 127) wrote clearly: in Catalonia “it is difficult to find out cases where people abandon a given language in order to assimilate completely another one.” Apart from this, the fifth informant points out that language choices in the family are spontaneous and not planned (“things come up”). When her children got older she decided to stick to Catalan when addressing them. She is not worried about the acquisition of Spanish, since the sons are expected to learn it anyhow (line 9). One can observe that she uses very recurrent interferences of Spanish in her Catalan (for example, Spanish ‘terminas’ instead of Catalan ‘acabes’).



(5) AFS [L1 Spanish, 46-year-old woman, born and still living in Barcelona, office worker; with a university degree. Two sons (16 and 14-year-old) with whom she speaks in Catalan currently, although when they were small she spoke to them in Spanish. She speaks with her husband in Catalan, who is Catalan L1 and has always spoken in Catalan with his sons].

AFS: No sé; jo penso que això va sortint. Te, te va sortint, o sigui no... no són coses que programis. Són coses que... bueno, tu, és normal que si amb els teus pares tota la vida has parlat en castellà, i estan aquí a casa i ells estan amb els nens i els hi estan parlant en castellà... i tu amb ells també els hi estàs parlant en castellà... doncs clar, quan són petits, si encara ells no diferencien amb quin idioma parla ningú, pues terminas de rematar tu també la frase en castellà. Però després, quan ells ja van començar a diferenciar els dos idiomes, jo automàticament vaig passar a parlar amb ells en català, perquè **els nens aprendrien el castellà igualment**.

AFS: [In Catalan] I don't know, really; I think it's just how things gradually happen and it's not a matter of choice. If you've spent your whole life speaking Spanish to your parents and they're here in your house with your kids speaking Spanish to them, it's just natural; and you speak Spanish to them, too. And of course, when the kids were small they didn't realize that the language changed depending on who was speaking and so you ended up saying that final sentence in Spanish, too. But later, when they started to see there were two different languages, I automatically switched to Catalan because I knew that **kids learn Spanish anyway**.

The sixth informant arrived in Catalonia in her twenties, coming from the Canary Islands and shows in her Catalan narrative some elementary Spanish interferences (e.g. 'donde' instead of 'on'). She declares that she mixes up both languages when talking to her daughter. She is worried by the quality of her daughter's Catalan, especially because she has Spanish-speaking relatives in her home islands: she wants her to speak in Spanish. This daughter uses both languages when addressing her parents, but the mother prefers that she has Catalan as her mother tongue. Her partner refers to the Catalan independentist movement behind these preferences. And she adds at the end the same justification as informants 5, 7 and 8: "she'll end up learning and speaking Spanish anyway and so at least she'll have learnt Catalan too." (lines 19–20).<sup>5</sup>

5 These informants's ideologies coincide with the traditional view of additional bilingualism. These interviewees consider the acquisition of Catalan an asset, not a flaw. Pinto, a Spanish L1 teacher, militant of the Catalan cause, states a similar reasoning: "(El català suma) perquè els catalanoparlants d'adopció han trobat en la llengua catalana un element essencial de connexió amb el país on

(6) AAS [L1 Spanish, 41-year-old woman, born in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria and living in Barcelona since she was 23 years old, publicist, with a 3-year-old daughter. Her girlfriend is from Barcelona and Catalan L1. AAS speaks with her in Spanish, and in both languages with her daughter].

AAS: (...) Io diria que de petita petita castellà. Però aquí és donde io no el tinc molt clar, perquè sí que és cert que hi ha vegades que li parlo tot en castellà, a vegades en català i acabo en castellà... i voldria definir-me ja però m'està costant, eh! Vull dir que... vull veure com acoblar-me. Ja ho diuen que lo millor és que un li parli en un i l'altra una altra, perquè també per una banda no vull que... digués-sim que Meri està preocupada perquè no està parlant molt català la nena i per altra banda jo lo que tampoc vull és que no parli bé el castellà perquè com que té tota la família en Canàries... Després comencen a dir que no l'entenen... i que tal, no sé què... però bueno [...] Jo... no m'he fixat molt però crec que em parla en les dos, depèn. Si li surt castellà, castellà i si li surt català, català. És que no està molt definida encara [...] Les dues [*the interviewee is being asked which language his daughter will use when she grows up*]. Però... però crec que... o almenys intentarem que com amaterna tingui el català. Sí, perquè ara estem amb el tot el rotllo de la independència i amb tot això estem molt... sensibles? I tirarem per allà, sí. I perquè, bueno, és el que diu ella, **el castellà al final ia l'aprendrà igual i ho parlarà igual. Llavors almenys que tingui el català.**

AAS: *When I was really small, in Spanish, I think. But I'm not completely certain, because it's true that sometimes I speak to her in just Spanish but sometimes I start speaking in Catalan and then end up speaking Spanish [...] and I'd like to decide on just one language but I'm finding it really hard! What I mean is, I'm still looking at how to get a handle on things. They say it's best if one parent speaks one language and the other speaks the other language. But while Meri worries that our daughter isn't speaking enough Catalan, I also want her to speak Spanish well because all the family is from the Canaries; and then they'll all start complaining that they can't understand her. [...] I haven't stopped to think about it but I reckon she speaks to me in both and that it depends on the moment. It could be one or the other, depending what comes out first. Things aren't very clearly defined yet in that respect. [...] She'll speak both languages [*the interviewee is being asked which language his daughter will use when she grows up*]. But I think her mother tongue will be Catalan or at least that's what I hope. Because now, with everyone talking about Catalan independence, we've all got a bit more receptive to that idea and I reckon that's*

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viuen, sense haver de renunciar a res ni renegar de res, sinó tot el contrari.” / [*In Catalan*]. *because Spanish speakers who have adopted Catalan have found in the Catalan language an essential element in order to connect with the country where they live, without having to abandon anything, without having to renounce anything, but quite the opposite.*

*what we'll do. And also because of what she [the interviewee's partner] says: "She'll end up learning and speaking Spanish anyway and so at least she'll have learnt Catalan too".*

The seventh informant, herself a bilingual Spanish/Catalan, explains, as usual, that the couple's language is Spanish but both partners always use Catalan with their sons. She refers to the predominance of Catalan at school as a cause of this choice of Catalan. And, ultimately, she adds in lines 8-9 that the parents are convinced their sons will master Spanish "anyhow", because they will practice it when meeting their Spanish-speaking grand-parents.

*(7) AS [Bilingual Catalan/Spanish, 44-year-old woman, born and living in Barcelona (Sant Andreu district), clerk, with three children (17, 14 and 8-year-old). She speaks in Spanish with her husband, who is Spanish L1. However, they speak both in Catalan with their children].*

AS: Ens van presentar en castellà [*the interviewee is referring to her husband and her*] i parlem en castellà. El que passa que a casa indistintament si parlem dels nens podem parlar català. [...] Als nens? Nosaltres? Català, en català sempre. [*The interviewee explains why she speaks Catalan to her children*] No, perquè a mi em surt el català i llavors... també l'escola, a la guarderia on anaven, en el bressol on anaven i això. Ho parlaven tot en català i allavors parlàvem català. Però com que també anaven a vegades quan els tenien els meus sogres els hi parlaven en castellà **ja sabem que el castellà l'aprendrien de totes maneres.**

AS: [*In Catalan*] We [*the interviewee is referring to her husband and her*] met in Spanish and now we speak in Spanish. But what happens is that at home whenever we speak about the kids, we can speak Catalan. [...] What do the kids speak to us? Catalan, always. [*The interviewee explains why she speaks Catalan to her children.*] No, because I always speak Catalan [...] and at their nursery school everything was in Catalan, so we spoke Catalan, too. But because they occasionally spent time with my parents-in-law and my parents-in-law spoke to them in Spanish, **we knew they'd learn Spanish anyway.**

The eighth informant describes how the couple has chosen Catalan as the language to use with their son. This decision was not a conscious, deliberate option. Once again, she states that he will learn Spanish "anyhow" (lines 1-2). She praises bilingualism: "If he can get two mother languages, it's best."

(8) MPM [L1 Spanish, 38-year-old woman, born and living in Barcelona, biologist, with a 3-year-old son with whom she speaks in Catalan].

MPM: No, perquè això... vam pensar que **el castellà l'aprendria igualment per l'entorn en el que estem**, bueno vull dir, més medis en castellà malauradament que en català... Llavors això ho aprendria segur, i emmm clar volíem que aprengui un altre idioma com a propi. Després l'anglès, el francès i tot això ja arribarà, però si pot tenir dues llengües maternes, perfecte. Potser no li ensenyarem el millor català del món, però bueno. De fet, no és allò que ens haguéssim parlat... vull dir, va sortir com una mica una cosa que vam pensar... tampoc no ho vam discutir... va ser com algo que teníem molt clar tots dos.

MPM: [In Catalan] No, because we thought **she would just learn Spanish naturally from the daily world we live in**; because, unfortunately, there's generally more Spanish around us than Catalan, in the media, in life in general [...] So since Spanish was going to be a sure thing, we thought it's better if you can learn another language that can be just your own. Later on, there'd also be time for English and French and other languages, but if you can start with two maternal languages, so much the better. Perhaps the Catalan we're teaching our child isn't the most correct Catalan, but that's the way it is. It's not what we would have spoken [...] I mean, the idea just came out and we didn't really need to debate it in any great detail [...] it just made a lot of sense to both of us.

The same rationale resonates in interviewee 9 (JC). Spanish is already guaranteed (lines 1-2), so the acquisition of Catalan in the family is not an obstacle for the acquisition of Spanish. Interviewee 10 (BC) adds a nuance: BC comments that she plans to speak to their children in Catalan, whereas their children will learn Spanish because its acquisition is easier and because it is more available in the surrounding society (lines 6-8). Both excerpts come from Bastardas (forthcoming), in an article which belongs to the same research project as the rest of this chapter.

(9) JC [bilingual L1 Spanish/Catalan woman, born and living in Barcelona, with a 3-year-old child. The partner is Spanish L1. Both began speaking in Spanish but now they interact in Catalan. Nowadays both speak in Catalan to their child].

JC: De fet, també va ser de les coses que vam pensar, no? **El castellà aquí el té garantit, segur**. Llavors, anem a garantir-li el català.

JC: [In Catalan] Actually, it was one of the things that we thought about as well, didn't we? **Spanish is completely guaranteed**, for sure. So, let's guarantee Catalan for him.

(10) BC [L1 Spanish woman. Her partner is French L1. They met in Catalonia and communicate in Spanish, with a couple of fourteen-month kids. The interviewee talks in Catalan to her children, whereas her partner uses French].

Interviewer: I això ho vau decidir o va sorgir o com va anar? BC: No ho vam decidir. Jo vaig decidir que si vivia a Catalunya els hi parlaria en català i en el supòsit de que haguéssim eh: viscut a França, crec que hagués optat pel castellà, més que res per un tema de...lo que tenia clar és que volia que el sapiguessin... vull dir. Jo no els hi parlo francès perquè no és la meva llengua materna. Amb la qual cosa em sembla molt imposat i la meva idea és parlar-les en català. I com que **el castellà ja l'adquiriran perquè és molt més fàcil, perquè està molt més a l'abast** doncs... I ella francès, perquè és la seva llengua.

*Interviewer: Did you decide it? Or did it come up spontaneously?*

BC: [In Catalan] *We didn't decide it. I decided that if I lived in Catalonia, I'd talk to them in Catalan, and in the case I had lived in France, I think I would have chosen Spanish...It is clear to me I wanted them to know it, I mean. I don't speak French to them because it isn't my mother language, so it seems imposed. My idea is to talk to them in Catalan, since they will acquire Spanish because it is much easier. It [Spanish] is much more available.. And she, in French, because it is her Language* The eleventh interviewee, RY, shows a similar stance to the one by informant I. He states that in order to feel really Catalan, he thinks he needs to learn and speak Catalan. Therefore, RY, L1 Spanish, decides to adopt Catalan when addressing his child.

(11) RY [Spanish L1 man, with a French L1 partner. They talk in Spanish to each other, but he talks in Catalan with his child].

RY: Vaig ser jo que vaig decidir que jo volia parlar en català perquè em sento molt català i no entenia que sentint-me molt català, no parlés català.

Interviewer: Per parlar en català et sents més català?

RY: Per parlar català, em sento més català, no. Jo em sento molt català i **per a sentir-me català, vull parlar en català**. No és a l'inrevés [...] Jo pensava en castellà i havia de traduir al català. Ara mateix no, ara mateix, penso, sento, somio en català. Ja és meu el català.

*RY: [In Catalan] It was my own idea to decide that I wanted to speak in Catalan, because i feel very Catalan and I didn't understand how I could feel so Catalan and not speaking the language. [...] Because by speaking Catalan, I feel more Catalan. No, it isn't that way. I feel strongly Catalan, and in order to*

*feel Catalan, I want to speak in Catalan, it is the other way around. [...] I used to think in Spanish. I had to translate into Catalan. Right now, right now no, I think, I feel, I dream in Catalan. Catalan is already mine.*

Finally, this twelfth informant, MGF, appears to be somehow skeptical with regard to the catalanization process. She suggests there has been an attitude change concerning the linguistic repertoire. In her opinion new generations evaluate languages in a new way, less positive towards Catalan in comparison with earlier generations.<sup>6</sup>

(12) MGF (40-year-old, L1 Spanish housewife, living in Barcelona, with two children (14 and 8 year-old) with whom she declares to speak both Spanish and Catalan)

MGF: Ara crec que tot això ha canviat. **La llengua catalana ha perdut prestigi** per totes aquestes raons polítiques, no? Bueno, crec que abans la gent feia l'esforç de parlar en català i ensenyar els fills en català. Ara crec que tot això s'ha perdut.

MGF: [In Catalan] Now I think that this has changed. **The Catalan language has lost its prestige** for all those political reasons and so, you know. Well, I think that before people used to make an effort to speak in Catalan and teach their children in Catalan. Now I think all this has been lost.

## 5.2 Recatalanization processes

The thirteenth informant shows a double compensation process in a family living in a rich district in the city of Barcelona. On the one hand, the informants' parents, both Catalan L1 speakers, had shifted to Spanish when raising her (lines 2-3). Later on, the informant, when bringing up her own children chose Catalan to compensate this previous interruption of Catalan in her family ("I didn't want what happened to me to happen to them", lines 11–12) On the other hand, the grandmother (Catalan L1 speaker, who did not use her first language to her children) sticks to Spanish when addressing her grand-siblings in order to compensate as well: "I will speak to them in Spanish, so we compensate a little bit"(lines 16–18).

6 Pérez Andújar (2011) mirrors perfectly this new perspective in his novel describing the identity of Spanish-speaking immigrants in the Barcelona metropolitan area.

(13) *C.O.*: (Spanish L1, from a previously castilianized Catalan L1 family, owner of a business agency, born in Barcelona (Sarrià neighbourhood). Two siblings (15 and 11-year-old, with whom she speaks in Catalan)

C.O: la llengua materna de la meua mare era el català i la del meu pare, el castellà, però entre ells parlaven català i amb nosaltres castellà.

ENT: **Com va tenir lloc aquest procés de castellanització a la teua família ?**

**C.O :** Perquè com la família del meu pare era molt estirada i no eren catalanistes... Era una mica perquè no tinguéssim l'accent català que tenim els catalans quan parlem castellà.

ENT: Molt bé. Llavors quan vau tenir els nens, com ho vau decidir? Vau decidir, doncs mira, a partir d'ara els hi parlaré en català o va ser un tema que no vau parlar i va sortir com natural?

C.O: Jo diria que ho vam parlar perquè, o sigui, jo **no volia que els passés el mateix que a mi**. Que a mi **em va costar molt arribar a parlar català** i parlar-lo amb fluïdesa [...] **Però bueno, la meua mare els hi parla en castellà. Intenta compensar una mica**. Però el DA [the interviewee's brother] també els hi parla en castellà.

ENT: I això és premeditat, aquest ús del castellà?

C.O: Sí, la meua mare em diu, em diu “**yo les hablaré en castellano y así equilibramos un poco**”.

*C.O.*: [In Catalan] My mother's first language was Catalan and my father's was Catalan, but they used to speak Catalan among themselves, and with us Spanish.

**INT: How was the Castilianization process in your family?**

*C.O.*: **Because my father's family was very posh and they weren't catalanist ... In a way they didn't want us to have the Catalan accent Catalans usually have when we speak in Castilian.**

*INT*: OK. Then when you began bringing up your children, how did you decide it? Did you make your mind saying: “From now on, I'll speak Catalan to them” or you didn't discuss this subject and it came out naturally?

*C.O.*: I'd say we discussed it because, I mean, **I didn't want what happened to me to happen to them, that it was hard for me to get to speak Catalan, and speak it**

*with fluency [...] but anyway, my mother talks to them in Spanish. She tries to offset a little bit. But DA [the interviewee's brother] speaks to them also in Spanish.*

*Interviewer: Then is this deliberate, this use of Spanish?*

*C.O: Yes, my mother tells me, tells me [in Spanish] “I will speak to them in Spanish, so we compensate a little bit”.*

### 5.3 Castilianization processes

Finally, the fourteenth fragment is similar to the previous (13<sup>th</sup>) linguistic story. This excerpt epitomizes the linguistic behavior of a tiny sector of the autochthonous Catalan speaking population who stopped using Catalan in the family. This sector is located mainly in the upper classes and has been barely investigated (Boix-Fuster and Moran 2014). The interviewee proclaims or boasts her Catalan roots (“I am Catalan through and through, I know my sixteen last names”, line 22), but altogether she criticizes the alleged exaggerated pressures of the Catalan normalization process. She takes an apparent moderate stance (“one extreme is bad and the other one too”) and implicitly she refuses what seems to refer to Catalan imposition and to Catalan closure (“it’s better not to impose, better not to refuse to budge, better have open horizons”, lines 7 and 35). Her reference groups are mobile sectors for which Spanish, English and even Chinese rather than Catalan are more useful. As a result of this comparison, Catalan is a secondary language: “What I find sad is (that) people who stick only to the Catalan subject” (lines 19–20). To sum up, all this narrative supports her choice: shifting to Spanish when talking to her children.

(14) *ADB [47-year-old housewife, born in Barcelona (Sarrià neighbourhood). Four siblings (20, 18, 16 and 14 year-old) with whom she speaks in Spanish].*

**ENT:** ¿Te has planteado la razón por la que ha aumentado el uso del catalán?

**ADB:** Ahora o hace años, hay gente que quiere como catalán, muy muy catalán. No sé si llego a salir como normas incluso de los rótulos de los comercios. Que si no era en catalán multa y así, no. **Para mí creo que no hay que cerrarse.** No hay que limitarse, no hay que imponer. O sea, yo creo que dos lenguas enriquece cuanto más mejor. No hay que cerrarse, no, porque si



todo es catalán... a mí siempre he pensado que me ha sabido muy mal las familias que en casa catalán, en el cole catalán, en el trabajo y todo catalán. Y se cierran y van **en detrimento del castellano. Para mí es cerrarse puertas [...]** Porque hoy en día, que justo pensamos en abrírnos a Europa, viendo el futuro de como están las cosas, aún más, porque nuestros hijos están estudiando. Por muy formados que estén, se tendrán que buscar la vida y tendrán que salir. Pues incluso por el resto funcionarán más con el castellano que con el catalán, dando por hecho que el inglés lo dominen y encima alguna otra lengua, tipo chino o ruso o lo que sea. Lo que veo triste es la gente que se limita sólo en el tema catalán porque, por muy orgullosos que estén pues de su cultura, de su historia, de su tierra... yo también lo estoy. Porque, digamos, soy catalana de pura cepa. Yo sé dieciséis apellidos míos (como un juego, los fuimos aprendiendo de memoria, como si fueran una canción. Dieciséis apellidos míos que son catalanes) [...] Yo creo que su habla materna es el castellano pero creo que se defenderán, que incluso estarán cómodos hablando el catalán en el trabajo o incluso en la universidad. Y que claro, el tema, tal como están las cosas, tendrán que controlar mucho el tema inglés, también con sus trabajos, sean aquí o sea fuera [...] Y yo más orgullosa de mi tierra, de Cataluña, de Barcelona, mi ciudad y todo. Si yo oigo hablar fuera de Cataluña mal, seré la primera que me pondré a defenderlo. Pero claro, no el otro extremo o quizá piensan que estuvieron muy reprimidos. Viven mucho el pasado, la época franquista, en vez de olvidar cosas desagradables, porque fue muy triste por los dos bandos, están un poco como heridos. Es malo un extremo y **es malo el otro. Es mejor no imponer, mejor no cerrarse, mejor tener miras más abiertas. El catalán es muy bonito, la historia de Cataluña, también.**

*INT* [in Spanish]: *Have you ever considered why the use of Catalan has increased?*

*ADB: Now or for years, there are people who want like Catalan a lot of Catalan. I don't know whether even as far as norms are concerned, even in the business signs. If they weren't in Catalan, one would get fined and this wasn't right. In my opinion one shouldn't refuse to budge. One shouldn't limit oneself, one shouldn't impose. That is, I believe two languages make rich, as many as possible. One shouldn't refuse to budge, no, because if everything is in Catalan... I've always thought I've disliked those families which at home Catalan, at school Catalan, at work, everything Catalan. And they refuse to budge and this is detrimental to Spanish. For me this means closing doors [...] because nowadays, when we just think of opening up to Europe, considering the future, how things are going on, and even more, our sons and daughters are studying. Even though they are well-prepared, they will have to go abroad. Well they will function more in Spanish than in Catalan, implying that they are already fluent in Spanish and furthermore in another language such as Chinese, Russian or whatever. What I find sad is that people who stick only to*

*the Catalan subject because, although they might be proud of their culture, their history, their land... I am proud of it too. Because, let's say, I am Catalan through and through. I know my sixteen last names (as a game we used to learn them by heart as if they were a song. Sixteen last names which are Catalan) [...] I think their mother language is Spanish but I guess they will get by, that even they will be comfortable in Catalan at work, or even at the university. And, of course, as things go on, they will have to master English as well in their work either here or abroad [...] I am proud of my land, of Catalonia, of Barcelona, my city and everything. If I listen to somebody criticizing Catalonia outside, I'll be the first to defend it. But of course not the other extreme or maybe they think they were very repressed. They live very much in the past, the francoist period, instead of forgetting unpleasant things because it was bad for both sides, they are like wounded. **One extreme is bad and the other one too. It's better not to impose, better not to refuse to budge, better have open horizons. Catalan is very nice, the history of Catalonia too.***

## 6. Data discussion

The data we have just shown attest to a specific sociolinguistic situation in ethnolinguistically mixed families in Catalonia, where both processes of acquisition and loss of the Catalan language occur in intergenerational language transmission. Both languages tend to be spoken, or at least understood.

Castilian speakers, according to previous research (Pujolar and González 2013: 148–149) display readiness to accommodate towards the Catalan group. This is especially the case among Castilian members of ethnolinguistically mixed families, we have talked to. They make ‘mudes’, that is, “specific biographical junctures where individuals enact significant changes in their linguistic repertoire” (Pujolar and González 2013: 139 and 143). Some Castilian members of these ethnolinguistically-mixed families shift towards Catalan when bringing up their children, when creating a new family (see interviewees 1–12). These informants, however, adopt Catalan to talk to their children, but they do not abandon Spanish, which still lingers in their minds and lives. Simultaneously the opposite trend also happens: some Catalan-speaking families give up Catalan as the main family language (see interviewee

14). Finally, recatalanization takes place as well. Informants who quit Catalan, but recover this language in a subsequent family socialization process (see interviewee 13).

Most of these catalanized new speakers display a deep symbolic identification with the Catalan language. They have a strong predisposition to be part of the community, they do not want to confine in monolingualism, they want to incorporate “catalanitat” as a dimension which allows them to open up to the country, to its people, to the social networks, to the trade unions, to the parties, etc. Catalan speakers, generally considered to have higher social status, have become a reference group for these new speakers, as already indicated by Mollà (2006). Catalan is perceived as an asset for social advancement (their speakers and adopters have what social psychologists of the language call positive “subjective ethnolinguistic vitality”). Whereas Catalan is chosen because it is prestigious thanks to its dominance in middle-class networks and in the local and regional (national Catalan) institutions, Spanish keeps being the most important code in both the Spanish state institutions and in the labor market. These results confirm the factors behind the catalanization process. Rovira (2012) found out in her research on new speakers: upwards social mobility, catalanization thanks to surrounding Catalan milieu, and will to stamp out personal links with Catalonia and its language.

These new speakers have participated in organized social networks; they have left their neighborhood (where they used to distinguish “the Catalans” as different) and have added it as a family language in such a way that they have broken with former generations. The intergenerational transmission of Spanish, however, has not been interrupted, because their children keep being completely competent in it because of environmental factors inside and outside the family. Spanish continues to be a family language anyway, in internal communications, for example, with grandparents and among siblings (Tuominen 1999, Barron-Hauwaert 2011).

New speakers have not made an option to abandon Spanish. At the same time for them the normalization of Catalan is legitimate, but it does not mean at all monolingualism in Catalan. The normalization of Catalan competes with the normalization of Spanish in the opposite direction: “for many people, Spanish, besides being the family language, is always available, is the normal language, the language with

institutional language, the language with more media power and with more cultural market.” (Rovira 2012: 475).

We suggest that this data indexes some saturation (Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame 1993): middle class informants present again and again similar results. However, there is a lack of informants from both lower classes and upper classes.

## 7. Conclusion

An apparent power of recruitment of Catalan among ethnolinguistically mixed families in contemporary Catalonia has been found. Some Spanish L1 partners in Catalan/Spanish couples speak in Catalan to their sons and daughters, because the ethnolinguistic vitality of Catalan speakers is relatively high. These new speakers of Catalan we have just depicted feel empowered by adopting Catalan in their private world. Catalan acquisition is an asset, not a flaw. This catalanization process, however, does not offset the overall demographic dominance of Spanish in current Catalan society. These interviewees, partially catalanized, declare that Spanish continues to be somehow a family language: their children will learn it anyhow due to its overwhelming social impact. New aspects are open for research: for example, the children’s perspective, the evolution of both linguistic socialization and family language policy in the long run, and the comparison between declared principles and actual practices by means of ethnographic fieldwork.

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# Language Uses and Linguistic Ideologies in Mixed French-Catalan Families in Catalonia

## 1. Introduction

As we know, intergenerational language transmission is the necessary precondition for the continuity of language groups, especially in the case of minorised communities. This is the reason why Joshua Fishman, one of the founders of sociolinguistics, said that the main aim of any policy to recover a language must be to maintain language transmission between generations, primarily between parents and children (Fishman 1991, 2001). For that reason, the maintenance of a language between generations is the main indicator of the recovery or abandonment of a minorised language.

This type of transmission, however, belongs to the private domain of language uses. As a result, neither governments nor institutions can regulate them, though they can encourage some indirectly. Nonetheless, there is a highly particular context of language transmission between generations: families in which one of the parents belongs to a different language group, or what we will call ‘mixed families’ in this chapter. These are cases in which private interactions between the speakers of two languages can manifest in a wide range of language attitudes and uses, which will inevitably have repercussions on their transmission of the two languages to their children.

The Catalan-speaking territories are a prime area to study mixed families because they underwent intense migrations of allochthonous groups throughout the twentieth century and this transformed their language ecology profoundly. As a significant piece of data, Sorolla (2010) has come to the conclusion that somewhere in the vicinity of a third of all couples with children in the Catalan-speaking territories are made

up of parents who have different languages from one another, mainly Catalan and Spanish (Boix 2009, Boix and Torrens 2011), though family combinations of Catalan and other exogenous language groups or between two exogenous language groups are becoming increasingly more numerous or visible (Bernat and Boix 2013).

One of these small, but important, communities is the French-speaking community, which has been present in the Principality for a considerable time.<sup>1</sup> In this respect, it is worth noting that, according to IDESCAT's survey of the population's language uses (2013: 32), official residents of Catalonia who declare French as a first language number 38,800 (0.6% of the total)<sup>2</sup> or, in other words, they rank as the sixth largest language community in Catalonia. Predictably, a portion of these individuals have formed couples with Catalan men or women, creating family units with language combinations that have yet to be studied qualitatively from the viewpoint of Catalan sociolinguistics.<sup>3</sup>

One of the characteristics that seems most interesting to us about these mixed pairs is the fact that they involve family contexts in which speakers of two languages of very different status interact: French is a solid language of state, foreign to Catalonia and widespread internationally; Catalan, by contrast, has no decisive state support, it is a local language and it has a very weak presence internationally, outside of the Catalan-speaking territories. Nor can we overlook that French people

- 1 We are not referring to the numerous Occitan immigrants arriving in Catalonia in the Middle Ages or in the modern era, but rather to the French, Belgians and French-speaking Swiss. By way of a significant example, we point to the Société Française de Bienfaisance of Barcelona, which was founded in 1849 by Ferdinand de Lesseps, then consul, to give support to destitute French immigrants living in the city.
- 2 While this figure reflects the total for all individuals from French-speaking countries resident in Catalonia, the vast majority come from France. If we also included the transient population of French speakers (those who move here temporarily or who are not registered as residents), the figure would be much higher. Catalonia's top five language communities, by declared first language, are Spanish (55.1%), Catalan (31%), Arabic (2.4%), Romanian (0.9%) and Berber (Amazigh) (0.7%).
- 3 We have not been able to locate earlier literature that studies this kind of family either in Catalonia or in Spain. By contrast, the bibliography is very plentiful on mixed pairs involving French speakers in Quebec. See, for example, Bouchard-Coulombe (2011).

settling in Catalonia have long had access to an outstanding network of public and private institutions to maintain and propagate the language and culture of France.<sup>4</sup>

Our aim in this chapter is to examine the statements of a sample of mixed French-Catalan families to determine their language behaviour and their most significant linguistic ideologies. The data and results have been extracted from semi-structured interviews of fathers and/or mothers with school-aged children, and they are part of the GLOBINMED project of the University of Barcelona (Project FFI 2012–35502 funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness), which, under the direction of Dr. Emili Boix-Fuster, has focused on the qualitative analysis of different types of linguistically mixed couples, both in Catalan-speaking territories and abroad, during the period 2012–2015.

## 2. Methodology and characteristics of the French-Catalan families in the study

Between the spring of 2014 and early 2016, we conducted interviews with 10 French-Catalan families with school-aged children. Most (8) live in Barcelona, but two live outside the Catalan capital, one in Vilanova i la Geltrú and the other in Palafolls.<sup>5</sup> So we identify the first eight families with the abbreviation *Bcn* followed by a number (which refers to the order in which the interviews were carried out) and *ViG* and *Pal*, respectively, for the other two couples. In terms of gender, four of the couples are made up of a Catalan man and a French woman, while the other six have a French-speaking man and a Catalan woman.

4 Notable examples include the four *Écoles françaises* in Catalonia (in Barcelona, Gavà, Reus, Sant Pere de Ribes), the *Lycée français* of Barcelona, the *Institut français* of Barcelona and the *Alliances françaises* of Girona, Granollers, Lleida and Sabadell, in addition to various private institutions (see <http://www.consul-france-barcelone.org/Associations>).

5 Vilanova i la Geltrú may be considered a municipality in the second ring of Barcelona, and Palafolls, the third ring.

Although the vast majority of the French speakers who were interviewed are French, two men have other nationalities: *Bcn 6* has dual nationality (French and Lebanese) and *Bcn 8* is a French-speaking Belgian.

It was crucial for all the couples to have children in compulsory schooling (between three and sixteen years of age) in order to find out what language the parents are transmitting to their children. Seven of the interviews were done between October 2014 and May 2015, and 3 (couples *Bcn 6*, *Bcn 7* and *Bcn 8*) in January and February of 2016, always in the locality where the couples reside. In all cases save one,<sup>6</sup> the interviews were conducted by the author of this chapter. In most cases, only the mother was interviewed, but on one occasion it was only the father (*Bcn 5*) and on another occasion both parents were interviewed (*Bcn 4*). The language of the semi-structured interview was either Catalan, when the interviewee was a Catalan speaker, or Spanish, when the interviewee was a French speaker (save for the woman in *Bcn 2*, who was interviewed in Catalan), and the interviewees were always asked which language they would prefer to use in the conversation.

The process to select respondents began with various personal contacts, because the French public schools in Barcelona did not help us. The first interviewees, in turn, gave us additional contacts with French-Catalan families that they had met in one of Barcelona's public or private French entities mentioned above and kept in contact with. Outside Barcelona, by contrast, the French-Catalan families had little contact with one another, though couple *Bcn 8* does not relate to the French because the father is Belgian and does not identify as French. The semi-structured interview, which was carried out using a script that had already been used in similar studies (see Boix and Torrens 2011: 33), aims primarily to find out the life story of the family members and the most relevant linguistic ideologies<sup>7</sup> of the interviewee and partner.

6 The interview in Vilanova i la Geltrú was done by Anna Paradís, then a grantholder in the Department of Catalan Philology at the University of Barcelona.

7 We understand a linguistic ideology to be a "cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Woolard 2008: 179).

### 3. Analysis of the sample

#### 3.1 *Reported Language Competencies*

As for the French-speaking members, all know and habitually use Spanish, nearly all declare to know Catalan well and to be able to speak it, but most do not normally use Catalan (save for the woman in *Bcn 2* and the men in *Bcn 6*, *Bcn 7* and *Pal*). All of the Catalan-speaking members, beyond Spanish, understand French and are able to speak it (save for *ViG*), but the vast majority use it little, typically only when they speak to their in-laws; only three Catalan speakers use it more frequently: the man in *Bcn 3* and the woman in *Bcn 7*, quite often with their French-speaking spouses, and the woman in *Bcn 6*, on specific occasions. According to the parents, all of the children know how to speak Catalan, Spanish and French, except for the youngest son of couple *Bcn 4*, who is still a baby. Most of the parents also have a good level of English and are concerned that their children should also speak English.

#### 3.2 *Reported language uses in the mixed French-Catalan couples*

Next we examine the language uses of the ten French-Catalan families, which are outlined in schematic form in Table 1 in the annex. The table distinguishes four types of interactions based on the members who are involved: between partners, with children, between siblings, and at family gatherings.

If we look first at languages used between partners, two characteristics quickly stand out. The first is that the language of interrelation between the vast majority of married couples (8) is Spanish, alone or in combination; and the second is that, in many cases (8), there have been changes in the couple's language of communication, coinciding often with the birth of children. The first fact confirms that the preferred language of relation between linguistically mixed couples in Catalonia is Spanish, because it is the predominant language in all relations between Catalan speakers and non-Catalan speakers. As typically happens in all bilingual societies, the hegemonic language – in this case, Spanish – is

typically associated more with neutrality (or anonymity) while the dominated language – in this case, Catalan – is related to authenticity (Woolard 2008: 182–187), with the result that the former is always preferred in relations between members of different language groups.

As for the changes in the couple's language of relation, as noted earlier, these are often an outgrowth of the birth of children and also, in some cases, the establishment of residence in Catalonia or in France.<sup>8</sup> Although it is never said explicitly, many couples typically assume that the arrival of a new family member will involve a reorganisation of the family unit's language uses, whether this might entail changing the initial language of relation or adding another one. In the case of French-Catalan couples, it appears that the options selected by the couples deciding to make changes (all except for *Bcn 1* and *Bcn 2*, which kept to Spanish) are quite balanced, because four chose to add another language of relation to Spanish (French in two cases and Catalan in two other cases<sup>9</sup>), while in the other four, the initial language has been abandoned (Spanish, English or Italian) for a new one (Catalan in one case, Spanish in two cases and French in the fourth case). The behaviour also appears to be different for French-Catalan couples living inside and outside Barcelona when they decide to make changes: the Barcelona residents tend more to realign the languages in play by giving a greater role to one of the couple's two L1 (four of the six cases), but without questioning the role of Spanish; by contrast, the two couples outside the capital totally changed their language of relation, favouring Spanish in one case and Catalan in the other.<sup>10</sup> There is a need, however, to check the frequency of this behaviour

8 Before the birth of their children, couple *Bcn 7* changed from Italian (the language of the country in which they had met) to French when they settled in France, before residing ultimately in Catalonia: couples *Bcn 8* and *ViG* gradually abandoned the initial English of their relationship to help the French-speaking member learn Spanish. In the other couples, the definitive change came with the birth of children. The other French speakers already knew how to speak Spanish to varying degrees since the beginning of the relationship.

9 In one of these couples (*Bcn 6*), Catalan was added to the initial French and Spanish.

10 These are the two couples *ViG* (English > Spanish) and *Pal* (Spanish > Catalan). The Barcelona couples that have totally changed language are *Bcn 7* (Italian > French) and *Bcn 8* (English > Spanish). As you can see, there appears to be a strong relation to the fact that the initial language was not Spanish.

with other interviewees from outside Barcelona in future analyses. In any event, these changes do not question the significant presence of Spanish (parallel to the high degree of Spanish's social presence in Catalonia) in the uses of the eight couples that have changed their initial language of relation, because in two cases, it is consolidated as the only language of relation and in four others it is ultimately combined with another language.<sup>11</sup> Spanish is only absent in two couples that have made changes: one that has changed to French (*Bcn 7*) and another that has changed to Catalan (*Pal*). These are the only two exceptions that differ from the other couples, because the first involved adopting the language of the country where the couple went to live after their wedding, helping the Catalan woman to learn French, and the second involved living in a predominantly Catalan-speaking milieu.

In the case of the language of relation between parents and children, the almost systematic rule is that each father or mother speaks their L1 with the children; that is, no cases of interruption in intergenerational transmission are detected involving the two languages of the couple. This piece of data is very important because it shows that the studied couples do not behave like other mixed couples in Catalonia, who are more prone to lose one of their languages with their children.<sup>12</sup> In addition, all of the interviewees said that they were very clear about wanting to continue transmitting their language. Only in three cases of French-speaking fathers do they seem partly to question this tendency: the man in *Bcn 1*, who combines his language with Spanish when he addresses his children, and the men in *Bcn 6* and *Bcn 7*, who have partly addressed their children in Catalan from the outset. As we know,<sup>13</sup> men and women in mixed couples can engage in various language behaviours with their children, depending on the case and the context; they may even decide not to transmit their language. In any event, these three cases appear to be

11 Couples *Bcn 3* and *Bcn 5* have chosen to combine Spanish and French, while *Bcn 4* has selected Catalan and Spanish. Couple *Bcn 6* combines three languages.

12 See, for example, the language transmission in mixed pairs of Catalans with Galicians and Italians in Boix and Torrens (2011).

13 See, for example, the studies by Querol (2000) and Mas and Montoya (2011) on language transmission by gender in mixed Catalan-Spanish couples in Valencia. For a more global reflection, see De Klerk (2001).

exceptional. On one hand, the interviewee in *Bcn 1*, who is a man in early retirement that arrived many years ago in Catalonia, is accustomed to communicating with everyone in Spanish, even his wife, because of the environment in which he found himself when he arrived in the country in the nineteen-forties. On the other hand, *Bcn 6* is a man that has intentionally made an effort to integrate himself in Catalan as a result of his non-European origin and *Bcn 7* learnt Catalan before Spanish because he integrated within the Catalan-speaking milieu of his wife. Even so, the first has not entirely abandoned his own language with the children and he even sent them to a French school to ensure that they kept the language; the second will put all his children through French schooling and now uses Catalan only occasionally with the youngest, who does not yet have his French consolidated (which is also what the father did earlier with his middle daughter); and the third now only speaks with the children in French and he and his wife have also decided to school them only in that language. To these three cases, we should also add the Catalan man in couple *Bcn 3*. His French-speaking wife told us that she was the one to encourage him to speak only in Catalan to the children, because he was mixing Catalan with French or Spanish in the beginning. In reality, therefore, no cases of intergenerational abandonment are detected in either of the languages in these French-Catalan couples, but there is some wavering, often only temporary in nature, among the men.

As for the language of relation between siblings in the interviewed families, we have found a different logic at work. Also, the number of interviewed families is slightly less significant, falling from ten to eight (couple *ViG* has an only child and the little brother in *Bcn 4* is still a baby). Nevertheless, one piece of data is clear: siblings typically choose only one of their parents' languages and seldom combine it with another one (save for the older sisters in *Bcn 2*). The more general tendency is that the siblings choose the mother's language to communicate with one another, except for the sisters of the couple in *Bcn 2*. In this family, there is a distinct behaviour between the two older sisters (who combine Spanish and French) and the youngest sister (who only addresses the others in French). According to their French-speaking mother, the youngest girl is the one who has spent the most time with the mother's family and has formed relations with French girls in the Ferdinand de



Lesseps school where she studies, while the group of friends of the two older sisters, who have also studied at the same school, basically relate in Spanish.<sup>14</sup> To this fact, we need to add that this is a family of high socioeconomic status, which favours the presence of Spanish in its social milieu. Thus, in this case, in addition to the tendency to adopt the mother's language, there is another factor: the selection of the language predominant in the residential setting and surrounding social relations, which would primarily have affected the two older sisters. A larger body of interviews with siblings in French-Catalan families is needed to determine the extent to which it is the mother's language or the language of the milieu that is more determinant in the selection of the language to use with siblings, though the data we now have points to the former. Similarly, it would be necessary to find out also how the children of French-Catalan families act when they live in a French-speaking setting or outside Catalonia in order to evaluate the strength of the environment in these types of uses.

Lastly, turning to uses at family gatherings, the language of relation among all the members together is the one that presents the greatest variation of results and, therefore, the greatest complexity. It must be noted that the results from this question may have been affected by the personal perceptions of the interviewees, because it is not always easy to respond. As a result, a larger body of interviews is needed, along with direct observation. Nonetheless, the majority use reported in the French-Catalan families when everyone is gathered together is to combine in varying proportions the two or three languages that they typically use: Catalan, Spanish and French. The families that report primarily using only one may even use another of the two remaining languages on isolated occasions. Thus, there is a gradation of results: from families that combine all three languages, followed by those that often use two, to those that mainly use only one. In any event, there is a piece of data that seems significant to us: none of the families declared that it prefers to use only Catalan or French, but two (*Bcn 1* and *ViG*) do prioritise Spanish. These latter two cases, as well as the six couples that

14 All interviewees who take their children to the école or Lycée français in Barcelona have told us that the predominant language among the students, whatever their origin, is Spanish.

combine Spanish with one or two languages (*Bcn 2*, *Bcn 3*, *Bcn 4*, *Bcn 5*, *Bcn 6* and *Bcn 8*), once again illustrate the strength of Spanish as a neutral language of interrelation in Catalonia, because it is not the L1 of any member of these couples. Only two families, *Bcn 7* and *Pal*, do not use Spanish (they combine French and Catalan only), but it is necessary to bear in mind that the couple in Palafolls used only Spanish before the birth of their children and that couple *Bcn 7* lived in France for some years and when they arrived in Catalonia, the man integrated within the Catalan-speaking milieu of his wife. As to the rationale given for these uses, the most common response is that each member changes language depending on who is being addressed. Some interviewees also add that their state of mind or the subject matter might lead them to change language. In any event, we would need to have additional data or make direct observations to reach more fine-tuned conclusions on this type of language uses, which are not at all easy to pinpoint.

### 3.3 *Linguistic ideologies of French-Catalan couples*

In this section, we summarise the most salient linguistic ideologies of the interviewees, given that we have been unable to gather the viewpoints of their children or the other spouse directly. We do not believe that this distorts the results much, because when we conducted the only joint interview with a partner (*Bcn 4*), we observed that one of the members often held back and did not wish to contradict the other; it was even the case that one preferred not to respond to any questions on ideologies. We first present the opinions of the French members and then those of the Catalan ones; in both cases, we focus on their ideas about the language of their partner and the maintenance of their own language with their children. Obviously, when the other member was not present in the interview (as in the vast majority of cases), we have trusted what the interviewees told us about their partner.

As for the French-speaking members who were interviewed, four mothers (*Bcn 2*, *Bcn 3*, *Bcn 4*, *ViG*) and one father (*Bcn 5*) reported that they did not know anything or practically anything about Catalan before their arrival and that, at most, they identified it as a *patois* of little importance or vitality. Once their initial surprise subsided, they

realised that Catalan was easy to understand in a short space of time and that it was necessary to have at least a passive knowledge of the language if they wanted to live in Catalonia; some even began to speak it. However, all reported that it is not necessary to speak Catalan in Catalonia because the Catalans have a perfect knowledge of Spanish, a language the majority of the interviewees consider more useful and much more geographically widespread. That is, at heart, the vast majority of French-speaking interviewees consider Catalan to be a less important language than Spanish or, in any case, of strictly local use. Some have also added that it is more difficult to speak Catalan correctly and that, as with French, you need many hours of effort and study. As a result, they prefer Spanish, which the vast majority of them knew before coming.<sup>15</sup> Only two of the seven French-speaking members speak Catalan assiduously (*Bcn 2* and *Pal*): the first as a person concerned with the protection of language diversity<sup>16</sup> and the second because the place of residence and work is predominantly Catalan-speaking. It must also be noted that the French-speaking men in *Bcn 6* and *Bcn 7* make a relatively balanced use of the three languages in their daily and working lives. The other French speakers who were interviewed are able to speak Catalan with varying difficulty, but they only use it very occasionally. Nonetheless, they respect the decision of their spouse to transmit Catalan to their children and some have even had to defend their partner to their families, who refused to accept that their grandchildren or nieces and nephews should be raised in a “regional” language like Catalan.<sup>17</sup> In short, they are not hostile to Catalan, but the majority believes that passive knowledge of the language is sufficient to live and work in Catalonia, unlike the practice of Spanish, which they view as necessary.

15 Only the French-speaking woman in *ViG* and the men in *Bcn 7* and *Bcn 8* did not know Spanish. For that reason, the couple's first language of relation was something else (English or Italian).

16 In addition, she is the only French-speaking interviewee who is the child of a mixed marriage. This predisposed her to study and take an interest in languages. Nevertheless, her first language is French.

17 They also told us that these misgivings stop when the children, having overcome their first hesitations or interferences, can discriminate between the two languages perfectly, particularly from four years onwards.

With respect to their attitudes and actions on language transmission to their children, all reported that they were very clear that they would speak French to their children and they underscored that it would be unthinkable for them not to do so: they considered that it would be a break of the bonds with their French identity that neither they nor their families could accept. They say that they do not believe it is enough to speak to their children in French, because they are afraid that the environment will make them lose their competency in French or their desire to use it. Therefore, in addition to always speaking French to their children, they all combine different supplementary strategies to ensure that their children will be “purely or perfectly bilingual/trilingual”.<sup>18</sup> Among these couples, the most habitual action is to send them to school in the French educational network in Catalonia, though some cannot afford to do so because of their place of residence or the economic outlay involved. For this reason, *Bcn 4* and *Bcn 5* have created an association with other mixed couples to do extracurricular activities in French. Similarly, the French-speaking parents typically prioritise the consumption of audiovisuals or publications in French at home (stories, books, comics, videos, satellite TV, etc.) in order to reinforce their children’s competency in the language. Lastly, an additional action is to be assiduous about maintaining their bonds with their French family, normally the grandparents, either through the grandparents paying visits to Barcelona or by spending all the school holidays in France.

The Catalan-speaking members of the interviewed couples (the women in *Bcn 1*, *Bcn 6*, *Bcn 7*, *Bcn 8* and *Pal*, and the man in *Bcn 4*) have a view of French that resembles that of their partners: they also see it as a language of greater cultural and socioeconomic potential than Catalan, consider that it is easy to learn and put a very positive value on their children being bilingual (or trilingual) because of the employment opportunities that this can give them and because they all take the view that being bilingual is hugely enriching. Many of them know how to speak French, but they do not use it much with their partner or only on occasion. As with the majority of Catalan speakers, they consider it normal to address non-Catalan speakers in Spanish and they have a strong predisposition

18 We transcribe the exact words used by many of the French-speaking interviewees.

to converge with the language of a non-Catalan-speaking interlocutor<sup>19</sup>. As a result, most have maintained Spanish with their partner, either alone or in combination. Nonetheless, three Catalan-speaking partners (*Bcn 4*, *Bcn 6* and *Pal*) have introduced Catalan with their partner after the birth of their children, the first because he is a man who is quite sensitive to language, the second because he does not often realise what language he is speaking and the third because of the setting in which they live. It must be noted that the Catalan woman in *Bcn 6* is the daughter of a mixed couple that often mixes Catalan and Spanish randomly with the same interlocutor, though she considers herself to be predominantly a Catalan speaker and this is the language that she transmits to the children. By contrast, the Catalan women in *Bcn 8*, whose mother is Spanish and father is Catalan, but who also considers herself a Catalan speaker, is always very clear about the language she is using.

As for the children, most consider it normal for Catalan to be transmitted to them because they are Catalans and live in Catalonia and they express not having any doubts in this regard. Some have even added, with many nuances and often by framing the matter within a defence of bilingualism and plurilingualism, that it is a way to promote the Catalan language and culture, because they are aware of the weaknesses that are still present in the social use of Catalan. Nevertheless, two Catalan women (*Bcn 1* and *Pal*) have acknowledged that they do not know if they would have spoken Catalan to their children in the case of having gone to live in France. In another case (*Bcn 3*), it was even the French woman who helped her husband to take a decision to go only with Catalan, because he was combining it with French and Spanish when he first spoke to their children. In the other cases, however, the Catalan speakers who were interviewed were certain they would have maintained the language with their children if they had settled in France. In short, in spite of the widespread maintenance of the language with their children, a small part of the Catalan-speaking members of the interviewed couples seems to have a lower subjective ethnolinguistic vitality than their French-speaking partners.

19 The Catalan man in *Bcn 3* has even introduced French into his relationship with his wife, combining it with Spanish.

#### 4. Conclusions

Even though practically all of the members of the French-Catalan couples understand and know how to speak the language of their partner, their reported language competencies do not typically translate into a combined use of Catalan and French, but rather are guided by the more widespread norms of language use in our country. In this respect, it is significant that the majority of French speakers who were interviewed habitually use Spanish and that the Catalan-speaking partners also use Spanish predominantly as a means of interrelation with people from other language groups, even within the family. In this respect, our study once again illustrates the strength of Spanish as a language of intergroup relation in Catalonia, together with the preference of the interviewed French speakers for state languages. Nevertheless, this does not prevent a good portion of the French-Catalan families from using not only Spanish but also Catalan and French to varying degrees, leading us to conclude that their family language uses are primarily trilingual, rather than bilingual.

Based on these two general tendencies, a more detailed analysis shows that Spanish, on the one hand, and Catalan and French, on the other hand, divide up the family uses according to the participants involved. Thus, Spanish is highly present in interactions between partners and at family gatherings, though not always exclusively so, particularly in the latter case. French and Catalan, by contrast, are maintained solidly in the relation between parent and child (and therefore in intergenerational transmission), the only area that is practically never shared with Spanish. The language used between siblings is another area in which Spanish does not typically penetrate and that seems to be related mainly with the mother's language, be it Catalan or French. Nevertheless, these uses present exceptions in some families, which can be explained by other factors, such as adaptation to the predominant language in the residential setting or the linguistic ideologies of some of the members. In addition, it must be acknowledged that we have worked with a limited body of interviews and these initial conclusions ought to be reinforced with more interviews of French-Catalan families.

In terms of the linguistic ideologies of these families, our study has found that they revolve around a hierarchical view of language uses.

Thus, on one side, the couples typically assume that the languages in contact in the family unit (Catalan, Spanish and French) do not have the same range and they therefore categorise them differently: Spanish and French (in that order) are more important languages than Catalan because they are state languages with major international reach and economic potential, while Catalan is only a local language, though it is also necessary to understand to live here. Nevertheless, while it may seem, at first glance, to be incompatible with the assessment that we have just made, the couples in the study also typically argue that all three languages have to play some role in family interactions. This explains, on one hand, the great value put on bilingualism or trilingualism by these families (even though, at heart, the languages are not equal in their view) and, on the other hand, the changes in uses between partners relating to the birth of their children or the decision to maintain intergenerational transmission of the two languages, actions that we interpret as an attempt to strike a new balance for the language that is thought to be more threatened or weaker within the family setting (which could be Catalan or French).

This sociolinguistic architecture, however, is not entirely solid, because some of the Catalan-speaking interviewees admit that they would probably not have maintained their language with their children in the case of living in France, while all of their French-speaking spouses transmit and do everything possible to maintain French with their children, despite residing in Catalonia. It appears clear, therefore, that the ethnolinguistic vitality of the latter group is a bit higher than that of the autochthons, though the difference does not appear to be stark because all the interviewees report being concerned to ensure that the languages in contact in their family are made compatible with one another.

All told, this last piece of data plainly shows that the uses in linguistically mixed French-Catalan couples can vary significantly by place of residence, a factor that we will need to take more into account in later analyses. Similarly, one piece of research that is pending is to compare the language uses and linguistic ideologies of this Catalan sample with other samples of mixed couples including French speakers from elsewhere in the world.

Annex: table 1

Family code	L1 Woman <sup>20</sup>	L1 Man	Number of children	Language between partners <sup>21</sup>	Language with children <sup>22</sup>	School/extracurriculars in French <sup>23</sup>	Language between siblings	Language at family gatherings
<i>Bcn 1</i>	Cat	Fr	3	Cast	W: Cat M: Fr/Cast	School Fr	Cat	Mainly Cast
<i>Bcn 2</i>	Fr	Cat	3	Cast	W: Fr M: Cat	School Fr	Fr (Cast) <sup>24</sup>	Cast/Cat/Fr
<i>Bcn 3</i>	Fr	Cat	2	Fr/Cat (Cast)	W: Fr M: Cat	School Fr	Fr	Cast/Cat/Fr
<i>Bcn 4</i>	Fr	Cat	2	Cat/Cast (Cast)	W: Fr M: Cat	Extracurriculars Fr	Small baby brother	Mainly Cat/Fr
<i>Bcn 5</i>	Cat	Fr	2	Fr/Cast (Cast)	W: Cat M: Fr	Extracurriculars Fr	Cat	Cast/Cat/Fr

20 We use the abbreviations Fr (French), Cat (Catalan) and Cast (Spanish).

21 The language in brackets is the language used by the couples at the start of their relationships, if there have been subsequent languages. Otherwise, there have been no changes.

22 W: woman; M: man.

23 If nothing is indicated, the children study in Catalan schools or do their extracurriculars in Catalan, Spanish or English. In the case of Barcelona families who send their children to French schools, this is either Ferdinand de Lesseps school or the Lycée français in Barcelona; in the case of the Vilanova family, it is the Bel Air school. Also, *Bcn 4* and *Bcn 5* are members of an association of French and Catalan couples in Barcelona that organises extracurricular activities in French for the children once a week.

24 The two older siblings combine French and Spanish; the youngest only uses French.



Family code	L1 Woman	L1 Man	Number of children	Language between partners	Language with children	School/extracurriculars in French	Language between siblings	Language at family gatherings
<i>Bcn 6</i>	Cat <sup>25</sup>	Fr <sup>26</sup>	3	Fr/Cast/ Cat (Fr/Cast)	W: Fr M: Fr/Cat <sup>27</sup>	School and Extra-curriculars Fr (in part) <sup>28</sup>	Cat	Mainly Cat/Fr
<i>Bcn 7</i>	Cat	Fr	3	Fr (Italian)	W: Cat M: Fr	School Fr	Cat	Cat/Fr
<i>Bcn 8</i>	Cat	Fr	2	Cast (English)	W: Cat M: Fr	–	Cat	Mainly Cat/Fr
<i>Vig</i>	Fr	Cat	1	Cast (English)	W: Fr M: Cat	School Fr	Only child	Mainly Cast
<i>Pal</i>	Cat	Fr	2	Cat (Cast)	W: Cat M: Fr	–	Cat	Cat/Fr

- 25 The Catalan woman in *Bcn 6* and the one in *Bcn 8* both come from a bilingual Catalan-Spanish family. Nevertheless, they consider themselves Catalan speakers.
- 26 This is a man born in Lebanon to Arabic-speaking parents, who was raised in France from a very young age. Also, his mother spoke to him mainly in French. He has learnt Arabic again as an adult because he spoke the language haltingly, but he has never used it with the children.
- 27 On some occasions, he addresses the youngest child in Catalan.
- 28 The oldest brother went to a French school for three years, but has since gone to a Catalan school; the middle sister has always gone to a Catalan school, but does extracurriculars in French, and the youngest brother still goes to nursery school in Catalan. However, the parents have decided to send them all to a French school in the coming school year.

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# Mixed Couples in Catalonia: Intergenerational Language Transmission and Language Use

## 1. Language, identity and integration

With 7.4 million inhabitants at the start of 2017, Catalonia has welcomed migrants for many years. Although this is not the only influential factor, we know that the identities related to the socio-territorial belonging of the population are complex and multifaceted. There are significant differences according to the type of family, such as place of birth and origin of parents (Medina et al. 2009: 25).

Catalonia is a region that has attracted foreigners both because it is a gateway to Europe and because of its high level of economic development in certain periods. Those who moved to Catalonia came predominantly from other parts of Spain, especially in the 1960s, during a period of great economic expansion and important urban infrastructure projects (Solé and Izquierdo 2005:13). This factor, alongside others, generally led the first generation (at least) to adhere to their first language. Nevertheless, we can say nowadays that a very significant proportion of those immigrants can, according to many authors<sup>1</sup>, be considered integrated to the point that, despite usually speaking Spanish, they promote Catalan immersion programmes in the schools, where Catalan is the main language of instruction (Boix-Fuster and Farràs 2012).

Since the 1980s and especially the 1990s, immigration flows mainly from non-EU and Eastern European countries have reached all of Spain and particularly Catalonia. Communities that had traditionally

1 The concept of integration includes knowledge and linguistic use of the language spoken in the host region as one of its determining factors. We define this in detail in section 3.2.

been almost non-existent started to become established: predominantly Africans (especially from Gambia and Senegal), Moroccans, Pakistanis and Filipinos. These new inhabitants have been called *nouvinguts* (“new-comers”) or *nous Catalans* (“new Catalans”).

On the first day of 2015, according to the municipal census (Idescat), 64.6% of the total population had been born in Catalonia, 18.2% in the rest of Spain and 17% abroad<sup>2</sup>. However, any variations very much favour the foreign-born population. From 1997 to 2006, the number of inhabitants born in Catalonia decreased by 4.7% and those born in other parts of Spain fell by 6.5%; by contrast, over the same period the population born abroad grew by 14% (Querol and Strubell 2009: 160). We can say, therefore, that since foreign immigrants began to arrive<sup>3</sup>, an extra layer of complexity has been added.<sup>4</sup> In addition, we must consider that the identity of these newcomers – as expected – is difficult to identify because they usually prefer not to refer to it (Medina et al (2009: 26). Nevertheless, leaving aside the obvious importance of their place of origin, some of the elements which undoubtedly define the identity of the immigrant population and their children are their language of common use, the language with which they identify and the languages they transmit intergenerationally. Indeed, some studies show that individuals who habitually speak Catalan at home feel more Catalan than Spanish (Medina et al. 2009: 27, Querol and Strubell 2009: 167).

Regarding the Catalan language, the situation of the *nouvinguts* in the 1980s is completely different to that of immigration from other Spanish regions over the two previous decades. Since the early 1980s, the situation has changed radically as a consequence of the application

- 2 Much more complex statistical data on the foreign-born population and, specifically, on Italians are provided in section 2.
- 3 Over a million foreign-born individuals arrived in Catalonia in less than a decade.
- 4 It must be remembered that Spain became a host country much later than other European countries. The high number of immigrants is reflected in a gradual increase in mixed marriages. Whereas the percentage was 4.1% in 1996, it had risen to 12.9% by 2007. By contrast, France, Germany and Austria have had mixed marriage percentages of between approximately 8% and 13% since 1995 (Steingress 2012).

of various laws to promote Catalan<sup>5</sup>. This explains why many years later, according to data from the EULP<sup>6</sup> (2013), the percentage of the population who declare themselves to be Catalan speakers does not differ greatly between those born elsewhere in Spain and those born abroad: 56.8% and 52.8%, respectively. The percentage of habitual Catalan speakers amongst these two groups is 8.7% and 5.6%, respectively, and those who normally use both Catalan and Spanish account for 5.3% and 2.3%, respectively. Interest in learning Catalan is much higher amongst foreign-born inhabitants, which is naturally explained by the fact that this group arrived later: 65.7% compared to 29.6% of those born in other Spanish regions. Recent studies on the integration of the immigrant population indicate that, in effect, their knowledge of the Catalan language is very good (as we will see in 3.4); however, the studies also recognise the danger of creating a certain degree of hostility due to knowledge of Catalan being a requirement for obtaining a *certificate of reception*<sup>7</sup>. In this sense, according to the EULP (2013: 190),

- 5 As a consequence of enacting the 1998 Linguistic Normalisation Law and the Linguistic Policy Law of the same year, instruction in Catalan was guaranteed in all of Catalonia's schools, with an equal or complementary status being given to Spanish.
- 6 See in References: *Enquesta d'usos lingüístics de població*, which includes the population over the age of 15.
- 7 On the one hand, as stated in the 2013 EULP, Catalan as a language identification (people who consider it their language even though it is not their first or home language) has attracted more than 750,000 people (12.1% of the population over 15 years of age) who report identifying with Catalan although they have other linguistic origins, a considerable figure [...]. It should be noted, however, that despite the need to know both languages for the *certificate of reception*, this requirement can potentially cause an aversion to the language, precisely because of its compulsory nature. A more comprehensive analysis of registration data on the origin of students in Catalan courses by level [...] indicates that when students have been born abroad their courses are nearly always at the basic and elementary levels (85% and 60% on average, respectively). These are courses that can be taken to obtain the *certificate of reception*. By contrast, the percentages fall dramatically to 2.5% when it comes to language courses taken out of personal interest [...]. These data may indicate that while interest in a basic knowledge of Catalan is very high among foreigners, the desire to continue learning and to achieve medium or higher levels – levels that enable an adequate knowledge to become fully integrated linguistically – is much lower. It should be avoided, therefore, that initial interest in linguistic knowledge of

identification with Catalan is declining, based on data from 2003, 2008 and 2013, amongst both those born in other regions of Spain and the foreign-born population. This decrease is more significant amongst inhabitants from abroad, whose figure, in the abovementioned three years, dropped from 8.1% to 3.5% before rising again slightly to 3.7%.

We also have data on the usual language declared in these three surveys. Again, there is a greater downward trend amongst foreigners, from 14.4% to 4.2%, but then an increase again to 5.6%. However, an important piece of information must be highlighted. Amongst parents whose first language is Spanish, the percentage who spoke to their children almost exclusively in Catalan rose significantly between 1997 and 2008: from 18.7% to 26.4% (Querol and Strubell 2009: 163). In effect, we believe that languages transmitted intergenerationally, alongside the use of languages within the family, constitute an essential area of study for understanding the evolution of sociolinguistic integration processes, particularly in the case of mixed couples in Catalonia, as shown in Vila (1993), Boix (1997), Torres (2005) and Boix-Fuster (2009), and of mixed Italian-Catalan couples, as shown in Torrens (2006).

Where Italians are concerned, our interest in the community dates far back, first to Italians from Italy and then to South Americans of Italian origin. Italians (including South Americans of Italian origin, whose presence has been significant since 2004) are the fourth-largest immigrant group in Catalonia. From the beginning of our studies, we have detected that, in many cases, Italians feel rejection towards Catalan due to a perceived pressure from institutions. At the same time, we have seen that the Italian community perceived their sociolinguistic reality through a one nation-one language model. Therefore they had problems assimilating a model with two official languages. We realised that this could have correlations with the uses and prestige awarded to Italian regional varieties and dialectal varieties of origin.

If we look at the declared degree of integration amongst the Italian population in Spain, we can see that 37.5% feel fully integrated and 31.3% highly integrated according to Tirabassi and Del Pra' (2014: 102). Leaving aside the fact that these data refer to all of

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Catalan is motivated only by the obligation to obtain the *certificate of reception*, Pinyol Jiménez-2016: 111–112.

Spain<sup>8</sup>, it is clear that the numbers are not very high. We ourselves are aware of the problem posed by the question of Catalan identity and language uses for the Italians and the Italian-Catalan families that took part in the abovementioned study. However, as we will see in the present study, the cases are, in reality, highly complex and require both qualitative and quantitative studies, in addition to very detailed data collection and analysis.

Taking all of the foregoing points into account, this study will focus upon describing intergenerational language transmission, alongside the declared – and partially demonstrated – language uses of mixed Italian-Catalan couples in Catalonia, as well as some of the factors upon which these may depend. We will make tangential reference to the language of identification. The interdependence among different factors is very complex to describe through discourse and it is better done through detailed case studies. In section 5, therefore, we will describe the results only in relation to transmission and declared uses after laying out, in section 4.4, the instruments which have allowed us to reach these results. For additional specific examples, we also refer to Torrens (2006, 2011a, 2011b).

## 2. The context

### 2.1 *Intra-European mobility: The case of Italy and Spain*

Regarding intra-European mobility, the economic crisis led to significant population movement in some European countries. This had been noticeable before, but had not received so much attention. Between 1995 and 2000, the number of European immigrants increased by more than one hundred thousand, surpassing even the growth in population from Latin America.

8 In section 3.1, we present data from the Tirabassi and Del Pra' study only for Catalonia.

Since the economic crisis, their reasons have additionally included work. In Spain, the population decreased by 113,902 persons in 2012 (down to 46,704,314 inhabitants on 1 January 2013, according to Press INE<sup>9</sup>). The number of foreigners decreased by 2.3% to 5,118,112 inhabitants. In 2012, a total of 476,748 people emigrated and 314,358 immigrated from abroad; 59,724 of those who emigrated were Spaniards, while 32,380 of those who immigrated were Spaniards.

According to Tirabassi and Del Pra' (2014: 4), we can say in the case of Italy that between 70,000 and 100,000 Italians emigrated each year (data from 2013). In 2012, 54.5% stayed in Europe and 40.1% went to America (according to the 2012 AIRE register<sup>10</sup>). We will describe this in more detail in section 3.

## 2.2 *Statistical data in Catalonia*

As previously indicated, on the first day of 2015, according to the municipal census (Idescat), 64.4% of the total population of Catalonia had been born in Catalonia, 18.2% in the rest of Spain and 17% abroad. The foreign population by geographical place of origin and citizenship was distributed as follows: Morocco (21,425, 20.84%), Romania (93,668, 9.11%), China (51,510, 5.01%), Italy (48,733, 4.74%) and Pakistan (42,787, 4.16%). Therefore, Italians ranked first out of the former "Europe of fifteen" (the EU-15). The data, however, only partially accord with the country where they come from or where they were born, or with their first language<sup>11</sup>. Today it is common knowledge that the figure for Italy also reflects a large number of descendants of Italians who had emigrated to South America. Also, it must be noted that this number has been increasing exponentially since 2003, with Italian South Americans registering a similar number to Italians from Italy (and Italians born in Spain) in 2007. From the following

9 The INE is the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, the Spanish National Institute of Statistics.

10 The AIRE is the 'Register of Italians Resident Abroad' which, since 1988, has contained data on Italian citizens who live abroad for a period of more than twelve months.

11 This refers to the first language learnt by the speaker at home (Torres 2005).



year to the present, however, Italians again outnumber Italian South Americans. At the end of 2013, there were 35,727 coming from Italy or other countries – mainly born in Spain – and 33,121 Italian South Americans, according to the Italian Consulate in Barcelona. More specifically, 22,427 were from Argentina, 5,741 from Uruguay, 1,263 from Venezuela and 924 from Brazil.

Morocco	21,425	20.84%
Romania	93,668	9.11%
China	51,510	5.01%
Italy	48,733	4.74%
Pakistan	42,787	4.16%

Table 1. Foreign population in Catalonia (January 2015)

Argentina	22,427
Uruguay	5,741
Venezuela	1,263
Brazil	924

Table 2. Italians of South American origin (November 2013) in the consular district of Barcelona, including the following regions: Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, Balearic Islands, Andorra.

According to state data from INE, there were 181,848 Italians in Spain on the first day of 2016. For more specific data, the 2014 Census identifies 180,999 of Italian nationality and 101,043 born in Italy. The Spanish regional distribution from 2009, based on nationality, remains steady: the highest number was in Catalonia with 48,857 followed by the Canary Islands with 31,741, Madrid with 24,759, Valencia with 22,244, Andalusia with 20,044 and the Balearic Islands with 16,398.

Italians in Spain 2016	181,848
Italians of Italian nationality 2014	180,999
Italians born in Italy 2014	101,043

Table 3. Italians in Spain (2016, 2014).

Catalonia	48,857
Canary Islands	31,741
Madrid	24,759
Valencia	22,244
Andalusia	20,044
Balearic Islands	16,398

Table 4. Italians in Spain by region (2016).

Again following the 2009 distribution by province, Barcelona was the most populated with 40,492 followed by Madrid with 24,759, and then under twenty thousand in Santa Cruz de Tenerife, the Balearic Islands, Las Palmas, and about ten thousand, in order, in Malaga, Valencia and Alicante.

By regions, there were 40,492 in the province of Barcelona, 3,981 in Girona, 3,743 in Tarragona and 641 in Lleida.

Barcelona	40,492
Girona	3,981
Tarragona	3,743
Lleida	641

Table 5. Italians in Catalonia by regions (2016).

In Catalonia, the Italians are mainly concentrated in Barcelona. According to the Dept. of Statistics of Barcelona there were 25,016 in January 2015 (in order: Italy, Pakistan, China, France). By Barcelona districts, they were mainly in Eixample 6,233 (6,176 of Italian origin), Ciutat Vella 4,459 (4,285), San Martí 3,423 (3,303) and Gràcia 2,822 (2,736).

Districts of Barcelona	Italians	Italians of Italian origin
Eixample	6,233	6,176
Ciutat Vella	4,459	4,285
Sant Martí	3,423	3,303
Gràcia	2,822	2,736

Table 6. Italians in Barcelona by district.

### 3. The Italian community in Catalonia

#### 3.1 *Historical description and type of migration*

The presence of Italians in Catalonia dates back many centuries – as a result of commercial and financial relations, at least since the thirteenth century. The Italians continued arriving and between 1870 and the end of the nineteenth century, there were about 1,500 in Catalonia alone (Santagati 2007). This led to the establishment of an organised collectivity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with the founding of the Italian School<sup>12</sup> and the “Casa degli Italiani”, the first to be founded worldwide. We know about the types of professions that were most common in Barcelona Audenino (2002: 347):

In 1870 the Italians of Barcelona were occupied in several dozen craft activities, with a prevalence of butlers, waiters and street vendors, but there were also merchants, watchmakers, stonemasons and sculptors, carvers, blacksmiths and milliners. At the beginning of the twentieth century the community of Italians in Spain was estimated at less than 3000 people, of which almost half were in Barcelona, where a group of Lombards and Piedmontese were mostly occupied in hotels and restaurants in the city, but also in tailors and hat shops and a number of construction and marble workers.

There were also numerous Italian vendors in Barcelona from 1851, mainly from Emilia and Lucca, according to Sanfilippo (2001: 86). Other documents at the time point to the presence of landowners in the province of Barcelona, flower growers on the coast and renowned physicians and surgeons (Casa degli Italiani 1965).

In general we can say that until the late 1960s the Italian community abroad could be fit within the major global flows of migration for economic reasons. Therefore, cultural and linguistic connotations

12 Between 1882 and 1928, the Italian Schools were founded, offering everything from nursery school education to the completion of secondary education. In the 1940s and 1950s, during the post-Civil War period in Spain, these schools were recognised by the Italian state. The type of students varied in proportions from year to year, but they tended to be distributed as follows: a third from Italian families temporarily in Barcelona; a third from mixed Italian-Catalan families; and a third who were the children of local couples.

of inferiority were typically attributed to these Italian emigrant groups, which the host society later ratified (Sabatini et al., 1974: 125).

From the 70s and especially the 80s and 90s, the flow fell sharply and it was related more closely to a kind of “elitist” migration (Collicelli-Di Cori, 1986: 431; Sobrero and Dittmar, 1990: 195) between countries with the same prestige. Migration became temporary, with the aim of economic advancement in order to return to Italy and set up a business or purchase real estate. The Italians in Spain have business or commercial reasons or age-related or affective reasons for staying (Torrens 2001, 2006). Specifically regarding Catalonia (Torrens 2001), the reasons for moving are (in order of importance): 1) for sentimental reasons, developed before or after moving; 2) because they did not like the area where they lived (small town/climate); 3) to complete their studies (Spanish language or specific courses); 4) because they did not like certain aspects of Italy (fees and health care); 5) because they like living in Spain and/or had always wanted to live here; 6) because they like Spanish culture; and 7) because they established strong ties of friendship.

As for today, as we have seen in 2.1, the Italians, like the Spanish and Catalans, have begun to migrate again since the economic crisis of the past decade. Many remain in Europe, and many others have gone to America. Some authors have called them the “rootless young” or the “Liquid Generation”. They are mostly graduates, who leave to work and study in equal parts (Cucchiariato 2010).

From the research of Tirabassi and Del Pra’ (2014: 23ss, 210ss), there were almost 68,000 expatriates in 2012. In order, they have gone to: Argentina, Germany, Switzerland, France, Brazil, Belgium, the United States and the United Kingdom. Among their informants, Spain ranks fifth. The Erasmus students chose Spain as the first option, and the leading cities are Berlin, Barcelona, London, Paris<sup>13</sup>.

13 With respect to the statistical data there are some differences. The two largest groups are people who go abroad for less than two years, and people who go abroad and are between five and twelve years of age (40% in each group), while 52% are women (a figure very different from the Italian Institute of Statistics) and 56% are 26–32 years old. These questionnaires were completed online by 1,100 Italians from the following countries, in order: Germany, UK, France, USA, Spain, Netherlands, China, Brazil, Australia.

These Italian emigrants are young, highly qualified and multilingual, and most of them work. Among those who have spent less than two years outside Italy, the majority state that the economic crisis is their reason for leaving. Most are unlikely to return to Italy. Most couples are in a relationship with another Italian (52%) or with someone from the country where they live (39%). They declare themselves mainly European and Italian. Of the informants in Spain<sup>14</sup>, 37.5% feel fully integrated and 31.3% integrated. The authors report the following data for Catalonia (46 informants, almost all from Barcelona): *economically integrated*: full or mostly, 38%; partially, 11%; little or not at all, 14.5%; *culturally integrated*: full or mostly, 47%; partially, 28%; little, 4%; *socially integrated*: fully or mostly, 58%; partially, 15%; little, 9%.

### 3.2 *The Italians and their linguistic integration*

In Torrens (2001) we analysed Catalan/Spanish/Italian code-switching in Catalonia as an index of the degree of integration<sup>15</sup>. The Italians were first generation and of different ages. One local group interviewer conducted the interview in the Spanish language and the other, with Catalan and Italian ethnolinguistic boundaries, did the same interview in Italian another day. Also, home recordings were made in the absence of

- 14 Looking at internal data from the authors (Tirabassi and Pra' 2014), 7.1% of the respondents live in Spain, or about a hundred people. Of these, approximately half are resident in Barcelona.
- 15 Berry (1997) defines acculturation as the process by which subjects separate themselves from their group of origin in order to blend in with the host society. He identifies four different types: 1) assimilation: abandoning one's original cultural identity in favour of the host society; 2) integration, by maintaining one's own cultural identity, whilst also striving to become an integral part of the host society; 3) segregation or separation: there is no relationship between the group and the host society and the group retains its identity and traditions; 4) marginalisation: distancing from both the culture of origin and the majority group in the host society, which produces a feeling of alienation and loss of identity. Berry points to subjects' relationship with language as an important acculturation factor. He mentions the following factors: the perception of typological distance from or proximity to the varieties of origin with regard to host languages, the process of learning host languages and different degrees of language shift.

the interviewer and then compared with the interviews. Both the interviews at home and the recordings were analysed for code-switching and other transcodic markers (Lüdi and Py 1984, uses “transcodic markers” to refer to linguistic traces of contact between two systems).

This study demonstrates that the use of typically bilingual communication strategies (like loans and code-switching) facilitates the rapid integration of the community in question. We also studied the relationship between knowledge and use of Catalan, stereotypes attributed to Catalans and to the Spanish and Catalan languages and the value attributed to the Catalan language as capital to increase economic capital. Sometimes, however, informants did not mention that Catalan had communicative value to extend social networks. Thus, there were obvious cases of integration problems at least partly related to institutional pressure. Among these were cases in which an informant used Catalan often (though not as the usual language) but declared at the same time to have a linguistic ideology contrary to the language (Torrens 2001, 2006). Suffice it to say, the informants valued speaking Catalan very highly since it gave them access to economic capital. However, they did not see it as a way of increasing social capital, in the terminology of Bourdieu<sup>16</sup> (1982).

Others felt that knowledge of Catalan had a great symbolic function because it made them feel integrated, but this was not just for its communicative value (Torrens 2011b: 186).

### 3.3 *Italian mixed couples in Catalonia*

According to the last census that has this information (Cens de Població 2001), the largest type of family in Catalonia involving Italians is that of mixed couples. The most common type arises from the marriage of an Italian man and a Catalan woman (47%), while the opposite type is much less common (15% of these marriages are between a Catalan man and an Italian woman). In unions between an Italian and a foreigner from another country, it is more common that the man is Italian (13%)

16 Other authors have found very different examples. For example, the second generation of North Africans in France can identify symbolically with Arabic while their parents may have no interest in knowing it (Deprez 1994: 99).

than that the woman is Italian (8%). Finally, marriages between two Italians account for 17% (Torrens 2011b: 183).

### 3.4 Declared knowledge of the Catalan language

In terms of their knowledge of Catalan, the Italians in Catalonia differ slightly from other immigrants. Looking first at the overall population of Catalonia, around 94% had a listening competence in Catalan both in 2008 and in 2013 according to the 2013 EULP, while the level of writing was only about 60%<sup>17</sup>. By contrast, the declared competence in Spanish for the four skills areas only varied from 95% to 99.9% between 2008 and 2013. Regarding the data for the four declared skills areas in Catalan according to EULP 2013: 94.3% of the total population say they understand it; 80.4% say they can speak it; 82.4% say they can read it, and 60.4% say they can write.

Distinguishing between immigrants born elsewhere in Spain and those born abroad, the data in 2013 are as follows: 89.9% (born elsewhere in Spain) and 82.8% (born abroad) can understand Catalan; 56.8% and 52.8% can speak it; 62.1% and 59.4% can read it; and 23% and 31.7% can write it.

Data for Italians<sup>18</sup> in 2011, regardless of their type of partner, show higher-than-average competency in comprehension and lower-than-average competency in production: 91% of the Italian community state that they can understand Catalan, 37% can speak it, 67% can read it and 23% can write it. If we compare the situation in the last fifteen years, the data on oral skills have worsened, whereas the data on listening skills have improved. In 1996, 58% of Italians declared oral competence in Catalan, while only 48% did so in 2001, and only 43.8% did so in 2011. By contrast, there is an improvement in the number of Italians who say that they understand Catalan<sup>19</sup>. In the 2001 census, 14.5% did not understand, while in 2011 it was only 9%.

17 This is data on informants aged between 15 and 90. The younger the informants are, the higher the figure for written expression.

18 According to data compiled internally by Idescat.

19 These data refer only to Italians born in Italy. Interpretation of these variations is difficult. As indicated in section 3.1, the Italian population that emigrates

## 4. Methodology, theoretical framework and data collection

### 4.1 *Methodology and theoretical framework: Contextualisation cues*

In this study, we start from the idea that the language ideologies of interviewees and their perception of ethno-linguistic boundaries reflect power relations between social and language groups, as do the language choices carried out during the socialisation of children (Bourdieu 1982). Furthermore we believe that subjective ethno-linguistic vitality (Giles and Johnson 1987 and Viladot 2008) can influence intergenerational language transmission. We also believe that reality is socially constructed (Berger and Luckman 1966). Moreover we follow those ethnomethodology branches that hold that social identity is constructed primarily through language, such as Garfinkel (1967) and interactional sociolinguistics, which analyse discourse through contextualisation cues (Gumperz 1982).

In this sense it is very useful to use semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews as an instrument for data collection. Although neither the Evotranling nor the Globlinmed project, referred to in 4.3, planned to interview the fathers, fathers were interviewed every time the opportunity arose. Normally one interview for each individual partner was conducted (where another member, if they wished, could be present) and there was a joint part. This enabled responses to be compared and validated. In effect, the data were mainly collected at the interviewees' homes, with all family members present, allowing for interviewees' declared language use to be largely corroborated. On the other hand, sometimes unratified participants – the children or the other partner – were also present at the interview or in the home and they made sporadic interventions. These turns in the interview – see unratified participant intrusions and the role of spokesperson in 4.4 – are useful to provide more information on languages used within the family and sometimes

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nowadays is highly qualified, multilingual and moves country for work-related reasons. Majority languages are, possibly, more positively valued in terms of professional mobility.



also help to understand the content of the answers better<sup>20</sup>. An instance can be found in example 16, Int. with It12, 796–816 (*uno alla volta parliamo tu parla di te e io di me*).

At the same time, the interview script provides for reformulation of the most important questions from different perspectives at different stages of the interview, with the aim of obtaining more complete results. A questionnaire was also used. It was completed by interviewees in writing immediately before the start of the interview. The discourse between interviewer and interviewee was already being recorded at that point.

With regard to how the data have been analysed in this study, we compare different points of the interview where the same question is answered. The responses from the individual and the joint interviews are compared with one another and, finally, this content is compared with the written questionnaire responses, alongside the recording made whilst the interviewee was completing it. In a final phase, the content of the responses is compared with linguistic form by means of discourse analysis; for example, aspects of the conversation mechanism, the study of transcodic markers<sup>21</sup> and, more specifically, the local function of code-switching in discourse, such as, for example, the base language used, in addition to pronominal markers and other elements of linguistic form.

Furthermore, we must mention the studies relating to bias in the interview situation. Brenner (1982b: 122) indicates some factors that must be controlled, such as certain behavioural factors, e.g., how to ask questions or react to answers, and how to choose interviewers appropriate for age, sex, social status and ethnicity, among others. In our case the interview was always conducted in a quiet place, preferably in the homes of informants. The interviewer was always trilingual, always used whichever

20 The elements of identity in relation to the role of unrati ed interlocutor and spokesperson emerge more easily precisely if the parents are interviewed partly together and partly separately, and if the children are interviewed separately. Other aspects that encourage the appearance of these elements are that the interview is done at home and it is accepted as natural that any family member can be present at the interview of another, if desired, as an unrati ed interlocutor. It is also very useful, of course, that the interview script be focused on comparing the behaviours or representations of reality that parents, children and siblings attribute to one another reciprocally.

21 As defined in 3.2.

language the respondent preferred, and was open to short or extensive code-switching language. The interviewer was also flexible in developing the interview script (we describe the script below in 4.2), which revisited some topics to allow for reordering. The turn was also assigned in a more or less spontaneous way and parallel sequences, marked subjects and spontaneous narratives appeared. We describe this below in 4.4.

The analytical framework was mainly ethnomethodological using an interactional approach to discourse analysis (Sacks et al. 1974, Sacks 1992). It also drew on the Bakhtin framework that all enunciation is co-enunciation (Bakhtin 1992 [1929]) such that it tends to take into consideration not only the speech of the interviewee but also that of the interviewer.

We have analysed contextualisation cues relevant to the objectives of the study and used some instruments of pragmatics. As usual for such studies, the transcript reflects the verbatim words of interviewees.

Among the studied cues are pronouns and transcodic markers, for example, code-switching (Lüdi and Py 2002, Auer in 1995, among others). Secondly we study elements related to the management of the interview or the participation structure (Torrens 2006) and social identities used as an instrument (Zimmerman 1998).

Pronouns provide cues to the way that interviewees categorise, particularly through their use of the deictics of identity to indicate inclusion or exclusion (Schlieben-Lange 1987). These cues appear, for example, in relation to intragroup and intergroup categorisation, stereotypes or fossilisation, and their transformation over time, especially as regards the ethnic component of social groups, as well as the delimitation of ethnolinguistic boundaries.

Here is an example of It11M<sup>22</sup>:

**Ex. (1). Entrevista a It11M, 587–628.**

Ent: creus que per sentir-se català cal saber parlar català?

[...]

M: a veure (.) considero (.) que el català (.) que parlar en català és important (.) si un eh:: es vol sentir català (.) considero que és important (.) que la \*llengua és u- un fet important (.) en la cultura catalana (.) i mantenir-la/ (.) [...] per això jo per exemple en la meva vida quotidiana encara que hi hagi gent que em parli

en castellà jo continuo parlant en català (.) espero que no em consideri una mal educada (.) #espetec# però: jo ho faig (.) i crec que és important la llengua (..) perquè és un element d'identitat  
 Ent: [...] què què fa que tu diguis/ tal persona és catalana? (.) què vol dir això? (..) sa- sa- saps q- què vull dir?  
 [...]  
 M: ah:: (.) en en el meu cas jo considero que jo in- #espetec# faig en tinc la sensació que una persona és catalana en part amb bon molt\* bona part ah:: que es vegi o que es trobi identific- que jo li vegi una identificació amb amb l:a cultura catalana (.) amb la cultura #espetec# i aquí hi va la llengua [...]²³

Furthermore, both the production and the perception of code-switching have a symbolic value, as do the perceptions of informants about which languages they prefer or use in different domains. We can study the positive or negative perception that an informant has about his code-switching, whether he perceives it or not, if it is bilingual or not<sup>24</sup>, its functions and its associated communication strategies. We can also compare what the informant says about his linguistic preference with his effective code-switching during the interview, with or without base-language negotiation.

Regarding type, we study here only the code-switching types that are relevant to our objectives in relation to the content. Code-switching

23 **Example (1). Interview with It11M, 587–628.**

Int: do you think that to feel Catalan people should speak Catalan?

[...]

M: let's see (.) I think (.) that Catalan (.) that to speak in Catalan is important (.) if one e::r wants to feel Catalan (.) I think it is important (.) that the \*language is a- an important thing (.) in the Catalan culture (.) and to keep it/ (.) [...] that's why I for example in my daily life even if there are people who speak to me in Spanish I carry on speaking in Catalan (.) I hope people don't think I am rude (.) #tutting# bu:t I do it (.) and I think the language is important (..) because it is a mark of identity

Int: [...] what what makes that you say/ a certain person is Catalan? (.) what does it mean? (..) do you kno- kno- know w- what I mean?

[...]

M: e::r (.) in in my case I think that I in- #tutting# I do have the feeling that a person is Catalan partly:: and even \*more so e::r if he considers himself or that he identifie- that I see an identification with with th:e Catalan culture (.) with the culture #tutting# and the language is included [...].

24 Code-switching of the bilingual type is due to very uneven competition between two codes, so that the speaker prefers to use the dominant language.

is analysed in much greater detail in 4.4, alongside many other linguistic elements.

#### 4.2 *Data collection: The interview script*

The interview script contains the following data, referring both to parents and to children: a) declared language uses of the language of origin and the host language; b) representations of codes; representations of one's own patterns of use, of the family and of groups or subgroups of origin and host (social functions of every code and aspects of linguistic ideology); c) representations of communicative competence and communication strategies and, in particular, the strategies related to transcodic markers.

#### 4.3 *Corpus and methodology*

In this study we were able to compare data from the 90s until today (Torrens 2001, 2006, 2007, 2010), with a particular focus on the past decade and the Evotranling and Globlinmed projects<sup>25</sup>. Most informants are residents in Barcelona, while some are residents of the greater metropolitan area. In the appendix we have described all informants from different projects. We interviewed both the father and the mother, almost always in the family home and always with their children present. This allowed us to verify the declared competence and language use in the family. One part of the interview was joint, while another part was individual in order to compare answers. The interviews from the Evotranling project are from 2010 and those from the Globlinmed project were conducted in the summer of 2014. The previous interviews are from 2002 and prior years. The total is 53 respondents, 36 families and 78 interviews/recordings<sup>26</sup>. The interviewer

25 Evotranling: Project HUM2006-04395 / FILO funded by the Ministry of Science and Technology (Plan Nacional I + D 2005-06) for the period 2006–2009; Globlinmed: Project FFI 2012-35502 funded by the Ministry of Science and Technology 2012–2015 (Plan Nacional I+D+I 2012).

26 In the 90s and early 2000s, we also collected data from informants by recording them in their homes without the interviewer being present.

is always trilingual Catalan/Spanish/Italian and the language or languages used are negotiated during the interview. Thus we obtain numerous examples of code-switching, short and extensive. The interviews also surfaced other (potential) linguistic identity elements, which are described in detail in 4.4, such as marked topics, spontaneous narratives, stereotypes, etc. For this reason, the transcription is very detailed.

We use the following transcription symbols.

Strong intensity:	((F) affected text)
Weak intensity:	((P) affected text)
Rising intonation:	/
Falling intonation	\
Emphasis:	*text
Lengthening short, medium and long:	te:xt te::xt te:::xt
Laughter simultaneous speech produced:	((@) text affected)
No laughter simultaneous speech:	@ text affected
Pauses:	(.) (..) (...) About a second per each point
Overlapping:	[affected text]
Transcriber comment:	# # comment
Doubt on the transcribed text:	((??) text affected)
Fragment unintelligible, syllable by a sign:	xx text
Quote:	“text affected”
Code-switching:	<b>affected text (language)</b> <sup>26</sup>
Text removed to abbreviate the transcript in this study:	[...]
The partners are listed as follows:	IT (number): Italian interviewee, number of informant or family unit.
The codification of kinship is:	IT05P: informant 05, father; IT05M: informant 05, mother; IT05P-It.: informant 05, father, Italian; IT05M-It.: informant 05, mother, Italian. F1, F2, F3: first child, second child, third child.

27 In examples 9 and 18, bold text stands for code-switching and also code-mixing.

#### 4.4 Detailed description of the system of data analysis

In Torrens (2006) we managed to establish certain linguistic elements related to form and content as significant for all informants. Logically Torrens (2011a, 2011b) used this established system as basic elements of analysis<sup>28</sup>. We mention some of them below:

- 1) Marked topics. Those arising from the interview script; usually the interviewee proposes them. These topics serve as the context for many other marks of identity.
- 2) Marked and adjacent topics. When we returned to interview the same informants we could study the marked and adjacent topics contiguously over the years and with reference to the same question. The subjects and the ways in which they are related involve discourse and interpretative schemes of reality specific to each interviewee. In Torrens (2006) we concluded that marked and adjacent topics could be a potentially generalisable mark of identity to study linguistic and ethnic dimensions through socio-linguistic interviews with similar content. The same item appeared in different interviews and at a distance of seven years at different times and with different informants.
- 3) Spontaneous narratives (Bres 1995: 2, Caronia 1997: 187–190)<sup>29</sup>. They are a type of marked item: they are spontaneous in the sense that they have not been requested by the interviewer. Spontaneous narratives give greater significance to other marks of identity when crossed with elements of pluridiscursivity (such as quotations or in general any polyphonic element, Roulet 1996: 10–14) or sometimes with code-switching. Spontaneous narratives are also more significant because of this code-switching. One of the interviewees that used it quite often is IT02M (Torrens 2011b). Some examples highlight her ethnolinguistic Catalan identity, which caused some confrontations with teachers at the Italian School who did not know the sociolinguistic reality of

28 We use italics to indicate each of the phenomena appearing in the transcription.

29 In Torrens (2006), spontaneous narratives appeared in all interviews without exception. We also found some “spontaneous narratives with high interpretative power”, that is, those that were repeated at the same point in the interview when we returned after many years to interview the same informant.

the country (Ex. 25, in 5.3., and her demand for respect for the Spanish language in Catalonia (Ex. 26, in 5.3.).

- 4) Role of spokesperson<sup>30</sup> for the other party. This element is significant in the triad. Both the role of spokesperson and unrati- fied participant intrusions have more or less weight according to the participant structure of each interview and also to the topics covered at the time that the speaker plays the role. There is an example of the role of spokesperson in 5.1 (Ex. 13).

Here is another example of a brief language switch:

**Ex. (2). Entrevista a It03, conjunta, 1579–1584. In Torrens (2011b: 215)**

Ent2: ((P) aquí d'acord bé) (.) a veure (.) #s'adreça a IT03/P# cosa pensi tu/ dei catalani

IT03/M: (..) *chiusi ell els [troba tancats]*

IT03/P: [in generale/]

Ent2: sí sí general cioè (.) generale generale

IT03/P: oddio io penso che c'hanno una loro parte che hanno ragio- se guardi- amo la storia é una parte che gli do ragione<sup>31</sup>

- 5) Unratified<sup>32</sup> participant intrusions<sup>33</sup>. Intrusions often involve the opening of marked topics. Their significance lies precisely in the new topic proposed by an unrati- fied participant or in the topic within which the unrati- fied participant's intrusion has been

30 Spokesperson is the role played by an interlocutor who speaks in the name of another participant (e.g., “we think” when an interviewee answers in the name of both partners).

31 **Example (2). Interview with It03, joint 1579–1584.**

**In Torrens (2011b: 215)**

Int2: ((P) that's all fine) (.) let's see (.) #speaking to IT03/P # what do you think/ of the Catalans

IT03/M: (..) *closed (it.) he feel them [closed]*

IT03/P: [in general/]

Int2: yes yes general well (.) general general

IT03/P: well goodness I think they are partly right that they have reas- if we look at history I agree with them in part

32 Unratified participants are potential recipients that have been accepted as part of the constellation of participants even though the speaker is not addressing them (Goffman 1979).

33 The intrusion occurred when a participant answered a question that was addressed to another participant (Traverso 1995).

- verified. In example 14 in 5.2.1, It12M answers instead of It12P-It. because she is very involved in the response, and because it is a very important topic for her (*I can certainly answer that*).
- 6) Stereotypes or their transformation or fossilisation over time. These especially include stereotypes about some ethnic component of social groups. An example would be AG, from Milan (Torrens 2006), who holds a stereotype of Spaniards as lower-quality workers than Italians: a stereotype which has barely changed after seven years.
- 7) Atypical roles of interviewer and interviewee: attributes marked with respect to the characteristics of the “interview” genre (Orletti 2000: 12–17), for example if the respondent who takes the turn proposes a new and therefore marked topic, or he takes the role of the interviewer. In example 3, we are within a wide marked topic that has been opened by the interviewee (IT14P). The topic is about many people who have lived in Catalonia for a long time and do not speak Catalan, in a sequence in which, moreover, there are many intrusions by the Italian mother, IT14M-It., and we can check the real language uses in the family (parents speak Spanish with each other, in example 11 in 5.1). At a certain point, in example 3, the interviewee explicitly adopts the role of interviewer (*now I am asking the questions*).

**Ex. (3). Entrevista a It14P., 1665–1673.**

Ent: ah no perquè: parelles mixtes també m’interessen de amb argentins però si hi ha l’italià millor pel mig no? (.) bueno és igual

P: però això perquè era? [no m’entero poc]

M: [(@)]

Ent: sí no perquè són són és un estudi que fem sobre parelles mixtes però fa ja molts anys jo ja fa quinze anys que estic amb aquest tema vull dir que ja tinc entrevistes de fa quinze a:nys i gent que [he tornat a entrevistar]

P: [ara faig jo les preguntes] tu tu penses en català o en castellà? (@)

M: ((@) o amb italià)

Ent: jo penso [en català si parlo]

P: [i en italià tu en italià]

Ent: en català i si parlo en italià penso en italià eh? sí depèn de<sup>34</sup>

**34 Example (3). Interview with It14P., 1665–1673.**

Int: oh no: because I am also interested in mixed couples with Argentinians but if Italian is in the middle it’s better right? (.) well it doesn’t matter



- 8) Social identity used as an instrument. Among the identities of a person<sup>35</sup>, some are used to support specific ideas, such as the ethnic identity that an informant shares with his original group. He can use this identity to reinforce a prejudice toward the host language, as in the case of AG (Torrens 2006)<sup>36</sup>.
- 9) Language contact phenomena, including, for example, code-switching<sup>37</sup>, as noted earlier. The production and perception of such phenomena can have an important symbolic value, as can the linguistic codes that informants say they prefer or they use in different domains. We can study the positive or negative perception that an informant has of his bilingual code-switching<sup>38</sup>, perceived or not perceived, along with the associated communication strategies, considered separately from bilingual code-switching or not, and in relation to the other generation, first or second. We also

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P: but what was that for? [I don't really understand]

M: [(@)]

Int: yes no because: they are they are it is a study that we are doing on mixed couples but for many years for me already fifteen years that I have been studying this I mean I have interviews interviews from fifteen years ago: and people who [I have interviewed again]

P: [now I am asking the questions] do you do you think in Catalan or Spanish? (@)

M: ((@) or Italian)

Int: I think [in Catalan if I am speaking]

P: [and in Italian you in Italian]

Int: in Catalan and if I speak Italian I think in Italian yeah? it depends on

- 35 In recent decades, some authors such as Zimmerman (1998) have contributed to a description of multiple identities that has been taken into consideration for the analysis of conversation in our study.

- 36 Here is an example from Torrens (2006: 248), where we do not analyse code-mixing: A .: is (.) the tone I understood is what bothers me is the tone [...] not only to me all the Italians (.) because it seems [...] one (.) of these Italian dialects that are always disliked.

- 37 Let us leave aside the study of code-mixing phenomena (also called loans or interference) because of their complexity. These are elements from another source that have been adapted to the morphological and phonological rules of the host language (Grosjean 1990, Poplack 1990, 2004).

- 38 Code-switching of the non-bilingual type is due to a significant difference between two languages, making the interlocutor prefer the language that is more dominant. Bilingual code-switching has different functions.

compare the declared linguistic preferences with these occurrences of code-switching.

Very briefly, the bilingual code-switching relevant to our objectives is essentially of two types, adapting Auer freely (1995: 126)<sup>39</sup>. First, there may be code-switching without negotiation of the base language. It is usually quite brief, involving only isolated words or phrases that function as a contextualisation cue (as in Ex. 4) or constitute another polyphonic element (as in Ex. 5). In the following example, some language switches are a mark of the quotations *ah española olé olé castañuelas toros* and *mire oiga que yo*.

**Ex. (4). Entrevista a It13 conjunta, 1647–1695.**

P: todo lo que hacemos todo lo que hacemos (.) e \*todo lo que necesitamos se va a Milán (.) a Turín no vamos nunca

Ent: claro porque está más lejos [no/]

P: [pa]ra nosotros Turín es una **città:(it.)** (.) olvidada ahí:

Ent: \*jo jo com- mira jo això de los estereotipos per exemple quan vaig anar allí em molestava mol\*tíssim perquè només deien “**ah española olé olé (esp.)** (.) e:hm: m: (.) \*casta\*ñuelas eh \*to\*ros” y era- y es verdad eh/ era todo así [es es la- es la imagen] (esp.)

P: [bueno y yo cuando vine aquí] lo mismo eh/

M: **es la imagen que: [que se tiene] (esp.)**

P: [cuando vine aquí] era italiano: spa\*ghetti (.) la mafia (.) e: Berlus[\*coni]

M: [no:] home no home

P: cuando sí (.) [cuando vine aquí sí]

M: [**cuando tu vas allí] y hablas con mucha gente (esp.) inclús em van encarregar unes (cat.) casta\*ñuelas (esp.) dic “mire oiga (.) que yo:” (esp.)**

Ent: @<sup>40</sup>

39 For simplicity, we avoid the categories “related to the participant” and “related speech”, instead using their subcategories.

40 **Example (4). Interview with It13 joint, 1647–1695.**

P: everything we do everything we do (.) **and** \*everything we need we go to Milan (.) we never go to Turin

Int: of course because it is further away isn't [it]?

P: [for] us Turin is a forgotten **city: (it.)**

Int. \*I I since- look **stereotypes (esp.)** for me for example when I went there it bothered me a great deal because all they said was “**oh Spanish olé olé (esp.)**” hu:m hu:m **casta\*nets er \*bulls and it was- and it is is true hey/ it was all like that [it it the- it is the image(esp.)]**

P: [well when I came here] the same hey/

Now we turn to an example related to polyphonic elements, which comes from an interview in which the base language of the mother is always Catalan unless she is speaking only with her husband, in which case she does so in Spanish. But sometimes when the mother takes his turn or talks for him, she also does so in Spanish:

**Ex. (5). Entrevista a It03M, 2020–2026.**

**In Torrens (2011b: 2015)**

Ent2: e conosci questa zona/ la zona di Caserta\ tu:/

P: sí\ (.) come no\ ci vado ogni due settimane/

M: ((P) **sí está acostumbrado a irse**)

Ent2: ah be' (.) e: e in questo: in questa zona là **hi** vive gente: persone di fuori (.) di fuori Caserta/<sup>41</sup>

Code-switching without base-language negotiation can also have an expressive function or be related to a specific culture: language names, people, neighbourhoods, school (as in Ex. 6):

**Ex. (6). Entrevista a IT15M, 155–159.**

M: sí el que passa que=

Ent: =al **liceo (it.)**=

M: =el que sí la S està fent el: el **liceo (it.)** i ara és quan podria entra a:l batxillerat català (.) la S com que: vol fer medecina ahm: creu que si fa el canvi ara treurà millor puntuació<sup>42</sup>

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M: **that's the image that: [that people have] (esp.)**

P: [when I came here] it was Italian: spa\*ghetti (.) the mafia (.) and: Berlus [\*coni]

M: [no:] come on no come on (cat.)

P: when yeah (.) [when I came here yeah]

M: **[when you go there] and you talk to a lot of people (esp.) they even asked me to buy some (cat.) Casta\*nets (esp.) I said "look listen (.) I: (esp.)**

Int:@

41 **Example (5). Interview with IT03M, 2020–2026.**

In Torrens (2011b: 215)

Int2: and do you know this area/ the Caserta area\ you:/

P: yes\ (.) of course\ I go there every two weeks/

M: ((P) **yes he's used to going(esp.)**)

Int2: oh right (.) and: and in this: in this area there **there** live people: people from outside of (.) outside of Caserta/

42 **Example (6). Interview with IT15M, 155–159.**

M: yes the thing is that=

Int: =in **secondary school (it.)**=

Second, there may be code-switching of the base language of the interview, which is usually quite long, covering several turns. This code-switching can either be related to the parameters of the interview (a change of topic or frame or a change in the constellation of participants) or be motivated by the language preference of the interviewee (for convenience or for other identity reasons).

In the joint section of the interview of family IT13, the interviewer asks which language they would prefer to speak. The first ten minutes are in Spanish (Example 7). Then each parent talks to the interviewer in the language he prefers: the father in Italian and the mother in Catalan, as shown in example 8. We consider that the code-switching of the base language is an element of identity in itself, whether the interviewee proposes the language or whether it is his more or less explicit reaction to the interviewer's proposal.

**Ex. (7). Entrevista a It13M, 130–144.**

Ent: vale perfecto perfecto y la lengua de: la infancia cuál sería?

M: **català (cat.)**=

P: =ita[liano]

M: [bueno] **català o castellà però a casa català (cat.)**

P: **e io italiano (it.)**

Ent: **català (cat.)** (.) yo \*puedo \*ha\*blar en catalán castellano o italiano [así que]

P: [como- como quieras]=

Ent: =podemos alternar o no sé [a ver qué pasa]

P: [como quieras]

Ent: @ porque soy hija de: también de ital- de- m: cata\*lán e italiana así que

P: [ah]

M: [mira @]

Ent: tengo mezcla

P: y de dónde son?

Ent: mi madre de Milán pero bueno por decir eh<sup>43</sup>

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M: =that S. is doing: is the: the **high school (it.)** it is now when she can start doi:ng: the Catalan baccalaureate (.)as S. wants to do medicine hu:m she believes that if she makes the change now she will get better marks

43 **Example (7) Interview with It13M, 130–144.**

Int: ok perfect perfect and the childhood language: what would it be?

M: **Catalan (cat.)**=

P: = ita[liano]

M: [well] **Catalan or Castilian but Catalan at home (cat.)**

**Ex. (8) Entrevista a It13M, 237–247.**

M: però no es va dedi\*car o sigui primer donava \*classes al començament però després quan vam vindre vam arribar tots de cop perquè som molt seguits va deixar de treballar (.) i ja està

Ent: val (.) #adreçant-se a M.# **e: i tuoi?(it.)**

P: e: mio papà era: responsabile della- della: az- azienda: de **trasportes (.) urbanos (esp.)**

Ent: ah (.) ahà de:=

P: =era:

Ent: **de Novara? (esp.)**

P: sí (.) e: mia madre lavo\*rava **en el (esp.)** (.) prima ha avuto un negozio (.) poi l'ha ven\*duto e è andata a lavorare (.) in un:<sup>44</sup>

The fact that the interviewee changes his base language, and his reaction to the proposal by the interviewer, which could be more or less direct or indirect, constitutes an element of identity in itself. This can be observed in examples 20 and 21 in 5.2.1.

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P: **and me Italian (it.)**

Int: **Catalan (cat.)** (.) I \*can \*speak in Catalan Castilian or Italian [so]

P: [as- as you like]=

Int: =we can alternate or I don't know [let's see what happens]

P: [as you like]

Int: @ because I am the daughter o:f also of ital- of hu:m Cata\*lan and Italian mother so

P: [ah]

M: [oh@]

Int: I am a mix

P: and where are they from?

Int: my mother from Milan but well in a way yeah/

44 **Example (8) Interview with It13M, 237–247.**

M: but she \*wasn't working that is at first he was \*teaching but then when we came we arrived all at once because we are very close together he stopped working (.) and that's it

Int: ok (.) #talking to M.# **a:nd yours? (it.)**

P: e:r my father wa:s responsible for- fo:r urb- **urba:n (.) transport(esp.)**

Int: oh (.) right fro:m=

P: =was:

Int: **from Novara? (esp.)**

P: yes (.) a:nd my mother \*worked **in the (esp.)** (.) first she had a shop (.) she she sold it and she went to work (.) in a:

Because of their complexity, we will leave aside the study of code-mixing phenomena<sup>45</sup>. But we can say that code-mixing is a very strong feature that defines some interviewees, and we found three very clear cases, all men.

The first of the three informants is A.G. (Torrens 2006), who is married to another Italian, has a unilingual profile against minority languages and declares having trouble learning languages. The second of the three, It04P-It. (Torrens 2011b: 216ss), is in a mixed couple, uses Catalan quite frequently and declares that he learns languages easily and is in favour of language mixing. The third informant IT13P-It. belongs to the most recently collected data. He is also in a mixed couple but he has a linguistic ideology quite opposed to Catalan in relation to the current political moment. It is unclear what competence he has or if he uses it, but some use occurs in the interview. In the joint interview when the question is addressed to the mother, the father makes some intrusions (like *here all of them*) until the interviewer again addresses the two parents (*you change from one to the other?*). Then IT13P answers, with a turn where the code-mixing is very clear. Here are the examples.

**Ex. (9). Entrevista a It13., conjunta, 305–348.**

Ent: hm hm (.) val (.) hi ha hagut algun \*canvi des de llavors en les llengües que feu servir amb la família? bueno (.) bueno ell ja m'ho ha dit [...]

[...]

M:(.) el canvi: és és a casa aquí es parla: e:h

P: **aquí de todo (esp.)**

M: un català-castellano-italiano: (esp.) a vegade:s

P: todo mezclado todo:=

M: =barre\*jat depèn o sigui jo amb la meva filla parlo cata\*là ell a mi català jo amb ell en castellà @ (.) o: (.) i ell em respon en: en itali\*à o a vegades li parlo jo en italià després la meva filla amb ell italià o si no: (.) és una barreja

P: no tenemos una lengua **ufficial** de casa

[...]

M: sí sí

P: no no pero aquí a: la mesa hablamos tres lenguas (.) las tres

[...]

Ent: vais pasando de una a la otra?

45 Also called loans or interference, code-mixing is an element from another source that has been adapted to the phonological and morphological rules of the receptor language (Grosjean 1990; Poplack 1990).

P: vamos pasando uno **da** una a la otra **e**: vamos mez\*clando también (.) **a segundo del** \*mo\*mento **a segundo de la**: se estás enfa\*dado o si tienes que e:h **allora** te sale **metà** castellano **metà** italiano: a ella **metà** catalán **metà** e:h castellano: o: (.) e todo así (.) o se no normalmente: e:h (.) io parlo italiano lei parla **català mia figlia parla català** o italiano **con me**: (.) e todo todo así:  
 M: sí però són coses molt molt \*simples perquè per exemple jo què sé e:h estàs aquí: i dius “em pots passar el \***piatto per favore?**” (it.) saps/ bar\*reges (.) a vegades eh/ i a vegades no  
 P: **niente** casi **che non**: (.) **neanche ci diamo cuenta de de**: (.) **de passare da una lingua all'altra così**:<sup>46</sup>

46 **Ex. (9). Interview with It13., Joint, 305–348.**

Int: hum hum (.) ok (.) has there been any \*change since then in the language you use with the family? well (.) well he already told me [...]

[...]

M :(.) the change: is is at home here is spoken e:r

P: **here all of them (esp.)**

M: a Catalan-Castilian-Italian: (esp.) sometime:s

P: all mixed all:=

M: = mi\*xed it depends so I with my daughter speak Cata\*lan he with me Catalan I with him in Castilian @ (.) o:r (.) and he answers me in: in Italian or sometimes I speak to him in Italian then my daughter in Italian with him or otherwise: (.) it's a mixture

P: we do not have an **official** home language

[...]

M: yes yes

P: no no but here at: the table we speak three languages (.) the three

[...]

Int: you change from one to the other?

P: we go from one **from** one to the other **and**: we \*mix them as well (.) **according to the** \*mo\*ment **according to: whether** you are \*angry or if you have to e:r **then half** Castilian **half** Italian comes out **half** she **half** Catalan half e:r Castilia:n o:r (.) and all like this (.) or otherwise normally: e:r (.) I speak Italian she speaks **Catalan my daughter speaks Catalan** or Italian **with me**: (.) **and** everything everything like this:

M: yes but they are very very \*simple things because for example I don't know hu:m you are here: and you say “can you pass me the \***plate please?**” (it.) you know/ you \*mix it (.) sometimes eh/ and sometimes not

P: **nothing** we hardly (.) **realise when when (.) we switch from one to the other like thi:s**

## 5. Results

Now we will focus on language use among members of the first generation, the parents, and on family uses, all declared and in many cases demonstrated by use in the interviews. We will also indicate some declared uses in other domains outside the home. The examples come from the abovementioned projects: Evotranling (families IT01 to IT10) and Globlinmed (families IT11 to IT16).

### *5.1. Language within couples: determining factors. The role of women.*

One aspect to note is that for all the cases studied, Italian women almost never use their language within the couple, and frequently they are the ones who also promote the use of Catalan more actively within the family.

Italian women all speak Spanish with their partner (IT07, IT08, IT09, IT10, IT14). Bilingual Catalan speaking women move to Spanish (IT03<sup>47</sup>, IT04, IT05) or Italian (IT01, IT02, IT06, IT12, IT13, IT15, IT16) but there are two cases that combine more than one language (IT08M-It., Spanish and Catalan; IT11P-It., Italian and Catalan).

There is a certain parallelism between the fact that Italian women do not speak their language with their husband and that they encourage the use of Catalan in the family (IT07 and IT08) or that they are afraid to stop using Italian with their children (IT08, IT14). In the case of the Italian man, his original language remains much more in use with his partner, in fact it remains so in half of the cases.

The choice of Italian may depend on the Italian territory where the couple lived at the beginning (the Italian for IT01, IT02, IT06, IT12). Other reasons include because it is easier for one of the two to learn languages (IT15M), because he planned to live in Italy (IT16M) or feels an innate difficulty in learning languages (IT01P-It.), because one partner knew the language of the other during the first period of the couple's coexistence (two Italian parents who left Italian in favour of Spanish,

47 She very likely speaks in Spanish and he in Italian.



IT03, IT05, and Italian mothers that we have indicated before, IT07, IT08 IT09 IT10 and IT14) or because one of the partners needed to learn the language of the couple quickly (Italian father needed Spanish in family IT04).

As indicated in 4.1 and 4.3, declared language uses are normally demonstrated in the interview itself. Examples confirm the uses of the couples. The interview of It12M and It12P-It. is individual and joint. Both the interview with the mother and the joint interview are in Catalan. This first example enables us to confirm declared language uses: when parents talk to each other they use Italian. Let's look at example 10:

**Ex. (10). Entrevista a It12., 796–816.**

Ent: si teniu temps per sortir amb amics i ((@) tot això no?)

P: **uno alla volta parliamo tu parla di te e io di me**

Ent: **ah ecco fantastico**

M: hm: depèn català castellà o italià aquestes són les llengües fonamentals

Ent: o sigui només català o només castellà o només italià?<sup>48</sup>

The general pattern of use within the couples is one person-one language, except in four cases. In the first case the Catalan language is used as the language of the couple, in combination with Spanish, which in the past was the only language usually spoken between them. It may have helped that the husband has never stopped addressing his wife primarily in Catalan, and moves almost exclusively in Catalan-speaking environments (IT08). In the second, where the wife is Catalan, the mother speaks Spanish and the father Italian. The mother sometimes uses Italian, probably because her husband always addresses her exclusively in this language (IT03). In the third case they mix Spanish and Italian very infrequently (IT14)<sup>49</sup>.

**48 Example (10). Interview with It12., 796–816.**

Int: if you have time to go out with friends ((@) all that yeah?)

P: **let's talk one at a time you about you and I about myself (it.)**

Int: **ah perfect fantastic (it.)**

M: hu:m it depends Catalan Castilian or Italian these are the fundamental languages

Int: so that is only Catalan or only Spanish or only Italian?

**49** These are some very brief, exceptional language switches to Italian, with an expressive function. Of the four couples, they mix the least, which is why it has not been indicated in the appendix tables or in this section.

The interview of It14 is done separately and together. The interview with the mother is mainly in Spanish. The interview with the father is in Catalan, but there are some intrusions and a joint part with the mother where he mainly uses Spanish, which also confirms declared language uses. In example 11, the base language between IT14P and Int. is Catalan and IT14M's intrusion, directed towards her husband, is in the language that they usually use: Spanish.

**Ex. (11). Entrevista a It14P., 1616–1664.**

Ent: vale (.) vale i els amics de petit te'n recordes com eren? o bueno també pel tema de usos lingüístics i així

A: els amics ah:: (.) de petit majoritàriament castellà

[...]

Ent: mhm (..) però ja fèieu castellà i català a l'escola?

[...]

P: a veure hi ha molta gent que té trenta anys i: viu a no sé quin poble [a Barberà o no sé on]

M: [**ah mira le le puedes (esp.)**]

P: [i:: i semblen de Còrdova]

M: [**le puedes explicar (esp.)**]

P: quan parlen i han nascut aquí (.) l'entenen si els hi pregunten en català a lo millor un periodista per dir ja veus a la tele no? entrevisten algú d'allà i contesten en castellà

Ent: mhm mhm

M: **le puedes explicar de tu primo/ el J. y del I. (esp.)**

P: otro día (@)<sup>50</sup>

50 **Example (11). Interview with It14P., 1616–1664.**

Int: ok (.) ok and friends when you were a child do you remember what they were like? or well also for language use and so on

A: with friends hu::m (.) when I was a child mostly Spanish

[...]

Int: hum (..) but you were already doing Spanish and Catalan at school?

[...]

P: well there are many people who are thirty years old a:nd living in some town or other [in Barberà or I don't know where]

M: [**ah look you can (esp.)**]

P: [a::nd and it is as if they were from Cordoba]

M: [**you can tell her about (esp.)**]

P: when they speak and they were born here (.) they understand if someone asks them something in Catalan perhaps a journalist for example you see on the TV yeah? They are interviewing someone from there and they answer in Castilian

In the fourth case (IT11), the couple has always mixed Italian and Catalan. The woman has strong Catalan ethnolinguistic boundaries, which were the reason why her Italian husband, who also had a very positive ideology towards minority languages, learned Catalan before Spanish. In the following example, from the interview with the mother, we see that the mother never spoke in Spanish with her partner (*the first greeting to him was spoken in Catalan*).

**Ex. (12) Ent a It11M, 381–375**

Ent: clar (.) però suposo que hi ha hagut una època que ell el català no el sabia no?

M: eh: sí com jo no sabia l'italià

Ent: [clar clar]

M: [vull dir] quan ens vam conèixer eh:: (.) jo li podia dir coses però jo a veure #espetec# per exemple una persona d'aquí potser en conèixer un is- un estranger posem un italià ah:: com que és estranger bo i sent catalana li parla en castellà jo \*no m *el primer déu vos guard va ser parlar-li en català* vull dir m'entendràs igual o potser millor si dic coses en català perquè hi ha paraules que s'assemblen més entre català i italià que no pas al castellà i: llavors el ell -nava aprenent hm: el català i ell va aprendre abans el català que el castellà

Ent: el va aprendre parlant [amb tu]?

M: [sí]<sup>51</sup>

---

Int: hum hum

M: **you could tell her about your cousin/ J. and I. (esp.)**

P: another day (@)

51 **Example (12) Interview with It11M, 381–375.**

Int: of course (.) but I suppose there was a time when he did not know Catalan right?

M: e:r yes as I didn't know Italian

Int: [of course of course]

M: [I mean] when we met e::r (.) I could tell him things but I well #tutting# for example a person from here might when he meets a fo- a foreigner for example an Italian e::r as he is foreigner even being Catalan he speaks in Castilian I \*don't hum *the first greeting was spoken to him in Catalan* I mean you will still understand or it might be better if I say things in Catalan because there are words that are more similar between Catalan and Italian than Castilian a:nd then he was learning hu:m Catalan and he learned Catalan before Spanish

Int: did he learn it speaking with [you]?

M: [yes]

Turning lastly to example 13, IT03/M responds in the role of spokesperson (*il problema è che noi parliamo in italiano*) on behalf of her husband. The interviewer has asked why many Italians do not speak Catalan. IT03/P makes reference to the fact that Catalans tend to converge to Spanish, but his wife interjects to say that the reason is that they have always spoken to each other in Italian, because she could already speak Italian. She also characterises Catalan people as *good* because of the abovementioned convergence. As previously indicated, in reality, from what can be deduced from the different data collected, in percentages she mainly speaks Spanish and he speaks Italian. When they met, they spoke in Italian. Let's look at the example:

**Ex. (13). Entrevista a IT03, conjunta, 363–381.**

A Torrens (2011b :215)

Ent2: (@) [...] perché pensi che ((F) molta gente) (.) anche per ((F) te) (.) che tanta gente che vive qua (.) non inizia a parlare il catalano

IT03/P: dipende dalla gente che frequenti (.) io ho f- sempre frequentato delle persone che mi hanno sempre risposto in castigliano=

IT03/M: =(P) o in [italiano]

IT03/P: [e quindi] (.) o in italiano\ e [quindi ho parlato sempre]

IT03/M: [((P) *il problema è che noi parliamo in italiano*)]

IT03/P: ei la domanda è a me non a te stai zitta (@)

IT03/M: (@) [...]

IT03/P: [e quindi] per questo motivo parlo (.) meglio il castigliano e:: e non il catalano

Ent2: d'accordo bene e: questo a te non te lo chiedo (@)

IT03/M: els catalans som molt bons perquè és com que nosaltres sabem tants idiomes [...] ((@) però anem a veure és que nosaltres)

Ent2: (@)

IT03/M: ((@) jo sabia italià quan el vaig conèixer i llavors per això ja no se es va esforçar)<sup>52</sup>

**52 Example (13). Interview with IT03, joint 363–381.**

Int2: (@) [...] why do you think that ((F) many people) (.) even for ((F) you) (.) that so many people living here (.) do not begin to speak Catalan

IT03/P: it depends on the people who you mix with (.) I m- have always mixed with people who have always answered me in Castilian=

IT03/M: =(P) or [in Italian]

IT03/P: [and then] (.) or in Italian\ and [so I have always spoken]

IT03/M: [((P) *the problem is that we speak in Italian*)]

IT03/P: hey the question is to me not to you be quiet (@)

## 5.2 Knowledge of Catalan and declared uses outside the home: Determining factors

### 5.2.1 Linguistic ideology<sup>53</sup> and the use of Catalan

Indeed the positive ideology of an Italian father or mother towards minority languages, specifically towards Catalan, is a factor that encourages the Italian partner to know Catalan and use it in at least one domain (IT04F-It., IT08M-It., IT11F-It., IT14M-It.) or even in all domains, as in the case of IT12F-It., although this is considered an extreme case<sup>54</sup>. Indeed IT12P-It. is the only case where an interviewee declares himself to be a “Catalan of Italian origin.”

Looking at the last example, the interviewee IT12P-It. speaks Catalan to everyone first because he declares having difficulty in learning languages, and so decided to concentrate on one<sup>55</sup>, as we will see in the following example 14, with the intrusions of IT12M. IT12P explains why he learnt Catalan before he learnt Spanish. His wife, IT12M, answers on his behalf because she is very involved in the response, and because it is a very important topic for her (*I can certainly answer that*):

**Ex. (14). Entrevista a It12, conjunta, 1280–1303.**

Ent: perquè perquè com va ser que vas que vas posar-te a aprendre el català i no i no el castellà? això seria és una altra pregunta eh? però ja que estem

---

IT03/M: (@) [...]

IT03/P: [so] that's why I talk (.) better Castilian a:nd and not Catalan

Int2: ok well fine a:nd I won't ask you that (@)

IT03/M: we Catalans are very good because the fact that we know so many languages [...] ((@) but let's see is it because we)

Int2: (@)

IT03/M: ((@) I spoke Italian when I met him and then that's why he didn't make an effort)

- 53 Language ideologies (Schieffelin et al. 1988) are implicit or explicit cultural representations with regard to a language. These representations are related to identity and power, amongst other factors. This ideology reinforces decisions made in terms of linguistic uses. In our study, this term is used in a very similar way to the term *linguistic attitudes*.
- 54 The interviewee was contacted through an Italian university professor of Catalan. IT12F-It. belongs to an association that safeguards the image of Catalan in Catalonia and abroad.
- 55 Although, as he says, he has obtained at least level B2 in Spanish.

- P: (@)  
 [...]  
 M: *aquesta aquesta la puc contestar fins i tot jo [(@)]*  
 P: [jo no] parlava el castellà i: [la vaig conèixer a ella]  
 Ent: [perquè us veu conèixer] a Itàlia evidentment  
 P: sí  
 Ent: per tant parlàveu en italià  
 [...]  
 Ent: vale i suposo que quan vas començar a venir aquí el primer contacte amb la seva família dic jo no sé o quan ells [anaven]  
 P: [sí] però ella em va dir una cosa que és veritat que és que sóc gandul per mi si jo hagués començat amb el castellà que és una cosa que passa a tots el italians després m'hauria costat molt més estudiar i aprendre i fer servir [el català]  
 M: [no no] l'haguessis après  
 P: no l'hauria après<sup>56</sup>

Example 15 is in the same vein. IT12P interacts exclusively in Catalan or Italian:

**(15) Entrevista a It12 conjunta, 863–876.**

P: és que ella és poliglota (.) jo no jo no tinc converses en castellà amb ningú perquè no no el parlo no el sé el cast- és a dir que no sóc en les condicions d'expressar-me en castellà d'una manera hm:: nor- diguem [normal]

56 **Ex. (14). Interview with It12, joint 1280–1303.**

Int: why why is it that you that you started to learn Catalan and not Castilian? this would be this is another question yeah? but since we are

P: (@)

[...]

M: *that that I can certainly answer that [(@)]*

P: [I did] not speak Spanish a:nd [I met her]

Int: [because evidently] you met each other in Italy

P: yes

Int: so you spoke in Italian [...]

Int: ok and I suppose when you started coming here the first contact with her family I mean I do not know or when they [were]

P: [yes] but she told me something that is true which is that I am lazy for me if I had started with Spanish that is something that all the Italians do it would be harder to study and learn and use Catalan [after\]

M: [no] you would not have learned it

P: I would not have learned it

M: [fluida]

P: mínima i fluida (.) jo em relaciono només en català o en italià (.) i punt<sup>57</sup>

On the other hand, IT12-It. speaks Catalan to everyone first and foremost for strong ideological reasons, as we will see in example 17, and these reasons are obviously what triggered his decision only to learn Catalan and not Spanish. This fact is reinforced by his declared ethnic identity (*Catalan of Italian origin*). The answer is conditioned by the place where he has to manifest that identity, and by the historical moment (*if there is a political cultural reason*). It is also very interesting that his answer is somehow conditioned by external categorisation. He says that perhaps he is still identified as Italian (*perhaps they know*), but she says no (*people don't ask him anymore*).

**Ex. (16) Ent a IT12 conjunta, 2164–2218.**

Ent: si et pregunten d'on ets què dius?

P: de Barcelona=

Ent: =de Barcelona (.) vale (.) i si estàs a Itàlia

P: Pàdua

Ent: si si estàs a Itàlia [i et]

P: [sí]

Ent: pregunten **di dove sei?**

P: **di Padova**

Ent: vale si estàs aquí de Barcelona

P: sí

Ent: no dius mai que ets italià (.) no sé pregunto eh?

P: eh depèn: si: m'estic presentant etcètera etcètera i depèn de (.) qui és l'interlocutor hi ha hm: moments en què dic que sóc italià català d'origen italià (.) si hi ha motiu di- polític cultural i: i si no sóc italià sí és veritat\ [...]

Ent: val val no no hi ha gent [...] que de seguida diu "italià" no? (.) però no és el teu cas no?

P: potser que s'entén no sé [...] s'entén que no sóc d'aquí perquè [...]

57 **Ex. (15) Interview with It12 joint 863–876.**

P: the thing is that she is multilingual (.) I am do not I not have conversations in Castilian with anyone because I do do not speak it I do not know Cast- what I mean is that I am not in the position to express myself in Castilian in a way hu::m nor- let's say [normal]

M: [fluent]

P: minimal and fluent (.) I interact only in Catalan or Italian (.) and that's it

M: passa que [...] ja no li pre- no li pregunten abans sí perquè clar es notava molt  
 [...]
 M: està parlant català la gent no s'ho pensa (.) a no ser que portis una estona i: i algú que sigui molt molt<sup>58</sup>

Elsewhere in this interview there is an explicit connection between Italian dialects and Catalan<sup>59</sup>, in the sense that the same importance

58 **Example (16) Interview with IT12, joint, 2164–2218.**

Int: If they ask you where you are from what do you say?

P: from Barcelona=

Int: =from Barcelona (.) ok (.) and if you're in Italy

P: Padua

Int: if if you are in Italy [and they]

P: [yes]

Int: if they ask **where are you from? (it.)**

P: **from Padua (it.)**

Int: ok if you're here from Barcelona

P: yes

Int: don't you ever say that you are Italian (.) I don't know I am just asking yeah?

P: hu:m it depe:nds i:f I'm introducing myself etc. etc. and it depends on (.) who the interlocutor is there are hu:m moments when I say I'm an Italian Catalan of Italian origin (.) if there is a political cultural reason a:nd otherwise I'm Italian yes it's true\

[...]

Int: ok ok there are no no people [...] that immediately say "Italian" aren't there? (.) but that isn't your case is it?

P: perhaps they know [...] I don't know they know that I am not from here because

[...]

M: the thing is that [...] people don't ask him anymore before yes because of course it was really noticeable

[...]

M: he is speaking Catalan people do not realise (.) unless it has been a while a:nd and someone who is very very

59 In Italy, standard Italian is considered more prestigious than regional or local variants and, particularly, dialect. There are significant differences across the country: the North West and Central Italy (leaving aside Tuscany and Lazio, where the differences between standard Italian and dialect are less pronounced) are the regions which use dialect the least, whilst in the South, the Islands and the North East, dialects are used the most. At the same time, Italy is different



is given to both varieties as prestigious for him. Following our previous studies (Torrens 2011b), we consider this case to be very valuable because it is the only case in which the variable “active dialects” relates explicitly to the knowledge and use of Catalan. The interviewee answers that wherever he is, he always uses “the local language”:

**Ex. (17) Entrevista conjunta a It12, 1002–1150.**

Ent: bueno (.) quina llengua parleu més còmodament? diguéssim bueno cadascú pot respondre quan (.) vulgui o [...]

P: jo: podré respondre eh evidentment on estiguis parles l’idioma: local (.) a més per mi hi ha un altre tema perquè he arribat després (.) i jo parlo el vènet que és un altre (@) que és molt italianitzat però clar hm:: entre gent quan esquan estic a Pàdua quan sóc a Pàdua no parlo en italià parlo en vènet i aquí s’obre una altra porta ((@) però [que la tanquem])

Ent: [no no aquesta porta] a mi m’interessa vull dir pots

[...]

P: [...] determinats llocs marcats\* etcètera tu parles el vènet parles el padovà parles el venecià el que sigui i: a l’ambient oficial és etcètera en italià (.) aquí més o menys és igual vull dir eh: eh: excepte el castellà que jo no ho faig servir (.) em relaciono amb català els cata- amb els catalanoparlants eh amb tots els ambients de de de feina de relacions etcètera i amb italià amb els i- amb els italians<sup>60</sup>

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from many other countries in the sense that both standard Italian and dialect are compatible in informal situations, whilst, in other countries, using the high variant in such situations would cause hilarity (Bruni 1990: 103–104). Finally, we can say that, although there has been a decrease in the number of speakers who state only using dialect, the number who indicate use of it alongside standard Italian has risen. Nowadays, use amongst young people also has some distinctive features; however, they have usually learnt dialect in a fragmented, indirect way (Sobrero and Miglietta 2006). Be that as it may, it is likely that the less-positive prestige of local variants is still predominant when making comparisons with complex linguistic situations outside the country. In conclusion, it must be noted that IT12 comes, precisely, from North-Eastern Italy, where dialect is very much alive and, furthermore, that the interviewee belongs to an association which promotes greater knowledge of the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia amongst Italians.

60 **Example (17), joint interview with It12, 1002–1150.**

Int: well (.) which language do you speak more comfortably? I mean well each of you can answer when (.) he or she wants or [...]

P: I: I can answer er obviously wherever you are you speak the local language (.) in addition there is something else for me because I came later (.) and I speak Venetian which is another (@) that is very Italianised but obviously

In other cases, the positive Italian linguistic ideology of the partner may not be a variable influential enough to encourage the use of Catalan in at least one domain, compared to other variables. Some of these are: the feeling that the Catalan speakers in the environment always switch to Spanish (IT03F-It. and IT09M-It.); the fact that the couple have separated (IT09M-It.) or the feeling of having great difficulty learning languages (IT01F-It.).

For It13P-It., the obstacles to feeling that he speaks it well enough are, surely, an attitude contrary to the Catalan independence process and a view of institutions as instruments of pressure for the use of Catalan.

In the following fragment, IT13P-It. indicates that he does not ever speak it, because he dare not. This is example 18, where we do not analyse code-mixing<sup>61</sup>:

**Ex. (18) Entrevista a It13P-It. i It13M, 348–358**

Ent: Ma voi parlate in catalano qualche volta per un po' diciamo?

P: eh **io** no (.) no **perché non:** (.) **non me** atrevo **non:** (.) però **lo en\*tiendo lo \*hablo** però **non me atrevo a hablarlo**

Ent: aquí? [fuera de casa/]

P: [no no] fuera también

Ent: tampoco?

P: lo hablo: lo hablaba \*antes cuando **per esempio** trabajaba en una tienda aquí: (.) entonces con el cli\*ente igual lo ha\*blaba e: (.) pero después ahí la cosa se acababa allí (.) e: ya está (.) pero yo **per esempio** con sus hermanos e

---

hu::m with people when I I'm in Padua when I'm in Padua I don't speak in Italian I speak in Venetian and it opens another door ((@) but [we close it])

Int: [no no this door] interests me I mean you can

[...]

P: [...] certain specific \*marked places etc. you talk Venetian you talk Paduan you talk Venetian whatever a:nd in official environments etc. it is in Italian (.) here it is more or less the same I mea:n e:r e:r except for Castilian which I don't use (.) I interact in Catalan the Cata- with Catalan speakers er in all environments of of of work of relations and so on and in Italian with I- with Italians

61 In relation to this interviewee, some very significant information must be added. Although his interview is fundamentally conducted in Spanish, his degree of code-mixing is really very high, as seen in example 9.

todo hablo en castellano **non** en catalán (.) con sus hermanos amigos o: (.) su madre o así hablo en: castellano<sup>62</sup>

At the end of the joint interview the mother needs to depart. The interview continues, and to some extent the interviewee opens a marked topic relating to the Catalan referendum held on 9 November 2014<sup>63</sup>. Later he relates this subject to the fact that, while he respects the Catalan culture, he does not like the use of Catalan being mandatory. In the fragment below there is a spontaneous narrative (*I used to work in a shop*) Where we can see his linguistic ideology contrary to the Catalan language (we do not analyse codemixing):

**Ex. (19) Entrevista a It13P-It., 2007–2028.**

P: **però** para mi: está \*muy bien todo esto (.) que tú me explicas tu cultura tu lengua: (.) me lo **inseñas** (.) **me está** \*muy bien (.) **però** me parece equivocado la **maniera in cui** \*tú lo quieres hacer e me lo quieres obligar (.) **esemplo** (.) yo trabajaba en una tienda (.) donde e:h estaban los precios (.) vale/ **e** se ponía “americana cien euros”(.) llegó una multa (.) **perché** no estaba escrito en catalán (.) esto no me parece bien (.) esto no me parece bien (.) y más en la \*multa en la carta que le enviaron **non** en la multa le enviaron una carta (.) donde estaba escrito que ella lo **podeva** escribir (.) **e** estaban tres o cuatro lengua **e** no estaba el castellano

62 **Example (18) Interview with It13P-It. and It13M, 348–358.**

Int: but you do you speak in Catalan sometimes for a little while shall we say? (it.)

P: er not **me** (.) no **because I do:n't** (.) I da:re'nt: (.) but **I unders\*tand it I \*speak it but I dare'nt speak it (esp.)**

Int: here? [out of the home/]

P: [no no] out of the home as well

Int: neither?

P: I speak i:t I spoke it be\*fore when **for example** I used to work in a shop here: (.) then with the \*client I might have spoken it a:nd (.) but then it stopped there and that's that (.) a:nd it's already (.) but me **for example** with her brothers and sisters **and** everyone I speak in Castilian **not** in Catalan (.) with her brothers and sisters her friends o:r (.) her mother and them I speak i:n Castilian

63 On 9 November 2014, the Government of Catalonia held a political consultation of its citizens that was called a citizen participation process on the political future of Catalonia. This was as an alternative to a referendum on the self-determination of Catalonia that the Spanish government had not allowed. The vote was viewed by the government of Spain as an illegal act and it was referred to the Constitutional Court.

[...]

P: “te avi\*samos que si no cambias lo lo: (.) los cartelitos de la:”

Ent: de la ropa=

P: =que tienes en el esca\*pa\*rate o a\*sí te de- (.) te enviaremos una multa: (.)

e lo puedes escribir en cata\*lán inglés e:h ale\*mán e \*chino

Ent: ah vale que no puedes en caste[[lano]

P: [e io] digo “e- el castellano dónde está?” digo “aquí estamos: de qué vamos?” **cioè** aquí me parece una **dittatura** encubierta (.) esto es lo que pienso (.) **cioè** tú me estás obligando a cosas (.) que yo hago si quiero (.) yo **ac\*etto** tus cosas perché vengo a vivir a tu país (.) e **acetto** tus cosas (.) pe\*ro che no me **obbliguis** a: (.) a determinadas cosas que **non**:<sup>64</sup>

The case of ItM14 is very different. She speaks perfect Catalan and frequently uses it outside the home. However, as we saw in 5.1, she almost always speaks in Spanish with her husband. During the interview, IT14M mainly uses Spanish with the interviewer because, as she explicitly says, she prefers not to switch languages. In fragment 20, we can see that IT14P is surprised that his wife does not speak Italian to the interviewer, who is trilingual. Nevertheless, in fragment 21, which

64 **Example (19) Interview with It13P-It., 2007–2028.**

P: **but** for me: all of this is really good (.) that you explain your culture your

language to me: (.) you **show** it to me (.) **I think that’s** very good (.) **but**

I think **the way** \*you want to do it is wrong and you want to make me (.)

**example** (.) I worked in a shop (.) where e:r there were prices (.) ok/ and it

said “jacket a hundred euros” (.) a fine came (.) **because** it wasn’t written in

Catalan (.) this does not seem right to me (.) this does not seem right to me (.)

and what’s more on the fine in the letter they sent her **no** on the fine they sent

her a letter (.) where it said that she **could** write it (.) **and** there were three or

four languages **and** Castilian wasn’t there [...]

P: “we ad\*vice you that if you do not change the the: (.) price tags of the:”

Int.: of the clothes=

P: =that you have in the \*shop \*window or \*elsewhere we will take- (.) we

will send you a fine: **and** you can write it in Cata\*lan in English e:r \*German

**and** Chi\*nese

Int: ah ok you can’t in Casti[[lian]

P: [and I] say “Ca- Castilian where is it?” I say “we are here: what are we doing?” (.) **so** here it feels like a covert **dictatorship** (.) this is what I think (.)

**so** you are forcing me to things (.) that I do if I want (.) I **ac\*cept** your things

because I come to live in your country (.) and I **accept** your things (.) \*but do

not **force** me to: (.) certain things that I do **not**:

is part of the joint interview, IT14M suggests using Catalan – the language that IT14P usually speaks with the interviewer – and, by doing so, allows the three speakers to use the same language. The two examples appear below.

In example 20, the interviewer is interviewing the mother (in Spanish). The father comes up and offers some wine to the interviewer in Catalan. The parents speak Spanish among themselves, demonstrating their stated use. Moreover the father wonders if they are talking in Italian, and when the mother responds that they are speaking in Spanish the mother's answer clearly indicates a certain discomfort on her part, repeating, as at other times in the interview, that she has trouble switching languages and that she almost feels more comfortable speaking Spanish than Italian (*I have trouble changing*). The interviewer, for his part, insists he has no problem speaking the language the interviewee prefers (*I told her I could talk*) and she also proposes to change to Catalan (*we could speak in Catalan as you are here*), but then they continue in Spanish until they start the joint part with the father (Example 21).

**Ex. (20). Entrevista a IT14, conjunta, 204–259.**

Int: vosotros habéis cenado? porque claro he llegado a una hora que

M: ah nosotros sí porque vamos de ho- con horarios

[...]

P: **vols? vols una mica?**

Int: **què és?**

P: **vi**

Int: **ah mira pe- però no embrutis que=**

P: **=no: agafa una altra copa no passa [absolutament res] (cat.)**

M: [no por] una vez que tenemos [invitados]

Int: [bueno]

M: de más de tres años por favor

[...]

Ent: **bueno pues gràcies**

M: **[salut]**

P: **[no no] de res (cat.)**

M: ella A. es la C. de aquí a: veintipico de años<sup>65</sup>

P: por qué?

65 The interviewee says that the interviewer (Int.) is the same as his daughter, C., will be in twenty years: trilingual Spanish-Catalan-Italian.

M: porque su madre es italiana

P: ah

M: y su padre es catalán

P: **ah i ja parlàveu italià ara? (cat.)**

M: no

[...]

Ent: **ah no estàvem parlant en castellà però bueno podem parlar en italià eh? [jo]**

M: [hm]

Ent: **li he dit que podíem parlar [en italià en català o en castellà] (cat.)**

M: [no yo sí que le he dicho que me] cuesta me cuesta cambiar

Ent: **podem parlar [en català] (cat.)**

M: [en italiano] en italiano me cuesta

Ent: **mira podriem parlar en català ja que estàs aquí no?**

P: **bueno**

M: **com vulgueu (.) com vulgueu (.) (cat.)** y:: esto la tele la tele la tenemos en español la tenemos en italiano (.) dibujos animados en italiano normalmente

Ent: ah tenéis la:

M: tenemos el satélite [sí]

Ent: [el] satélite

M: básicamente esto los dibujos italiano en i- dibujos animados en italiano es por dos razones<sup>66</sup>

66 **Example (20). Interview with IT14, joint, 204–259.**

Int: have you had dinner? because of course I have arrived at a time

P: ah yes we have because we follow the timet- timetable

[...]

A: **do you want some? do you want some?**

Int: **what is it?**

A: **wine**

Int: **ah look bu- but don't dirty that=**

A: **=no: I will get another glass no [no problem] (cat.)**

P: [no because] for once we have [guests]

Int: [well]

P: more than three years old please

[...]

Int: **well yes then thanks**

P: **[cheers]**

A: **[no no] you're welcome (cat.)**

P: she A. is C. in: twenty years

A: why?

P: because her mother is Italian

A: oh

P: and her father is Catalan

**Ex. (21). Entrevista a IT14, conjunta, 904–922.**

Ent: [aquí] estamos (.) (@) (..) bueno a ver ahora tenemos una parte esta: conjunta que es sobre los hijos y que yo tengo duda de cómo: en qué lengua: hacer las preguntas [porque:]

M: [no ho] fem en català

P: com vulguis

M: sí

Ent: **no a mi m'és igual jo ho tinc aquí escrit en català perquè no vull anar amb les tres versions**

M: (@)

Ent: **i ho vaig traduïnt i:**

M: **no no ho podem fer en català**

Ent: **vale (cat.)** (.) aviam vosaltres teniu dos fills (cat.) [...] <sup>67</sup>

A: **oh and so you were speaking in Italian just now (cat.)?**

P: no

[...]

Int: **oh no we were talking in Spanish but well we could speak in Italian couldn't we? [I]**

A: [hum]

Int: **I told her we could talk [in Italian or Catalan or Castilian] (cat.)**

P: [no I have already told her that] I have trouble changing

Int: **we can talk [in Catalan] (cat.)**

P: [in Italian] in Italian I have trouble

Int: **look we could speak in Catalan as you are here couldn't we?**

A: **ok**

P: **as you like (.) as you like (.) (cat.)** and:: this the TV the TV we watch it in Spanish watch it cartoons normally in Italian

Int: ah you have: a

P: we have a satellite [yes]

Int: [a] satellite

P: basically this cartoons Italian in I- cartoons in Italian is for two reasons

67 **Example (21). Interview with It14, joint, 904–922.**

Int: so here we are (.) (@) (..) well now we have this part this joint one: that is about the children and that I have doubts about ho:w in what language: to ask the questions [because:]

M: [no let's do it] in Catalan

P: as you like

M: yes

Int: **no I do not care I have it written in Catalan here because I don't want to go with the three versions**

M: (@)

Int: **and I translate as I go a:nd**

### 5.2.2 *Other factors: Ethnolinguistic boundaries of Catalan partner and the environment*

As seen earlier, when one partner has Catalan as their common and preferred language, this has a positive influence on their Italian partner using Catalan in at least one domain. There are several cases. For example, It11P-It. seems to use Catalan in different domains as a result of various factors: the fact that his partner has always used Catalan and does not know Italian well, that the environment of family and friends has a high Catalan-speaking component, and that the children's school is not predominantly Italian-speaking. There is also the case of mothers who, influenced by the same factors, have even started using Catalan (isolated or in combination with Italian) with their children (IT07, IT08).

### 5.3 *Declared language with their children*

In 81% of cases, regardless of partner type, the situation is one person-one language. A Catalan (or bilingual) mother and an Italian father speak their own language with their children. On the other hand, while almost all of the interviewed parents transmit their language to their children, in some cases another, additional language appears, as we will see, in the interaction between father and children or there is an expected decrease in the use of one of these languages.

It is interesting to observe uses when the mothers come from a bilingual Spanish-Catalan family unit. The examples come largely from the Evotranling project, and we refer to them with some fragments from Torrens (2011b: 202):

When the language chosen to talk with their children is Spanish, in some cases (IT02, IT05) this began in Italy, during the first period of the couple's cohabitation and the birth of a child. In other cases (IT06) the bilingualism of the mother was rather weak (loss of Catalan by grandparents in the Franco period) and the linguistic normalisation of the mother becomes delayed, so the preferred language of the mother is not Catalan or not only Catalan. When the language chosen to talk with their children is Catalan, it is a woman with

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M: **no no we can do it in Catalan**

Int: **ok (cat.)** (.) well you have two children (cat.) [...]



strong ethnolinguistic boundaries from Catalonia or Barcelona, with Catalan as the usual language since childhood and as the preferred language (IT01, IT03, IT04).

One case involves a bilingual Spanish-Catalan father (It14P) who claims to be bilingual (*I am fully bilingual*) at different points in the interview and has very clear Catalan ethnolinguistic boundaries, but has always spoken in Catalan to the children, and makes it clear in different spontaneous narratives in examples 22 and 23:

**Ex. (22) Entrevista a It14P, 1230–1239.**

Ent: vale perfecte llavors e:ls nens en quines llengües li veu començar a parlar quan eren petits?

M: jo en italià i ell en català

[...]

P: home jo jo com que sóc completament bilingüe sí que m'he: alguna vegada m'he plan- molts cops m'he plantejat quina llengua li hauria de parlar però: surt natural no sé (.) és que no no et sabia dir en quina llengua penso<sup>68</sup>

**Ex. (23) Entrevista a It14P, 1590–1608.**

P: suposo que vaig aprendre el castellà allà i amb al amb la part de la família materna que no té con- ha estat sempre evidentment castellana la meva àvia es va morir aquí: fa portaria #esbufega# (.) cinquanta i pico d'anys cinquanta anys (.) i: i no et diria que no l'entenia però gairebé no l'entenia el català

Ent: mhm

M: **ah sí?**

P: **sí**

M: **pero de entender? decía que no entendía?**

P: **no no querría entender seguro y no**

M: **ah**

P: (..) [sí]

Ent: [bueno]

P: **tengo la anécdota esta de que a mí cuando me: dio la alergia esta tan chunga de pequeño me estaba ahogando y me fui a vomitar me acuerdo**

68 **Example (23) Interview with It14P, 1230–1239.**

Int: ok perfect then the: children in which languages did you start talking to them when they were small?

M: me in Italian and him in Catalan

[...]

P: well I I as I am fully bilingual really I have: sometimes I have consid- I have considered many times what language I should speak to them however: it comes naturally I do not know (.) I cannot tell you what language I think in

**volví todo hinchado y le decía a mi abuela “al carrer” “vull anar al carrer”  
porque no sabía hablar castellano mi abuela no me entendía (.) me acu-  
erdo como si fuera ayer tenía tres años eh?**

Ent: (...) hm (..) vale i<sup>69</sup>

At the same time, in example 24, IT14P distances himself from the *nationalistic* category, classifying himself as a *Catalan nationalist for the folklore*:

**Ex. (24) Entrevista a It14P, 2067–2088.**

P: Sant Cugat o si em pregunten a Itàlia de sortida diria Barcelona (.) quan m’ho diuen allà “d’on ets?” pues de Barcelona (.) no dic “sóc espanyol” (.) bueno alguna vegada ho he dit (...) rara vegada he dit he dit “sóc català” perquè [...] potser dona la sensació de: (.) de negar que ets espanyol jo és que no sé [sóc espanyol sí]

M: [però per exemple a casa] sí que t’ho diuen en broma no?

[...]

P: aviam jo només hi ha jo no sóc gens nacionalista cap a cap a cap [bàndol eh?]

Ent: [mhm mhm]

P: cap a cap bàndol de cap nació no m’agraden ni les fronteres ni les banderes

**69 Example (23) Interview with It14P, 1590–1608.**

P: I suppose I learned Castilian there and with the with the maternal side of the family that hasn’t con- it has obviously always been Castilian my grandmother died here: it was she would have been here #blowing# fifty-odd years fifty years (.) and I can’t say that she didn’t understand it but she hardly understood Catalan

Int: hum

M: **oh yes?**

P: **yes**

M: **but understand it? she said she did not understand?**

P: **no she didn’t want to understand for sure and she didn’t**

M: **oh**

P: (..) [yes]

Int: [well]

P: **I have this anecdote that when I: was little I had an allergy that really horrid one I was choking and I went to be sick I remember that I came back all swollen and I said to my grandmother “to the street” “I want to go out to the street” because I couldn’t speak Castilian my grandmother didn’t understand me (.) I remember as if it were yesterday I was three years old yeah?**

Int: (...) hum (...) ok and

ni [...] res perquè trobo que només generen desigualtats però sí que sóc catalanista folklòric (.) sempre m'he definit així és a dir bueno pues hi ha una unes tradicions una una llengua una gastronomia unes cul- una cultura<sup>70</sup>

The cases where parents speak more than one language with their children belong to the corpus of Evotranling (Torrens, 2011b: 202):

There are some cases (IT02, IT07, IT08) in which the parents speak more than one language with their children or speak a different language depending on the child. In one family the Catalan has entered in combination with another language through the woman, both in the interaction of the couple – in Catalan/Spanish – and with the children – Catalan/Italian (IT08), as seen in 6.1. This is probably because the husband has never stopped talking to her almost always in Catalan and that the school environment and friendships have always been predominantly in Catalan (see 8.1.). In some cases there is already an advanced process of recovery of Catalan in intergenerational interactions that began with the return to Catalonia. The mother had decided to transmit Spanish to the children in Italy led by a preference for majority languages (IT02).

In the following fragments, IT02M expresses a certain ambivalence. On the one hand, in a spontaneous narrative shown in italics, in which switching languages is a mark of the quotations used, she explains the difficulty of some teachers and administrators at the Italian School in understanding the fact that the Catalans defend the difference between language and dialect (Ex. 25). On the other hand, by contrast, she is

70 **Ex. (24) Interview with It14, Father, 2067–2088.**

P: Sant Cugat or if they ask me in Italy I would spontaneously say Barcelona (.) when they tell me there “where are you from?” well from Barcelona (.) I don't say “I am Spanish” (.) well sometimes I have said (...) rarely I have said I have said “I am Catalan” because [...] perhaps it gives the impression of (.) of denying that you are Spanish I well well I don't know [I am Spanish yes]  
M: [but for example at home] they tell you that as a joke don't they?  
[...]

P: well I just it's I'm not at all nationalistic not in any any any [group ok?]

Ent: [hum hum]

P: any any group of any nation I don't like either frontiers or flags or [...] anything because I think they just create inequalities but I am a Catalan nationalist for the folklore (.) I've always defined myself like this that is well so there are a some traditions one one language one gastronomy some cul- a culture

surprised by, and disagrees with, the idea that it is difficult to find plays in Castilian in Catalanian theatres (Ex. 26).

**Ex. (25). Entrevista a It02M, 701–706.** A Torrens (2011b :190)

IT02: anteriorment vaig veure que estava perdent molt en matemàtiques (.) m'he trobat alguns problemes també amb el català/ vull dir va arribar una professora del meu fill i e:: fa dos o tres anys/ aquest any ja no hi és ara que:: bueno els hi va dir que “*los catalanes eran*” (esp.) ella era sarda “*que los catalanes eran e:: m::*” (esp.) què va dir/ e:: “*un poco cerrados y (.) antipáticos*” (esp.) o algo aixís (.) e: jo vaig anar a parlar amb el amb el (.) director amb el (*preside(it.)*) i bueno una mica com l'excusés/ \ i “*porque es que los catalanes estáis muy enfadados con esto del*” (esp.) i continuen dient “(*(F) dialecto dialecto*)” (esp.) i mira em van agafar nervis amb això i vaig fer<sup>71</sup>

**Ex. (26). Entrevista a It02M, 749–758.** A Torrens (2011b :190)

IT02: que diu que [...] han intentat portar-los a teatre en castellà i diu “i curiosament no hem trobat res” (.) han trobat en anglès/ i en català però en castellà no han trobat [...]

Ent2: què fort\=

IT02: =si (.) és bastant fort perquè vull dir (.) hm si són dos llengües són dos llengües [...] vull dir jo sóc molt catalana i (.) i vull dir [...] és una pena també que no puguin anar a un teatre en castellà perquè no n'hi han<sup>72</sup>

71 **Ex. (25). Entrevista a It02M, 701–706.** A Torrens (2011b: 190).

IT02: before I saw that his marks were going down (.) I also found some problems with Catalan/ I me:an one of my son's teachers came e::r two or three years ago/ this year she isn't here anymore now tha:t well *she told them that “the Catalans were”* (esp.) she was Sardinian “*that the Catalans were e::r hu::m*” (esp.) what did she say/ e::r “*a bit closed and unfriendly*”(esp.) or something like that (.) a:nd I went to speak to the to the (.) Headteacher to the (*Headteacher (it.)*) and well a bit like he was excusing her/ \ and “*well you Catalans are very angry with this*” (esp.) and they carry on saying “(*(F) Dialect Dialect*)” (esp.) and look I saw red at that and I made

72 **Ex. (26). Entrevista a It02M, 749–758.** A Torrens (2011b: 190).

IT02: [...] they have tried to take them to the theatre in Castilian and he said “and curiously we have not found anything” (.) they found something in English/ and Catalan but in Castilian they have not found [...]

Int2: that's incredible\=

IT02: =yes (.) it is incredible because I mean (.) hum if there are two languages there are two languages [...] I mean I'm very Catalan and (.) and I mean [...] it's also a pity that they cannot go to a theatre in Castilian because there aren't any

As far as It08M is concerned, there is a special interest in cases where an Italian mother begins to use Catalan with the children, as mentioned previously in 5.1, for example, where a mother combines Italian and Catalan and is afraid to stop using Italian with them or where the mother has an explicit fear that the children will not use her language and therefore forces herself to use it with them always and even tries to find ways to make the children use it. This is a marked topic in different parts of the interview with, for instance, It14M-It.

The interviewee actually devoted her first sentences in the individual interview to this marked topic, explaining why it seemed interesting to her to participate in the study.

Then, in the joint interview, it appears again as a marked topic in relation to the question about her ethnic identity:

**Ex. (27) Entrevista a IT14, conjunta, 412–475.**

M: yo sí que el punto ese de la identidad hm sí que me ha ido cambiando a lo largo a lo largo de los años y: y el hecho: pues eso antes de tener a mi hijo el hecho de no hablar casi nunca italiano pues en este momento yo sí que estaba muy muy despegada de mi país no no tenía: (.) no sé  
[...]

M: o sea no sé cómo decírtelo hm:: no necesitaba la tele italiana [...] no necesitaba (.) leer en italiano no necesitaba hablar en italiano ah ver a mi familia sí claro pero [...] sí pero desde un punto de vista de idioma no: también por esto te digo o sea yo en Barcelona nunca he tenido amigos italianos

Ent: mhm ahora sí que lo necesitas

M: ahora yo paga\*ría por tener amigos italianos [...] que tuvieran hijos de la misma edad de los míos y que puedan tener eh: relación con ellos  
[...]

M: [...] pues ahora sí que es algo que echo de menos (.) pero no mí sino para mis hijos (.) o sea porque lo que te decía al principio de todo o sea yo pues ahora estoy con un poco la la la ansiedad de del idioma de de la inic- de ellos de cómo se van a sentir de aquí a quince veinte años si sí Italia se lo van a sentir un poco suyo se lo van a sentir un país que “sí mi madre era de Italia” “de dónde?” “no lo sé” [...] sabes? para mí eso: bueno tampoco necesito que se vayan por ahí con una bandera italiana no? pero pero: pero sí que es algo

que me: bueno que me preocupa me preocupa y tiene un punto de: bueno de incertidumbre<sup>73</sup>

In the case of IT08, Catalan is increasingly entering into her interactions with her husband, who speaks more and more Catalan and less Spanish, and their interactions with their daughters, for whom Italian is declining in favour of Catalan. The interviewee sometimes remarks on this circumstance, more in favour than against, letting herself be carried along by the family dynamics, but at some point, like the father, she expresses sadness at the shift.

**Ex. (28) Entrevista a It08M-It., 726–730.**

M. sì (...) troppo simili sono queste lingue: le mie bambine fanno una confusione terribile

Ent: sì:/ le mischiano/

M. sì sì (...) le mischiano quando sono lì in Italia perché quando siamo qua: (...) non lo parlano (...) la grande qualcosa: se io proprio insisto insisto (...) e

**73 Example (27) Interview with It14, joint, 412–475.**

M: I yes this point about identity hum yes it has been changing in me with with the years a:nd and the fa:ct well that is before I had my son the fact that I hardly even spoke Italian well at that time yes I was very very disconnected from my country I didn't didn't have: (.) I don't know

[...]

M: that is I don't know how to explain it to you hu:m I did not need Italian TV [...] I did not need to [...] read in Italian I did not need to speak in Italian er to see my family yes of course but [...] yes but not from a language point of vie:w also because of this I tell you that is I've never had any Italian friends in Barcelona

Int: hum but now you do need it

M: now I would pay to have Italian friends [...] who had children the same age as mine and who could have e:r mix with them

[...]

M: [...] well now it is really something that I miss (.) but not for me but for my children (.) so because as I told you from the very start so in fifteen or twenty years from now if if they feel Italy is a bit theirs they are going to feel it as a country that “yes my mother was from Italy” “from where?” “I don't know” [...] you know? for me thi:s well I don't need them to go round with an Italian flag do I? but bu:t but yes it is something that bothers me: well that bothers me: and there is a bit o:f well of uncertainty

la piccola che ha nove anni no no (.) mi risponde in catalano direttamente (.)  
però vabbè<sup>74</sup>

The case of the second-generation Italian mother (IT07M-It.) whose parents were anti-Catalanist and whose education was closely linked to Italian language and culture, is also of great interest (Torrens, 2011b: 202):

For nine years, Catalan has been the only language used with the two small children, while use of Spanish is kept up with older three [...]. The transformation has been supported by the father's exclusively Catalan environment and the conviction that she needed to change her attitude towards Catalan when she realised that with her fourth newborn son Catalan came out spontaneously. We must also say that the mother had given up years ago on the language she identified with ethnically and emotionally, on Italian, to avoid it being an obstacle to the emotional connection between partners and between parents and children (IT07).

#### 5.4 *Uses within the family and interactions with more than one partner*

It is interesting to describe cases involving more than two conversational partners. In some cases, a mother with the Catalan language (IT01, IT12) changes to Italian. In other cases, a situation that is still unstable in terms of language use with their children, born in Italy, makes Catalan disappear when the husband is there (IT02). In other cases, code-switching seems to be frequent when parents and children speak together (IT03, IT11, IT12). When the language between parents is unstable, the code that they use with their children seems to swing towards one or the other language (IT02 towards Italian; IT08 towards Catalan).

#### 74 **Example (28) Interview with It08M-It., 726–730.**

M. yes (..) these language:s are too similar my daughters get really confused

Int: ye::s/ they mix them/

M. yes yes (..) they mix them when they are there in Italy because when we are here: (..) they do not speak it (..) the older one a bi:t if I really insist insist (..) and the younger one who is nine years old no no (.) she answers straight back in Catalan (.) but oh well

### 5.5. Declared language uses in the second generation, by domain

Siblings who are children of mothers with an ethnolinguistic Catalan identity whose preferred language is Catalan usually speak Catalan with each other (IT01, IT02, IT03, IT04, IT08, IT15, IT16), except in one case, probably because they spent their first years of life in Italy (IT02).

In the case of mothers with weak bilingualism, however, there are cases where the children speak Italian (IT02) or Spanish with each other (IT05, IT07).

Regarding the second generation's use with friends, the percentage of Catalan used depends largely on the age of the informants, the number and type of extracurricular activities, the variety of friends and the density of the network of friends. It also seems to depend on the type of school, Catalan or Italian, but in almost all families Catalan is represented. There is a great deal more data from Evotranling informants on the relationship between identification with Catalan and Catalan identity, and many transitional cases can be observed (Torrens, 2011b: 204):

Finally, to what extent children identify with Catalan and Catalan identity also seems to be influenced by many factors. The possible cases include a pro-Catalan child who has a mother with very weak bilingualism (IT06); an anti-Catalan son who has a mother with strong bilingualism (IT04); and a son who makes regular use of Catalan in different domains, but who has a linguistic ideology quite opposed to Catalan as well as a father with a very opposed ideology and a mother with weak bilingualism (Torrens 2006: 729). In fact other authors have already indicated that there may be large variations depending on the age of informants (Depez 1994: 100).

Among the cases studied we noted variations depending on the location of the first socialisation of the child (Italy, Catalonia and other countries) and on how long he or she has lived in Catalonia. A Catalan parent can also influence the ethnolinguistic traits of the children. Leaving aside the fact that these traits can vary greatly depending on the growth stage of a child and on the child's social networks, we can say that at the time of the interviews there were transitional cases identified by parents



(also in Torrens 2006, in all mixed families and in some families with two Italian parents).

We must also remember that certain interviews where children were present showed that, on some occasions, parents do not indicate the same linguistic uses as their children (Torrens 2011b). In this sense, we have come to the conclusion that the children's age and each specific case must be evaluated. The results presented here have been validated by checking them against what each family member says to the others, especially in the interview with the parents, both individual and joint, the different questions about the same topic over the course of the interview, the conversation prior to the interview whilst the questionnaire is being completed and the written questionnaires themselves (Torrens 2006).

## 6. Conclusions

Based on the overall data presented, the general outlook is very complex. If we take the statistical data on declared knowledge of Catalan (section 3.4.) as our starting point, 37% of the Italian community declare themselves to be Catalan speakers, compared to the figure of 58% for the overall immigrant population. Of our interviewees, over half can speak it and all of them can understand it. Intergenerational language transmission occurs in all cases except two (IT05 and IT06), where Catalan is not transmitted due to the Catalan parent's weak bilingualism or because the child was born when the family lived in Italy.

On the other hand, this study has allowed us to develop and expand the conclusions reached in previous studies. Catalan appears to be more represented in the interaction between partners, always in combination with Italian or Spanish, and we have now found more cases with respect to Torrens (2011b), in which we had already indicated one case.

It is confirmed that Italian women never use their language with their partner, as indicated in Bernat and Torrens (2018), and that, on frequent occasions, they personally have a positive influence on the use of Catalan at home and outside the home, and also with their children.

We also confirm and reaffirm the factors that can influence a greater use of Catalan. The Italian parent is encouraged to learn and use the language when their partner has clear Catalan ethnolinguistic boundaries and Catalan is a language of common use. A predominantly Catalan-speaking environment also contributes, as does the fact that the children go to a Catalan school. Maintaining Italian dialects or varieties in use has not yet been demonstrated to be an influence, but we found a clear case where the informant relates these varieties to Catalan as local languages to be used.

Regarding the second generation, we can confirm, exceptions notwithstanding, the maintenance of the initial language of each member of the couple with their children and also the fact that when they speak all together in the family each member normally maintains their own language.

Just as at the beginning of our studies, we continue to find some cases of Italians' rejection of Catalan because they feel that it is imposed; this rejection manifests itself more or less openly, depending on the case. However, we also discovered other new cases of total identification, to the point that an interviewee declared himself to be a 'Catalan of Italian origin'.

Finally, we can say that our methodology and data analysis instruments have again proven very useful. Additional authentic data could be collected in the interviewer's absence so as to obtain further examples of linguistic use in the home. However, as analysed in Torrens (2006), these recordings are not crucial, since many other validation instruments have been used: comparison between questionnaires and interviews, separate and joint interviews and comparison between discourse form and content. At the same time, we continue to have few families with an Italian mother, who are statistically under-represented in the context studied.

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## 7. Informants

*I. EVOTRANLING and GLOBLINMED: Linguistic usage*

Informant	Language or varieties of the mother's origin. Usage maintained.	Language or varieties of the father's origin. Usage maintained.	Language or varieties of the mother with the partner. Demonstrated.	Language or varieties of the father with the partner. Demonstrated.	Language or varieties of the mother with children.	Language or varieties of the father with children.	Language between siblings.	Language between the whole family.
IT01	Cat.	It.	It.	It.	It.	It.	Cat.?	It.
IT02	Cat.	It.	It.	It.	It.	It.	Cat.	It./Cast.?
IT03	Cat.	It./Nap.	Cast.	It.	Cat.	It.	Cat.	Cat./Cast./It.
IT04	Cat.-Cast. (obvious family bilingualism)	It./Nap.?	Cast.	Cast.	Cat.	It.	Cat.	Cat./Cast./It.
IT05	Cat.	It.	Cast.	Cast.	Cast.	It.	Cast.	--(parents separated)
IT06	Cat.-Cast. (more Cast.)	It.	It.	It.	Cast.	It.	--	--(parents separated)



Informant	Language or varieties of the mother's origin. Usage maintained.	Language or varieties of the father's origin. Usage maintained.	Language or varieties of the mother with the partner: Demonstrated.	Language or varieties of the father with the partner: Demonstrated.	Language or varieties of the mother with children.	Language or varieties of the father with children.	Language between siblings.	Language between the whole family.
IT07	It./Cast.	It.	Cast.	Cast.	Cat.-Cast. (depends on the children)	Cat.	Depends on the combination of siblings <sup>74</sup>	Cat./Cast
IT08	It.	Cat.	Cat./Cast.	Cat.	Cat./It.<-> Cat.	Cat.	Cat.	It./Cat. (Italian usage on the decline)
IT09	It.	Cat.	Cast.	Cast.	It.	Cat.	--	--(parents separated)
IT10	It.	Cat.	Cast.	Cast.	It.	Cat.	--	Cat./Cast./ It.

75 With first, second and third Castilian. With fourth and fifth Catalan. With all of them Catalan.

Informant	Language or varieties of the mother's origin. Usage maintained.	Language or varieties of the father's origin. Usage maintained.	Language or varieties of the mother with the partner. Demonstrated.	Language or varieties of the father with the partner. Demonstrated.	Language or varieties of the mother with children.	Language between siblings.	Language between the whole family.
IT11M IT11P-It.	Cat.	It./Piem.(not in use)	It./Cat.	It./Cat.	Cat.	It.(dem).	It./Cat. (No dem)
IT12M IT12 P-It.	Cat.	It./Ven.	It.	It.	Cat.	It./Ven.?	It. (No dem)
IT13M IT13P-It.	Cat.	It.	It.	It.	Cat. (No dem)	It. (No dem)	Cat./It. (No dem)
IT14M-It. IT14P	It.	Cat.-Cast. (obvious family bilin-gualism)	Cat.	Cat.	It. (No dem)	Cat./Cat. (No dem)	Cast. or Cat./It.
IT15M	Cat.	It.	It. (no dem.)	It. (no dem.)	Cat. (No dem)	It. (No dem)	Cat./It.
IT16M	Cat.	Nap./It. (usage maintained)	It.	It./Nap.(?)	Cat. (No dem)	It./Nap.(?) (No dem)	Parents separated

Cat./Cast.: alternate languages with the same interlocutor; Cat.-Cast.: they use one or the other language depending on the speaker; Cat.  
 <-> Cast.: when the two speak together they don't speak the same language; Nap.= Neapolitan.

*II. EVOTRANLING. Description of informants. Catalan woman-Italian man. The shaded informants have been interviewed.*

Informant	IT01 Mother	IT01-It Father	IT02 Mother	IT02-It Father	IT03 Mother	IT03-It Father	IT04 Mother	IT04-It Father*	IT05 Mother**	IT06-It Mother**
Type of Interview	Separate and joint outside the home	Separate and joint outside the home	Individual, with the husband present, at home	Individual, with the husband present, at home	Joint, in the presence of the children, at home	Joint, in the presence of the children, at home	Separate and joint, at home	Separate and joint, at home	Individual at home	Individual at home
Base Language	Cat. (Mother), It. (Father)	Cat. (Mother), It. (Father)	Cat. (Mother), It. (Father)	Cat. (Mother), It. (Father)	Cat. (Mother), It. (Father)	Cat. (Mother), It. (Father)	Cat. (Mother), It./Cat. (Father)	Cat. (Mother), It./Cat. (Father)	Cat.	Cat. and Cast.
Interviewer	Int1	Int2	Int2	Int2	Int2	Int2	Int1	Int1	Int1	Int1
Age	46	56	49	48	42	43	42	43	50	44
Number of children	2		2		2		2		2	1
First or second generation	1st Cat.	1st It.	1st Cat.	1st It.	1st Cat.	1st It.	3rd grand-daughter of Cast./Cast.	1st It.	1st Cat.	1st Cat.
Zone of origin	Barcelona	Foggia and Australia	Barcelona	Rome	Barcelona	Aversa	Barcelona	Cinisello (Milan)	Barcelona	Barcelona
Present zone	Vilassar de Mar		Barcelona		Barcelona		Barcelona		Barcelona	Barcelona
Years abroad with family	Turin 1984 London 1985-1986 Geneva 1990 Barcelona 1990-1997 Sydney 1997-1998 Milan 1999		Barcelona 1988-2000 (Rome)		-----		-----		Rome 1992-1996 Milan with children Turin 1997-2001	Rome 1992-1996 Turin 1997-2001

Informant	IT01 Mother 2000	IT01-It Father	IT02 Mother 2000	IT02-It Father	IT03 Mother -----	IT03-It Father 1991	IT04 Mother -----	IT04-It Father* 1984	IT05 Mother** -----	IT06-It Mother** -----
Move to Cat.	16 (F) Sydney		14 (M) Rome		9 (F) Barcelona		13 (F) Barcelona		17 (F) Italy	
Children :	11 (F) Barcelona?		11 (F) Barcelona?		7 (F) Barcelona		10 (M) Barcelona		13 (M) Italy	
Sex, age, place of birth	Several years living there									
Italian Schools/ Courses in It.	It. Sch. Always		Always It. Sch.		Always It. Sch.		Always It. Sch.		Always It. Sch.	Always It. Sch. But want to change
Competence Cat./Cast./It	N/N/A. (demonst)	No/I./N.	N/N/Av. (demonst)	A.? No/N	N/N/A. (demon- strat)	No/A. (?)/N (demonst)	N/N/Begin.	A.(demon- st)/A.?./N.	N/N/Int?	A./A./N.
Linguistic ideology towards Cat.	Very positive	Not clear	Positive	?	Very positive	Quite opposed	Very positive	Positive (not fully)	Positive	Positive
Catalan outside the home	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Studies	High School	Univer- sit.	High School	Uni- versit.	Univer- sit.	Univer- sit.	Univer- sit.	?	High School/ Arts	Univer- sit.

*III. EVOTRANLING. Description of informants. Italian woman-Catalan man. The shaded informants have been interviewed.*

Informant	IT07-It Mother	IT07 Father	IT08-It Mother	IT08 Father	IT09-It Mother*	IT10-It Mother	IT10 Father
Type of Interview	Individual at work	-----	Individual in the presence of daughter	Individual at home (brief)	Individual	-----	Individual, at home
Base Language	It.	-----	It. and Cat.	Cat.	It.	-----	Cat.
Interviewer	Int1	-----	Int1	Int1	Int1	Int2	-----
Age	46	47	43	46	49	48	53
Number of children	5		2		1	1	
First or second generation	2st It.	1st Cat.	1st It.	1st Cat.	1st It.	1st It.	1st Cat.
Zone of origin	Barcelona	Barcelona	Florence	Barcelona	Modena	Foggia	Barcelona
Present zone	St. Cugat	St. Cugat	Barcelona	Barcelona	Barcelona	Barcelona	Barcelona
Years abroad with family	-----		-----		-----	-----	-----
Move to Cat.	-----	-----	1988	-----	1989	-----	1999
Children : Sex, age, place of birth	17 (H) -15 (D)- 9 (D) 5 (H)	13 (D)-9 (D)	11 (D) 9 (D)		14(H)	7 (D)	

Informant	IT07-It Mother	IT07 Father	IT08-It Mother	IT08 Father	IT09-It Mother*	IT10-It Mother	IT10 Father
Italian Schools/ Courses in It.	It. Sch. Always		Cat. School		It. Sch.	It. Sch.	
Competence Cat./ Cast./It	?/A/N	N/N/?	A/A/N (demonst)	N/N/A?	No/A/?N	No/A/?N	N/N/A?
Linguistic ideology towards Cat.	Improved over the years. Very positive.	Very positive and strong	Very positive	Very positive and strong	Bona	?	Very positive
Catalan outside the home	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Studies	Univ.	Univ.	High School	Univ.	High School	Univ.	Univ.

*IV: GLOBLINMED. Description of informants. Catalan woman-Italian man (except for IT14, Italian mother, Catalan man). The shaded informants have been interviewed.*

Informant	IT11 Mother	IT11-It Father	IT12 Mother	IT12-It Father	IT13 Mother	IT13-It Father	IT14-It Mother	IT14 Father	IT15 Mother	IT15-It. Father	IT16 Mother	IT16It. Father
Type of Interview	Separate and joint outside the home in the presence of the son	Separate and joint outside the home	Separate and joint at home, in the presence of the daughter	Separate and joint at home	Separate and joint at home, in the presence of the daughter	Separate and joint at home	Separate and joint at home	Separate and joint at home	Only mother	Only mother	Only mother at work	Only mother at work
Base Language	Cat./It.	It./Cat.	Cat./It.	Cat./It.	Cat.	Cast./It.	It./Cast./Cat	Cat.	Cat.	--	Cat.	--
Interviewer	Int1		Int1		Int1		Int1		Int1	--	Int1	--
Age	53	55	54	59	53	60	37	37	53	52	51	55
Number of children	1		1		1		2		3		2	
First or second generation	1st Cast.	1st It.	1st Cast.	1st It.	1st Cast.	1st It.	1st It.	1st Cast.	1st Cast.	1st It.	1st Cast.	1 <sup>st</sup> It.
Zone of origin	Premià de mar	Turin	Barcelona	Padua	Barcelona	Novara	Barcelona	Imperia	Barcelona	Pisa	Barcelona	Aversa
Present zone	Premià de mar				Barcelona	Barcelona	Sant Cugat		Barcelona	Barcelona/Madrid	Barcelona	Barcelona
Years abroad with family	---		Padua 4 years		Novara 3 years		---		Egypt or Libya some years		----	
Move to Cat.	1995		2005		1997		2004		2006		1991	
Children : Sex, age, place of birth	10 (M), Barcelona		12(F), Padua		18(F), Novara		Barcelona and St. Cugat, 1.5(F),		18 (F), 16 (F), 10 (M), Barcelona?		20(F) , 18 (M), Barcelona	

Informant	IT11 Mother	IT11-It Father	IT12 Mother	IT12-It Father	IT13 Mother	IT13-It Father	IT14-It Mother	IT14 Father	IT15 Mother	IT15-It Father	IT16 Mother	IT16It. Father
Italian Schools/ Courses in It.	No		No		No/Yes	No/ in the future			Yes		No	
Competence Cat./Cast./It	N./N./A*	A./A./N.	N./N./A.	A./A.?./N.	N./N./A.?	No/A. Mtc/ N.	A./A./N.	N./N./A.	N./N./A.	Begin?/ AV/N	N./N./A.	?/AV?/N
Linguistic ide- ology towards Cat.	Very Cat.	Very positive	Very Cat.	Very Cat.	Very positive	Pos., against ind.	Very positive	Very pos- itive	Very positive	Positive?	Very positive	?
Catalan outside the home	Yes	Yes	Yes	With almost all people	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Beginning	Yes	?
Studies	Univ.	Univ.	Univ.	Univ.	Univ.	High School	Univ.	?	Univ.	Univ.	Univ.	High School

*Informant:* IT (number): Italian interviewee, number of informant or family unit; IT01P: informant 01, father; IT01M informant 01, mother; 2) *Language or varieties:* Cat.=Catalan, Cast.=Castilian, It.=Italian, Piem.= Piedmontese, Ven.=Venetian, Nap.= Neapolitan; 3) *Italian Schools/ Courses in It.:* Child goes to the Italian School or to courses in Italian; 4) *Catalan outside the home:* They speak Catalan outside the home with some people; 5) *Competence Cat./Cast./It:* Demonstrated competence in Catalan, Castilian, Italian N.= Native, A.=Advanced, A. Mtc=Advanced with high presence of Italian transcodic markers, No=Doesn't speak it; 6) *Linguistic ideology towards Cat.:* Linguistic ideology towards Catalan. Very Pos.= Very positive, Very Cat.= Very positive and pro-Catalan; 7) *Base Language:* Base Language of the interview



# Thematic Index

- Accent: 9, 80, 95, 213.  
Acculturation: 147, 152, 153, 251.  
Affectivity: 9, 32–33, 70.  
Agentivity: 59, 62, 65, 74.  
Anonymous language: 194.  
Assimilation: 152, 154, 158, 251.  
Attitudes: 9, 74, 80, 81, 82, 83, 94, 166, 173, 223, 234, 275.  
Autobiography: 53, 58, 59.  
Autopoietic systems: 16.  
Belgian: 224, 226.  
Bilingual  
  family: 9, 11, 12, 77–79, 81, 83, 101, 147–150, 153–155, 158, 161, 181, 188, 193–197.  
Bilingualism: 44, 77, 101, 121, 152, 154–156, 159, 161, 167, 179–180, 186, 195, 198, 201, 207, 209, 235, 237, 286, 294–295.  
Biographical  
  identity: 118–119.  
  Interview: 117–118.  
Brazilian: 56.  
British: 56, 66, 78, 80, 88, 95, 98–99, 171, 176, 181.  
Canonicity: 59–60, 62, 65–66, 74.  
Castilianization: 202, 213.  
Catalan: 12, 19–43, 50–52, 56–57, 68–70, 78, 83, 193–194, 197–218, 223–239, 241–245, 249–253, 257, 259–263, 265–296, 302–310.  
Catalonia: 8, 12, 15, 19–20, 27, 32, 35, 44, 50, 54, 61, 68, 71–73, 78, 193–194, 197–207, 211, 216–218, 223–225, 227–237, 241–253, 261–262, 289, 294.  
Catalanization: 202, 212, 217–218.  
Children  
  bilingual: 127–128, 159, 161.  
Chinese: 29, 31–32, 39–40, 51, 214–215.  
Code-switching: 12, 81, 251–252, 255–257, 259–260, 263–266, 293.  
Communications  
  institutionalized: 195.  
Communities  
  medium-sized language: 7, 19, 42, 73.  
  exogenous: 12.  
Competence  
  Danish: 94.  
  English: 79, 93, 95, 97, 99.  
Complexical  
  approach: 22.  
Complexity: 9, 16, 41, 59, 74, 110, 167, 231, 242, 263, 268.  
Contextualisation cues: 254, 256.  
Couples  
  mixed: 9, 12, 53, 202, 225, 227, 229, 234, 237, 241, 244, 252, 262–263.  
Cues: 256.  
Cypriot: 171–172, 176.  
Cyprus: 172, 183.  
Czech : 9–10, 107–108, 110–112, 120, 122, 126, 128, 130, 132–136, 139–140.  
Danish  
  competence: 94.  
Data  
  qualitative: 169, 176, 202.  
  quantitative: 169, 172, 200.  
Denmark: 9, 13, 77–84, 87–93, 95–97, 99–101.  
Dialects: 7, 263, 278–279, 296.

- Discourse  
 academic: 130.  
 analysis: 12, 85, 167, 255–256.  
 in place: 168.  
 marker: 9, 53, 59–60, 63, 74.
- Discursive  
 practices: 10, 107, 116–117, 119–120, 124, 126, 129, 135, 138–140.
- Dutch: 34, 56, 61–63, 71.
- Education: 7, 9, 57–58, 69, 78, 80, 84, 89–90, 95–97, 100, 111–112, 119, 121, 123, 147, 152, 154, 156, 167, 194–195, 204, 234, 249, 293.
- Emergence: 9, 16, 22, 43.
- England: 71, 84, 98, 166, 170–171, 179, 183.
- English: 9–11, 19, 39–40, 50–51, 56–57, 61, 68, 71, 77–81, 83–101, 112, 118, 122–124, 127, 129, 131–132, 134–136, 138, 156, 158–159, 161, 166, 169–178, 180, 182–188, 197, 210, 214, 216, 227–228, 233, 238, 239, 282, 290.
- Estonian: 153.
- Ethnography: 85.
- Ethnolinguistic  
 boundaries: 251, 254, 256, 273, 286–287, 296.  
 vitality: 197, 217–218, 235, 237, 254.
- Eurobarometer: 79.
- Facebook groups: 170.
- Family  
 bilingual: 9, 11–12, 77–79, 81, 83, 101, 147–150, 153–155, 158, 161, 181, 188, 193–195, 197,  
 language policy: 8–9, 11, 15, 28, 43–44, 73, 82, 113, 150, 153, 165, 167, 193–196, 218.  
 language use: 42, 236.  
 mixed-language: 8, 15, 40, 42.  
 plurilingual: 12, 120, 127.
- Finnish: 161, 170–171, 176–183, 185.
- Finland: 171, 182, 185.
- French: 12, 19, 22, 24, 30, 38, 50–52, 56, 69, 122, 171–172, 210–211, 223–239.
- Generation  
 second: 252, 294, 296, 307, 309.
- German: 29, 38, 56, 64–67, 171, 181, 198, 242, 282.
- Globalisation: 7, 37, 39.
- Greece: 179, 183, 186.
- Greek: 122, 171–172, 176–177, 180–183, 185–186.
- Habitus: 23, 44.
- Habits  
 language: 20, 41.
- Identity  
 deictic: 57, 256.  
 group: 9, 32, 35.  
 linguistic: 111, 259.  
 social: 74, 194, 254, 263.
- Ideology  
 compensatory: 202.  
 dominant: 10, 108–112, 117, 120, 139–140.  
 language: 10, 107–110, 112, 114, 121, 128, 138–139.
- Immersion: 68, 241.
- Immigrant: 160, 166, 194, 199–200, 202–207, 212, 224, 241–245, 253, 295.
- Immigration: 44, 107, 198–200, 241–242.
- Instrumental explanations: 81, 86–87.
- Integration: 89, 152–153, 160, 241, 243–244, 251–252.
- Integrative explanations: 81, 86–87.
- Interaction: 16, 43, 69–70, 114, 116–117, 126, 129, 168, 184–185, 187, 286, 289, 295.
- Interferences: 206, 233.
- Intergenerational language transmission: 12, 108, 117, 137, 193, 216, 223, 241, 245, 254, 295.
- Interpersonal linguistic adaptation: 19.

- Intervention: 42, 69, 194, 196, 254.
- Interview  
 biographical: 117–118.  
 semi-structured: 9, 12, 17, 54–55, 197, 202, 225–226.
- Italian: 12, 19, 23, 29, 37–38, 51, 56, 172, 228, 233, 239, 251, 259–260, 263, 267–271, 273–280, 282–283, 285–287, 289, 291–296, 303.
- Italians: 56, 68, 170, 229, 242, 244, 245–253, 262, 266, 270–271, 273–278, 280, 284, 286, 291–293, 295–296.
- Language/s  
 acquisition: 81, 108, 139, 165.  
 anonymous: 194, 200.  
 attitudes: 81, 94, 223.  
 behaviour: 11, 13, 15–17, 34, 42–44, 225, 229.  
 beliefs: 113.  
 biography: 17.  
 children's: 159.  
 choice: 9, 77–79, 81–83, 85–86, 89–92, 101, 159, 186, 195, 206, 254.  
 competence: 18, 20, 41.  
 diversity: 36, 233.  
 dominant: 32, 78, 85, 88, 100, 108–110, 121, 139, 194, 205, 257.  
 family policy: 8–9, 11, 15, 28, 43–44, 73, 82, 113, 150, 153, 165, 167, 193–196, 218.  
 first: 18–19, 50–52, 55, 78, 80–82, 84–85, 87–88, 94–95, 105, 197, 201, 212–213, 224, 233, 241, 244, 246.  
 fluency: 176, 198, 214.  
 habits: 20, 41.  
 heritage: 181.  
 identity: 201.  
 ideologies: 9–10, 109–117, 138–140, 196–197, 254, 275.  
 immersion: 68, 241.  
 initial: 18–21, 43, 228–229, 296.  
 international: 7, 19.  
 knowledge: 74, 149, 155.  
 learning: 68, 165–166, 179–180, 185, 194.  
 local: 8, 32, 199, 224, 237, 279, 296.  
 loss: 82.  
 loyalty: 35.  
 maintenance: 11, 16, 82, 148–149, 151, 155–156, 158–159, 161, 165–166, 181.  
 management: 110, 113–117, 125, 127, 134, 137, 139.  
 mother's: 187, 230–231, 236.  
 medium-sized: 7–8, 17, 19, 42, 73, 78.  
 minority: 7, 11, 77, 80–82, 87, 165–167, 172–188, 200, 268, 273, 275.  
 negotiation: 257, 265.  
 official: 8, 78, 244.  
 of power: 97, 100.  
 policy: 8–9, 11, 15, 26–28, 41, 43–44, 69, 73, 82, 111, 113, 150, 153, 165–167, 188, 193–196, 201, 218.  
 practices: 11, 18, 113, 139, 165–166, 173, 176–177, 183–184, 187, 196.  
 preservation: 156, 161.  
 regional: 233, 244, 278.  
 second: 81, 153, 155, 179.  
 shift: 8, 251.  
 standardised: 7.  
 strategies: 150, 161.  
 transmission: 8, 12, 108, 117, 137, 193–194, 216, 223, 229, 234, 241, 245, 254, 295.  
 use: 11–12, 16–18, 20, 27, 42, 55–56, 73, 80–82, 85–86, 90, 113, 129, 153, 155, 159, 165–167, 173–176, 178–179, 181–182, 184–188, 194–195, 223–224, 227–228, 232, 236–238, 241, 245, 254–255, 258–262, 270–272, 293.  
 utility: 36, 39, 96, 196.
- Latvia: 152.

- Lebanese: 226.  
 Learning: 8, 11, 68, 77, 131, 133–135, 158, 160, 165–166, 171, 178–180, 183–186, 194, 207, 209, 243, 251, 268, 270, 273, 275, 280.  
 Life  
   script: 68, 73–74.  
   stories: 53–54, 58, 70, 118, 226.  
 Linguistic  
   adaptation: 19.  
   trajectories: 197.  
 Literacy: 7, 162.  
 Lithuania: 9, 11, 13, 147–148, 151–152, 154–156, 158–159, 161.  
 Lithuanian: 9, 11, 147–151, 153–161.  
 Markers  
   epistemic: 66.  
   transcodic: 12, 252, 255–256, 258, 310.  
 Medium-sized languages: 8, 42, 107.  
 Minority language: 7, 11, 77, 80–82, 87, 165–167, 172–188, 200, 268, 273, 275.  
 Mixed-language  
   couples: 18–19, 26.  
   families: 8, 15, 40, 42.  
   marriages: 200.  
 Monolingualism: 108, 139, 148, 217.  
 Mudes: 216.  
 Multilingualism: 7–8, 13, 73, 82, 121, 126–128, 156.  
 Multilingual families in the UK: 166, 187.  
 Narratives: 116, 256, 259–260, 287.  
 Native speaker: 150, 153, 156, 161, 170, 172, 174, 176, 197–198.  
 Nepali: 172.  
 New speakers: 12, 193, 197–199, 201, 217–218.  
 Nexus analysis: 12, 193, 197–199, 201, 217–218.  
 Norwegian: 19, 56, 72, 170.  
 OPOL: 11, 42, 44, 174, 176, 182, 184–185.  
 Other Catalans: 199.  
 Plurilingualism: 148, 235.  
 Polish: 150–151, 156, 159, 161.  
 Polyglotism: 36, 42.  
 Portuguese: 56.  
 Practices  
   discursive: 10, 107, 116–117, 119–120, 124, 126, 129, 135, 138–140.  
 Qualitative methodologies: 17–18.  
 Quantitative methodologies: 18.  
 Questionnaire: 55, 58, 63, 169–172, 176, 178–180, 183–186, 250, 255, 295–296.  
 Relinequification: 199.  
 Russian: 9, 11, 56–57, 65, 147–161, 215.  
 Scotland: 170, 172.  
 Self-organisation: 8–9, 15–17, 26, 40–41, 43–44.  
 Semi-structured interviews: 9, 12, 17, 54, 197, 202, 225.  
 Sequentiality: 59–60, 74.  
 Sociolinguistic  
   processes: 43.  
 Socialization: 54–55, 130, 194, 200, 217–218.  
 South Americans: 244, 246–247.  
 Spain: 13, 65–66, 71–72, 78, 198–199, 204, 224, 241–251, 253, 281.  
 Spanish: 12, 19–30, 34, 36, 38–40, 43, 50–52, 56–57, 61, 63–66, 68–70, 72, 78, 122, 170, 172, 193–194, 197–218, 224–239, 241–244, 246–247, 250–253, 257, 259, 261–266, 270–277, 280–283, 285–287, 289, 292–294.  
 Speakers  
   native: 150, 153, 156, 161, 170, 172, 174, 176, 197–198.  
   new: 12, 193, 197–199, 201, 217–218.  
 Speech  
   convergence: 20, 31, 274.  
   repertoire: 110.  
 Status: 7–9, 78–80, 86–90, 94–95, 97–99, 101, 107, 110, 121, 158, 194, 217, 224, 231, 243, 255.

Story: 53, 58–59, 67–70, 116, 118, 120,  
134, 199, 226.  
Storytelling: 9, 53, 57–58, 60, 69–70,  
73–74, 124.  
Sustainability: 8, 12.  
Symbolic capital: 79–80, 97, 101.  
System  
  autopoietic: 16.

Talk  
  argumentative: 119, 125.  
  evaluative: 119.  
Tellability: 10.  
Turkish: 81, 87, 122.  
United Kingdom: 9, 122, 250.  
Varieties  
  regional: 244.  
Volitional expression: 73.

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