



UNIVERSITAT DE
BARCELONA

Transmitting English abroad: Transnational anglophone parents raising children in Barcelona

Tesi doctoral presentada per

Francesca Walls



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Programa de doctorat

Estudis lingüístics, literaris i culturals

Universitat de Barcelona

2018

“Where you come from now is much less important than where you’re going. More and more of us are rooted in the future or the present tense as much as in the past. And home, we know, is not just the place where you happen to be born. It’s the place where you become yourself. And yet, there is one great problem with movement and that is that it’s really hard to get your bearings when you’re in mid-air.”

- Siddharth Pico Raghavan Iyer

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Summary

This thesis assesses how languages are managed in families with at least one transnational anglophone parent (TAP) resident in the metropolitan region of Barcelona. The languages chosen by TAPS for use with family members and especially for intergenerational transmission are the focus of the analysis, which combines quantitative and qualitative methods, macro and micro perspectives in order to account for the multiple influences that language choice is subject to at different levels. The way in which family language choices are made, justified, implemented and revised by parents as the (at least initially) primary actors of family language management (FLM) are then analysed.

The first stage of the study contextualises the second by means of a sociodemographic and sociolinguistic description of 164 TAPs and their families, using quantitative data from the Family Language Questionnaire representing 614 individuals (331 parents and 283 children). The responding parents are of relatively high socio-economic status compared to other migrant groups and are fairly mobile, often for professional reasons. A considerable amount of English is used by TAPs within the family, which corresponds to its high rate of intergenerational transmission, both when measured according to children's language ability and use.

Family language use indexes, created for each type of interaction, are then used in cluster analysis procedure to identify four distinct profiles. The first two clusters are the largest: cluster one ($n=47$) representing Castilian-English bilingual families and cluster two ($n=94$) representing monolingual English families. The third cluster includes fifteen trilingual families whose parents use Castilian with each other but English and Catalan with the children, and the fourth cluster is the smallest, made up of just eight Catalan-English bilingual families.

The second stage involves the qualitative analysis of interview data with 26 TAPs who represent the different family profiles and three age ranges of children (0-5, 6-11 and 12-16). Almost all parents recount conscious FLM decision-making processes and detail ambitious intended linguistic outcomes for their children, with many hoping for their children to attain native or native-like levels of English, Castilian and Catalan, as well as abilities in additional foreign languages. English is given high importance by all parents, who link it closely with ideologies of authenticity and identity whilst simultaneously underlining how advantageous it might be for their children as a global *lingua franca* and valuable linguistic capital. Castilian

and Catalan are also considered important, although the different profiles demonstrate varying orientations towards Catalan. Differences in the way parents relate global and local language hierarchies are understood to account for this.

In terms of FLM strategies, few differences are noted between profiles. Parents enact some strategies themselves, including conscious language choice and literacy support, while they enable others by managing external actors according to their assessments of their children's overall language input and the opportunities available. External sources of English input include television and digital media, family and friends from the home country, and local networks of playdates with other English-speaking children.

When evaluating FLM processes, most parents express considerable satisfaction with their children's linguistic outcomes so far. Several admit that their initial expectations have been exceeded. Nevertheless, some parents express disappointment: most for their children's level of English but one for Castilian and Catalan. Interestingly, most dissatisfaction is found in the discourse of TAPs from cluster one.

It is hoped that the insights gained from the present thesis will help to contextualise further research on TAPs raising children plurilingually not only in Barcelona but generally; to provide more specific guidance to concerned parents; to shed light on the different language socialisation processes experienced by transnational migrants and to build theory relating to how these inform FLM decision-making processes.

Resum

Aquesta tesi analitza com es gestionen les llengües a famílies amb com a mínim un progenitor anglòfon transnacional (PAT) resident a l'àmbit metropolità de Barcelona. L'estudi es centra en les llengües que els PATs usen amb familiars, sobretot pel que fa a la transmissió lingüística intergeneracional. L'estudi combina mètodes quantitius i qualitius, i perspectives macro i micro per considerar les influències múltiples sobre l'ús lingüístic a diferents nivells. Com a actors primaris de la gestió lingüística familiar (GLF), s'analitza com els progenitors fan, justifiquen, implementen i revisen els usos lingüístics familiars.

La primera fase de l'estudi contextualitza la segona mitjançant una descripció sociodemogràfica i sociolingüística de 164 PATs i les seves famílies. S'hi utilitzen dades quantitatives del qüestionari lingüística familiar (QLF) que representen 614 individus (331 progenitors i 283 fills). Els enquestats tenen un estatus socioeconòmic relativament alt comparat amb altres poblacions de migrants i són força mobils, sovint per motius professionals. Els PATs utilitzen molt d'anglès dins l'àmbit familiar, cosa que correspon amb una taxa alta de transmissió intergeneracional tant quan es mesura segons la competència lingüística com quan es mesura segons l'ús lingüístic dels fills.

A l'hora de fer l'anàlisi es generen uns índexs d'ús lingüístic familiar per a cada tipus d'interacció familiar, els quals s'empren per al procediment d'anàlisi de conglomerats. S'identifiquen quatre perfils de família. Els primers dos conglomerats són els més grans: conglomerat 1 ($n=47$) representa famílies bilingües castellà-anglès i conglomerat 2 ($n=94$) representa famílies monolingües en anglès. El tercer conglomerat inclou 15 famílies trilingües en què els pares utilitzen castellà entre ells, però anglès i català amb els fills. El quart conglomerat és el més petit i conté només 8 famílies bilingües català-anglès.

La segona fase implica l'anàlisi qualitativa de dades d'entrevista amb 26 PATs que representen els diferents perfils familiars i els tres rangs d'edat dels fills (0-5, 6-11 i 12-16). Gairebé tots els progenitors narren processos de presa de decisions GLF conscients i detallen ambiciosos resultats lingüístics esperats per als seus fills. Molts esperen que els seus fills aconseguixin nivells de parlant nadiu o propers d'anglès, castellà i català a més de competències en llengües estrangeres addicionals. Els progenitors donen molta importància a l'anglès. El relacionen estretament amb ideologies d'autenticitat i identitat. A la vegada subratllen els avantatges que pot donar als seus fills com a llengua franca global i capital lingüístic valuós. Es considera

que el castellà i el català també són importants, encara que els perfils diferents demostren orientacions variades pel que fa al català. Es consideren rellevants les diferències entre les maneres en que els progenitors expliquen jerarquies globals i locals.

Pel que fa a les estratègies de FLM, es noten poques diferències entre perfils. Els progenitors realitzen algunes estratègies ells mateixos, incloent-hi la selecció conscient de llengua i el suport als processos d'alfabetització dels seus fills, mentre n'habiliten d'altres mitjançant la gestió d'actors externs segons les avaluacions de l'*input* lingüístic global dels fills. Fonts externes d'*input* d'anglès inclouen la television i els mitjans digitals, la família i els amics al país d'origen, i xarxes locals de trobada amb altres nens anglòfons.

Quan avaluen processos de GLF, la majoria dels progenitors es mostren molt satisfets amb els resultats lingüístics demostrats pels seus fills fins el moment. Molts admeten que les seves expectatives inicials s'han superat. No obstant, alguns progenitors expressen la seva decepció: més pel nivell d'anglès dels seus fills que pel nivell de castellà o català. Curiosament, els progenitors del conglomerat 1 demostren més insatisfacció.

S'espera que les troballes d'aquesta tesi contribuïran a la contextualització de més recerca sobre PATs no sols a Barcelona sinó arreu; a la millora dels consells per als progenitors i educadors involucrats en aquest tipus de famílies; a la comprensió dels diversos processos de socialització lingüística que viuen els migrants transnacionals; i a la construcció de teoria sobre el paper que tenen respecte als processos de presa de decisions GLF en famílies d'aquesta mena.

Resumen

Esta tesis analiza como se gestionan las lenguas en familias con un mínimo de un progenitor anglòfono transnacional (PAT) residente en el ámbito metropolitano de Barcelona. El estudio se centra en las lenguas que utilizan los PATs con sus familiares, sobretodo en las que corresponden a la transmisión lingüística intergeneracional. El estudio combina métodos cuantitativos y cualitativos, y perspectivas macro y micro para considerar las influencias múltiples sobre el uso lingüístico a distintos niveles. Como actors primarios de la gestión lingüística familiar (GLF), se analiza como los progenitores hacen, justifican, implementan y revisan los usos lingüísticos familiares.

La primera fase del estudio contextualiza a la segunda mediante una descripción sociodemográfica y sociolingüística de 164 PATs y sus familias. Se utilizan datos cuantitativos de la Encuesta Lingüística Familiar (ELF) que representan 614 individuos (331 progenitores y 283 hijos). Los encuestados tienen un estatus socioeconómico relativamente alto comparado con otras poblaciones de migrantes y son bastante móviles, a menudo por motivos profesionales. Los PATs utilizan mucho el inglés dentro del ámbito familiar, hecho que corresponde con la alta tasa de transmisión intergeneracional tanto cuando se mide según la competencia lingüística como cuando se mide según el uso lingüístico de los hijos.

Se generan índices de uso lingüístico familiar para cada tipo de interacción familiar, los cuales se utilizan para el procedimiento de análisis de clúster. Se identifican cuatro perfiles de familia. Los primeros dos clústers son los más grandes: clúster 1 (n=47) representa familias bilingües castellano-inglés y clúster 2 (n=94) representa familias monolingües en inglés. El tercer clúster incluye 15 familias trilingües donde los progenitores utilizan castellano entre ellos, pero inglés y catalán con los hijos. El cuarto clúster es el más pequeño y contiene solamente 8 familias bilingües catalán-inglés.

La segunda fase implica el análisis cualitativo de datos de entrevista con 26 PATs que representan los diferentes perfiles familiares y los tres rangos de edad de los hijos (0-5, 6-11 y 12-16). Casi todos los progenitores narran procesos de toma de decisiones FLM conscientes y detallan ambiciosos resultados lingüísticos esperados para sus hijos. Muchos esperan que sus hijos adquieran niveles de hablante nativo o cercanos en inglés, castellano y catalán además de competencias en lenguas extranjeras adicionales. Los progenitores dan mucha importancia al inglés. Lo relacionan estrechamente con ideologías de autenticidad e identidad.

Al mismo tiempo subrayan las ventajas que puede dar a sus hijos como lengua franca global y capital lingüístico valioso. Se considera que el castellano y el catalán también son importantes, aunque los perfiles diferentes muestran orientaciones variables hacia el catalán. Se consideran relevantes las diferencias entre las formas en que los progenitores explican jerarquías globales y locales.

Respecto a las estrategias de GLF, se perciben pocas diferencias entre perfiles. Los progenitores realizan ciertas estrategias ellos mismos, incluyendo la selección consciente de lengua y el apoyo a procesos de alfabetización de sus hijos, mientras habilitan otros mediante la gestión de actores externos según las evaluaciones del input lingüístico global de los hijos. Fuentes externas de *input* de inglés incluyen la televisión y los medios digitales, la familia y los amigos del país de origen, y redes locales de encuentro con otros niños anglófonos.

Cuando evalúan procesos de GLF, la mayoría de los progenitores se muestran muy satisfechos con los resultados lingüísticos demostrados por sus hijos hasta el momento. Muchos admiten que sus expectativas iniciales se han superado. No obstante, algunos progenitores expresan su decepción: más por el nivel de inglés de sus hijos que por el nivel de castellano o catalán. Curiosamente, los progenitores de clúster 1 demuestran mayor insatisfacción.

Se espera que los hallazgos de esta tesis contribuirán a la contextualización de más investigación sobre PATs en Barcelona sino en de manera general; a la mejora de los consejos para los progenitores y educadores que estén involucrados en este tipo de familias; a la comprensión de los diferentes procesos de socialización lingüística que viven los migrantes transnacionales; y a la construcción de teoría sobre el papel que tienen respecto a los procesos de toma de decisiones GLF en familias de este tipo.

Acknowledgements

So many have helped me through all of the twists and turns of this long journey and it is almost impossible to acknowledge every act of support and encouragement received along the way. It is easy to feel gripped by desolate loneliness when climbing such a high mountain with a heavy load of responsibility and ambition, but I am incredibly fortunate to have had many people rooting for me and watching over me throughout. I would almost certainly not have made it without them and would like to thank them for everything that they have done to help me along the way.

First and foremost, without participants this project would have been completely impossible. To all who took the time to complete the Family Language Questionnaire and who participated in the interviews, thank you. Contact with parents and their wonderful plurilingual families throughout the course of the project motivated me to produce research that could be applied directly to real situations. Parents' enthusiasm to participate, interest in my progress and questions about the topic inspired me to continue in the belief that I may be able to contribute towards the advancement of useful knowledge. It is my hope that this knowledge will help individuals to reflect on and better understand their life trajectories, linguistic repertoires and their relationships in a different context to the one in which they were brought up.

Other enthusiasm and support came from colleagues and friends who took a keen interest in my studies. Special thanks go to work colleagues at Merit School, EU Business School and the *Escola d'Idiomes Moderns* at the University of Barcelona who have supported me in uncountable ways: from spreading the word about the questionnaire; asking how it was going; helping me to build timetables that work around thesis commitments; to believing in my capabilities and giving me opportunities for professional growth and development. I hope one day I can repay some of the enormous favours you have done for me.

At the University of Barcelona I have some special thanks for the English Department, whose Masters in *Applied Linguistics and Language Acquisition in Multilingual Contexts* fed my passion for all aspects of language acquisition and inspired me to undertake research. My thanks go to Dr. Joan Carles Mora, as programme coordinator, who has helped me with countless last-minute signatures and guided me through the often labyrinthine administrative

procedures from project start to end. Special thanks also to Dr. Elsa Tragant, who as tutor has provided academic support and encouragement throughout.

Tinc agraïments especialment profunds per tot el suport que he rebut del Centre de Recerca en Sociolingüística i Comunicació de la Universitat de Barcelona (CUSC-UB). M'heu inclòs en un àmbit universitari veritablement col·laboratiu i enriquidor sense el qual la soledat i l'enormitat d'un projecte individual de tanta envergadura probablement m'hagués superat. M'heu donat un espai on treballar i una xarxa on he pogut millorar el meu català i col·laborar amb uns acadèmics dedicats, compromesos i encantadors. M'heu obert la porta a una integració social i a una comprensió del meu entorn que tant buscava des dels meus primers dies a Catalunya. Gràcies per la companyia, totes les experiències compartides i l'enorme enriquiment que ha suposat poder aprendre de vosaltres. Dono unes gràcies especials al Josep Ubalde, sociòleg especialista en estadística, que m'ha prestat el seu temps i mestratge com a assessor estadístic. Dono moltes gràcies a la Dra. Vanessa Bretxa, a la Dra. Makiko Fukuda, al Dr. Natxo Sorolla, a la Sandra Rius, al Dr. Carles Rosselló i al Nicola Vaiarello per les converses acadèmiques (i les que no n'eren tant), per la seva amistat, pels jocs de taula i pels dinars i sopars. Espero que en gaudim molts més.

Sobretot, vull agrair al meu director de tesi, Dr. F. Xavier Vila i Moreno. M'has fet de professor, de pare adoptiu (i adoptat!) i d'amic. Si no fos per la teva creença en el projecte i en les meves capacitats, no hauria pogut arribar fins aquí. Més enllà d'això, el teu ferm compromís amb el coneixement em dona confiança que els coneixements continguts en aquest llibre realment puguin servir d'alguna cosa. Moltes gràcies per la comprensió, la inspiració i les moltes oportunitats que m'has ofert d'aprofundir, de concretar i d'arribar mil vegades més lluny del que podria haver caminat sola. Ha sigut tot un privilegi poder treballar amb tu.

Last but not least to my family. A Maria-Jesús, Joan i Rubén, gràcies per haver-me acceptat com a part de la vostra família i per haver compartit la vostra alegria per la vida amb mi. To Mum, Dad and Rhiannon for putting up with half a daughter and sister for so many years because I've been so busy working and so far away. Thanks for listening, advising, caring, understanding and encouraging. Al Marc, el meu home and my home. Thank you for absolutely everything. Only you truly know all that it has cost and all that it means. I hope we can put this knowledge into practice one day and continue to build our lives together.

Introduction

On a visit home during my first year living in Barcelona I attended a family meal at which the topic of schools and languages came up. My aunt and uncle's reflections on choice of English-medium or Welsh-medium school for their children in Wales (a context they had migrated to a few years previously) made me think about what English-speaking parents do in Barcelona. At the time I knew little about the options available and was yet to meet any real-life examples of such families, but the seed had been planted and my questions soon grew into a Master's thesis which was entitled *Bridging the Home-School Gap: The Language Decisions of British Parents Raising Children in a Plurilingual Environment*.

The Master's thesis was based on a limited sample of 38 questionnaire respondents who were British parents of 0-5 year old children resident in Barcelona at time of questionnaire. Nine of these parents were then interviewed. The study considered migratory trajectory, language ability, language use and school choice, suggesting that parents' decisions about language in education are subject to multiple influences whilst also being constrained by questions related to availability and cost. Family language management processes thus seemed to be closely intertwined with the policies of and practices within other societal institutions and social fields in which family members participated. It was a complex topic that would need further investigation.

Firstly, I felt the need to respond to the interest raised amongst the parents I had had contact with during the course of the Master's project. I hoped to find answers to some of the questions that they asked about what needed to be done in order to ensure the maintenance of English alongside socialisation in host society languages. A real desire for information that could deepen understanding and enhance decision-making processes was identified which appealed to the applied linguist within me.

Secondly, the fact that parents' values for the three languages at stake in this context (English, Castilian and Catalan) varied hinted that different socialisation processes within the host society context had profound effects on family members' linguistic repertoires, language beliefs, senses of identity and relationships with host society individuals and institutions. The need to understand more about the relationship between language and society was also identified, especially for the complex sociolinguistic context in which I had set up home and begun to get to know.

All of this came at a time when the research area of family language management was becoming increasingly visible, with a special issue of the journal *Language Policy* containing contributions from key authors writing from a range of different contexts. They too were identifying the interactions between different actors and domains, models were being proposed and revised, and it was all beginning to tie into research on transnational migration.

An interdisciplinary project was born. My training as an applied linguist would be helpful in understanding first and second language acquisition processes and the differences between them. Readings in linguistic anthropology would sensitise me to widely variant beliefs about language, languages, child-rearing and language socialisation. In addition, greater insight into sociolinguistics, the sociology of language and language policy and management would enable me to provide more satisfying answers to questions rooted in the social reality of language.

I would need to gain a deeper understanding of the sociolinguistic context I had moved to and would have the privilege of observing the interplay of three languages that represent phenomena of particular interest to contemporary sociolinguists. English, the language frequently accorded *top dog* position; attracting huge numbers of second and foreign language speakers across the globe; fuelling an entire industry of language teaching, examining and publishing; and widely accepted as the *go-to lingua franca* for international collaboration in academic and business spheres as well as international travel and tourism in many contexts. It is often observed that L1 English-speaking tourists and migrants suffer various shortcomings when it comes to learning the local lingo. To what extent is this true for migrants to Barcelona, and if it is, to what extent might it be an unconscious result of wider social, economic and political processes including globalisation? Alongside that, Castilian, another language of considerable global prestige with a significant number of speakers and a growing language teaching industry. The official language of Spain and the first language of a significant proportion of the population of Catalonia, Castilian plays an important role in the research context. Catalan too, despite often being labelled a minority language and compared to less fortunate languages whose functions have been taken over by more widely-spoken national languages. It is the area's autochthonous language and is a valuable example of a language that has managed to survive what so many other non-official languages in twenty-first century nation states have been unable to overcome: contact with and pressure from an

official, national language (in this case Castilian). Would these dynamics of societal language contact be visible in the home environment? How would parents' experience of and beliefs about the role of English interact with the already fascinating question of the roles of Castilian and Catalan?

Such questions necessitate an exploratory design with research questions that are subject to continuous revision and renewal and that require the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods. Although exploratory in nature and thus not as tightly-structured from the outset as a typical experimental, quantitative study might be, three main goals have guided the development of the project from start to finish. The present study set out to provide a sociodemographic and sociolinguistic description of families with a transnational anglophone parent; to identify profiles according to their family language uses; and to gain further insight into family language management processes and their interrelationships with the outside world.

It has been a fascinating journey and almost seven years on from that initial conversation it is my hope that the result will be helpful not only for parents in similar situations to my aunt and uncle, but also for other actors and policy-makers in families, at schools and other host-society institutions.

Outline

The thesis is divided into four parts including the literature review, study design, analysis and conclusions. Each part is further subdivided into chapters which are briefly outlined below.

The literature review comprises three chapters, each culminating in a model of language choice. The first introduces the core concept of language choice from the perspectives of the sociology of language, sociolinguistics and language policy and management research. Chapter two contextualises individual language choice within globalised society, exploring the economic, linguistic and demographic effects of globalisation and migration. The third chapter focusses on family language management processes for families which include at least one transnational parent.

The section dedicated to study design also consists of three chapters: a description of the research context, the aims and hypotheses, and the methodology. Chapter four describes the sociolinguistic structure of the metropolitan region of Barcelona and the position of English within it. Chapter five outlines the five research questions and hypotheses which guided the analysis. Chapter six describes the design of the study, conducted in two main phases of quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. Sampling procedures and ethical considerations are also outlined in this chapter.

The third part of the thesis is dedicated to analysis and follows the same tripartite structure. Chapter seven begins with a brief outline of the sociodemographic description of the sample. It then moves on to a sociolinguistic description which aims to answer the first research question about family members' language knowledge, ability, use and transmission. Chapter eight answers research question two by describing the development of family language use profiles. These profiles formed the basis of sampling procedure for the second phase of the study, the qualitative analysis of which is detailed in chapter nine in response to the final three research questions. Each chapter of the analysis part ends with a brief discussion of the most relevant results covered in order to provide a summary of the main outcomes of each phase of the study.

The final part of the thesis includes the discussion, conclusions, bibliography and appendices. The discussion encompasses all of the results from the different phases of data analysis, thus tying together the insights gained from the quantitative and qualitative procedure carried out.

The conclusions summarise the main findings of the study, discuss its contributions, limitations and consider its implications for further research and for practice. The appendices can be found after the bibliography.

Part I. Literature Review

Chapter 1. Language choice in multilingual settings

This is a study about how people chose languages. Sociolinguistics has been defined as “the study of speakers’ choices.” (Coulmas, 2005). But speakers’ choices are analysed in many different ways. In literature pertaining to sociolinguistics and the sociology of language, language choice involves the selection of a language or variety from amongst an individual’s existing linguistic repertoire in multilingual settings. However, the term language choice can also be used to refer to individuals’ motivations for acquiring and using a second or foreign language. In each case, the phenomenon has been analysed at macro, meso and micro levels, with varying degrees of consideration for the interplay between levels. In this chapter, an overview of the main approaches reviewed is followed by the proposal of an integrated model of individual language choice in multilingual settings.

1.1 Sociolinguistic or sociology of language approaches to language choice

Approaches to language choice in the fields of sociolinguistics and the sociology of language have varied in terms of their adoption of macro, meso or micro perspectives, or indeed, a combination of the above. They have also differed with regards to their consideration of power, provoking an important debate between consensualist and conflictivist models.

1.1.1 Macro and meso perspectives of language choice

A close link has long been defended between macro social variables and language choice. As will be seen in greater detail in the second chapter of the literature review, wider social processes such as industrialisation can provoke important changes in the political economy of language and influence individuals’ language choices in ways that might entail language shift or perhaps even language death.

Within macro approaches, social norms or “socially shared concepts of appropriate and expected behaviour” (Kauhanen, 2006: 34) are thought to exert a strong influence on whether or not individual predispositions are acted upon. The choice of language for use in interaction with interlocutors is understood as a form of social behaviour and is therefore thought to be regulated by such norms. As understood by Goffman (1959, 1971), the pressure to conform is reinforced by individuals’ fears of the negative sanctions that might be brought about by not following the established norms of acceptable behaviour. People’s imaginings of the negative consequences of committing possible offences are believed to encourage individuals to conform to the norms of an existing social order, thus homogenising language practices.

An important initial proposal of a macro sociolinguistic order that determines individual choices was Ferguson's *diglossia* (1959). Originally described as the use of very different varieties of the same language for different functions or purposes, Ferguson argued that a distinction was observed in some societies between high (H) and low (L) varieties according to relative language status. Social norms required the use of the high variety in formal situations and of the low variety in informal settings. The resultant functional distribution was thought to be relatively stable, with speakers making clear distinctions between contexts in which each language was appropriate and widespread conformity to the unwritten rules of social convention when choosing between them.

Later revisions of the term made allowances for different languages to be in a diglossic relationship with each other and introduced the possibility of more than two languages or language varieties being in use in a diglossic society. According to Fishman's definition, the term can be applied to situations in which "a single population makes use of two (or more) languages... for internal communicative purposes" (Fishman, 1972: 437).

Fishman also described a functional distribution that was so stable that it necessitated strict social compartmentalisation (Fishman, 1967). Such compartmentalisation became operationalised in the form of *domains* (Fishman, Cooper, & Ma, 1971), which are meso constructs that define "clusters of interactions in clusters of settings involving clusters of interlocutors" (Vila i Moreno, 1996: 58). Typical domains include the home, school, the workplace or the neighbourhood, representing areas of social interaction in speakers' everyday lives, often also including institutions. A broadly equivalent term is social fields (Bourdieu, 1990), conceptualised as "spaces of social relationships" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 342) in which social norms are acquired through an individual's socialisation from early childhood onwards. In contrast to *domain*, the term *social field* recognises the institution or setting as a backdrop to social interaction. It is proposed that different domains or fields might exert different social and linguistic norms, prompting differences in typical language choice patterns. As a result, domains and fields can be valuable in identifying overall patterns of language choice at the meso level.

However, domains only account for the language most often chosen in given circumstances; make no allowances for instances of code-switching as language choice and, according to a strict definition, cannot be applied to all types of multilingual setting. Besides these

shortcomings, they have also been criticised for being difficult to delimit and observe, and for overlooking important differences in language behaviour which might have more to do with the effects of particular interlocutors, rather than the context in and of itself (Haberland, 2005; Ó Riagáin, 1997; Vila i Moreno, 2004). Domain analysis also tends to leave exceptions to customary behaviours unexplained, implying overall consensus with and conformity to social norms.

Another meso approach which seeks to understand the effect of individuals' interactions with their interlocutors on language choice is social network analysis. It allows for deeper insight into what language is selected for use with specific interlocutors in bi- or multilingual settings, thus overcoming the shortfall of domain theory which might overgeneralise. The role of interlocutor expectations has been analysed and the concept of sociolinguistic role proposed as a manifestation of social norms (Sorolla Vidal, 2015). Social network analysis has been applied to research in the sociology of language to demonstrate how language choice patterns can be socially influenced and, in turn, can contribute to macro processes of language shift or variation in a multitude of multilingual settings (Gal, 1978, 1979; Milroy, 1987; Wei, 1994). Methods employed in gaining social network data are costly as they require either careful observation or an individual's report of the languages used with a number of interlocutors. However, the multiple possible outcomes in terms of the composition of an individual's social networks mean that a greater degree of complexity is captured, including exceptions and cases of non-reciprocal uses (Wei, 1994).

Before moving on to micro-interactional authors, an important challenge to the assumed consensualism of language choice has been proposed in the form of the language conflict model. Sociolinguists writing from Catalan-speaking contexts introduced the concept of *language conflict*, which acknowledges the role of power in determining language choice (Aracil, 1986a, 1986b; Ninyoles, 1969). Responding to popular discourse about the apparently spontaneous and inevitable process of Catalan language shift in the face of modernisation, these authors critically unpicked the role of the French and Spanish governments in attempting to progressively displace regional languages with the state-sponsored, official language. As opposed to the stable, consensual functional distribution described by Ferguson and Fishman, Aracil and Ninyoles' *diglossia* is one step away from language shift and is a

means of sociopolitical control, rendering speakers of certain languages in positions of greater or lesser power which are reflected in terms such as *majority*, *minority* and *minoritised*.

One example of a public policy that emerged as a result of such a conceptualisation is the linguistic normalisation policy initiated in Catalonia in the 1980s, soon after the post-Franco transition period in Spain. The linguistic normalisation campaign intended to make Catalan an acceptable language choice in a wide range of everyday public situations in Catalonia, something which had been impossible under the linguistic repression of the Franco regime (Vila, 2016b). This policy demonstrates how the language conflict model challenged Ferguson and Fishman's propositions of functional stability and helped to identify tools and agents for enacting macro-level sociolinguistic change. Macro perspectives reveal how social variables can play an important role in individual language choice, which in turn feeds back into wider processes of language shift, maintenance or revitalisation. However, early approaches from macro perspectives tended to assume a somewhat objectivist stance which disregarded the role of individual agency in opposition to the pressure exerted by social forces.

1.1.2 *Micro perspectives of language choice*

In response to some of the shortcomings of macro and meso perspectives outlined above, the 1990s witnessed an upsurge in micro-interactional analyses of language choice, sensitive to the power relations observable in discourse. Critical discourse analysis has sought to unpick the discursive construction of power and deconstruct how individuals (re-)produce or challenge it in specific situations (Blommaert, 2005; De Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006).

Besides incorporating the study of power, changes in perceptions of phenomena such as code-switching demonstrate how micro-oriented researchers' increased attention to apparently exceptional practices has influenced sociolinguistics and also popular beliefs. Research in the area of language choice initially focussed on the question of code-switching, or "the juxtaposition of speech fragments belonging to different languages" (Vila i Moreno, 1996), as a structural feature. In the 1950s, the idea of code-switching seemed to be conceived as a deviation from monolingual norms (Weinreich, 1953). The term *interference* (Haugen, 1956), used to refer to cases in which two linguistic systems overlapped, had negative connotations and reflected widespread beliefs that codeswitching was indicative of linguistic deficiency rather than skill.

The 1970s and 80's saw a definitive change in the perception of code-switching which granted individual speakers the agency to transgress social norms. It came to be seen by many researchers as a strategy that can be used skilfully and wilfully by individuals who understand the sociolinguistic significance of the use of a specific code in a specific context, and are able to reinforce or challenge the expectations and attitudes of interlocutors through language choice (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982). Code-switching started to be regarded in a more positive way than it had been in the past (Myers-Scotton, 1992, 1993; Poplack, 1980). Recent trends in the subjectivist tradition involve the micro-interactional analysis of code-switching as identity performance, which grants emic insight into complex expressions of identification and belonging (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010; Rampton, 1995; Zentella, 1997).

Within the last decade, the subjectivist perspective has witnessed considerable debate about whether code-switching is in fact an appropriate term at all. Critics keen on dismantling the idea of fixed language systems as quantifiable entities suggest that each speaker has their own idiolect composed of all language resources available to them. The term *translanguaging* attempts to underline the agency and skill of plurilingual individuals who are able to express themselves in complex ways through the medium of different languages (García & Wei, 2013). However, although it is perhaps useful in advocating for the plight of misunderstood bilingual students in education systems which fail them (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015), some authors have pointed out that this terminology also has worrying implications for contexts such as those in which less-widely spoken languages stand in tough competition with official state languages (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012).

The micro-interactional analysis of code-switching as identity performance yields great insight into individuals' employment of language resources available to them in constructing a personal identity. Such analysis is highly valuable. However, arguably it should be couched within a greater understanding of both the immediate context in which the identity is performed and of wider social processes at different levels which might influence and be influenced by such behaviour. This would enable the identification of patterns and the contextualisation of them rather than an extremely limited vision of isolated individuals' practices. A full understanding of how these practices reflect and contribute towards wider social processes necessitates a consideration of social variables.

1.1.3 Attempts to overcome the micro-macro divide

The need to integrate micro, meso and macro perspectives has long been identified and several proposals have been made which take the different layers of analysis into consideration when accounting for language choice in multilingual settings. The markedness model, communication accommodation theory and Bourdieu's concepts of linguistic habitus, capital and the linguistic marketplace all consider multiple layers of influence.

The markedness model

Myers-Scotton's markedness model (1983) illustrates how speakers might make a choice between conforming to their interlocutor's expectations of an utterance or transgressing them. As such, for each utterance produced within an immediate social field there may be *marked* and *unmarked* choices of code: marked referring to those choices that are unexpected or might not be deemed appropriate; unmarked to those that conform to norms and expectations. Incorporating both individual agency and social expectations within meso-level interactions, neither individual nor social aspects are ignored or inadequately accounted for.

However, critics highlight the consensualist basis on which Myers-Scotton describes the distribution of languages. She argues that code choices are situated and rational decisions which are enacted by a speaker who is able to evaluate the communicative effects of making a marked or unmarked choice on the interlocutor they are engaging with in interaction. Each choice indexes a set of rights and obligations which are negotiated between speaker and interlocutor and never independently from the immediate context of interaction (Myers-Scotton, 1983, 1993). As such, little consideration is given to questions of power and inequality, making it inadequate for describing language choice in multilingual settings involving languages or groups of speakers that are of unequal status.

Communication Accommodation Theory

A theory proposed by psycho-social researchers, however, does incorporate an understanding of power dynamics between two social groups in multilingual settings. Communication Accommodation Theory simultaneously addresses the sociolinguistic norms of interpersonal and intergroup communication, arguing that the two dimensions are impossible to separate due to the psychological orientations and expectations brought to the interaction. Orientations and expectations might be formed on the basis of previous

interactions with an individual or members of the same group. It proposes two types of strategy which affect how a bilingual individual might choose the most appropriate language to use with a member of a different group: accommodative and non-accommodative (Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005).

Such strategies have been outlined as being essentially convergent (adapting communicative behaviour to become more similar to the interlocutor's behaviour) or divergent (accentuating differences between self and interlocutor) in nature, whether regarding accent, style or language choice. Convergence to an interlocutor's language choice might suggest a desire to integrate or identify with members of the other group; a desire for social approval and the advantages that might accompany it; or deference to a perceived inequality in terms of power (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991). Divergence, on the other hand, may indicate a desire to reaffirm difference in the face of threat, conflict or as a display of pride (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Such a perspective assumes the existence of clearly delineated social groups, which is not apt for all multilingual settings. However, it serves to remind us how individuals often identify with larger social groups and sometimes act to represent a particular group's interests.

Linguistic habitus and the linguistic marketplace

Bourdieu was an early proponent of combining micro and macro perspectives. He introduced the sociological concept of *habitus*, "a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways" (Bourdieu, 1982 *apud* Bourdieu, 1991: 12) to the study of language choice. *Linguistic habitus* has been described as the set of dispositions which govern language behaviour and judgements about the value of languages (Spolsky, 2004: 186). While an individual might apparently choose a language freely according to the values they perceive to be most pertinent to achieving their own ends, there are also expectations or sociolinguistic norms that are acquired through language socialisation processes¹ regarding what is acceptable and what is not, which exert certain influence on such choices.

¹ Language socialisation has been defined as when "younger children and other novices, through interactions with older and/or more experienced persons, acquire the knowledge and practices that are necessary for them to function as, and be regarded as, competent members of their communities" (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002: 342). Language socialisation processes encompass the acquisition and use of the communicative competence (Hymes, 1971) required for social interaction and is thus not only derived from knowledge of a linguistic system's structural properties. Far from being limited to children and novices, language socialisation

Developed through *habitus*, *language values* are understood as individuals' assessments and evaluations of languages as they are performed by people. Two main categories of values that might motivate a speaker to choose a particular language in any given context have been identified in the literature which draw parallels with terminology used in psychosociolinguistic motivational research: *instrumental* and *integrative*. Whilst they are outlined separately, it is important to recognise that these values are often linked and can be called upon in combination.

The term *instrumental* is a key notion of value theory, a field of sociological enquiry first developed by Weber, Durkheim and Habermas, and was first used in Plato's *Republic*. Something of instrumental value can be used as a means to obtain something else that is desirable. Terms such as *linguistic capital*, *marketplace*, *exchange* and *commodification* draw parallels between linguistic and economic phenomena in attempts to explain motivations for individuals' language choices as a means to achieve greater economic wellbeing. In a similar way, the idea of *investment* has been used to describe the temporal and financial resources that individuals put towards the attainment of language ability (Norton, 2013; Norton Peirce, 1995).

The concept of *linguistic capital* originates in Bourdieu's distinction between cultural, social, economic and symbolic capital (1986). Linguistic capital is a form of cultural capital in an embodied state that can be transmitted intergenerationally and accumulated throughout socialisation. Ability in a certain language may determine an individual's possibilities in terms of social inclusion, employment and mobility, demonstrating how this form of cultural capital can be converted into social or economic gain under certain conditions. Symbolic capital, on the other hand, refers to the influence that an individual can have on the rest of the population's conceptions of reality, including public opinion. The expansion of a particular social group, which may or may not be consistent with a particular language community,

can track ongoing developments throughout an individual's lifespan in terms of additions to and subtractions from their linguistic repertoire (Baquedano-López & Katta, 2007: 75), which is of particular interest when studying migrants in (often bi- or multilingual) host society contexts (Bayley & Schechter, 2003; Eckert, 2000; Fogle, 2012).

might influence public opinion with regard to the relative language values in a particular context.

Bourdieu (1991) used the terms *linguistic exchange* and *language marketplace* to refer to communication as an exchange which can be converted into social, symbolic and economic capital (in the latter case this might be perceived in the form of real material gain). He argued that utterances made within interactions are valued according to their market value, determined by certain laws of price formation which correspond to ideologies of legitimacy and appropriateness in each social field. As such, the values of different languages in contact are bound to be unequal and can be shaped by wider social forces, thus limiting individual agency to some extent.

The integrative value of language is sometimes also referred to as symbolic and is that which renders a language an emblem of group belonging and connection to a shared sociocultural identity (Edwards, 2009). Some have referred to language as a core cultural value, which are defined as “the most fundamental components of a group’s culture” and “the identifying values that are symbolic of the group and its membership” (Smolicz, 1981: 75). Such values are often deeply intertwined with emotional connections and a sense of common heritage which are of considerable significance to individuals (Tannenbaum, 2005). In investigating the role of language as a core value, language has been found to play varying roles in different populations in migratory contexts, depending on its interaction with other core values and cultural systems (Smolicz, Secombe, & Hudson, 2001). For migrants living in a context in which their language is not widely spoken, the maintenance of their first language might be in recognition of the ongoing desire to identify and interact with that language community, hence still feel integrated within it despite not participating in it all of the time.

1.2 Language choice in contexts of second/foreign language acquisition

Language choice research in psycho-sociolinguistics has been applied to the question of second and foreign language acquisition², specifically to the question of why learners choose to acquire and use additional languages. Research into individuals’ motivations has proposed

² Although the distinction is not always made, *second language acquisition* is distinguished from *foreign language acquisition* here in order to differentiate between learning a language which has a presence in the multilingual society in which the learner resides and learning a foreign language which is not widely used in everyday life within the society.

several theories and models to account for what drives language learners to decide to learn and use an additional language.

Motivation theory

Gardner & Lambert (1959) carried out research in French language classrooms in Montreal, Canada and identified two main types of motivation: *instrumental* and *integrative*. These terms correspond to those applied to language values in the previous section and are used in a similar way. The former is often used to refer to utilitarian or pragmatic reasons for choosing to learn a language. The latter was defined in terms of an individual's desire "to learn more about a language group, or to meet more and *different* people" (Gardner & Lambert, 1959:267) (emphasis in original). It was proposed that those students whose motivations were more integratively oriented had greater success in language learning.

Later attempts to extrapolate the two categories (instrumental and integrative) encountered problems when applying them to contexts of foreign language acquisition. In the Canadian context, the target language group was a part of the same society. As such, it makes sense to consider students' willingness to engage in interaction with members of another language group. However, when applied to foreign language learning of non-official languages in the classroom, many studies conducted from the 1990s onwards began to highlight the difficulties of applying the category "integrativeness". With particular regard to the teaching of English as a foreign language, many learners referred to a desire to learn English in order to be able to interact with speakers of other languages (McClelland, 2000). This was not necessarily accompanied by an explicit desire to interact with native speakers of English and thus raised the question of whether or not integrative orientations towards motivation can be applied to such contexts. The distinction between integrative and instrumental motivations became blurred, since learning English as a *lingua franca* in order to be able to travel around the world could be interpreted as an instrumental orientation, containing utilitarian elements, and simultaneously as an integrative orientation in that the learner may desire to integrate into an imagined global community of English speakers who are not all necessarily native speakers.

In response to the difficulty of applying the categories instrumental and integrative to all contexts, models of motivation began to consider the role of the self as an active agent in making decisions and explore the relationship between self-motivated and externally-

motivated behaviours. Inspired by self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985), the terms *intrinsic* and *extrinsic* were proposed in order to differentiate internally-motivated decisions (for the sake of personal enrichment) and externally-motivated ones (in order to gain a promotion or indeed social recognition or praise) (Noels, 2001; Noels, Pelletier, & Valleran, 2000). The idea of the individual as an agent in choosing whether or not to learn a second or foreign language; monitoring their own progress and readapting study techniques and strategies has become central to current conceptualisations of motivation (Dörnyei, 2009) and their applications to the language classroom (Mackay, 2015). However, it is clear that individual agents of choice are also likely to be conditioned by discourses in circulation in society. As such, the degree of separation of intrinsic and extrinsic is also a topic of debate.

The four category labels discussed above (*instrumental*, *integrative*, *intrinsic* and *extrinsic*) make reference to an opposition between individual and social factors that are ultimately impossible to separate entirely due to the imbrication of micro and macro factors influencing language choice. A learner might decide to acquire a language for their own economic gain at the same time as they hope to be accepted as part of another group, which might not be defined according to traditionally assumed ethnolinguistic boundaries. Dualistic oppositions do not allow for sufficient nuance and appear to tempt researchers to oversimplify complex data with reductive opposing categories.

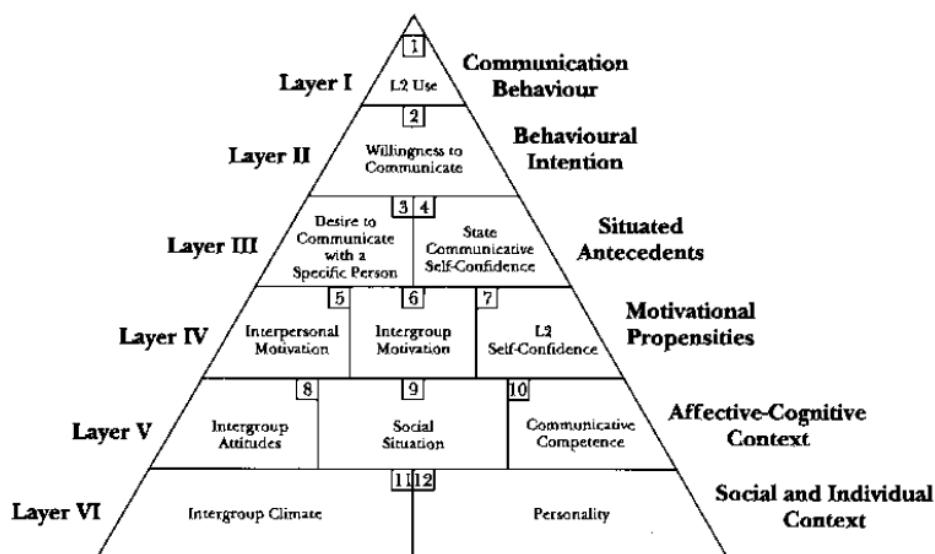
The willingness to communicate model

Also in the field of second language acquisition³, a model has been proposed for a construct labelled willingness to communicate (WTC). The model, shown in Figure 1, incorporates a complexly inter-related pyramid of individual and social factors which are thought to have an impact on whether or not a speaker is likely to choose to use a second language that has already been acquired (MacIntyre, Dörnyei, Clement, & Noels, 1998). Stated communicative self-confidence, L2 self-confidence, communicative competence and personality are dependent on the individual. Other factors are related to both the immediate (eg. interpersonal motivation, social situation) and wider (eg. intergroup motivation, attitudes and climate) social context in which the interaction takes place.

³ Here the term second language acquisition is used broadly to refer to contexts of second and foreign language acquisition.

The pyramid form of the model attempts to capture the simultaneous influence of immediate, situational factors and longer-lasting factors (represented in the six different layers) as experienced at the macro, meso and micro levels (represented from left to right), thus acknowledging the multiple influences exerted on the choice to use a second language. The top three layers are associated with situation-specific influences that are dependent upon the exact context of interaction and the state in which the individual finds themselves at that time. The latter three are identified as enduring influences which are related to character traits, social norms and relationships between different language communities. Such factors are less likely to fluctuate to a significant degree within a short space of time, given that they form part of wider processes that evolve gradually. However, that is not to say that they are not subject to change.

Figure 1: MacIntyre et al's (1998: 547) model of willingness to communicate

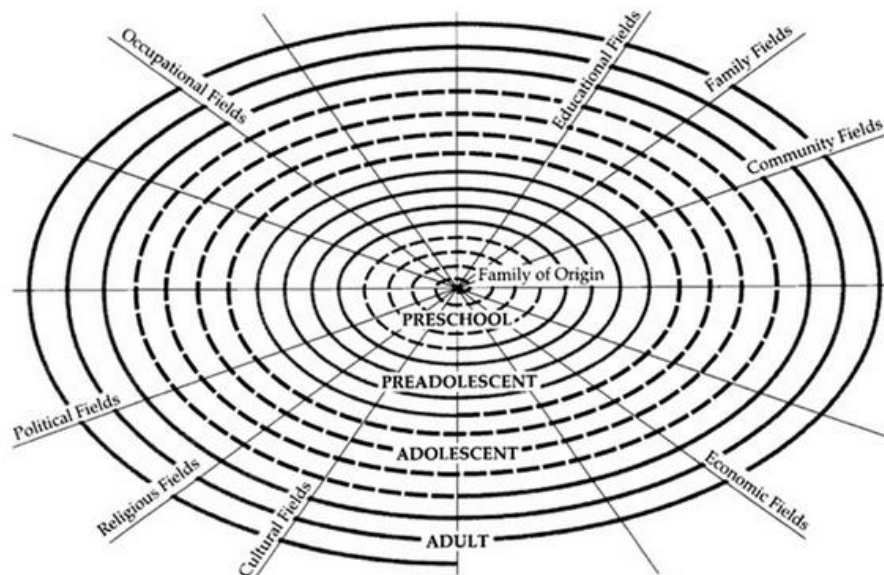


Mudes: turning points in individuals' linguistic repertoires

Throughout the lifespan, individuals participate in ever-widening circles of social fields as represented in Corsaro's orb web model below (Corsaro, 2005: 26). The diagram demonstrates how, despite fields widening, experience is cumulative and thus all fields remain a part of their life history and habitus. The effect of participation in different social fields governed by varying social norms throughout an individual's lifetime can cause

significant changes in their linguistic repertoires, understood as “the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction” (Gumperz, 1964: 137), and language behaviour (Vila, Ubalde, Bretxa, & Comajoan, 2018; Woolard, 2011).

Figure 2: The orb web model of social fields (Corsaro, 2005)



Muda has been proposed as a term to label moments in individuals’ life trajectories when they make a significant change in language choice patterns (Puigdevall, Walsh, Amorrortu, & Ortega, 2018; Pujolar & González, 2013; Pujolar & Puigdevall, 2015). It has been applied most often to situations in which speakers adopt a language that is spoken in the society that they reside in, particularly autochthonous languages which are often labelled *minority* or *minoritised* languages and are not commonly acquired by non-L1 speakers. The concept has been useful in transferring attention from the language itself to the *new speakers* and the trajectories which lead them to moments of change in their linguistic repertoires and language choice patterns.

However, the term has been criticised for being difficult to delimit. Linguistic repertoires encompass passive and active competences and strict definitions of the level of competence; the permanence and significance of the change required are not provided. As a result, questions have been raised as to whether or not attending the first days of foreign language classes might be labelled a *muda*. In response, the authors take pains to explain that the term *muda* should be applied to transcendental moments of a complex “reorganisation of one’s

linguistic repertoire that has significant implications for the ways individuals present themselves to others in specific contexts in that they project a new, different or additional linguistic availability and therefore lay claim to participation in specific social milieus partly constituted by the newly adopted linguistic resource or performance” (Puigdevall et al., 2018: 2). Eight life stages have been identified as points at which *mudes* are most likely to take place, including entry to primary school, secondary school, university and the labour market; becoming a couple and becoming a parent (González Balletbò, Pujolar Cos, Font Tanyà, & Martínez Sanmartí, 2014; González, Pujolar, Font, & Martínez, 2009), as well as starting new activities (including hobbies) and changing residence or migrating (Puigdevall et al., 2018).

In sum, language choice has also been an object of study in the field of second language acquisition and can refer to a learner’s choice to acquire a second language, as well as their choice to use it in interaction with other individuals. Motivation theory proposes the oppositions instrumental-integrative and intrinsic-extrinsic to categorise reasons given by learners. However, their application is often reductive in that they fail to fully capture the range of motivations that might exert an influence on individual choice simultaneously. More complex models of choice, such as the WTC model, acknowledge the simultaneous interplay of related factors at individual, contextual and official levels. The concept of *muda* also demonstrates a heightened awareness of the social implications of language choice and provides a means of pinpointing moments of longitudinal change.

1.3 Language policy and management perspectives

The focus of language policy and management (hereafter LPM) is various aspects of “behaviour toward language” (Fishman, 1971, cited in Nekvapil & Sherman, 2015: 1) and how language corpus, functions, acquisitions and mentalities can be influenced (Ager, 2001, 2005; Cooper, 1989; Haarmann, 1990; Haugen, 1983; Vila, 2014) in different sociolinguistic settings (Ferguson, 1977) or language ecologies (Bastardas Boada, 1996; Haugen, 1972). LPM therefore attempts to understand (and understand how to influence) components related to language choice in bi- and multilingual contexts, particularly in migratory settings (Vigers & Tunger, 2010), although there is as yet no unified research paradigm or explanatory model (Vila, 2014).

The terms *language management* and *language policy* have largely been used synonymously and interchangeably (see Spolsky, 2004, 2009) although some nuances have been discussed

in the literature. Firstly, at some points Spolsky seemed to make a distinction between policy as plan or intention and management as specific strategies and attempts to modify behaviour in accordance with such a plan or intention, although he does not consistently apply such a distinction throughout his work. Secondly, some have voiced misgivings about the political nature of the term policy, arguing that not all instances of language use are necessarily politicised, particularly in bilingual contexts. As such, management is considered better employed when referring to private endeavours as opposed to public activities, in accordance with Vila (2014).

Cooper's questions

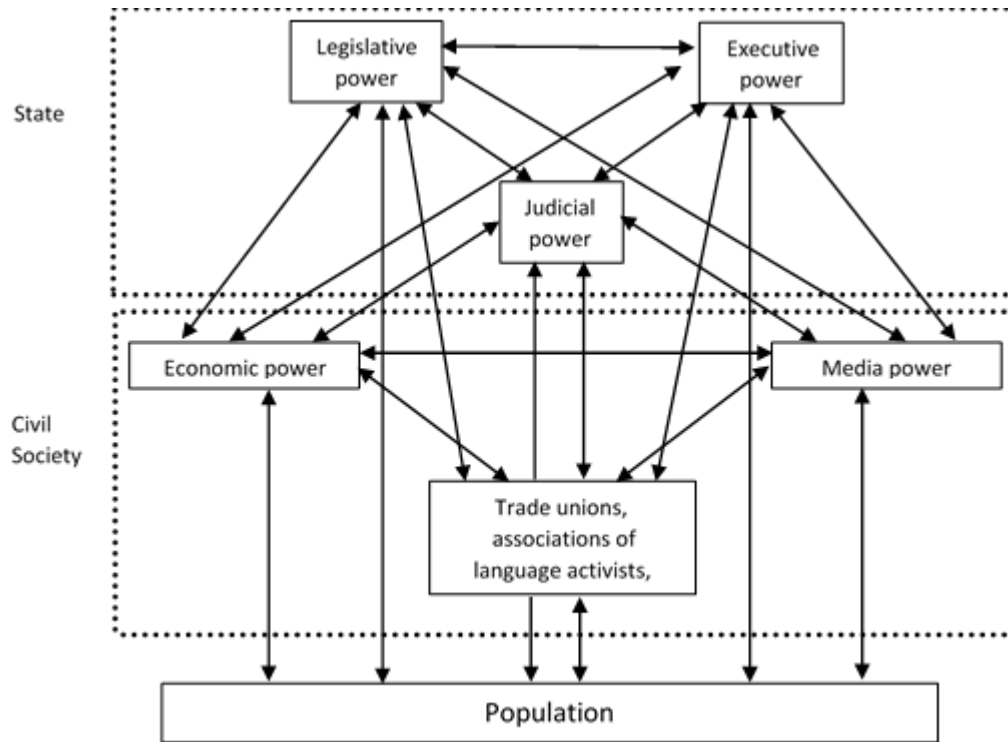
A series of questions, although still far from a unified framework, have been proposed in order to guide researchers in the study of LPM. Cooper (1989) asks who plans what for whom and how, or more specifically, "what actors attempt to influence what behaviours of which people, for what ends, under what conditions, by what means, through what decision-making processes and with what effect" (Cooper, 1989: 98). Such questions can be used to understand how actors exert influence over others' language choices. Central elements raised in the questions will be explored further: actors, ends, conditions, means, decision-making processes and effect.

When it comes to actors, research in language policy and management is as yet to provide a unified paradigm or model which indicates the actors involved at different levels (Vila, 2014). What has been observed over time is that there are many more actors and more complex social groupings (such as the family) involved in LPM activities than had previously been thought (Shohamy, 2009; Zhao, 2011). Initially, in the neoclassical tradition, the authority to guide language planning activities was widely regarded as reserved for politicians and administered in a top-down fashion (Jernudd & Das Gupta, 1971). However, in the 1990s theories began to incorporate actors other than the nation-state from a somewhat revisionist, bottom-up perspective.

There have been several attempts to construct typologies of the actors involved in LPM activities, which reflect a general tendency to move beyond an institutional outlook to a consideration of the different roles of individual actors. Initial frameworks comprise either powerful individuals and elites (Baldauf, 1982) or agencies at state or institutional levels and organisations (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). More recent frameworks include individuals and

community groups (Haarmann, 1990; Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008) and categories of individuals with power, expertise, authority and interest (Zhao, 2011).

Figure 3: The main actors of language policy in a contemporary nation state (Boix-Fuster & Vila i Moreno, 1998: 277)



A classification of many of the actors involved in LPM, as depicted in Figure 3 above, will necessarily include state powers, institutions and political parties in interaction with civil society in the form of cultural entities, associations, unions, non-governmental organisations as well as informal groups and networks of individuals. In addition, non-state powers such as economic and media influences will play a role in what has come to be understood as a highly complex, multi-agented process (Boix-Fuster & Vila i Moreno, 1998: 277).

Influence on language choice may be more complex than a simple one-way process. On the one hand, contradictory influences may be exerted from multiple sources. On the other hand, it could be argued that the individuals who are the target of LPM are also themselves actors whose choices and enactment of those choices can contribute towards or undermine the intended goal. The choices of targeted individuals may also influence social processes and

transform the context in which LPM is being performed, making LPM a dynamic object of study (Spolsky, 2012).

Intended goals of LPM activities might be overt or covert, linguistic or otherwise, including the satisfaction of the interests of a particular social group (Shohamy, 2006). LPM activities designed to produce linguistic change may be successful or otherwise and, due to the complexity of LPM, they may also have unintended consequences on language or socio-economic positioning, for example.

A series of factors have been proposed as types of conditions in which policy activities are undertaken, including situational factors, rooted in the immediate context; structural factors which are related to political, economic, social and demographic issues; cultural factors such as expected social norms; environmental factors which extend to global processes of change; and informational factors which relate to the information that is available to actors when making decisions (Leichter, 1975).

Various means of persuasion have been employed to achieve LPM goals, including force and incentive. There are plentiful historical examples of the use of force and public shaming to discourage people from using non-official state languages, including the use of the *simbhol*, Welsh Not or dialect card as a punishment for the use of Occitan, Welsh and Okinawan in school, respectively. Such policies encouraged people to regard less widely-spoken languages as shameful or useless and incentivised the use of one state language at the expense of linguistic diversity (Grégoire, 1794).

Finally, questions about how decisions are made are important and include the following: Are choices made consciously? Are they pre-meditated or *ad hoc*? Is a clear goal decided on and strategies designed accordingly? To what extent are goals and strategies modified during the course of the activity? How does decision-making work when multiple actors are involved? And to what extent do actors engage in negotiation in order to agree on a final solution?

Spolsky's three components

Spolsky describes LPM as being made up of three interrelated components: language practices, language beliefs and language management strategies (Spolsky, 2004, 2009). Each will be discussed in turn below. However, before that, it is important to note that, compared with Cooper's questions above, an essential element might be considered missing. In order

to evaluate LPM activities, the intended outcome(s) should be identified. Otherwise, the practices, beliefs and management strategies are not contextualised within an overall aim against which it can be evaluated.

Language practices

Language practices are defined by Spolsky as the result of “the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire” (Spolsky, 2004: 5) and synonymous with the term *language use*, most commonly employed in the sociolinguistic tradition. Focussing on it as a “habitual pattern” means that emphasis is often accorded to the language(s) most often used in different situations, rather than to the peculiarities of specific, individual cases.

An important observation here might appear obvious, but it is worth pointing out nevertheless that being able to use a language necessarily requires language ability (Vila i Moreno, 2012). However, the terms *use* and *ability* cannot be used synonymously and the notion of language ability is not included within Spolsky’s components. Whereas ability is almost infinite, use involves the portioning of the finite whole time spent speaking and must be understood as a different category.

Language beliefs

Language beliefs are the beliefs held by individuals about language and language use (Spolsky, 2004: 5) or “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein, 1979: 193). The term language beliefs has been used both synonymously and antonymously with the concept of language ideologies. In this study, a distinction is drawn between collectively shared ideologies and individual, privately held representations or beliefs (Verschueren, 2012).

Ideologies mediate between social structure and forms of talk (Kroskrity, 2000), discourses in wider official circulation representing the socially shared ideologies that can be accepted or rejected to form part of an individual’s belief system. Such ideologies often contain “socially, politically, and morally loaded cultural assumptions about the way that language works in social life and about the role of particular linguistic forms in a given society” (Woolard, 1998). The use of categories such as “us” and “them” can act to reinforce a sense of belonging to a wider network of individuals who share similar ideas. It also serves to indicate perceptions of the relative positioning of different groups within a particular context, be they linguistically

defined or otherwise. When expressing beliefs, individuals might make explicit or implicit reference to shared ideologies in circulation. Some even appeal to notions of common sense, indicating the hegemony established by some ideologies that are in wide circulation (Verschueren, 2012).

An individual's beliefs are reflected in their discourse about language as well as their language practices. However, practices alone do not serve as a sufficient measure of language beliefs given that contradictions between declared beliefs and the implications of actual practices have been noted in several cases (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; De Houwer, 1999; Kirsch, 2012; Vila, 2014).

Finally, language beliefs constantly evolve reflexively in accordance with personal experience (Van Dijk, 2013). As such, they are subject to change over time in the same way as all components of FLM processes. The following quotation summarises the process of change for language beliefs:

“It [language beliefs] is not a predictable, automatic reflex of the social experience of multilingualism in which it is rooted; it makes its own contribution as an interpretive filter in the relationship of language and society”. (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994)

Language management

Language management (also referred to as intervention or planning and according to other models perhaps synonymous with the term *language policy* itself) refers to “any specific efforts to modify or influence that [language] practice” (Spolsky, 2004: 5). Such efforts might include choosing to use certain languages in certain situations in order to normalise its use in that context, demonstrating how *language management* can affect *language practices*.

Language management efforts materialise in the form of strategies or measures that are taken in an attempt to alter or modify the practices of another individual or group. They are thus necessarily conscious efforts that are undertaken with a particular aim in mind. However, the strategies undertaken may or may not be the most adequate for attaining the desired linguistic outcome. Some are in fact contradictory and have the opposite effect to that intended. As such, the evaluation of LPM activities should be continuous and measured against a specified linguistic outcome.

1.4 Towards a model of individual language choice

Given the multiple terms and concepts used to refer to language choice and related concepts, some terminological clarification is sought before outlining a basic model of individual language choice in multilingual settings.

Linguistic repertoires and bi-/tri-/multi-/pluri-lingualism

Linguistic repertoires are understood as “the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction” (Gumperz, 1964: 137). Necessarily truncated due to the fact that no speaker can claim to know “all” of a language, repertoires include active language competence and passive language knowledge.

In describing the linguistic repertoires of individuals, several terms can be found in the literature including *bilingual*, *trilingual*, *multilingual* and *plurilingual*. The former two terms seem fairly self-explanatory in their reference to repertoires made up of two or three languages respectively. However, differential degrees of competence in particular, and the functions that the different languages perform have made their definition less than straightforward. Strict definitions require native-like competence in order for an individual to be considered bi- or trilingual (Bloomfield, 1933), and at the opposite end of the scale some definitions include even the most limited proficiency of a few words or phrases (Haugen, 1989; Weinreich, 1953). Most researchers nowadays defend a middle ground definition which, instead of requiring absolute mastery, demand some communicative competence that extends beyond the knowledge of isolated words and phrases (Romaine, 1995).

As regards the latter two terms, the concept of *plurilingualism*, cited in the Council of Europe’s Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, 2001) has been used most frequently in Francophone research to refer to individual multilingualism (whereas the term *multilingualism* is used to refer to cases in which many languages are used in a given society) (Aronin & Singleton, 2012b). In accordance with this distinction, *plurilingualism* will be used in the present study to refer to the accumulation of linguistic resources throughout the lifespan that makes up an individual’s linguistic repertoire. It will be applied to any repertoire that is made up of more than two languages. *Multilingualism* will be reserved for the description of sociolinguistic contexts in which two or more language systems are in contact.

Language choice

Language choice is a term that is often used interchangeably with *language decision*, *language use*, *language practices* and *linguistic behaviour*. It involves the selection of a language or variety (or indeed, features of it) from amongst those available in an individual's linguistic repertoire for use in a specific situation or the decision to learn an additional language or variety and use it in interaction. Sometimes *behaviour* is distinguished from *choice* in order to differentiate between unconscious and conscious decisions (respectively) to make use of a particular language or feature (Spolsky, 2009: 4), although this is not a distinction that is made systematically. In the present study, though, *language choice* is understood as a particular aspect of *language behaviour* which may be conscious or unconscious. In any case, *language choice* as described above is widely believed to be indexical of individuals' language attitudes and beliefs, as well as their expectations of the language choices of others with whom they interact (Vila i Moreno, 1996).

Regarding the other labels often accorded to the same phenomenon, some common confusions or areas which are yet to be fully delineated should be noted. The term *language practices*, often used synonymously and operationalised in the same way as *language use*, has been used to describe "the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties of a speech community's repertoire" (Spolsky, 2004: 5), suggesting that there is some degree of systematicity in the selection of code or feature. The term *language choice patterns* is also used to highlight apparent regularities of choice in particular contexts or with particular interlocutors, although authors such as Wei (1994) remind us that these are by no means set in stone.

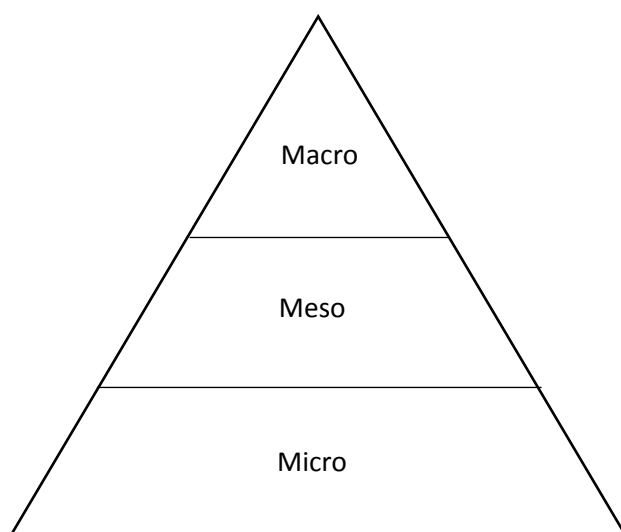
Multilingual settings

Multilingual contexts vary but they are often composed of two or more language communities, the latter term being used to describe groups "who use a given language for part, most or all of their daily existence" (Baker & Prys-Jones, 1998), with varying degrees of interaction between them. The relative status of each group might be equal or one may be subject to more or less favourable conditions in many realms, including politically, socially, economically and legislatively. Recent trends in research have led increasing numbers of researchers to characterise multilingual contexts as made up of many plurilingual individuals with different trajectories and hence, different repertoires.

Language choices in multilingual settings may involve inter- or intrasentential code-switching, dual-lingual exchanges, convergence of one group's choices to another's or linguistic conflict that perhaps indicates underlying social inequalities and tensions between groups. Language choices influence wider sociolinguistic processes such as language shift, maintenance or revitalisation. In situations of language shift, speakers stop speaking a language they have used in the past in favour of a different one. In contrast, situations of language maintenance occur when a language which might succumb to the processes of language shift is maintained as a language of use. Finally, language revitalisation efforts are often planned interventions which work towards the prevention of loss when a language is perceived to be in danger of becoming so.

In the above chapter different models of language choice from a range of linguistic disciplines have been presented in an attempt to identify the nature and main sources of influence on this aspect of language behaviour. Influences from all levels (macro, meso and micro) have been identified as pertinent to analyses of language choice.

Figure 4: Levels of influence on individual language choice



At the top, macro level influences include socio-political, sociohistorical, socioeconomic and sociocultural processes. These can take place at the global level, the national level or the regional simultaneously and do not necessarily take the same directions. Their effects filter through to subsequent layers, influencing the language beliefs and practices of interlocutors and social norms at the meso level, as well as the individual's experiences of them at the micro level.

The meso level represents the social fields within which the individual engages in interaction. Social fields include the neighbourhood, institutions (including school), work and social activities. Different social fields might enact different social norms and participation in them is cumulative, potentially resulting in changes of language choice patterns over time. Macro-level influences can also be observed at the meso level in that institutions might have their own language policies or recognise or enforce government-led language policies and initiatives; neighbourhoods might be affected by wider social processes of migration and change; and work might be subject to global market conditions and requirement.

Finally, the micro layer represents the individual's ability and habitus. Language choices are made from within the speaker's existing linguistic repertoire or when a decision is made to add to that repertoire. Their experiences of socialisation in different social fields at the meso level affect their language beliefs and perceptions of which language might be appropriate to use in a given context. As such macro and meso level influences exert pressure on them. However, micro level choices feedback into the higher levels and contribute towards further stability or change.

Chapter 2. Language choice in globalised society

Globalisation has been labelled “a hotly contested phenomenon” (Trask, 2010: 3) with a lack of consensus among academics (Held et al. 1999) and lay-people (Garrett, 2010) alike as to how it should be defined, the nature and extent of its effects, and whether or not there is any novelty in it. Three main schools of thought have been proposed (Coupland, 2010): *hyperglobalists* understand globalisation as an entirely new economic phenomenon driven by the spread of capitalism and technological advance which could bring about the end of the nation state (Ohmae, 1995; Sassen, 2001); *sceptics* dispute the idea that globalisation is historically unprecedented, arguing that connections were established across the globe long before the modern era (Favell, 2001); and *transformationalists* consider globalisation to be characterised by global interconnectedness (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 1999) that has not been witnessed in such scope or intensity as has been experienced in the modern era (Castells, 1996; Giddens, 1990) and that is the driving force behind unpredictable and uneven social, political and economic changes to which societies must adjust quickly.

A transformationalist definition of globalisation will be used as the basis for the present study, according to which globalisation can be characterised as “the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life” brought about by social, economic and technological transformations in the late twenty-first century (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 1999: 2). Although migration, communication and international trade are far from being entirely new (Mufwene, 2010), the extent to which improvements to transport and communications technology since the advent of industrialisation have increased the extent and intensity of interconnectedness has provoked significant changes. Better transport infrastructure, faster modes of transport, the internet and satellite technology have removed spatiotemporal constraints on the movement of goods, people and ideas and on communication between geographically distant locations. In addition, the almost immediate transmission of events through telecommunications technology has also had important cognitive effects on individual (and institutional) choices, particularly with regard to the relative costs and benefits of making them (Held & McGrew, 2003).

There are three areas in which macro changes associated with globalisation have been perceived to have an effect on individuals’ language choice. In the economic realm,

socioeconomic transformation has been argued to have provoked a re-evaluation of language as a commodifiable skill or resource (Heller, 2003). The relationship between particular languages and their perceived market value might thus influence an individual to choose one language over another.

In cultural spheres, parallels to the political, economic and military dominance of certain anglophone countries have been highlighted and criticised for causing cultural homogenisation. The English language has been associated with the theory of linguistic imperialism and held responsible for the concurrent process of loss of linguistic diversity that is being witnessed at present (Phillipson, 1992). As such, it will be explored to what extent English encroaches on the functions and statuses of smaller languages in situations of language contact.

Finally, the impact of demographic change on individual language choice will be assessed with reference to recent works published under the banner of the sociolinguistics of mobility (Blommaert, 2010). Migration and transnational connectivity involve changes of indexical order which necessitate negotiation between values acquired in the home country and those of social fields in the host society. As such, the influence of migratory experience on language behaviour will be incorporated within the model.

2.1 The globalised new economy

Irvine (1989) demonstrated the multiple ways in which language or linguistic phenomena are related to political economy. Rather than being limited to referential functions as Saussure's *Cours de linguistique générale* (1916) might suggest, Irvine uses the example of Wolof speech communities in Senegal to demonstrate how language can index the relative positioning of social groups, categories and situations (as mediated by linguistic ideology) and can be incorporated within the economy.

Irvine's reference to the indexical function of language as a gauge of the relative positioning of groups within society is reflected in Lamuela's proposition of its classifying function (2004)⁴.

⁴ The other functions listed by Lamuela (2004) are communicative, defining and symbolic. The communicative function is related to its ability to transmit information and instructions. The defining function refers to how every language defines reality in different ways. The symbolic function refers to the connotations associated

According to this definition, certain language skills are related to social mobility in the form of greater cultural prestige, occupations of higher status and better salaries in different contexts. Lamuela's classifying function fits neatly with Bourdieu's conception of a linguistic marketplace, which is marked by an uneven distribution of resources amongst speakers and groups (Bourdieu, 1982). Some speakers who are not socialised in languages with high classifying values during early childhood exchange economic resources in order to acquire linguistic capital and thus attain social mobility.

Processes of socioeconomic change, such as industrialisation, have been noted to provoke changes in the relative indexing of language values, language choice and the sociolinguistic ecology (Gal, 1978, 1979, Heller, 2003, 2010b). Gal's research conducted amongst Hungarian speakers in a small bilingual region of Austria in the 1970s demonstrated how representations about languages can be influenced by their association with representations of a particular lifestyle or status. Young women attracted by the lifestyle offered by the newly available worker status were found to relate the exclusive use of German to their new identity. This led to a shift in the representations associated with Hungarian, rendering it the undesirable language of agricultural peasants. Young men followed suit in adopting the exclusive use of German later on, reasoning that their continued bilingualism made them unable to attract a wife (Gal, 1978). The result of this process was language shift away from German/Hungarian bilingualism to the German monolingualism associated with the lifestyle offered by post-industrialisation economic conditions.

In the post-industrialist context of a "globalized new economy" (2010a: 349) based on service and knowledge rather than on physical labour, Heller linked changes to wider political economic conditions in a late-Capitalist society to language choice. For Heller, one of the main effects of this economic change has been the fact that language has taken on an increasingly central role in professional contexts and language ability is considered by employers as a resource or skill of employees that would be helpful in the generation of profits. As such, in service and knowledge economies language skills are commodified in terms of both product and process, a phenomenon which is particularly visible in contexts such as call-centres and

with linguistic items and is thus linked to language attitudes, including those relating to language and group belonging or identity.

tourism (Duchêne, 2009; Heller, 2003, 2010b). Duchêne's (2009) coinage "parole d'oeuvre" (in opposition to "main d'oeuvre") and Heller's subsequent translation of it to English as "wordforce" (in opposition to "workforce") (Heller, 2010a: 353), capture this transformation and demonstrate how language skills have come to be considered a must-have on curriculum vitae and the passport to higher positions and salaries.

In a co-edited volume, the terms *pride* and *profit* are used to refer to language values in the globalised new economy. They are described as "the key terms used to justify the importance of linguistic varieties and to convince people to speak them, learn them, support them or pay to hear them spoken" (Duchêne & Heller, 2012: 3-4). Similarly to instrumental and integrative values, the terms appear antagonistic in nature yet have important points of connection. *Profit* echoes many of the conditions for instrumental values, representing beliefs that language skills might bring personal gain in the form of economic wealth or better opportunities. However, not all languages are judged to be of the same value. Investments are often made in acquiring skills which are at the top of the language hierarchy and therefore judged to be most profitable. As explored below, there appears to be a common conception of a global language hierarchy which ranks languages from the most to least-widely spoken. However, the linguistic marketplace is far from unified and different language hierarchies preside in different settings.

Heller argues that the concept of *pride* in speaking a language has been subsumed by the notion of *profit*. The increased demand for niche products means that authenticity of origin has become important in determining value. Language skills in local, sometimes minoritized languages are often a marker of such authenticity, can contribute to the generation of profit, and are therefore positioned higher in situated language hierarchies than other, more-widely spoken languages might be. The following sections explore the notion of language hierarchy and its implications for locally-situated language values.

English at the top of a global language hierarchy

The term language hierarchy refers to a ranking of languages in order of their relative values. De Swaan (2001) has attempted to model a global language system or constellation which ranks languages according to their Q-value, an indicator of its communication potential which is calculated according to its relative number of speakers and centrality within the constellation. Language learners are thought to seek profit by acquiring the languages with

the highest Q-values on the assumption that they will grant them access to larger markets and a broader range of opportunities.

Within this proposal, *peripheral languages* represent languages “of memory”, described by de Swaan as oral languages that tend not to be recognised by nation states. Collectively, peripheral languages are spoken by less than ten percent of the human population, yet they account for approximately 98% of the world’s linguistic diversity. *Central languages* are usually official languages of nation states and play a prominent role in many domains officially, including education, the internet and the media. *Supercentral languages* such as Arabic, Chinese and French are often the legacy of empires and used for long-distance, international communication as *linguae francae* at an official level. They typically have many non-native speakers.

The *hypercentral language* is the “hub of the world language system” (de Swaan, 2010: 71). This position has been accorded to English due to its high number of native and non-native speakers, its role as *lingua franca* in many spheres and the amount of English-medium cultural consumption. De Swaan and other authors maintain that the role of English as hypercentral language is not necessarily permanent (de Swaan, 2010; Fishman, 1999; Ostler, 2010). However, de Swaan argues that the time and resources invested (Byrd Clark, 2010; Norton, 2013; Norton Peirce, 1995) in learning it might deter users from abandoning it quickly.

De Swaan appealed to the concept of hierarchy to account for language learners’ choices of which language to learn, arguing that language learning tends to occur in a mostly upward direction from peripheral to central, central to supercentral, and supercentral to hypercentral. He claimed that those who acquire a new language are attracted by the increased communication potential each language offers, clearly referring to motivations based on languages’ instrumental functions and reinforcing models which propose perceived ethnolinguistic vitality as an important motivating factor for language acquisition (Howard Giles & Byrne, 1982). Phenomena such as that which has become known as ‘English fever’, reported in some Asian contexts, demonstrate how English has become highly indexical of profit and opportunity. This is often true to such an extent that parents are prepared to make huge investments in ensuring their children’s acquisition of it (Park, 2009; Park & Wee, 2012). De Swaan’s model proposed that those who acquire a new language increase the Q-value of

that language as a hypercollective good, thus increasing others' motivations for learning it and consolidating or improving its position within the hierarchy.

However, applying this global language hierarchy to specific, locally-situated contexts can prove difficult. Central languages might be important acquisitions for a university student who needs proficiency in the vehicular language of education. Their knowledge of this language might be of greater profit for them than that of English, which might only be used for tourism and leisure purposes. As a result, locally-situated language hierarchies might not correspond to the global language system proposed by de Swaan.

Niche markets and the re-evaluation of less widely spoken languages

As part of her research into the commodification of language skills, Heller has also explored the effects of economic change in stimulating demand for niche products. In service or information sectors, a tension is perceived between standardisation and anonymity which might be found in the use of just one universal language on the one hand, and the situated and identifiable forms of authenticity in official and non-official languages, accents, practices and artifacts on the other (Heller, 2010a). The increased demand for niche products is often satisfied by appealing to authenticity in the form of a local language or variety and reference to specific cultural practices, particularly in the realms of tourism (Heller, Pujolar, & Duchêne, 2014). As such, not only is the language associated with instrumental values related to profit and material gain, but also values associated with the assertion of pride and identity (Duchêne & Heller, 2012a).

Research has been conducted that has demonstrated how investment in acquiring languages such as Welsh and Irish has been boosted due to instrumental motivations (Pietikäinen, Jaffe, Kelly-Holmes, & Coupland, 2016; Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes, 2013), as opposed to the (often highly deficient) argument widely-used in popular discourse that promotes choice of a newly learnt language in terms of absolute numbers of possible interlocutors (Moreno Cabrera, 2014). Such languages might be dismissed as peripheral minorities according to models like de Swaan's. However, this research demonstrates the changeable nature of relationships between languages which are "subject to complex, socio-political and economic processes and practices. By no means a one-way relationship, it is both reciprocal and dynamic, and rarely stable or predictable in its nature or effects" (Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes, 2013: 3).

Economicist approaches to depicting language relationships in terms of language hierarchies and marketplaces risk oversimplifying situations to a single linguistic hierarchy or unified linguistic market, focussing exclusively on languages' instrumental values in crude terms of the global number of speakers alone. A language's inseparably intertwined instrumental and integrative values depend on a combination of factors which can vary according to local context and combine notions of pride and profit. As a result, one unified model of global systems, hierarchies or markets is insufficient. In fact, several marketplaces coexist and a single hegemonic language is not always easily identifiable (Gal, 1978; Moreno Cabrera, 2006; Pietikäinen et al., 2016; Woolard, 1989).

In acknowledgement of this, some have proposed the use of scales as a means of separating global and local levels of analysis with distinct orders of indexicality (Blommaert, 2007, 2010). Building on Silverstein's work (2003), Blommaert uses the concept of *orders of indexicality*, that is "systemically reproduced, stratified meanings often called 'norms' or 'rules' of language, and always typically associated with particular shapes of language" (Blommaert, 2005: 73). The stratification to which he refers points towards hierarchies of value or importance that are the object of general consensus within particular groups, but not always fully translatable between different contexts.

Scales differentiate between global hierarchical models such as de Swaan's and continentally, nationally, regionally and locally-observed language hierarchies which might enter in contradiction with them, thus highlighting the difficulties of applying global models to specific local contexts. They also introduce the notion of power into analysis, demonstrating how specific resources can grant speakers agency and mobility in one local context but deprive the same speakers of it in another (Blommaert, 2001, 2010).

2.2 English language spread: conflict or coexistence in a global language ecology?

Cultural approaches to globalisation address the interactions of cultures in contact and assess to what extent these lead to greater cultural uniformity or hybridity (Appadurai, 1990). The terms McDonaldisation and Americanisation have been used to refer to theories of cultural convergence in the wake of the worldwide transmission of multinational brands and business models, along with their underlying representations and manifestations (Ritzer, 2013) that have become markers of American culture.

In contrast, the term *glocalisation* (Robertson, 1995) is used to refer to diversity in the uptake, interactions with and adaptations of international cultural forms which appear in local contexts. Pennycook, although he does not use the term *glocalisation* itself, provides examples of the simultaneously occurring transformations, recombinations and adaptations of language in popular culture in various localities (Pennycook, 2010) that bear testimony to diversity in the uptake of novel cultural forms.

The cultural and linguistic effects that the spread of English is perceived to have are likely to affect language ideologies in circulation and have some impact on individuals' language choices. Woolard proposed the two ideological motifs of *anonymity* and *authenticity* to categorise legitimating ideologies, used to justify language choices. *Anonymity* is used to refer to an abstract notion of a common voice that is apparently inclusive of all. As succinctly expressed by Woolard (2008:4):

“The disembodied, disinterested public, freed through rational discourse from the constraints of a socially specific perspective, supposedly achieves a superior ‘aperspectival objectivity’ that has been called the ‘view from nowhere’ (Nagel, 1986)”

Official languages can gain hegemony by presenting themselves as anonymous languages, or the desired medium for disinterested impartiality. Bourdieu labelled people's adscription to such discourses as *méconnaissance*, or misrecognition, arguing that the historical context and power differences between competing social groups should be considered in order to make language choices that are coherent with other cultural values (Bourdieu, 1982). Discourses of anonymity have since been challenged by critical studies that seek to avoid the potential outcome of *ideological erasure* (Irvine & Gal, 2000) and thereby defend the positions of social groups in less powerful positions.

Authenticity, on the other hand, is used to refer to discourses of language as an iconic, “genuine expression” of “an essential Self” (Woolard, 2008: 2). In a similar way to Heller's concept of *pride*, appeals to linguistic authenticity focus on local origin and identity. Accent can thus matter as an important way of locating speech, fixing it to a social and geographical source. In situations of language contact, retaining the essence of authenticity is often considered important and language policy efforts might be made to preserve language functions that are perceived to be in danger of being usurped by “anonymous” languages.

However, such actions are commonly the object of heavy criticism from sources of anonymous discourse, often implying that those battling processes of ideological erasure of embody parochialism and uncosmopolitanism (as in Trenchs-Parera, Larrea Mendizabal, & Newman, 2014). This can create tensions between authentic and anonymous discourses which are difficult to resolve (Woolard, 2008).

The following sections assess the debate surrounding the spread of English and accusations of its contribution to cultural imperialism and loss of linguistic diversity. Woolard's proposal of the linguistic ideologies of *authenticity* and *anonymity* are used to relate language behaviour to a global backdrop of language contact and change.

The scope of English language spread

The scope of the "unprecedented" spread of the English language (Kachru, Kachru, & Nelson, 2006; Murata & Jenkins, 2009) has been one of the main focuses of recent debate related to language and globalisation. Language spread has been defined as "an increase, over time, in the proportion of a communication network that adopts a given language or language variety for a given communicative function" (Cooper, 1982: 6), with historical examples including the cases of Sumerian, Akkadian, Aramaic, Greek, Latin and Arabic. Many have pointed to the greater number of non-native speakers of English than native speakers as an example of the extent to which the English language has spread (Graddol, 1997).

Crystal (2003) has provided a history of English which attributes its current status to two main factors: the expansion of British colonial power up until the end of the nineteenth century; and the growing political, economic and military power of the United States during the twentieth century. During the period of colonisation, English spread divergently according to migration and settlement patterns, and also according to the nature of economic exchange and exploitation of natural resources followed in different contexts (Mufwene, 2010). However, the British were not the only colonial powers at that time. Other European 'world languages', as they are often referred to, such as French, Spanish, Dutch and Portuguese, also experienced spread before or during this period.

The greater scope of English language spread has been attributed to developments in the global economy and global politics since the Second World War, which saw the United States rise as one of the biggest economic powers and play an increasingly important role in

international politics. This significant change in the political and economic landscape came almost hand-in-hand with the technological revolution that transformed multiple industries, most importantly in terms of globalisation: the media and transport and communications. Simultaneously, language organisations such as the British Council began to grow in importance and the English as a Foreign Language industry began to take off.

Globalisation can thus be seen to have facilitated the spread of English into many realms previously catered for by central or supercentral languages (according to de Swaan's model). In the following quotation Crystal lists the many domains in which English has become the *de facto* international *lingua franca*:

“It is the main language of books, newspapers, airports and air-traffic control, international business and academic conferences, science, technology, medicine, diplomacy, sports, international competitions, pop music, and advertising” (Crystal, 1987: 358)

The use of English as a *lingua franca* is often presented in a benign way as a question of mere pragmatics and inclusivity, with appeals made to the legitimating discourse of anonymity. Nevertheless, to what extent might this have a pernicious effect on smaller languages in contact with English as a *lingua franca* and their speakers?

A functional takeover?

There has been considerable debate about whether or not the spread of English is threatening linguistic diversity. English has been accused of usurping functions from local language(s), rendering the latter of less instrumental value and thus initiating shift away from or the death of many smaller languages.

The terms *linguistic imperialism* (Phillipson, 1992, 2009) or *linguistic genocide* (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) have been used in the titles of books dedicated to outlining the theory of processes by which dominant languages, especially English, *kill* (Price, 2000), *murder* (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2010) or cause the *language suicide* (Crystal, 2000) of other languages around the world, although the use of such terms has not been without its critics (Edwards, 1985: 53). Accounts of intended domination question *cui bono* and criticise situations of inequality. Authors such as Hagège (2006) and Phillipson (1992) blame the British government and the English Language Teaching (ELT) profession for setting out to destroy

linguistic diversity by exploiting all opportunities to increase the instrumental value of the English language with the aim of increasing their market share (Hagège, 2006; Phillipson, 1992). Whilst the role of the ELT industry has indeed been questioned, other authors have not fully subscribed to accusations of the conscious undertaking of linguistic imperialism. Even so, calls have been made for steps to be taken towards a critical pedagogy that takes local language ecologies and different varieties of English into account (Block & Cameron, 2002; Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 1994).

Understandings of English as a “killer language” engaged in deliberate processes of linguistic imperialism or genocide have been labelled “gross oversimplifications” (Crystal, 2000) and “unsubstantiated myths” (Mufwene, 2010), even “conspiracy theories” (Spolsky, 2004) which fail to account for the complex dynamics of language contact in diverse contexts. Firstly, it is important to recognise the role played by nation state languages which, as opposed to English, are perhaps the greatest danger faced by most threatened languages in the world (Fishman, 1999; Nettle & Romaine, 2000). Besides this, despite the fact that many deliberate language policies have been and continue to be applied around the world, the current situation and functional division of the world’s languages reflect both the attainment of their intended goals and their unexpected consequences and incongruities (Coulmas, 2005a). As such, English and its principle actors cannot be held solely responsible for the totality of language loss currently being witnessed on a global scale.

Accounts of language shift in favour of central, supercentral and the hypercentral languages according to de Swaan’s model explore the reasons behind individuals apparently freely choosing dominant languages perceived to have high instrumental value over and above their first language (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004; Kulick, 1992; Nettle & Romaine, 2000). Kulick documented the process of language shift away from Taiap towards the Papua New Guinean lingua franca, Tok Pisin, in the village of Gapun, Papua New Guinea (Kulick, 1992). He traced the process of young men beginning to earn a living as contracted labourers on plantations some distance from the village and returning with both their earnings and the English-based creole of Tok Pisin. This process eventually resulted in Tok Pisin being used amongst the villagers, including within the family and for intergenerational transmission, despite no explicit decision being taken on an individual or community level, nor an intentional policy being enacted by the government. It is thus both an example of a language

other than English playing a role in decreasing linguistic diversity, and an example of the complexities of language contact processes which cannot be entirely explained as a result of intentional policy.

In addition to the well-known fact that the world is losing linguistic diversity, an increase in regional sentiment in the face of discourses of global homogenisation has been perceived (Fishman, 1999; Nettle & Romaine, 2000). The subsequent resurgence of interest and investment in authentic languages and cultural traditions described in section 2.1 has been observed in several contexts, suggesting that not every language in contact with English as a *lingua franca* is doomed to imminent substitution or death (Heller et al., 2014; Pietikäinen et al., 2016; Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes, 2013) and counterbalancing possible processes of linguistic erasure. However, the speakers of less widely-spoken and powerful languages remain in a difficult position between two competing ideologies that are difficult to reconcile. Resolving this tension will arguably be of considerable importance if a sustainable global language ecology is sought.

Glocalisation or coexistence

The form or forms of what has variously been referred to as a global language (Crystal, 2003), Global Englishes (Jenkins, 2015; Pennycook, 2007), World English (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Strevens, 1982), World Englishes (Jenkins, 2009; Kachru, 1997), English as an International Language (Jenkins, 2000) and English as a *lingua franca* (House, 2003) or English as a global *lingua franca* (House, 2014) has been a central theme in discussions about how to describe the current nature of the English language and the effects of its contact with many other languages in distinct settings. Mufwene (2010) reminds us not to assume that English is distributed evenly around the world, both in terms of numbers of speakers; its structural properties; and the degree to which these might vary according to their differential degrees of contact and interaction with local languages. Questions have been raised as to whether the label English, in its singular form, can apply to all phenomena in all settings; whether glocalisation has occurred in terms of language variation; or whether there is a standard form of English as a *lingua franca*.

One attempt to classify different forms of language contact situations with English is Kachru's concentric circles model which depicts differences between the varieties and functions of English in different areas (Kachru, 1985). The inner circle represents what Kachru refers to as

the “traditional bases of English” where it is a primary language, such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

The outer circle consists of countries for which English has become a second language that is used alongside local languages, for example in India. In such cases, it is not the second language of the entire population and, often due to the countries’ history of colonisation, English language competence and use can be considered a marker of higher socioeconomic status. Interactions between English and local languages and their accompanying cultural values and statuses are studied in such settings (Canagarajah, 1999, 2005) in which a “codetermination of the social and linguistic environment” has been observed that reflects the principles of glocalisation (Brutt-Griffler, 2002). In this sense, the interaction between English and local languages is far from straightforward, with local languages leaving their mark on localised forms of English. This uneven uptake and adaptation of English complicates the idea of an imperialistic, homogenising agenda and raises the question of “Whose language is it anyway?”, with subsequent questions about standard forms, ownership, legitimacy and authenticity (Strevens, 1982; Widdowson, 1994), which have since become important questions in sociolinguistics (O’Rourke, Pujolar, & Ramallo, 2015; Woolard, 2008).

Finally, the expanding circle is made up of countries in which English is a foreign language, such as Spain or Japan, where fewer still people use the language on a regular basis outside of restricted contexts. English tends to be taught as a foreign language within the national curricula of such countries, yet those of higher socioeconomic status may make greater economic and temporal investments in assuring the attainment of a high level of competence in the language for greater material or symbolic gain. When English is used in these contexts, it tends to be for international communication purposes as a *lingua franca* (House, 2014). The use of English as a *lingua franca* in interactions between speakers of different languages is not necessarily substitutive of that of local language(s). In academia, just one of the many domains for which English has become the predominant *lingua franca*, it has been shown to play a role alongside local language(s) in various European contexts (House, 2003, 2014; Kuteeva, 2014; Vila & Bretxa, 2014). At a science park in Barcelona, English, Catalan and Spanish are used on a trilingual basis depending on the staff’s proficiency in the three languages and the expected needs of the addressee in communications. The authors concluded that ideas of science having become monoglot in the English language fail to

represent more complex, on the ground realities as experienced in different contexts (Bretxa et al., 2016; Vila i Moreno, Bretxa i Riera, & Comajoan i Colomé, 2012), thus reinforcing Haberland and Mortensen's criticism of the 'English-only delusion' (2012:1).

Kachru's model serves to illustrate the extent to which English language spread affects the forms and functions of local languages and English itself may differ according to the context of language contact. As a result of globalisation, many have expressed concern for the spread of English and cultural and linguistic homogenisation. However, the scenario is more complex than it first appears and the presence of English in a language ecology is not always synonymous with the imminent loss of local languages. Firstly, other colonial languages have been demonstrated to have had an effect on some language ecologies in addition to the effects of English in colonial contexts. Secondly, a resurgent revalorisation of the authentic values of less widely-spoken languages has been closely associated with the idea of profit and may thus help to counter processes of ideological erasure. Thirdly, in many contexts English plays a role as a *lingua franca* that, although highly-coveted, prestigious and widespread, appears not to be threatening the normal functions of local languages.

2.3 Transnational migration in the global era

Whereas it has been up for debate whether or not globalisation is a new phenomenon, it is needless to say that migration is certainly not. Migration has been described as the "most ubiquitous form of globalisation" and defined as "the movement of people and their temporary or permanent geographical relocation" (Held et al., 1999: 283).⁵ Such movement can be either internal or external, that is within or across state boundaries. The present study focusses on cases of international migration, following the United Nations' definition of the term *international migrant* as "a person who is living in a country other than his or her country of birth" (United Nations, 2016: 4).

⁵ Both of the above definitions represent spatial dimensions of the phenomenon as people cross boundaries, borders, and even continents, sometimes multiple times. The first also highlights a temporal element to the process, indicating that length of stay might be short or long-term. A further dimension of the term is that of motivations, which can vary widely. Amongst the most commonly listed reasons for migrating are economic motivations; forced migration, including refugees and the displaced; family reunification; marriage; education and lifestyle (Castles, 2013).

In English-speaking contexts, discussion of the terms used to describe migration processes and migrants are marked by both political controversy and technical debate. The term *immigration* in particular, which technically (and still today in much macro research) simply refers to inbound population movement in opposition to outbound emigration, has become controversial and the object of negative public perceptions. The associated concrete noun *immigrant* tends to be used pejoratively and often loosely conflated with issues of race, ethnicity and asylum (Bridget Anderson & Blinder, 2015). *Migrant*, on the other hand, is considered a more neutral term that is less burdened with such associations (KhosraviNik, 2010). For the purposes of this study, the terms *migration* and *migrant* will be used in order to avoid negative political connotation and reflect the potential diversity of patterns of movement.

Contrary to much popular belief, throughout history there have been large and small scale flows of people across natural or political borders for labour purposes, as diaspora fleeing persecution or disaster, or as part of the processes of conquest and colonisation. Such movements have ebbed and flowed over time, with important differences between countries and continents. Held et al (1999) identify four phases in the history of such movements: pre-modern (pre-1500), early modern (1500-c.1760), modern (c.1760-1945) and contemporary (c.1945 onwards).

In sum, the pre-modern era was characterised by the displacement, incorporation and eventual eradication of hunter-gatherers by agrarian civilisations, whose nomadic herding peoples began to populate previously uninhabited areas in the search of grazing lands. The early modern period began with the colonisation of the New World and establishment of the slave trade, which involved the transportation of large numbers of Africans to the Americas in order to undertake slave labour and was accompanied by significant demographic, cultural, ecological and political change.

The modern era was marked by the quickened pace of internal and international migration during the nineteenth century, facilitated by improvements in railway and shipping transport infrastructure and after the two world wars, which caused mass displacement of civilians, industries required labour from abroad to join the workforce. During the 1950s and 1960s, labour recruitment programmes began in several European countries, marking the onset of core migratory flows of economic migrants from across the globe. Later, family reunification

schemes reunited typically adult male migrants from former European colonies with family members in the host society.

The next great wave of migratory flow began in the 1990s, marking the turn of the twenty-first century with a significant increase in the absolute number of migrants worldwide. The overall number of international migrants rose from 154 million in 1990, to 173 million in 2000, and to 244 million in 2015, with the largest increases in Asia and Europe. Spain and Italy are amongst those countries with the biggest growth in migrant populations over this period, with an increase of over 6% between 2000 and 2015 (United Nations, 2016).

This increase has been widely cited as a justification for the use of the term *superdiversity* to describe the demographic compositions of complex urban contexts. The term was first coined to describe “the increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants over the last decade” in the United Kingdom (Vertovec, 2007). Vertovec highlighted important differences between previous migratory flows and that of the 1990s in terms of country of origin, where the former were predominantly from former colonies and the latter demonstrated more varied, less predictable profiles. Many other variables were listed in the paper by Vertovec, who argued that a more complex understanding of individual trajectories and interactions with the host society would be necessary to inform public policy in particular.

Recently, the term’s application has been criticised as overwhelmingly Eurocentric and many of the arguments that have been widely cited in its support have been questioned (Pavlenko, 2018). Firstly, absolute figures for the number of international migrants have been contrasted with the proportion of international migrants compared to the overall population. When calculated, the proportion of individuals that currently count as international migrants (2.7%) is actually lower than it was in 1960 (3.1%) (Czaika & de Haas, 2014).

Furthermore, the same authors have problematised claims of more diverse patterns of migration between increasing numbers of destination countries and increasing numbers of countries of origin. Over half of the world’s migrant population is currently living in ten destination countries, in order of magnitude: the United States of America, the Russian Federation, Germany, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom, France, Canada, Australia and Spain (United Nations, 2016). These locations have witnessed the

arrival of migrants from a wider array of countries of origin, however, other contexts have seen a decrease in such diversity. One such example is that of South American countries who no longer attract the previously large numbers of migrants from places such as Japan, India, China and the Lebanon.

Whereas the term *superdiversity* may have some value in increasing awareness and defining present day public policy solutions to the needs of diverse contexts, its application to contemporary migration patterns is problematic. When proportional figures are invoked, it is difficult to defend a marked difference between contemporary migration patterns and historical ones beyond the typical ebb and flow characteristic of most locations over past centuries, even millenia.

Qualitative differences in the migration experience: transnationalism

Innovations in transport technology and the improvement and integration of transport infrastructures have played a key role in enhancing mobility, particularly in the developed world. Such developments include the launch of the low-cost airline industry in the mid-1990s, as well as the improved speed and interconnectivity of transport networks both within and between countries. This has also contributed to greater numbers of tourists and short-term migrants taking part in educational or professional exchange programmes.

In addition, improvements in communication technology have been argued to play two main roles in motivating migration. Firstly, improved access to media such as the internet and satellite television might have increased migrants' awareness of opportunities abroad and encouraged them to aspire to a better life in a different context (Czaika & de Haas, 2014). Secondly, the use of technological developments such as email and Skype, and their comparatively low cost compared to previous forms of communication, mean that migration no longer supposes a complete disconnection from the country of origin (Diminescu, 2008; Furukawa & Driessnack, 2013; Gonzalez & Katz, 2016). Encouraged by the presence of transnational support networks, as well as the greater ease of making regular visits to the home country, migration may not seem such a huge transformation as it probably did just a few decades previously.

Belonging to networks that link localities near and far is an essential characteristic of transnational migrants, and the degree of contact and interaction between network members

is something that differentiates many of them from migrants partaking in flows previous to the information age. Improved technology has been responsible for the increasing interconnectedness of a world less restricted by spatio-temporal limitations, resulting in the rise of a network society (Castells, 1996). A defining feature of this society is sustained contact and interaction between network members, often regardless of geographical location.

The term *transnational(ism)* came to the fore in the 1990s with works such as Glick-Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton (1992) and Glick-Schiller (2004) introducing it as a means to understanding contemporary forms of migration and the relations between migrant, country of origin and host society. Defined as “the process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Glick Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1995: 48), transnationalism, or the study of transnational migration, focusses on migrant practices across borders. As such, the transnational perspective calls for an understanding of the influence of ongoing connections with the home country as migrants become socialised in a new context. Although not a new reality, the concept arguably provides a suitable reflection of the nature of contemporary migrant networks.

However, this conceptualisation of transnationalism has been refined in response to a number of limitations identified by subsequent contributors to the debate. Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (1999) called for a delimitation of what many have criticised as a term that has been applied to many phenomena. They proposed the concept be confined to “occupations and activities that require regular and sustained contacts over time across national borders” (Portes et al., 1999: 219), excluding occasional or one-off contact and exchange. This differentiates conditions of contemporary migration, with improved means of communication and transport, from previous waves of migrants who had less sustained contact and exchange with the home country.

Portes further clarified the differences between the terms international, multinational and transnational, denouncing their interchangeable use. The distinction is based largely on the actors involved, with “international” referring to the activities and programs of nation-states; “multinational” referring to corporations or religious organisations whose activities take place in several countries; and “transnational” referring to those activities that are carried out by non-institutional actors, either organised in groups or networks of individuals (Portes, 2001).

Duff's recent review of how the term is relevant to the field of applied linguistics reminded that there may well be "multiple intervening (and subsequent) points of dwelling" in what is often more of a complex than a binary relationship between home and host country(/ies) (Duff, 2015: 57). Increased awareness of more complex, sometimes highly mobile trajectories undertaken by migrants that may involve more than one host society or frequent changes of context means that the social fields participated in by transnational individuals may well encompass more than two contexts and contribute to a greater complexity in terms of migrants' sense of belonging to each of them and ways of interacting with them.

In his sociolinguistic description of representatives of four different populations residing in the *global city* of London, Block (2006) differentiates between *expatriates*, *transnationals* and *immigrants*. *Expatriates* are described as individuals who have chosen to live in a different country for an extended period yet know that they can return when they would like and do relatively little to adapt to the ways of life of members of the host society. *Transnationals* are differentiated from expatriates according to their degree of *cosmopolitanism*, which is defined by Held (2002) and Hannerz (1996) as encompassing the intercultural competences acquired by migrants interested in accessing "backstage" and engaging in local practices. Finally, *immigrants* are defined as migrants who settle in an area long-term, either assimilating to the local culture or changing it via daily practices.

Block's study is insightful in analysing migrants' subject positions within the host society context and understanding their identifications with the home and host society from macro, meso and micro perspectives. The categorisation employed considers migratory project and socialisation processes, which are important factors to take into consideration when accounting for different patterns of insertion into the host society context. However, the terms applied to each category are perhaps questionable within a broader review of the literature above. Although *expatriate* or *expat* is a well-characterised emic term which reflects less assimilative practices, the difference between the terms *transnational* and *immigrant* are more difficult to define in terms of migratory project or socialisation processes.

The implications of transnationalism: the sociolinguistics of mobility

Blommaert's *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization* (2010) represents an impetus for research that takes into account the implications of transnational mobility for sociolinguistic practices.

Subsequent revisions of terminology have focussed attention on the use of terms such as community, trajectories and bifocality which will be explored in the following sub-sections.

Homogenous migrant communities or individual migrant trajectories?

The term *community* has been noted to imply uniformity, shared beliefs and practices, and is often associated with a collective sense of identity, belonging and security (Bauman, 2001; Rouse, 1995). Cohen defines it in terms of two implied and related suggestions that i) members of a group have something in common with each other which ii) distinguishes them in a significant way from members of other putative groups (Cohen, 1985: 12). In this way, terms such as *language community* have been used at the macro level to describe sections of a society's population that share the same language of use (Bloomfield, 1933). Ideas of belonging to a community may exist in the collective consciousness or imagination of its members (Anderson, 1991): "people construct community symbolically, making it a resource and repository of meaning, and a referent of their identity" (Cohen, 1985: 118).

However, an increased understanding of transnational migrant experience as that of multiple individual trajectories and simultaneous participation in multiple social networks has come hand-in-hand with a problematisation of the concept of community (Rouse, 1991). At the micro level, a more complex picture emerges that makes it difficult to draw boundaries between inside and outside a community and draws attention to individuals' simultaneous participation in several networks connected by different commonalities; be they ethnic origin, place of residence, or entirely disconnected from physical location and based on shared interests (Maya-Jariego & Armitage, 2007). As such, the use of the term *community* in micro-level studies in particular has been called into question (Rouse, 1991).

The problematic associations of homogeneity and exclusive belonging that the term *community* has meant that many have come to refer to migrant populations as populations or groups rather than communities. Fukuda found that the language behaviour of members of the Japanese language community resident in Barcelona varied widely according to differences in their socialisation experiences and migratory projects, resulting in her underlining the importance of distinguishing the terms *population* and *community* (Fukuda, 2009).

Fukuda is one of several who have demonstrated that whereas the term *language community* can be applied at the macro level to refer to all those who share a common L1, it must be noted that they are far from necessarily a community of shared practice. This is because people who happen to share one characteristic (in this case in terms of their linguistic and geographic origins) undertake different trajectories, engaging in different social relationships and establishing different, though often interlocking networks which can influence host society socialisation experiences and beliefs about language in different ways.

Transnational networks and bifocality

Transnational migration most commonly involves the simultaneous sustenance of old ties with individuals in the home country and forging of new ties with individuals in the host society. Social ties are the relationships established between individuals, who in turn form part of a social network: a set of actors that may have relationships with one another (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005). Transnational migrants have been shown to belong to unbounded series of interlocking personal networks which incorporate individuals and social fields in both countries (Gómez Mestres, Molina, Hoeksma, & Lubbers, 2012; Molina, Lozares, & Lubbers, 2012). Their social networks are also susceptible to change in composition over time (Mahler, 1998), therefore accounting for the addition of new ties, some to be longlasting, others fleeting; and the maintenance, fading and occasional revisiting of older ties.

Social ties represent “a continuing series of interpersonal transactions to which participants attach shared interests, obligations, expectations and norms”(Faist, 2000: 101). Such interactions may involve the exchange of material goods or immaterial support, knowledge or ideas, all forms of capital, that is “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu, 1986: 21). Actors can relate capital in its economic, cultural, social or symbolic form to opportunity structures, converting some forms of capital into others as and when it suits them, and establishing separate relationships with and orientations to home and host societies.

Guarnizo & Smith (1998: 11) counter claims that transnationalism takes place in an “imaginary ‘third space’ abstractly located ‘in-between’ national territories” and argue that transnational actions are a doubly grounded reality:

“Transnational practices cannot be construed as if they were free from the constraints and opportunities that contextuality imposes. Transnational practices, while connecting collectivities located in more than one national territory, are embodied in specific social relations established between specific people, situated in unequivocal localities, at historically determined times.”

There are thus two ways in which transnational actions are bounded. Firstly, they are bounded by understandings of grounded reality that are socially constructed within transnational social networks of specific people in specific locations. They are also bounded by the policies and practices of each location, which may impose constraints upon practices, or offer affordances or opportunities unavailable elsewhere. As such, the two (or more) specific locations between which transnationals move become connected to each other as translocalities (Appadurai, 1996) and to the migrant in the form of a triadic connection, implying the continued importance of the local (Hannerz, 1996) as opposed to some form of global, ungrounded third space.

Transnational migrants’ involvement in social networks that simultaneously span different localities means that they perceive differences between the affordances and limitations of each context. This is referred to as the ‘dual frame of reference phenomenon’ or bifocality, that is, “the capacity to see the world alternately through quite different kinds of lenses” (Rouse, 1992: 41). Differences may be in terms of “the social expectations, cultural values and patterns of human interaction that are shaped by more than one social, economic and political system” (Levitt, 2001: 197), which are argued to have an impact on migrants’ practices, beliefs and ultimately their identities, as outlined below by Guarnizo & Smith (1998: 21):

“The decentred subject is not a free-floating subjectivity. Rather, the discursive fields through which people travel as they move through life constitute alternative, socially structured bases for the inner tension and contention over selfhood and identity. In this way, various “social spaces” like trans-local migrant networks... can be viewed as affecting the formation of character, identity, and acting subjects at the same time that identity can be seen as fluctuating and contingent, as the contexts through which people move in time-space change and are appropriated and or resisted by acting subjects.”

Differences may also be noted in terms of the social norms which exert influence on language choices and the values accorded to the different forms of capital that transnational migrants bring with them to the host society context in the form of a different local language hierarchy. Differences in social norms can lead to situations of normative conflict (Heller, 1988). Transnational migrants might experience such a conflict when they notice mismatches between the application of their existing set of social and linguistic norms and others' interpretations of and reactions to them (and vice versa).

With or without normative conflict, a change in orders of indexicality may occur which results in the renegotiation of interpretative filters. The interpretation of linguistic utterances is highly dependent on the context in which they are uttered (Hanks, 2000: 124). As a result, the values and functions associated with particular linguistic forms, varieties or discourses may change upon movement between contexts:

“Whenever discourses travel across the globe, what is carried with them is their shape, but their value, meaning or function do not often travel along. Value, meaning or function are a matter of uptake, they have to be granted by others on the basis of the prevailing orders of indexicality, and increasingly also on the basis of their real or potential ‘market value’ as a cultural commodity.” (Blommaert, 2005: 72)

One potential effect of a change in orders of indexicality is the devaluation of elements that individuals have carried with them on their transnational trajectories. On a linguistic level, this might lead to an individual's spoken or written skills in a particular language or variety being made redundant by its absence from the linguistic repertoires of the majority of the host society population, or the way that it is used being deemed inappropriate by them. Blommaert exemplifies this process in several studies, including the case of African asylum seekers dealing with the complexities of asylum procedure with the Belgian authorities. The author demonstrates how the asylum seekers' ability in the European languages used to engage in proceedings is deemed insufficient and often subject to misinterpretation by the authorities (Blommaert, 2001).

2.4 Towards a model of language choice for transnational migrants

Contextual factors on micro (the immediate context of interaction), meso (social networks and institutions) and macro (wider social processes) levels have been shown to exert

influence on language norms and values, and consequently language choice. As such, a change of geographical context is likely to trigger changes in orders of indexicality. Rather than doing so in the form of a simple duality between local and global, however, the norms and values of two different local contexts are juxtaposed and the speaker must reconcile these juxtapositions with his/her own choices.

It is not only geography that contributes to changes in individuals' orders of indexicality. Time as a measure of accumulated experience can also do so. Changes in linguistic behaviour throughout the lifespan can be brought about by inner reflections that might be prompted by changes in social fields, interactions with particular interlocutors or wider processes of social change (Woolard, 2011, 2013). The Bakhtinian notion of chronotope is often applied to life history narratives in order to track such changes through time and space (Bakhtin, 1981). Both biographical and socio-historical chronotopes have been applied to individual accounts of changes in the indexical order of language values as a result of different life experiences in Catalonia (Woolard, 2013).

Power dynamics also affect orders of indexicality. Languages and their speakers may be of unequal status in the host society, leaving groups spread unevenly in terms of agency and power. Different language socialisation processes within the host society might result in adscription to one of several possible conflicting local language hierarchies that render acquisition of certain languages or membership of certain groups more or less desirable. To add to that, certain forms of a particular language might take preference over others at different levels implying advantage and capital in some situations, yet drawbacks in others.

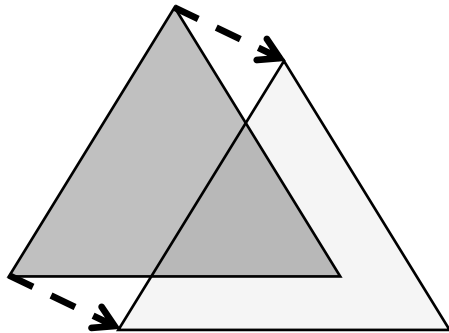
The way in which migrants experience movement between different contexts, and thus orders of indexicality, can affect their sense of belonging in the host society and their orientations towards the acquisition of host society languages by themselves and by other family members, thus affecting their current and future language practices in a way that is not necessarily in accordance with global models of single, unified hierarchies and marketplaces.

A model for transnational individuals' language choice

In order to represent differential processes of adaptation to differences in the social norms, indexical orders and socio-historical context between the home country and host society, the

model for language choice proposed at the end of the first chapter must become three-dimensional.

Figure 5: Levels and contexts of influence for transnational individuals' language choice



The same simultaneity of influence of micro, meso and macro factors is represented by maintaining the triangular shape of the original model. However, the additional dimension represents a second context of reference. The first, dark grey triangle represents the home country, whereas the second represents the host society. More could be added if the migrant has resided in other intermediary contexts.

The arrow indicates time which connects the two triangles, representing different periods of and experiences in the migrant's lifetime to which they make reference when forming language choices.

Chapter 3. Language choice in transnational families

Families have been defined as systems “of interrelated individuals, most often biologically related” (Mills, 2014: 250), although not necessarily so. Common characteristics of families have been identified as a shared identity, in terms of individuals’ comprehension of themselves and their identification with memories of family experiences, economic cooperation, reproduction of the next generation, care work and housework (McKie & Callan, 2012). The term therefore not only includes immediate family members that perhaps reside together, but also the extended family consisting of relatives from other generations and more distant ties.

Many sources highlight the variety of different kinds of family structure that can be found in twenty-first century society, some claiming that the diversity in living arrangements is in fact “unprecedented” (Abela & Walker, 2014). Single parent families, reconstituted families, adoptive and foster care families and families with same-gender parents are amongst the diverse array of family forms, alongside the traditional nuclear family model (Misca & Smith, 2014). Not all of these variations of traditional family structures are entirely new concepts (Thane, 2010), however, they have arguably become more visible, acceptable and legalised in recent years in western democracies (Vázquez de Prada, 2005). It is important to remember that “despite increasing complexity and diversity, the term family continues to have a meaning that is recognizable across the globe” (McKie & Callan, 2012: 6).

Families do not exist in a vacuum. Instead they respond to and feed into wider processes of social change (Vázquez de Prada, 2005: 115). Of particular interest here are changes connected to globalisation. The choices and strategies negotiated between and enacted by family members are governed by globalising processes whilst simultaneously influencing them (Trask, 2010). Calls have been made for research into how families initiate and adapt to changes, and how they interpret the impact of larger structural changes on their own processes (Hareven, 2000), particularly those involved in decision-making:

“Around the world, many contemporary families are different from the families in which individuals were raised. Without clear cultural blueprints and with an explosion of alternatives many people lack certitude about which choices and paths will be optimal for them” (Trask, 2010: 188).

Globalisation processes have been argued to have had a significant effect on family size, family structure and relationships between family members (Mills, 2014). Economic change over recent decades has seen an increase in the scope and intensity of international trade links and a liberalisation of financial transactions. This, coupled with the growth of supranational institutions, has made it possible for labour market standards to be lowered in order to compete with other countries. Mills and Blossfeld (2003) argue that the resultant increase in labour market and economic uncertainty has impacted important life-course decisions that affect family life. For example, women are significantly more likely to postpone starting a family until later in life given high rates of unemployment and unstable contracts.

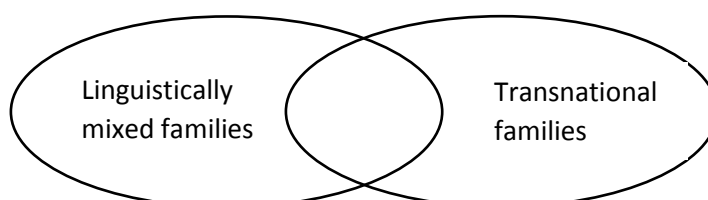
The migration of family members or whole families have created new family structures in which one or more members may be transnational migrants. Technological advances have provided new means of communication between geographically distant family members and between family members and their social networks. Applications such as Skype and Whatsapp have facilitated free communication between any two individuals with an internet connection, making it easier for individuals to maintain contact or extend their personal networks regardless of geographical location. In addition, technology has made it easier for individuals to observe other family patterns and compare beyond the patterns visible in their own immediate geographical context.

The term *transnational families* has been employed in different ways throughout the literature. Some definitions limit its use for “families that live some or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, i.e ‘familyhood’, even across national borders” (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002: 3). In this form, it can be applied to situations such as transnational motherhood, a phenomenon which entails the geographical separation of mother and child whilst the mother seeks better opportunities and the economic means to support family back home (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997), and parachute kids, sent to school in the United States by Korean parents anxious for them to learn English (Zhou, 1998). However, such a restrictive definition does not allow for other family situations to be considered which are arguably also affected by transnational migration processes. A broader definition should reflect the diversity of family types that are affected by transnationalism, including those where one or both parents are from a different country to the host society

and international adoptive families amongst others (Fogle & King, 2013; Van Mensel, 2015). As such, it may not be necessary for all members of the immediate family to have experienced transnationalism in order for the term transnational family to be applied. In the present study, the term transnational family refers to any family in which one, some or all members of the immediate family has experienced transnational migration at some point in their lifetime.

Many other terms have been used to refer to couple and family types in similar studies, none of which have been adopted in the present study due to their failure to reflect the diversity of profiles that can result from transnational migration and that can be the object of research into intergenerational language transmission. Yamamoto listed several terms before coining *interlingual* to describe the couples participating in her study (Yamamoto, 2001), including: *exogamous* (Clyne & Kipp, 1997; Pauwels, 1985), *mixed* (Romaine, 1995), *mixed-language* (Baker & Prys-Jones, 1998), *mixed-lingual* (Hamers & Blanc, 1989), *cross-language* (Lyon & Ellis, 1991), *dual-language* (Döpke, 1998), *ethnolinguistically-mixed* (Clyne, 1991) and *bilingual* (Boix-Fuster & Paradís, 2015; Döpke, 1992). In research conducted in Catalonia, the term used for heterogeneous couples is *lingüísticament mixtes* or *linguistically mixed* (Vila i Moreno, 1993). All of the above terms have been used in contexts where one member of a couple is a first language speaker of a language that is different from the first language of their partner, thus excluding those couples who are both first language speakers of a language that is not widely spoken in the host society. The terms reveal a focus on situations of within-family language contact, rather than on the migratory trajectories of family members, which makes the present study quite unique.

Figure 6: Family types



One further criticism of some of the terms listed above is that they also seem to assume a traditional family structure with two parents, overlooking the possible influences of step parents in reconstituted families and the realities of single-parent families.

Regardless of couple type, the term *transnational anglophone parents* refers to parents who have grown up with English as a first language (defined for the purposes of this study as a language spoken at home since birth) who have migrated to a country in which English is not a first language of the majority of the population. It should be noted that this does not include parents from Spain or elsewhere who speak English as a second language and decide to raise their children totally or partially in English despite not having an L1 model in the home environment. The transnational anglophone parents participating in this study may have partners who come from a similar background, who fit the profile of the majority of the local population in the new context, or indeed, who come from a totally different linguistic background.

3.1 Intergenerational language transmission: the case of English

Intergenerational language transmission is the passing on of a language from one generation to another and has therefore been understood as an important indicator of ethnolinguistic vitality, that is the subjective perceptions of a language's speakers regarding its value (Giles, 2001). A first language of a parent that is being transmitted intergenerationally and is not widely-spoken in society might be referred to as a heritage language, a term which reflects the fact that it is often considered an important part of children's identity and sense of connection to their parent's place of origin (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003).⁶ In attempts to understand how some heritage languages are maintained and others lost between generations in wider processes of language shift, Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale model identified eight stages of which stage six, intergenerational transmission within the family, was highlighted as being most crucial for the prevention of language shift: "if this stage is not satisfied, all else can amount to little more than biding time" (Fishman, 1991: 399).

Intergenerational language transmission can be assessed according to children's language ability or, more frequently, in terms of whether or not children are reported to actively use

⁶ The term heritage language is subject to some dispute and has been defined in multiple ways. Sometimes a distinction is made between *heritage languages* and *home languages* on account of the child's level of ability, with *heritage language* being reserved for those unable to speak it and *home language* for those who do (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). A broad definition of heritage language has been taken here which encompasses both scenarios.

the heritage language. Several macro surveys have been undertaken to assess the rate of intergenerational language transmission amongst migrant populations in different countries. The overwhelming picture is one of substantial shift towards the host society language between first and second generations, with very little use of the heritage language beyond this point (Clyne & Kipp, 1997; Héran, Filhon, & Deprez, 2002; Soehl, 2016).

Focussing in on the shift from the first to second generation, the percentage of children reported to actively use the heritage language varies according to the languages used in the household. The overall percentage of children's active use of the heritage language in a large-scale survey of almost 2000 families in Flanders was approximately 75%. In households in which the heritage language was spoken by both parents the success rate was higher, whereas in those in which the host society language (in this case Dutch) was reported to be the L1 of one of the parents, the success rate dropped (De Houwer, 2003, 2004).

When separating results according to the heritage language, a French survey identified differential success rates for different languages. English and Turkish fared much better than all other languages with 85% of children reported to reciprocate the use of English with their L1 English-speaking parent (Héran et al., 2002). Many attribute the relative success of English to its international status and prestige, and that of Turkish to the high percentage of endogamous Turkish couples and density of within-group ties in this nationality's social networks (Pauwels, 1985), both of which are thought to favour the use of the heritage language within the household. The average rate of intergenerational transmission for other heritage languages in the same survey was 65%, clearly showing English to be something of an exceptional case.

There are many transnational anglophone parents in a wide variety of contexts around the world who attempt to transmit English to their children. Research has been conducted amongst members of some such populations in a limited number of settings: in Nordic countries, France and Japan. To this date and in these contexts, it has revealed relatively high rates of intergenerational transmission of English which concur with the results of the French survey mentioned above.

Research undertaken on American parents residing in European contexts including Denmark, Finland, Sweden (Boyd, 1998), Norway (Lanza, 1998) and France (Varro, 1998) revealed two

profiles of US resident. The first profile coincides with Fukuda's *passavolant* (flying-through) category of Japanese residents in Barcelona as it is comprised of professionals working for American companies who intend to stay in the host country short-term. The second profile coincides with other Japanese residents as it represents individuals who travel of their own initiative, perhaps due to a relationship or an interest in the language or culture of the place. Members of this profile often marry a native of that country and establish more contact with the local society through social networks, work and host society institutions (Varro & Boyd, 1998).

The studies cited focussed on the second category of US resident in Europe and revealed the attainment of a high level of bilingual proficiency by the children, despite parents' reports of their children's dominance in the host society language. When compared with migrants of lower socioeconomic status from Turkey and Vietnam in the Nordic countries, American parents reported a greater use of the local language in the family's daily interactions, demonstrated a higher degree of exogamy and more extensive contact with members of the local population, highlighting a largely successful insertion into the host society. This, however, did not come as a significant detriment to the transmission of English, indicating a case of additive bilingualism. Parents possessed the motivation, economic means and access to popular culture necessary to use English with their children and encourage their children to use it with them as well as with friends and family in the home context.

Another study was conducted amongst anglophone parents raising children in Japan (Yamamoto, 2001). The study found 95.7% of English-speaking parents to make either exclusive use of English (56.9%) or a combined use of English with Japanese (38.8%) with their offspring. Table 1 below shows how this is reciprocated by children in many cases, indicating high rates of English transmission given that its active use seems to have been achieved in 84.7% of cases. Following interviews with the parents, Yamamoto introduced the 'principle of maximum engagement with the minority language'⁷ in order to highlight her hypothesis

⁷ In this case the minority language refers to English as it is not widely used in the host society context. Although the terms *minority* and *majority language* are frequently used in FLM literature and parent guidebooks to refer to languages that are not and are widely spoken outside of the home respectively, they are also used in other areas to refer to languages with greater or lesser power. I have preferred not to confuse the two applications in the present study

that the more the child engages with the heritage language, the greater the likelihood of them using it with their parent.

Table 1: A comparison of the reported language uses between English-speaking parent and child

	English-speaking parent to child	Child to English-speaking parent
English	56.9%	42.6%
Japanese	4.3%	15.3%
Both	38.8%	42.1%

Source: Yamamoto (2001)

Despite most parents opting for an elevated use of English with their children, there is an increase in the monolingual use of Japanese by children with their English-speaking parents which hints towards a certain preference for or dominance in the host society language in some cases. Yamamoto underlines children’s desires to minimise cultural or racial differences as an explanatory factor for cases in which English is not fully transmitted, which coincides with the culture of homogeneity that is widely reported in studies relating to Japanese contexts (Fukuda, 2009).

Together with the previous studies then, the overall picture is of high rates of language transmission from L1 English-speaking parents to their children in transnational contexts, resulting in many cases in not just passive language ability but active language use. Reasons for this success have been posited in terms of popular beliefs that English is a high-status language which offers academic and professional advantages. Such beliefs are likely to be shared by parents and members of the host society, increasing the likelihood of positive attitudes towards its maintenance and development. In addition, L1 English-speaking parents from inner circle countries are thought to be in a position to provide the necessary economic and educational resources in order to ensure transmission of literacy skills.

The relative socioeconomic status of L1 English-speaking parents from inner circle countries has provoked some debate as to whether or not it is worthwhile to study cases of what has been termed *elite bilingualism*. The concept of elite bilingualism has been used in opposition to the term *folk bilingualism* to distinguish between groups or individuals with higher and lower socioeconomic statuses (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981). However, the term has had little uptake, is loosely defined and arguably makes too strong a distinction between extreme cases to be applied to many migrant groups, many members of whom are likely to fall in between.

Boyd (1998), however, observed the terminology and, anticipating criticism for choosing to study English-speaking migrants over what her critics might argue to be more worthy objects of investigation, made a case for studying representatives from both typologies. She argued that research into cases of successful transmission in families of any socioeconomic status may provide insights that could be helpful for other situations. In addition, there have been many reported cases of concerns or misunderstandings about language management and the wellbeing of family members among parents of higher socioeconomic status (De Houwer, 2009b, 2015; King & Fogle, 2006). These cases highlight a need for research in this area that does not detract from a need for research at other socioeconomic levels.

3.2 Family language management

How plurilingual linguistic repertoires are “managed, learned and negotiated within families” (King, Fogle, & Logan Terry, 2008: 907), whether explicitly or implicitly (Shohamy, 2006), is the focus of research on family language management (FLM), a term used in this study in preference to the more widely used family language policy.⁸ Accounting for differences in language acquisition and use within and between different plurilingual families is a central concern of research in this area.

The field’s origins have been traced back to early twentieth-century works involving the close observation of children’s linguistic development within the family environment (Grammont, 1902; Leopold, 1939; Ronjat, 1913). Such works represent language acquisition research, a keystone of psycholinguistics and the origin of language management research within the home. These authors dealt with questions ranging from order of acquisition, language differentiation and parent-child interaction strategies, with Grammont advising Ronjat in favour of the one parent one language (OPOL) approach which advocates the use of each parents’ L1 in linguistically heterogeneous couples. Towards the end of the twentieth century there was renewed interest in this area which, similarly to earlier works, involved researchers’ own children in bilingual (Caldas, 2006; Deuchar & Quay, 1999; Fantini, 1985; Li, 1999; Saunders, 1982, 1988) and trilingual homes (Cruz-Ferreira, 2006; Hoffman, 1985). In addition,

⁸ The former term is preferred in accordance with Vila (2014) who argues that the possible conflation of the terms *policy* and *politics* (to which translations into Romance languages are particularly susceptible) would suggest that family language management actions might necessarily be politically or ideologically motivated. This is not believed to be the case.

case studies were performed involving the children of others (De Houwer, 1990; Lanza, 1992). The development of literacy skills in plurilingual families has also come under focus (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2014; Eisenclas, Schalley, & Guillemin, 2013; Gregory & Williams, 2000; Macleroy Obied, 2009; Stavans, 2015).

Socialisation studies from the realms of anthropology and anthropological linguistics have complemented psycholinguistic research and sociolinguistic approaches to intergenerational language transmission and use. Insights from anthropological linguistics have revealed other actors who affect language management processes both within the immediate family (Fogle & King, 2013; Kheirkhah, 2016; Kopeliovich, 2013; Luykx, 2005; Macleroy Obied, 2009; Paugh, 2005), the extended family, including grandparents (Bayley, Schechter, & Torres-Ayala, 1996; Kenner, Ruby, Jessel, Gregory, & Arju, 2007; Melo-Pfeifer, 2014; Morris, 2012; Ruby, 2012; Sofu, 2009; Wei, 1994) and outside the family, including peers, especially children's peers from school, (Döpke, 1992; Gafaranga, 2010; Harris, 1995; Kulick, 1992; Kyratzis, 2004; Luykx, 2003; Tuominen, 1999; Winsler, Díaz, Espinosa, & Rodríguez, 1999), neighbours (Barkhuizen, 2006; Maguire, 1991) and the media (de Rosselló i Peralta, 2010), as well as wider social and historical policies and processes (Canagarajah, 2008; Van Mensel, 2015).

The above makes FLM a highly interdisciplinary field (King & Fogle, 2013) with many parties involved, each having a different degree of influence on the process (Baker, 2006; de Rosselló i Peralta, 2010a). A distinctly multi-faceted phenomenon, FLM can be viewed from many angles and is increasingly understood as a complex, dynamic process (Bastardas Boada, 2016; Spolsky, 2012). Recent research is undertaking work in a wider variety of contexts, including trilingual settings (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; De Houwer, 2004), less widely-spoken languages (Doyle, 2013; King, 2001; Morris, 2012; Ó hlfearnáin, 2013; Pauwels, Winter, & Bianco, 2007; Smith-Christmas, 2016), signed languages (Pizer, 2013) and a range of family structures (Fogle, 2012; Macleroy Obied, 2010), including transnational (Fogle & King, 2013; Hua & Wei, 2016; Van Mensel, 2015) and interlingual or cross-linguistic families (De Klerk, 2011; Piller, 2009; Yamamoto, 2001). A theoretical overview of the components and processes of FLM follows.

Family language practices

Family language practices are understood in a similar way to Spolsky's *language practices* as habitual patterns of language choice within the family. The following sections explore tendencies of language choice in interactions between different family-internal interlocutors.

Within couple language practices

In child language development research from psycholinguistic traditions, the term *input* is used to refer to the language(s) used in the presence of a child (De Houwer, 2017; Kasuya, 1998). Both direct input (language(s) spoken directly to the child) and indirect input (language(s) spoken in the environment) have been found to play important roles in children's linguistic development. However, parents' estimations of their children's language exposure most closely coincide with indirect input as measured with the multilingual infant language questionnaire (Liu & Kager, 2016; Slavkov, 2017). It is understood, then, that language use in interactions between adult caregivers is significant for intergenerational language transmission.

As with all cases of language use, the choice of language between partners who are L1 speakers of different languages is not always consciously made (Pavlenko, 2004; Piller, 2001). Neither is it always necessarily a common language, either in the form of a single code used by both partners or in the form of each partner code-switching between two or more known codes (Piller, 2000). Some partners might choose to interact with each partner using a different code, both of which are understood by both partners but not necessarily actively used (De Houwer, 2009b).

However, such practices tend to be less widely reported (Bastardas Boada, 2016) than instances of convergence towards the use of one common language (Giles et al., 1991). The following factors have been proposed by Siguan (1980) to explain language choice between partners: *territoire*, understood as choice of the language of the monolingual area inhabited by the couple; *diglossie*, choice of the more prestigious language if the couple live in a bilingual area; *loyauté linguistique*, choice of a non-native or less prestigious language as an act of solidarity; *langue de l'homme et langue de la femme*, the former often believed to prevail; and *facteurs individuels*. In a study on the language choice patterns of bilingual, cross-cultural couples residing in English or German-speaking contexts, Piller found that the community language (in Siguan's terms *territoire*) was most influential (Piller, 2000).

When exploring these couples' discourse, Piller uses the category *habit* to refer to the phenomenon of partners continuing to speak the same language that they spoke to each other when they first met. This has been referred to elsewhere as the *inertia condition* (Spolsky & Cooper, 1991) and found to be true in other studies (Made Mbe, 2014). Piller

underlines a strong link between language and identity, referring to research that claims that the self is performed differently in different languages, and posits that a fear of losing a sense of knowing each other and of connection might lie behind this behaviour. Sticking to the first language spoken between members of a couple is often regardless of whether the language used between parents is a first language for either parent. However, changes do quite often occur with migration and with new additions to the family (Bartzen, 2013; Boix-Fuster, 2009; Fukuda, 2015; Piller, 2002).

Another category identified by Piller in determining what language is chosen for use between couple members is *compensation*, this time relating the category to the link between language and power. She gives the example of an L1 English speaker who migrated to Germany to be with her L1 German-speaking husband. This participant explained their choice to use English with each other as a compensatory gift granted to her by her husband in recognition of the sacrifice she had made in the form of migration. Piller argues that the non-native language speaker is often in an unequal position legally, economically, socially and linguistically and explains that linguistic compensations in between-partner interactions attempt to make up for such inequalities.

Parent-child language practices

Early discussion of parent-child language practices focussed mainly on the one person one language (OPOL) approach, a term that is said to have originated from Grammont's (1902) coinage *une personne une langue*, in which each parent speaks a different language to their child. It has been one of the most widely documented practices amongst linguistically mixed couples and as such, the object of many studies (De Houwer, 1990; Leopold, 1939; Palviainen & Boyd, 2013; Ronjat, 1913; Taeschner, 1983; Takeuchi, 2006).

Besides OPOL, other categories of parent-child language input patterns have been proposed which demonstrate a much wider variety of contexts of parent-child interaction to which children might be exposed. Romaine (1995) proposed six types of language practices which might give rise to bilingual acquisition in childhood, summarised in the table below.

Table 2. Romaine's types of bilingual acquisition in childhood

Type	Description
One person – one language	Parents have different first languages, one of which is widely spoken in the place of residence, and each parent speaks their own language to their child from birth.
Non-dominant home language (or one language – one environment)	Parents have different first languages, one of which is widely spoken in the place of residence, yet both parents use the non-dominant language with the child. The child is fully exposed to the dominant language outside of the home environment.
Non-dominant home language with community support	Parents have the same first language, which is not widely used in the place of residence. Parents speak their own first language to the child.
Double non-dominant home language without community support	Parents have different first languages, neither of which is a language widely used in the place of residence, and speak their own first languages to the child.
Non-native parents	Parents have the same first language, which is widely spoken in the place of residence. One of the parents always addresses the child in what for the parents is a second language.
Mixed languages	Parents are bilingual and individuals in the place of residence might well be too. Parents code-switch and mix languages.

Source: Romaine (1995: 183-205)

Although broader in scope, Romaine's categories are not an exhaustive compilation of all possible typologies of parental first language combinations, official language configurations and family structure (see De Houwer, 2007; Macleroy Obied, 2010). Neither does it account for more complex situations in which family members have plurilingual repertoires, nor other sources of linguistic socialisation in the home, including the television. In fact, the sheer number of possible combinations of the above factors makes it a difficult task to create an exhaustive set of typologies.

One popular belief is that children are more likely to acquire a home language if it is the language used by the mother. Some researchers have posited whether or not the gender of the parent attempting to transmit a non-official L1 has any effect on how likely a child is to

use the language, with contradictory answers. In her micro study of the language uses in families with linguistically heterogeneous couples, Boyd claimed that the children of American mothers used significantly more English with them and overall with all family members than did children of American fathers growing up in Nordic countries (Boyd, 1998).

However, despite her hypothesis to the contrary, results from Yamamoto's study of Japanese-English families in Japan showed no support for higher rates of transmission with female English-speaking parents. Furthermore, in De Houwer's macro survey conducted in Flanders with data from almost two thousand families no statistically significant differences were found according to the parental gender (De Houwer, 2007). The qualitative data thus refutes the popular belief that the language of the mother has higher rates of transmission.

Besides who speaks what, questions have also been raised about the quantity and quality of input. In terms of quantity, variations of this have been shown to have a direct effect on children's linguistic performance in the different languages (De Houwer, 2009b). In addition, the amount of input has been posited to play a role in the same way that monolingual children exposed to a greater cumulative number of words based on their parents' average speaking rates have been shown to have richer vocabularies (Hart & Risley, 1995). Parental speech rate is also identified as important in contexts of child bilingual development in response to the widespread belief that bilingual children necessarily receive less input in each language (De Houwer, Bornstein, & Putnick, 2014).

In terms of quality of input, distinctions have been made between interactive and supportive input. Interactive input, such as the use of television and other digital media, have been shown to be less effective in influencing children's language practices than supportive input in the form of child-directed speech that is attentive to children's communicative and emotional needs (De Houwer, 2006, 2009b, 2015). Döpke too noted the importance of child-centred communication that involves children in conversations (Döpke, 1992).

Child-parent language practices

Children's language practices with their parents are not necessarily a direct reflection of their parents' with them, although parental input has been shown to influence them to a considerable extent. Despite correlations being identified, children from the same family do

not always use the same languages or language combinations with their parents as each other (De Houwer, 2009b).

Besides that, children can influence their parents' language practices. Four interactional mechanisms through which this occurs have been noted, namely: the effects of metalinguistic comments about family language rules; children's negotiation of or resistance towards parental practices by means of interactional strategies; parents' responses to developments in their children's linguistic abilities; and children's enactment of family-external ideologies of race and language (Fogle & King, 2013: 8).

In the first instance, children who are accustomed to interact in a particular language with one of their parents have often been noted to object to that parent's use of a different language (Harding & Riley, 2003). In the second, children have been found responsible for language shift within families as they repeatedly request that their parents use a host society language within the home (Gafaranga, 2010). Gafaranga showed how the children of Rwandan migrants in Belgium literally talk Kinyarwanda language shift into being by requesting a medium shift to the host society language, French, in interaction with their parents. In the third case, parents' monitoring of their children's language abilities can cause parents to change their uses with their children if they perceive their child to need greater or lesser support in one of the languages (De Houwer & Bornstein, 2016). The latter practice documented by Fogle and King serves to illustrate that children's language practices and language socialisation processes have a significant influence on family language practices in multiple ways, including the family's collective senses of identity and belonging, as is also illustrated in Montoya (1996).

Additional child-parent language practices of interest include language brokering, a process by which children mediate their parents' interactions in the host society language(s) (Luykx, 2005; Weisskirch, 2017), and reverse intergenerational transmission, when children help their parents to acquire the host society language(s) (Llompert Esbert, 2013; 2017). In an ethnographic study at a Catalan secondary school, Llompert noted how a daughter of migrants to Catalonia engaged in teaching practices intended to support her mother's acquisition of Castilian.

Child-child language practices

Many reports indicate that siblings tend to make greater use of the host society language(s) than the heritage language, perhaps due to older siblings' contact with societal institutions, school being a particularly influential one, and participation in social fields outside of the home environment. The *sibling effect* is a term used to refer to the common occurrence of an older sibling introducing a greater use of the official language into the home after they have begun to socialise in the host society language (Kheirkhah, 2016; Tuominen, 1999). These findings provide further indication of how children can actively bring about change in language practices within the home (Revis, 2016).

In Yamamoto's study of the language practices within Japanese-English families in Japan, it is clear that the exclusive use of English between siblings is much less frequent than the exclusive use of English between an English-speaking parent and child. In 4.7% of cases, English was the only language used between siblings, in 46.2% it was Japanese, and in 49.1% both languages were reported to be used. Table 3 below compares reported use between parent and child and between children, where signs of the sibling effect can be observed.

Table 3: A comparison of reported parent-child language uses and child-child language uses amongst Japanese-English families in Japan

	English-speaking parent to child	Child to English-speaking parent	Child to child
English	56.9%	42.6%	4.7%
Japanese	4.4%	15.3%	46.2%
Both	38.8%	42.1%	49.1%

Source: Yamamoto (2001)

Such decreases in the use of the heritage language are frequently observed in intragenerational uses between siblings and demonstrative of the widely documented trend of migrant home languages being lost within three generations (e.g. Wei, 1994).

Family language beliefs

Parental beliefs about the relative values of learning, using and transmitting different languages can influence FLM processes, as can children's beliefs about the values of learning and using them. Besides that, parental beliefs about their roles in children's language socialisation processes are important.

Beliefs about language values

Amongst the most significant beliefs for language policy and management are “the values and statuses assigned to named languages, varieties and features” (Spolsky, 2009: 4), including plurilingualism itself. Parents’ ideas about the meanings, functions and values of language inform FLM processes (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Whether or not a language is thought to be valuable enough to transmit might depend on the number and importance of its users and the various possible social and economic benefits a speaker can expect to obtain by using it (Spolsky, 2009: 4). As outlined earlier, two main language values have been identified in the literature: integrative language values in connection with identity and socialisation; and instrumental language values regarding the accumulation of language abilities as linguistic capital, which in turn might be convertible to economic capital.

In terms of integrative language values, the very belief that a certain language should be transmitted to the next generation is often interpreted as a sign of that language’s vitality (Fishman, 1970). The notion of language as a core value (Smolicz, 1999) reflects the fact that many parents from some cultures consider their language to be a significant part of their children’s heritage and a means of identification with relatives and friends in the country of origin. It is also often tightly imbued with emotional representations of parent-child connection and identification (Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002; Tannenbaum, 2005).

In terms of linguistic capital, in an increasingly information-based economy academic qualifications and language skills have become more and more important resources for prospective employees. Parents keen to improve their children’s educational and socio-economic prospects tend to encourage their children to acquire languages that they (and their children’s prospective employers) consider to be of strategic importance (Mu & Dooley, 2015; Park, 2009). Curdt-Christiansen’s studies in Montreal and Singapore reveal such tendencies, in which the acquisition of English and French in the former context and English at the expense of the heritage language (Chinese) in the latter is promoted by parents (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2014, 2016) (see also Park, 2009 for the Korean context; and Zhao & Liu, 2007 for Singapore).

Of course, values are not necessarily always shared between generations, in part due to the considerable differences between parents’ and children’s socialisation processes in cases of migrant parents raising their children in the host society. Studies on different generations of

families from the Chinese diaspora resident in the United Kingdom have demonstrated how families can become imbued in intergenerational normative conflict (Hua, 2008; Hua & Wei, 2016). In these instances, language choice is understood to indexicalise sociocultural values that do not always sit easily with those brought from the home country by the older generations. Such conflicts may be resolved with time or the source of emotional discomfort that is tightly related to questions of identity and belonging (De Houwer, 2015).

Beyond the family but impacting on it, public discourses surrounding child bilingualism, and by extension plurilingualism, have been and sometimes continue to be clouded by the misconceptions of previous decades when research failed to control for socioeconomic status and overwhelmingly condemned bilingualism as responsible for school failure (Barac & Bialystok, 2011). Such discourses are sometimes voiced by influential actors, such as school teachers or speech-language therapists, and they can influence parents' FLM intentions, with some believing that raising their children bi- or plurilingually might confuse them or cause them harm (Gill, 2013). Recent findings indicate that, despite vocabulary sizes being slightly smaller in each language than monolinguals, and despite lexical retrieval being slightly slower, overall vocabulary size is much greater among bilinguals and there is little difference between monolinguals and bilinguals in terms of cognitive development (Baker & Hornberger, 2001; Bialystok, 2009; Bialystok, Luk, Peets, & Yang, 2010; Oller & Eilers, 2002). These findings support prior research appealing for bilinguals to be judged on their own merits, rather than be compared to monolingual individuals (Grosjean, 1982). Public perceptions are showing signs of change and there are many resources, blogs and handbooks for parents which encourage raising children bi- or plurilingually (among others Baker, 1995; De Houwer, 2009a; King & Mackey, 2009; Rosenback, 2014).

Beliefs about parental roles in children's language socialisation processes

Parental beliefs about what it means to be a good parent have an important influence on their stances towards their children's language socialisation. In a study conducted in the United States, bilingual parenting was found to form a part of the sample's conceptions of good parenting. Advice in the form of handbooks and blogs such as those listed above was sought as to how best to achieve the balanced bilingualism in Spanish and English that they were aiming for (King & Fogle, 2006).

However, De Houwer provides the example of Sven as a word of warning for parents with potentially unrealistic expectations. The son of diplomat parents with highly mobile trajectories, Sven was expected to acquire multiple languages from different caregivers throughout the course of his early years spent moving from one place to another in quick succession. Given that his exposure to the different languages was discontinuous and his interactions with his parents were limited by time constraints, Sven's acquisition of heritage and societal languages was incomplete and a cause of great distress for his parents (De Houwer, 2009: 94). Such examples serve as a reminder of the need for good quality advice for parents whose beliefs about or knowledge of how languages are acquired do not reflect recent advances in applied linguistics.

Also highly relevant are parental beliefs about their role in language socialisation processes. The term *impact belief* was coined by De Houwer to refer to "the parental belief that parents can exercise some sort of control over their children's linguistic functioning" (De Houwer, 1999: 83). In its strong form this would indicate the belief that parents' language practices have a direct influence on children's outcomes, requiring parents to act as exemplary role models whenever engaged in interaction with their children. In contrast, Sven's parents would be examples of parents with a weak impact belief given that they demonstrate "a loosely held conviction that in general children will pick up language from the environment" (De Houwer, 1999: 84).

Language beliefs are commonly considered as an important bridge between ideas and action, cognition and social interaction, and thus, the individual and society. Parental language beliefs are thus likely to affect their language practices and management strategies, as explained by Spolsky (2009: 30), who states that language management attempts depend on "a common belief that a parent has responsibility for the language competence of children and further depends on the values assigned to different languages, varieties or variants. These values, in turn, are derived most probably from experience outside the family domain, such as a sense of ethnic or other identity or a belief in pure language".

As a result, beliefs are also connected to parental experience. In cases in which parents have not had personal experience of growing up with more than one language, doubts about how to raise children plurilingually can arise (King & Fogle, 2006). In the case of Luxembourgish mothers in the United Kingdom, their own experiences of being raised in homes characterised

by the use of Luxembourgish and a society in which French and German are also widely used influenced their desires to achieve plurilingualism for their children (Kirsch, 2012). Furthermore, as demonstrated in the model at the end of the second chapter, transnational parents who have lived in different contexts throughout the course of their life may need to navigate conflicting views about languages which might have differential values according to the context.

Discourses circulate and compete that originate from a range of settings, thus potentially influencing the success of language maintenance efforts and clearly filtering through the porous borders of what used to be considered a family “unit”. Canagarajah (2008) demonstrated how Tamil parents negotiate differences in sociolinguistic, sociopolitical and sociohistoric terms between the country of origin and host society. Despite desiring to transmit Tamil and residing in contexts which had favourable policies that encouraged heritage language maintenance, parents chose English over Tamil in order to compensate for past deprivations that are imbued with their experiences of colonisation and inequality. Justifications for these language choices lay in parents’ positive evaluations of English as a facilitator of their children’s integration into the English-speaking contexts to which they have migrated alongside positive evaluations of English in an instrumental sense. The instrumental values of English come not just from the potential value of English for their children’s future employment in a globalised society, but also from historical discourses present in Sri Lanka that justified the adoption of English for social advantage. As such there are macro influences from both societies as well as the parents’ micro experiences against the backdrop of a wider macro process of globalisation which seems to bolster the parents’ attributions of instrumental values to English.

Language management strategies

Evidence of the conscious manipulation of language practice can be found in Grammont’s advice for Ronjat on employing the “Grammont Formula” when raising his child bilingually in French and German. Today commonly referred to as OPOL, it has been one of the most popularly espoused approaches to raising bilingual children in the popular literature. Although initially considered and promoted as the best approach for ensuring a child’s active bilingualism (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Döpke, 1992), the uniqueness and efficacy of OPOL as a strategy that guaranteed bilingual outcomes was soon questioned and became the topic of

some debate (Döpke, 1998; Søndergaard, 1981). Indeed, there are several examples of strategies failing to succeed in attaining the desired effect. Counteractive, incongruent or ineffective strategies have been documented, as in the case of three Singaporean families whose parents' expressed goals were compromised by strategies that are thought to be provoked by underlying conflictual representations of language values (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016).

Lanza's typology of language practices has also been referred to as a typology of discourse or interaction strategies (Lanza, 1997). It situates five interaction strategies on a scale that ranges from monolingual to bilingual contexts of parent-child interaction in plurilingual families. Representing the monolingual extreme, the *minimal grasp* strategy involves parents pretending not to understand a child's utterances in order to encourage target language production. Following that is the *expressed guess* strategy, in which the parent signals understanding of the child's utterance in the target language yet formulates a question in order to elicit more target language production before a reply is proffered. Both of these strategies were previously identified by Ochs (1988). Lanza then adds the *adult repetition* strategy, which is situated at the halfway point of the scale, involving parents translating the child's utterance. Towards the bilingual end of the scale, the *move-on* strategy occurs when a parent hears a child's utterance in a different language and responds in the target language and the *code-switching* strategy involves parents' accommodations to their children's preferred language uses. A longitudinal study of the Catalan-English bilingual development of a young boy in Catalonia from age 1;3 to 4;2 shows how the conscious decision of his English-speaking father to impose a monolingual context of interaction in English was followed by a sharp decline in language mixing by the child and appeared to have a positive effect on his acquisition and production of English (Juan-Garau & Pérez-Vidal, 2001).

Conscious choices about the social networks and fields in which family members participate within and outside the home can also be defined as language management strategies, as well as choices about the language(s) in which media can also be found. Examples have been provided of parents who, in order to attain language goals for their children, consciously control contact with extended family and caregivers (Okita, 2002; Smith-Christmas, 2014), choice of school (Schwartz, Moin, & Klayle, 2013; Schwartz, Moin, & Leikin, 2011; Slavkov, 2017; Van Mensel, 2016), clubs, associations and activities (Andreia Moroni & Azevedo

Gomes, 2015), social networks (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2018; Hoffman, 1985) and neighbourhood (Barkhuizen, 2006) in order to influence their children's linguistic outcomes.

Such strategies are subject to the affordances and constraints for home language or host society language acquisition that are present in the family's surrounding environment. Language affordances are understood as the perceived opportunities "through the realisation of which communication using a language or languages (and/or the acquisition of a language or languages) is possible" (Aronin & Singleton, 2010: 116) and might include events, buildings, availability of books and resources, caregivers who are able to speak a given language, and even legal provisions (Aronin & Singleton, 2012a).

In the same way as contextual affordances can be found, constraints can often be identified which might hinder the attainment of language maintenance or language acquisition goals. Van Mensel (2015) explored the impact of the constraints imposed by the macro-policy of the host society in his case study of two transnational parents raising children in Brussels. He reported the parents' observations that the two-tiered system of parallel institutional and social network options available either in Dutch or French obliged them to decant for one or the other. This required them to adopt positions within the constraints of a particular sociolinguistic context which had an important impact on their own and their children's language socialisation processes.

3.3 Towards a model of language choice for transnational parents

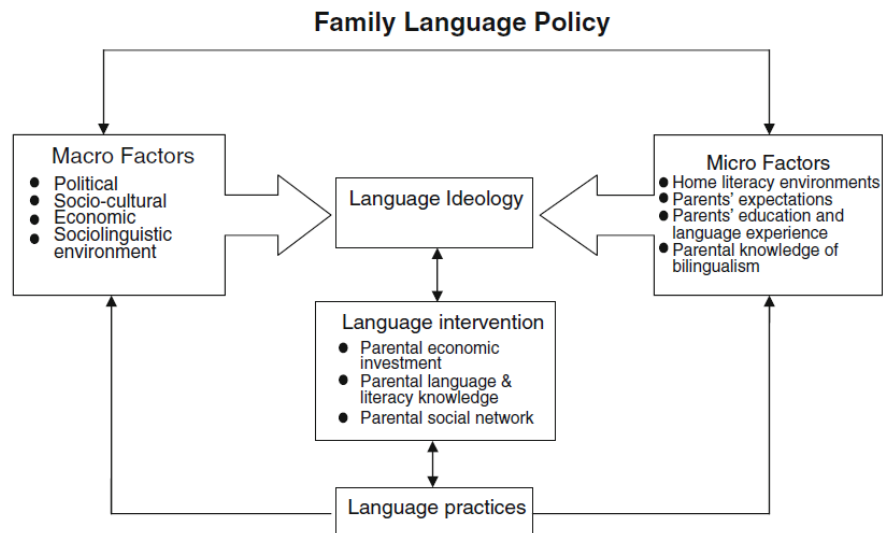
Curdt-Christiansen (2009:355, 2014:37) has proposed two versions of a model of FLM that conceptualise the process as a grouping together of Spolsky's three components and begin to outline micro (in terms of individual experience) and macro (sociolinguistic, socioeconomic, sociocultural and socio-political) influences on them.

In the first model (see Figure 7), parental language beliefs are accorded a central position as they are understood to be the basis on which certain languages are chosen to be used and on which certain management strategies are decided upon in what is evidently conceptualised as an explicit and conscious language management effort.⁹ Macro factors identified include

⁹ Here language ideology is understood as being equivalent to language beliefs and language intervention as equivalent to language management strategies, as in Spolsky (2004; 2009).

political, socio-cultural, economic and sociolinguistic factors which, in interaction with factors related to parents' experiences, are thought to impinge on the conscious implementation of language management strategies that are hoped to influence language practices.

Figure 7: Curdt-Christiansen's first model of FLM

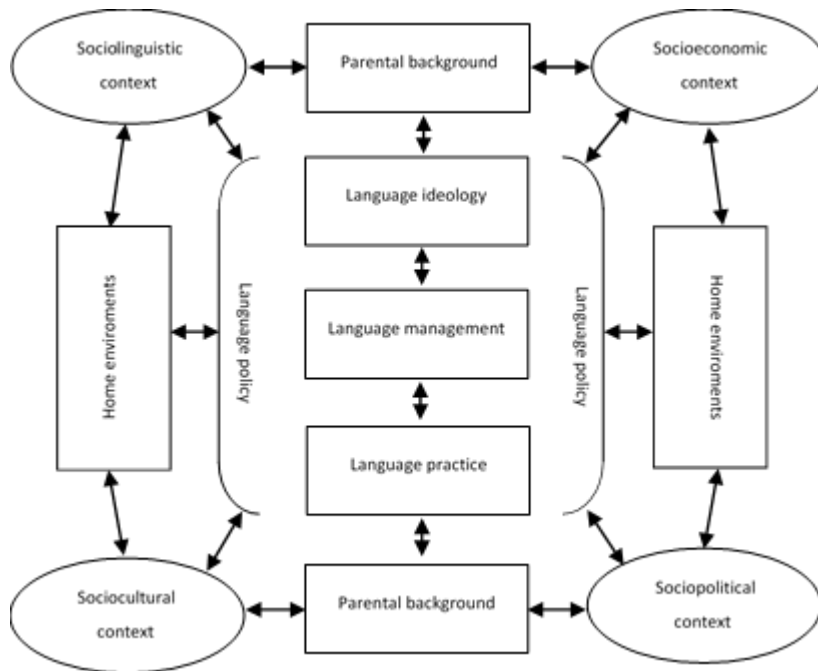


Source: Curdt-Christiansen (2009:355)

The second model proposed (see Figure 8) also highlights the influence of micro and macro factors. However, this representation includes greater interaction between components and centralises all three components of FLM without giving priority to language beliefs. It is unclear whether the centrality accorded to language management strategies means that they should be understood as the most important component or perhaps the outcome.

Whilst useful in outlining the micro and macro influences on FLM and assessing the relationship between beliefs, management strategies and practice, the models overlook meso level influences. The influence of the language practices of the different social fields in which family members participate is not accounted for alongside individual and wider social issues. These might be considered the interface between individual and social influences, and might be helpful in reconciling micro and macro level perspectives.

Figure 8: Curdt-Christiansen's modified FLM model



Source: Curdt-Christiansen (2014: 37)

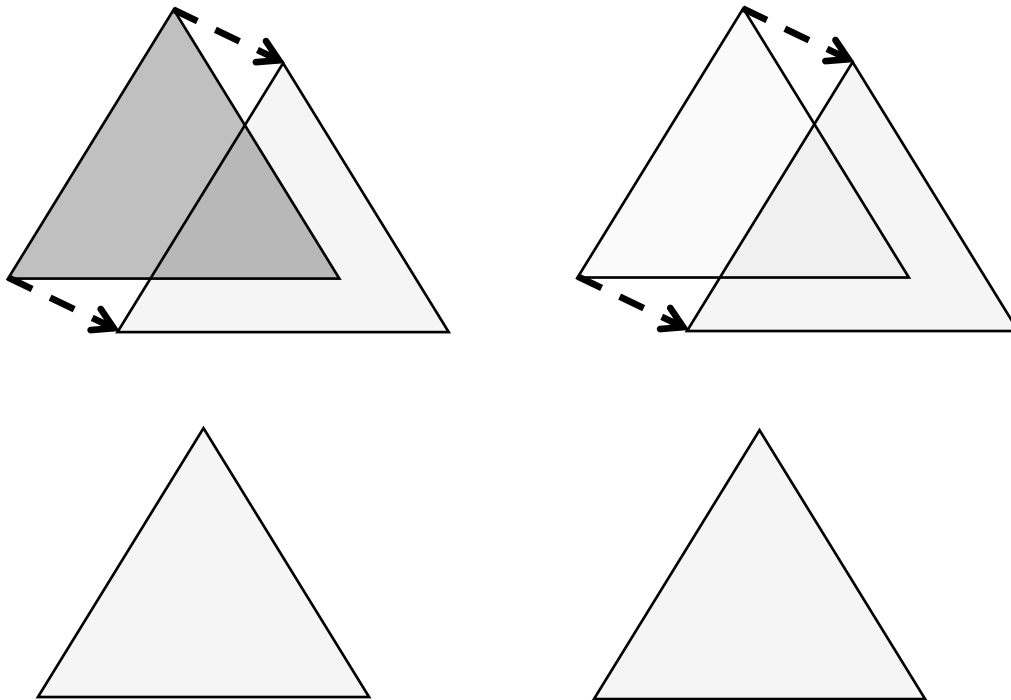
As regards the actors involved in FLM, although it can be inferred that parents are considered to be the primary actors in the two models, the difference between home environments and parental background, experience and expectations are not made explicit. In addition, the role of other actors including the children themselves is disregarded.

Another feature is also lacking in the above models which is of considerable importance when assessing LPM activities. As included in Cooper's questions (1989), having some notion of the intended, measurable linguistic outcomes is crucial for the evaluation of an FLM activity. This should arguably be granted its own, explicit position within the diagram. Until now little reference has been made to the idea of linguistic outcomes. A volume entitled *Successful Language Policy* explored parents' representations of success and revealed that not all parents define it in the same terms (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013). However, in order to assess to what extent management efforts might be judged to be successful, a clear notion of the intended outcome would be necessary.

Existing models of FLM identify internal and external influences on FLM components at micro and macro levels yet do not specify outcomes of the process. If the outcome is defined as parental language choice, models of FLM should account for the different influences from

micro to macro levels on all individuals involved, who have each had different experiences. As such, Figure 9 represents the combination of different family members' experiences which contribute towards language choice within the family. Research should explore how choices are negotiated between family members and over time.

Figure 9: Family language choice



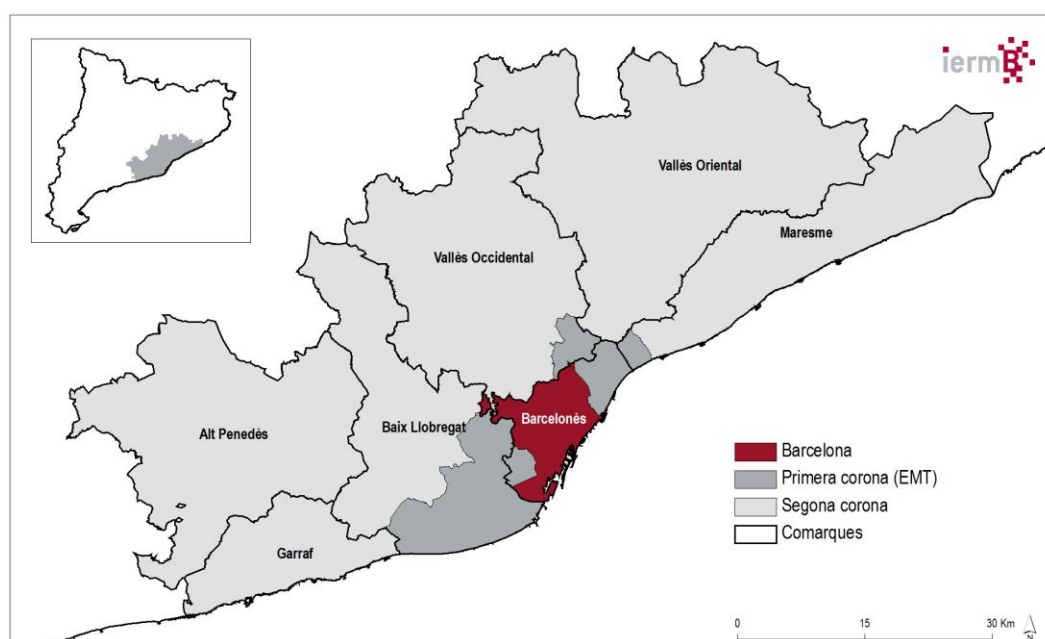
As argued in the chapters above, language choice (both in terms of language use and in terms of acquisition – or not) is a consequence of the interaction between: abilities, beliefs, identifications and behaviours; phenomena at micro, meso and macro levels; and different actors. Languages and varieties have different values according to the specific moment, the social field and the society (which can be observed at different scale levels) in which the choice is made. Transnational family members make language choices between different scales and value frameworks, which make it impossible to apply simple dichotomies to their analysis.

Part II. The Present Study

Chapter 4. The sociolinguistic structure of the metropolitan region of Barcelona and the position of English

The metropolitan region of Barcelona (*l'àmbit metropolità de Barcelona*)¹⁰ represents one of the administrative territories of Catalonia and is situated within the autonomous community of Catalonia, Spain. Until 2014, it included the city of Barcelona and the surrounding *comarques* (counties) l'Alt Penedès, el Baix Llobregat, el Barcelonès, el Garraf, el Maresme, el Vallès Occidental and el Vallès Oriental that surround the city of Barcelona, extending over 2,464 square kilometres (see Figure 10). In 2014, together with other counties, l'Alt Penedès and Garraf became part of the new Penedès Region. Official demographic and demolinguistic data provided in this section should therefore be read as including or excluding these two counties depending on their data of publication.

Figure 10: Map of the metropolitan region of Barcelona before 2014 (including l'Alt Penedès and Garraf)



Source: Institute of Regional and Metropolitan Studies of Barcelona

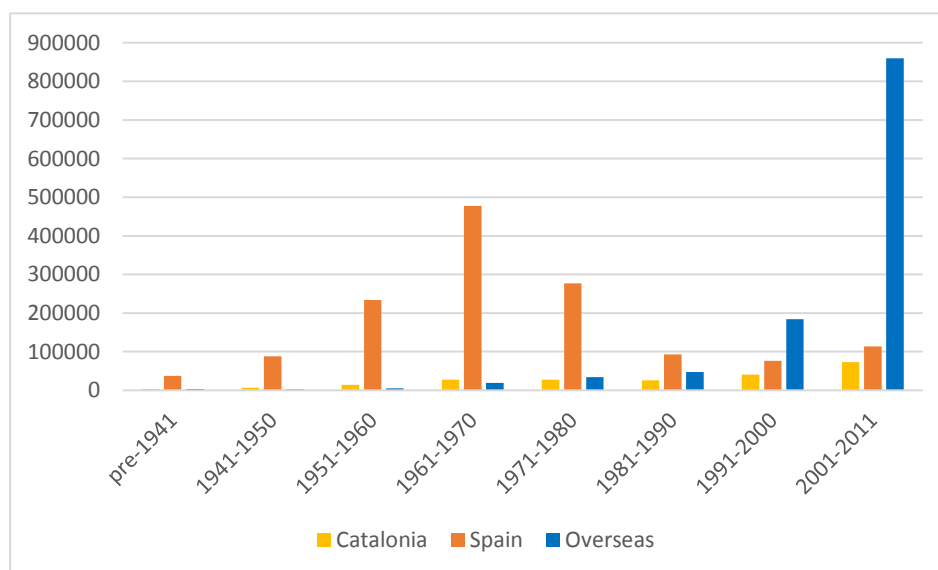
¹⁰ Note here that the translation of *àmbit* to region should not cause confusion between the *àmbit metropolitana de Barcelona* and the *regió metropolitana de Barcelona*. There are several other areas which should be distinguished, including the *àrea metropolitana de Barcelona* which represents the metropolitan area immediately surrounding the city; the *provincia de Barcelona*, one of the four provinces of Catalonia (the other ones being Girona, Lleida and Tarragona). Within the city the terms *barri* and *districte* refer to neighbourhoods and city council districts respectively.

4.1 Demographics of the metropolitan region of Barcelona

In the year 2016, the metropolitan region of Barcelona had an overall estimated population of 4,793,592 residents, 1,608,746 of whom were concentrated in the city of Barcelona itself (IDESCAT, 2016b). It is the most populated region in Catalonia, housing almost two thirds of its total population, and has witnessed a huge increase in population over recent decades, the greatest absolute increase in the whole of the autonomous community.

Catalonia's significant population growth occurred due to several migratory waves throughout the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first. The first wave occurred in the 1920s, followed by more numerous arrivals in the 1950s, 60s and mid-70s (Vila, 2016a). As can be seen in Figure 11, these waves were made up of migrants from the rest of Spain and comprised of people seeking better opportunities and employment in industrialised Catalonia. Many of these migrants settled in industrial areas in Barcelona and other satellite cities in the metropolitan region which experienced considerable growth during the 1960s and 70s. Later, in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the economic boom attracted migrants from other countries, with a particularly large influx in the years 2001-2011. These foreign migrants fulfilled the increased demand for manual labourers and made a significant contribution towards net in-migration figures of over 130,000 people annually between 2001 and 2007 (Farré, Navarro, & Rovira, 2016).

Figure 11: The population of Catalonia according to place of birth and year of arrival



Source: own image elaborated from the Population and Housing Census (INE, 2011)

As can be seen in Table 4 below, the present-day metropolitan region of Barcelona has similar proportions of residents according to place of birth although there is a slightly higher percentage of residents born outside of Catalonia in the metropolitan region of Barcelona than there is in the autonomous community overall. The current proportion of residents born in contexts where Catalan is not widely-spoken has had an important impact on the aural and oral landscape of Catalonia, which will be explored in the following section.

Table 4: Proportion of residents of the metropolitan region of Barcelona and Catalonia, according to place of birth

	Place of birth			
	Catalonia	Rest of Spain	Overseas	Total
Metropolitan region of Barcelona	3,014,686 (62.89%)	953,607 (19.89%)	825,299 (17.21%)	4,793,592
Catalonia	4,880,987 (64.88%)	1,348,713 (17.92%)	1,292,896 (17.19%)	7,522,596

Source: Municipal Population Register (IDESCAT, 2016)

4.2 Languages in the metropolitan region of Barcelona

Historically, Catalan is the autochthonous language of Catalonia. Castilian (widely referred to as Spanish)¹¹ was introduced as the language of imperial power in the 16th and 17th centuries, before becoming the official language during the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. Despite two centuries of official presence, Castilian only became widespread amongst the population of Catalonia during the 20th century thanks to official language policies, Spanish mass media and migration from other regions of Spain (Vila, 2016a). At present, both Catalan and Castilian are widely used throughout Catalonia, which is an example of a bilingual society that is not strictly divided along ethnolinguistic lines.

Catalan is widely associated with social mobility within Catalonia (Alarcón & Garzon, 2011). It is the main vehicular language of local government institutions and, since the Linguistic Normalisation Act in 1983, it has been the primary vehicular language of public education in Catalonia. Pre-existing inequalities in earnings between autochthonous Catalan speakers and

¹¹ Castilian is the name given to the official language of Spain in article 3 of the Spanish Constitution. Although it is most commonly referred to as Spanish in the English-speaking world, Castilian is used in some English-medium sociolinguistic literature and is helpful in distinguishing between the Castilian language and the geographical bounds of the Spanish state.

non-L1 Catalan-speaking children of migrants have been shown to have been significantly lessened through the implementation of linguistic normalisation policy in schools (Cappellari & Di Paolo, 2018), demonstrating that Catalan is an important capital for professional opportunities within the autonomous community.

Catalan is also present in official media, cultural and political spheres, as well as on public signs throughout the autonomous community. However, there are some areas in which it is less commonly found, mostly those connected to public administration and companies that depend on the Spanish state, the justice system, and those clearly regulated by the central authorities, such as television and labelling (DGPL, 2015a). These areas reveal the first signs of sociolinguistic tension between the status and functions of Castilian and Catalan, which are placed on an unequal footing in legislative terms.

The current linguistic legislation in Catalonia is based on two different categories, according to article 6 of the Statute of Autonomy: on the one hand, there are two *llengües pròpies* (“own languages”); on the other, three official languages. Catalan is the *llengua pròpia* of Catalonia, whereas Aranese Occitan is *llengua pròpia* of the Val d’Aran. As *llengües pròpies*, these languages have a vehicular role in Catalan institutions; toponymy and the education system (see Woolard 2016 for further details), although the distribution of functions of the Catalan language in Catalonia have been subject to political and legal dispute on several occasions (Pradilla Cardona, 2017). As far as official status is concerned, there are three official languages: Catalan, Castilian as the official language of the Spanish State and Aranese Occitan, which was added in 2006. Aranese Occitan is spoken in the Vall d’Aran, an area in the north-west of Catalonia close to the border with France. Unlike Catalan and Castilian, it is not widely spoken in the metropolitan region of Barcelona and will thus not be included in the following description.

In terms of official status, despite both Catalan and Castilian occupying positions of officiality, the Spanish constitution renders only knowledge of Castilian obligatory. It is not required of citizens to have any knowledge of Catalan, which places it on an unequal footing in terms of state-level recognition. Catalonia’s Statute of Autonomy in 2010 changed this unequal status but, despite having been passed and voted by the Spanish courts and in a referendum in 2006, the Constitutional Court suppressed the amendments in 2010, leaving Catalan in a position of asymmetrical bilingualism in Catalonia. This is a situation which leads to some linguistic stress

or tension, however, it has not manifested itself as linguistic conflict between strictly defined ethnolinguistic groups (Sorolla & Vila, 2015).

Despite a lack of language-based social conflict, the desire for a referendum on the question of independence from the Spanish state has thrown the spotlight on a political conflict that has gained international attention recently following the events of the 1st October referendum in 2017. Questions as to the relative status and functions of the two official languages have also come to the fore in recent debate about language in a potential future independent state of Catalonia, which has attracted a great deal of attention from academic and non-academic spheres (Sendra & Vila, 2016; Vila, 2016b). Recent sociolinguistic tensions between institutions of the autonomous community and those of the Spanish state include the debate generated by political interventions regarding the use of Catalan as the vehicular language of education in Catalonia, despite it being an important landmark of social consensus (Vila, Lasagabaster, & Ramallo, 2016). In addition, there is ongoing debate about the language of the justice system in Catalonia, with concerns expressed that the linguistic rights of Catalan speakers to participate in Catalan-medium judicial procedures are not being met (Vidal, 1999).

As indicated earlier, migration has played an important role in shaping the oral and aural landscape of Catalonia (Alarcón & Garzon, 2011; Vila, 2016a, 2018; Woolard, 2003). Since the mass migration of Castilian-speaking migrants from other autonomous communities of Spain, a great number of residents have Castilian as their first language and use it on a regular basis. Some have acquired Catalan and use it frequently, whereas others have not and demonstrate a clear preference for Castilian to be used with them. Linguistic repression under the Franco regime and the pervading sociolinguistic norm of linguistic accommodation (Woolard, 1989) meant that many who migrated from Castilian-speaking regions of Spain between the 50s and 70s did not encounter Catalan as a language of public use until campaigns such as the linguistic normalisation campaign surrounding the Language Normalisation Act of 1983 made it more visible in everyday life. Despite this, to this day it can be more difficult to conduct some everyday activities in Catalan than in Castilian, a phenomenon which will be explored further in the following sections.

In addition to Catalan and Castilian, many other languages are spoken by the numerous international migrants from multiple places of origin. In order of their number of L1 speakers

resident in Catalonia, the most widely spoken other languages are Arabic (151,700), Romanian (56,100), Tamazight (Berber) (41,800), French (38,800), Galician (33,200), Russian (31,900), Italian (29,200), English (26,500) and Portuguese (26,500) (DGPL, 2014). Many adult migrants acquire Castilian first (sometimes exclusively) before learning Catalan, and school-age migrants usually acquire at least some competence in Catalan through the Catalan-medium public education system, demonstrating Catalan's capacity for attracting new speakers (Vila, 2008, 2018).

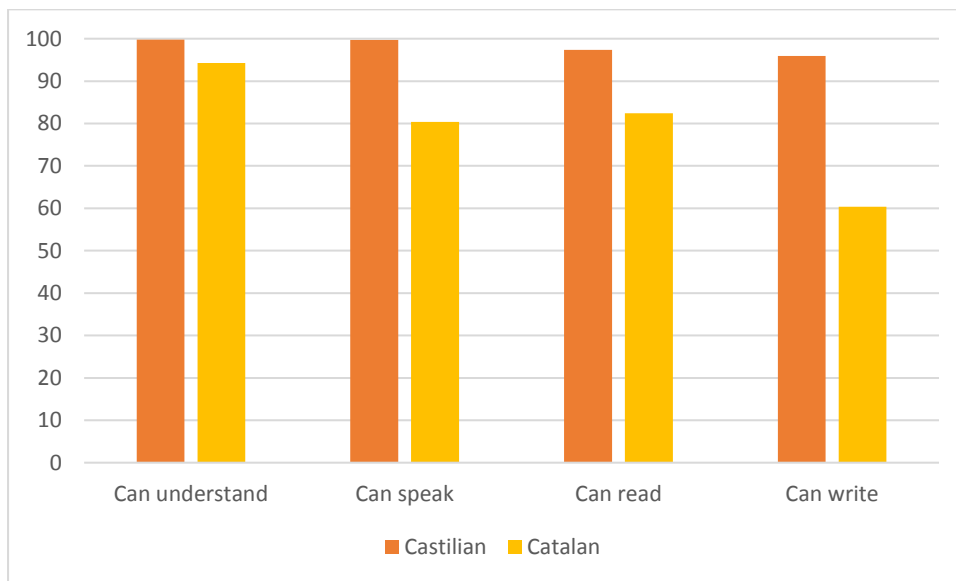
Dynamics of language abilities, use and transmission can vary widely both within Catalonia and within the metropolitan region of Barcelona according to the demographic composition of each area (DGPL, 2015b). Where available, the figures for each of these dimensions are presented in the following sections for Barcelona city, the metropolitan region of Barcelona and the autonomous community of Catalonia although it should be noted that there will also be variation according to neighbourhood, district and municipality.

4.2.1 Language abilities

The language abilities of residents of Catalonia are represented in Figure 12 below, revealing a noticeable difference in terms of language abilities in Castilian and Catalan. 99.8% and 99.7% of the population of Catalonia declare the ability to understand and speak Castilian respectively. For Catalan, however, the percentage for understanding is slightly lower at 94.3% and for speaking it is considerably lower at 80.4%. There are also greater drops in the percentages for reading and writing abilities for Catalan than there are in Castilian, with just 60% of the population declaring the ability to write in Catalan (DGPL, 2015b).¹²

¹² The dramatic difference for reading and particularly writing abilities is largely due to the prohibition of using or teaching Catalan in schools during the Franco era, which means that older generations, including those born in Catalonia, may not have learned to speak and write Catalan at school.

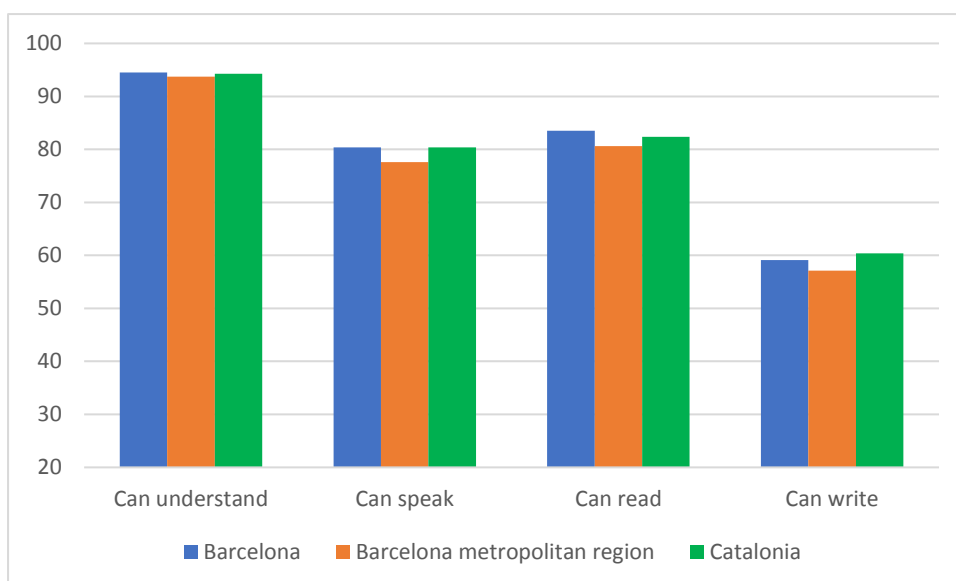
Figure 12: The language abilities of the population of Catalonia



Source: Own image elaborated from data from the Survey of the Linguistic Uses of the Population 2013 *apud* DGPL (2015), IDESCAT (2015), Torres i Pla (2016) and Vila & Sorolla (2016)

The overall percentages for the autonomous community are similar to those for Barcelona city and the metropolitan region of Barcelona, as can be seen in Figure 13 below. However, Catalan ability in the metropolitan region is amongst the lowest in Catalonia due to the demographic composition of the area.

Figure 13: The Catalan language abilities of residents of Barcelona, the metropolitan region of Barcelona and Catalonia

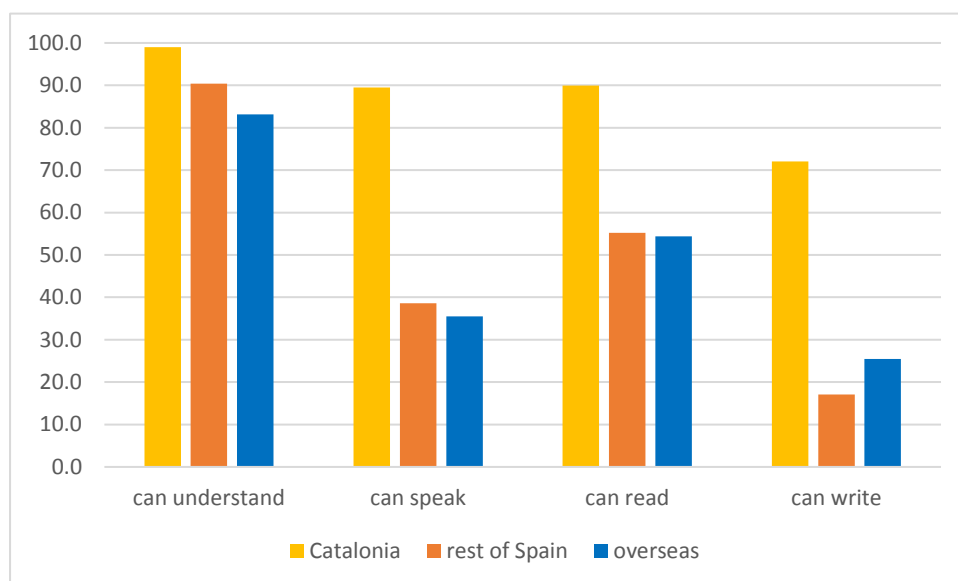


Source: Own image elaborated from data from the Population and Housing Survey (INE, 2011)

The industrial cities around the region’s capital have welcomed many migrants from other parts of Spain and abroad who tend to make greater use of Castilian than Catalan (Vila, 2016a). As such, migrants may move to areas and participate in social networks where Catalan is widely used but may also be more likely to find themselves in areas or networks where Castilian is more widely used in the metropolitan region than in other parts of Catalonia (Vila & Sorolla, 2016). Perceptions of the utility of Catalan might be affected by such socialisation processes, potentially discouraging individuals from acquiring it.

Differences between migrants and the population that is born in Catalonia are significant, highlighting important nuances that are essential for understanding the sociolinguistic context and the role of migration in shaping it. There are much greater differences between those born in Catalonia and those born outside of the autonomous community for Catalan language abilities than there are for Castilian abilities. The Catalan abilities of residents of the metropolitan region of Barcelona according to place of birth are shown below.

Figure 14: The Catalan language abilities of residents of the metropolitan region of Barcelona born in Catalonia, those born elsewhere in Spain and those born abroad



Source: Own image elaborated from data from the Population and Housing Census (INE, 2011)

The figures are most similar for the ability to understand Catalan. 99% of those residents of the metropolitan region of Barcelona who were born in Catalonia report this ability, falling to 90.4% amongst those born in the rest of Spain and 83.1% amongst those born overseas. Speaking abilities show the most dramatic differences according to place of birth. For

speaking, 89.5% of those born in Catalonia report the ability, however, the same is true for only 36.6% of those born in the rest of Spain and 35.5% of those born overseas.

Compared to data from Catalonia, the data for the metropolitan region of Barcelona is consistently slightly lower. Amongst those born in Catalonia (including therefore the descendents of those who migrated), the ability to understand, speak and read Catalan is above 90% (Torres i Pla, 2016; Vila & Sorolla, 2016). For those born elsewhere in Spain, the number of individuals who declare all abilities in Catalan are high for teenagers and young adults, yet these numbers decrease with age until reaching similar levels to those born abroad (Vila & Sorolla, 2016). Differences between those who move to Catalonia when they are teenagers and young adults and those who move when older are understood to demonstrate the effectiveness of using Catalan as a vehicular language of the education system in ensuring competence in both official languages upon completion of high school. Its use in universities and its requirement for employment in many workplaces make it valuable capital for young migrants seeking to enter the labour market in skilled positions (Alarcón & Garzon, 2011).

At the level of Catalonia too, the figures for those born overseas are lowest. This is perhaps due to the potentially greater linguistic distance between languages already in migrants' linguistic repertoires and their need to also learn Castilian. There is great heterogeneity within this collective according to place of origin. In outline, a higher number of those from some Castilian-speaking contexts such as Latin America and those from the United States and the rest of the European Union tend to declare receptive and productive abilities in Catalan than do those from Africa and Asia (Vila & Sorolla, 2016). For those originating from non Castilian-speaking contexts, several studies have indicated that Castilian tends to be the first language learnt by migrants, as well as the language most often used with them by Catalan speakers (Boix-Fuster, 2013; Boix & Torrens Guerrini, 2012; Fukuda, 2014). As such, those born abroad tend to declare greater abilities in Castilian than in Catalan, with comprehension and speaking above 98%, reading at 93.1% and writing at 88.7% for this group in the whole of Catalonia in 2013 (IDESCAT, 2015).

For both groups (those born elsewhere in Spain and those born abroad) and at all ages, length of residence is often cited as a predictor of migrants' Catalan language ability (Fukuda, 2009; Oller Badenas, 2010; Torres i Pla, 2016). However, it should be noted that context (more specifically, the use of Catalan in an individual's immediate sociolinguistic environment) has

been found to be more important in determining Catalan language ability, suggesting the importance of the role played by differences in the linguistic composition of migrants' social networks (Oller & Vila, 2012; Oller Badenas, 2010; Vila & Sorolla, 2016).

4.2.2 Language use and identification

One measure of language use often employed to describe the language behaviour of the population of Catalonia is habitual language use. The data for habitual language use differs according to whether the total population of Catalonia as a whole is counted or just that of the metropolitan region of Barcelona, as can be seen in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Declared language use for the whole population of Catalonia and the metropolitan region of Barcelona

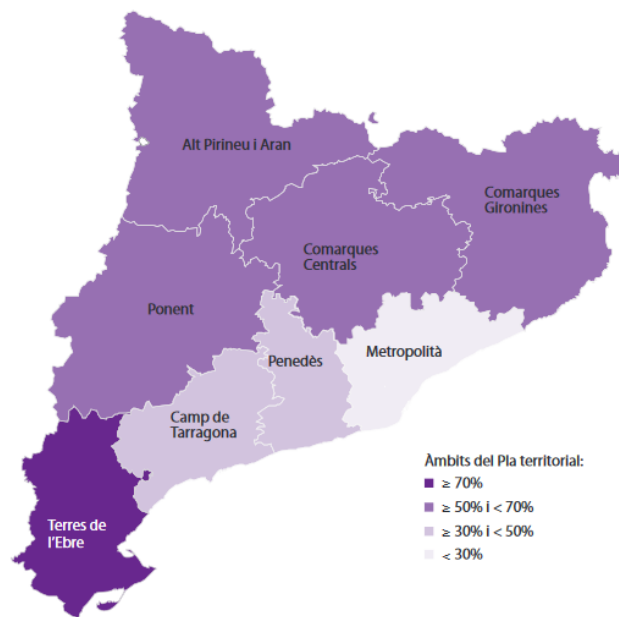
	Language(s) normally used		
	Catalan	Catalan and Castilian	Castilian
Catalonia	36.3%	6.8%	50.7%
Metropolitan region of Barcelona	27.8%	7.2%	60%

Source: Results from the Survey of the Linguistic Uses of the Population 2013 (IDESCAT, 2015)

The percentage for the habitual use of Catalan is considerably lower in the metropolitan region of Barcelona, which is the region of Catalonia where Catalan is declared to be used the least, as can be seen in Figure 15. This may be due to the greater concentration of migrants from other areas of Spain in this region, accounting for the significantly larger proportion of declarations of the habitual use of Castilian.

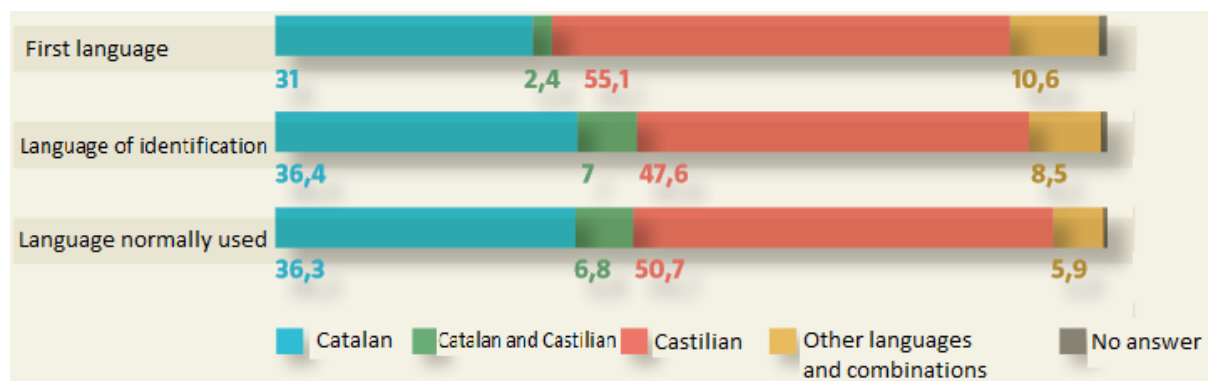
Habitual language use can vary according to first language. The variable *habitual language use* has been shown to yield highly similar results to *language of identification* (as can be seen in Figure 16), leading some to question its validity as a measure of actual language use and associate it more with attitudinal factors than behavioural ones (Vila, 2009). That said, the contrast between first language, language of identification and habitual language (expressed as language normally used) in Figure 16, is useful in demonstrating the ability of the Catalan language to attract *new speakers* who not only acquire the language but also identify with it to some extent.

Figure 15: Declared language use according to region of Catalonia



Source: Image from results of the Survey of Linguistic Uses of the Population 2013 (IDESCAT, 2015: 33)

Figure 16: First language, language of identification and language normally used in Catalonia

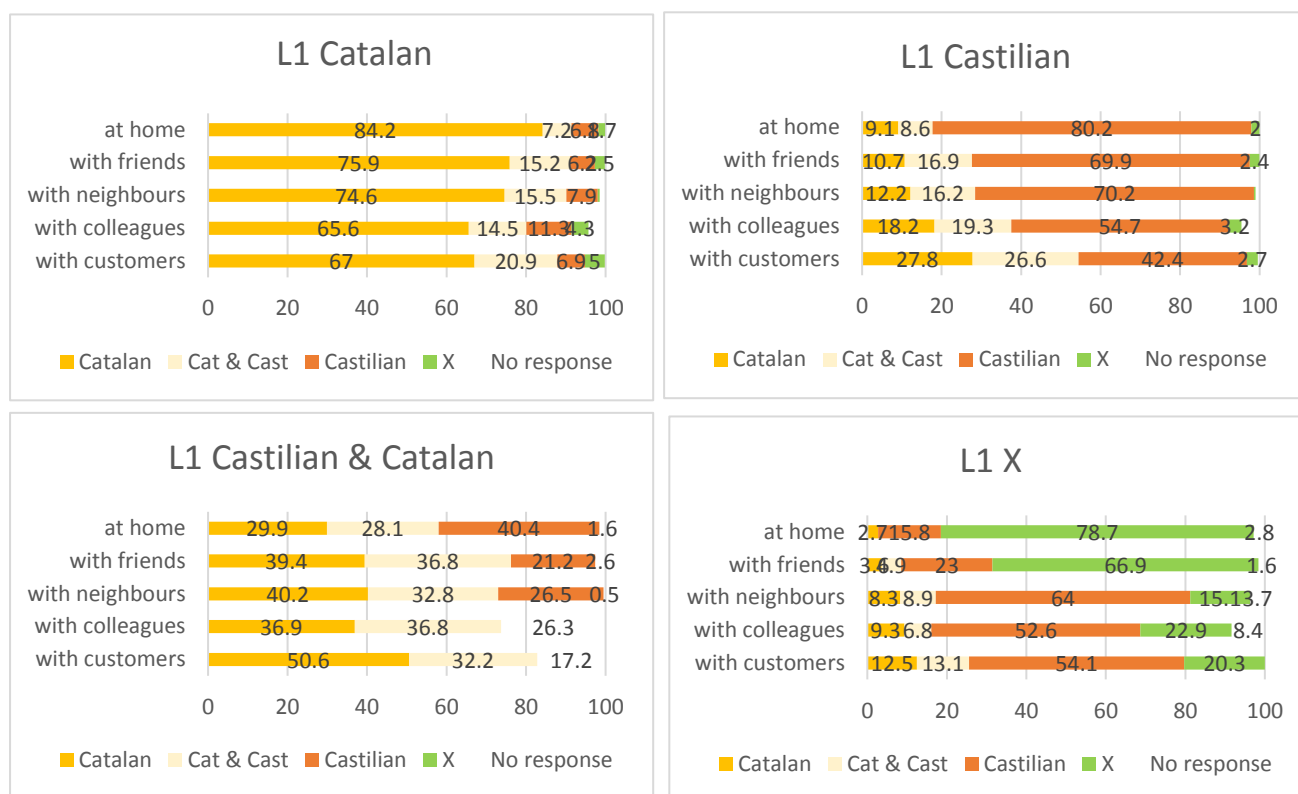


Source: Image from results of the Survey of the Language Uses of the Population (DGPL, 2014)

Figure 16 above shows how there are greater numbers of people who declare to identify with and habitually use Catalan or Catalan and Castilian than there are who declare Catalan to be their first language. This demonstrates the capacity Catalan has to attract *new speakers* who acquire the language outside of the home environment. Some such *new speakers* do not simply learn the language, but also identify with it. Others become bilingual users of Castilian and Catalan and many appear to maintain a preference for using their L1.

Another measure employed to describe language uses in Catalonia represents the percentage of language use in different situations. Figure 17 demonstrates how L1 is closely related to language use in several different situations within the context of Catalonia.¹³

Figure 17: Percentage of language uses in Catalonia according to L1



Source: own image, elaborated from results of the Survey of the Linguistic Uses of the Population 2013 (DGPL, 2015a)

All of the graphs represented in Figure 17 show how L1 conditions language use at home, with friends and with neighbours to a greater extent than it does with colleagues and customers. In the former cases, there seems to be a preference for the use of L1 for L1 Catalan and L1 Castilian speakers. However, there is also evidence of the use of both languages or the other official language, even within the home environment demonstrating the fact that L1 speakers of the two languages do not belong to fiercely separated ethnolinguistic groups.

For speakers of other languages (marked as X), there is a marked tendency to use the other language at home and evidence of a widely-sustained use of it with friends. Castilian is also widely used by L1 speakers of other languages (to a much greater extent than Catalan),

¹³ X refers to other non-official languages.

demonstrating the use of Castilian as a *lingua franca* with foreigners and the tendency of foreigners to acquire Castilian before or exclusively of Catalan. Castilian is used most frequently in interactions with neighbours, colleagues and customers, again serving to demonstrate a lack of tightly-bounded ethnolinguistic groups between L1 speakers of official languages and L1 speakers of non-official languages.

Migrants from other autonomous communities in Spain

The vast majority of migrants from the rest of Spain arrived in the 1960s or 70s when Catalan was still a forbidden language and largely restricted to private use amongst those known to be L1 Catalan speakers. Large numbers of migrants from Castilian-speaking regions of Spain moved to areas of Barcelona and its metropolitan region which were constructed quickly in order to house the significant influx of new residents that this wave of migration represented. Surrounded by other L1 Castilian speakers and with little private or public contact with the Catalan language, many members of this group of migrants have maintained the monolingual use of Castilian as the norm. That said, many L1 Castilian-speaking migrants from this and subsequent waves of migration have adopted Catalan. This is often, although not always the case for those who married L1 Catalan speakers and thus entered into L1 Catalan-speaking social networks (Boix-Fuster, 2009)

In addition to migrants from regions of Spain with less economic stability, upper-class migrants from the upper echelons of Spanish society have also moved to Catalonia. Such migrants have typically chosen to reside in upper-class neighbourhoods of Barcelona where a greater proportion of use of Castilian has often been observed (Boix-Fuster, 2009). At both ends of the social spectrum, some neighbourhoods and towns have been associated with higher or lower uses of Castilian and Catalan (Fabà & Torrijos, 2012).

Distinct ethnolinguistic groups have been referred to in popular discourse during previous decades, although there are signs that younger generations of L1 Castilian, L1 Catalan and L1 Castilian and Catalan speakers are not perpetuating this discourse (González Balletbò, Pujolar Cos, Font Tanyà, & Martínez Sanmartí, 2014; Woolard, 1989, 2016). Quantitative studies of language transmission also indicate a greater fluidity between first language and language use, with a trend for some L1 Castilian-speaking parents to adopt and transmit Catalan to their children as a means of integration (*ius linguae*) (Mollà Sellés, 2006; Torres, 2011). Such dynamics will be explored further in the section on language transmission in Catalonia below.

Latin America

Similarly to migrants from the rest of Spain, most Latin Americans arrive in Catalonia already equipped with Castilian, an official language which is closely related to Catalan. Receptive Catalan abilities amongst migrants from Latin America are the highest amongst different migrant groups (Vila & Sorolla, 2016). However, this is not reflected in the rankings of productive abilities and use, leading some to refer to Latin American migrants as reluctant to use Catalan and unlikely to identify with it as their own language (Huguet, Janés, & Chireac, 2008).

However, such generalisations have proven insensitive to differences according to different national origins within Latin America. For example, migrants from Mexico (47.6%) and Argentina (46.3%) rank significantly higher in terms of the ability to speak Catalan than those from Bolivia (30%). Some explanatory factors identified include the extent of family connections with Catalonia and belonging to a perceptible minority that is easily identified by physical traits (Vila & Sorolla, 2016).

Migrants from lower socioeconomic backgrounds

The relative ease of entering the host society labour market and the related factor of socioeconomic background can bear weight on the likelihood of Catalan acquisition and use. Besides some migrants from some Latin American countries, the metropolitan region of Barcelona has significant numbers of residents of lower socioeconomic status from Morocco, Pakistan, China and Romania. In addition to the fact that many of their first languages are considerably further in linguistic distance from Castilian or Catalan, members of these groups dispose of fewer means to fund language learning and have quite distinct paths to insertion into local social networks and the labour market, perhaps helping to explain why the use of Catalan within these groups tends to be low (Alarcón & Garzon, 2011; Alarcón & Parella Rubio, 2013).

Migrants from higher socioeconomic backgrounds

Other groups of migrants whose language uses have been studied include Japanese, Italian and German residents who can be described as coming from socioeconomic backgrounds that are equivalent to members of the local middle or upper classes. This is believed to facilitate integration into local social networks and the local labour market. As such, one might hypothesise a higher rate of adoption of Catalan among these populations. However, such

residents also demonstrate considerable heterogeneity in terms of language use and identification. Migratory project, language beliefs (potentially reflections of predominant belief systems in the home country) and length of residence have been identified as explanatory factors in studies undertaken in this context.

Fukuda (2009) identified three categories of Japanese residents in Barcelona: one large group of temporary residents or *passavolants* (literally “those passing through”) and two subgroups of longer-term, permanent residents, which were differentiated according to their preferences between the two official languages: Castilian and Catalan. The *passavolants* category refers to Japanese businessmen and their partners who spend an average of approximately four years working in Barcelona before returning to Japan. The involuntary nature of their decision to move to Barcelona and the specific challenges of Japanese citizens who need to reintegrate in the home country mean that this profile demonstrate little interest in learning either of the official languages of the host society and engaging with the local population. A little Castilian is learnt in order to get by in situations of contact with the local population but these are largely restricted as they tend to participate in dense within-group social networks and school their children at Japanese schools which follow Japanese curricula. The two long-term resident categories demonstrate higher degrees of socialisation with the local population and differ in terms of their reported abilities and uses in the two official languages. Those who report a preference for Castilian have relatively high abilities in that language but none or few in Catalan, at least productively. They tend to refer to Catalan as optional, as opposed to Castilian which is considered necessary for life in Barcelona. Those who report considerable use of Catalan tend to have longer lengths of residence and report high abilities in both Castilian and Catalan. They highlight positive, integrative values for Catalan and consider it to be necessary for life in Barcelona.

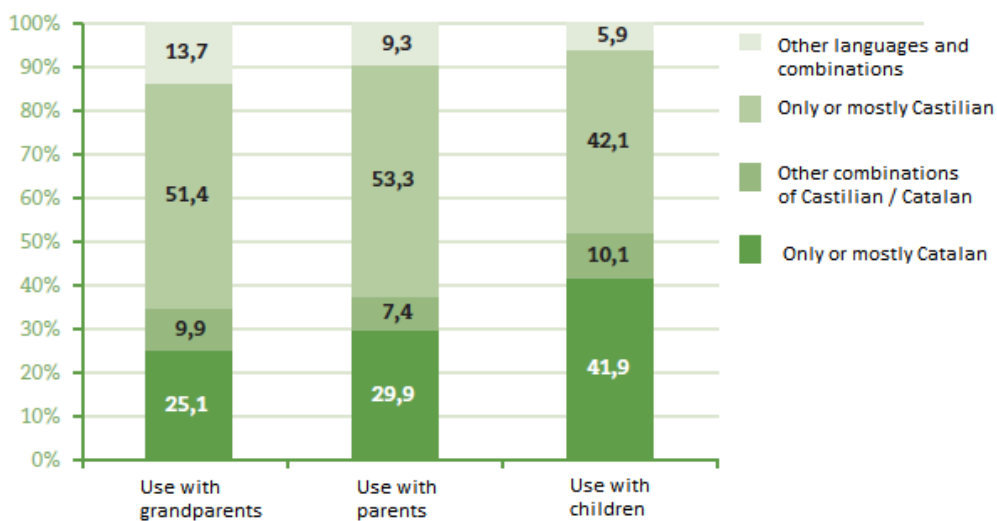
In further studies undertaken with the same population in Catalonia, some participants relate a sense of being unable or unwelcome to use Catalan due to their status as foreigners. The fact that Japanese migrants belong to a perceptible minority seems to exacerbate the effects of the tendency for locals to use Castilian as a *lingua franca* with them. The author suggests that such practices may result in the lack of a perceived need or desire to learn and use Catalan amongst migrant groups (Fukuda, 2014, 2016).

Research has also been conducted amongst European migrant populations, including the German population resident in Catalonia. A study based on a limited pool of eighteen German-Catalan families in Catalonia shows a clear preference for the use of Castilian with their partners and in social and professional uses. Catalan is declared to be used in 15% of participants' social and professional interactions, demonstrating the positive effects of marrying a Catalan speaker in being introduced to Catalan-medium social networks (Cutillas Romero, 2014). The same study highlights the same problem as Fukuda in as far as Catalan speakers are reported to persist in the use of Castilian when addressing the participants.

4.2.3 Language transmission

In Catalonia, there are more families in which Catalan is spoken with children than there are in which it is spoken with parents, indicating that Catalan is consistently transmitted to the next generation and in fact gaining ground in intergenerational language transmission (DGPL, 2015b; Torres, 2011). This phenomenon can be observed across three generations in the figure below.

Figure 18: Overall figures for intergenerational transmission in Catalonia

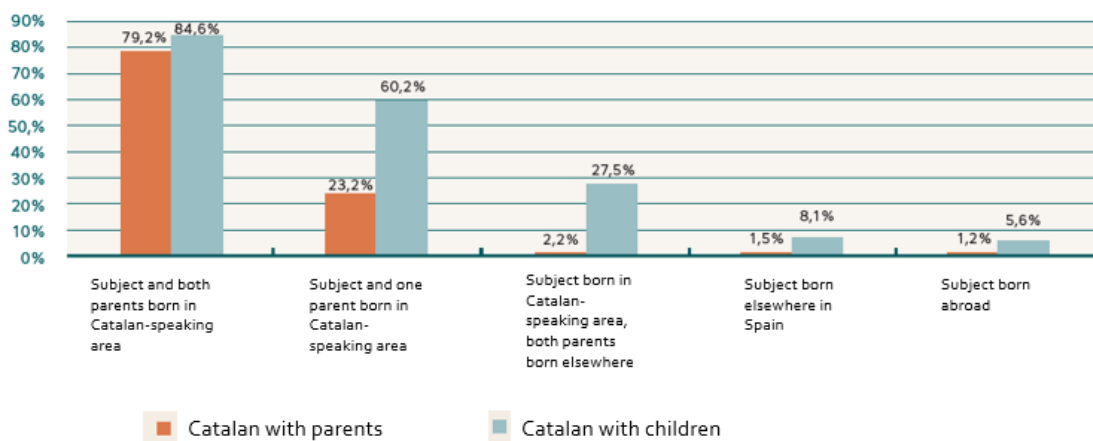


Source: Image taken from Torres (2011: 85)

Using the index of intergenerational transmission of Catalan, the rate of growth in the use of Catalan with children¹⁴ has been calculated at 12% for the population of the autonomous community of Catalonia. Within this area, Barcelona city and the rest of the metropolitan region have above average increases in the intergenerational use of Catalan at 13%. In fact, this figure is amongst the highest in the autonomous community, only superceded by Girona which has a much higher percentage of use and makes gains of 14%.

Figure 19 shows how there is a growth in the transmission of Catalan to children by individuals born in Catalan-speaking areas, importantly both amongst those with parents from Catalan-speaking areas and those without. There are also small increases in its transmission by parents born elsewhere in Spain and those born abroad.

Figure 19: Catalan use with parents and children according to family origin



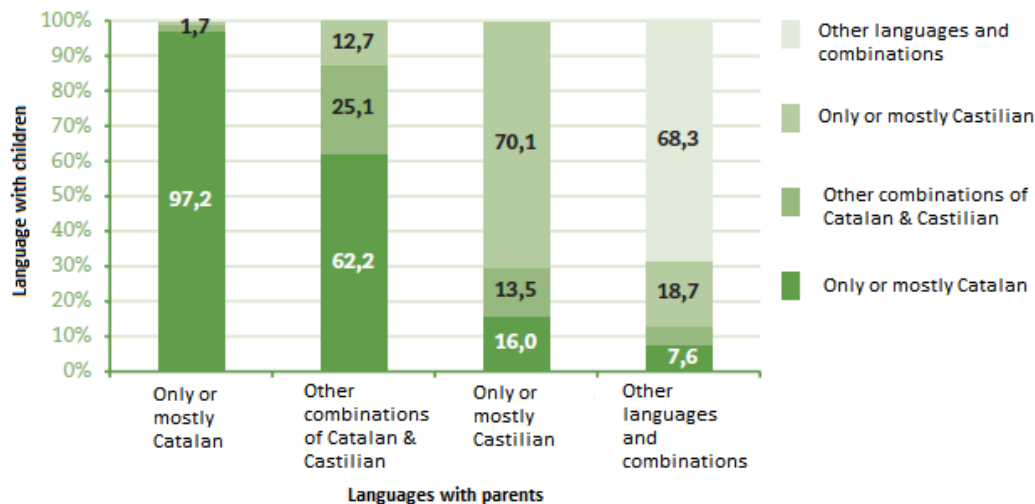
Source: Image taken from DGPL (2015)

The growth in the use of Catalan with children in all categories demonstrates that the language has the capacity to attract new speakers who do not have Catalan as a first language. This phenomenon can be seen clearly in Figure 20. The vast majority of those who use Catalan with their parents also use it with their children, showing a clear tendency towards the intergenerational maintenance of Catalan in the home. Besides that, a significant proportion (62.6%) of those brought up speaking both Catalan and Castilian at home opt for the

¹⁴ Developed by Torres and known as the ITIC index, which is calculated in the following way: $(\% \text{ use of Catalan with children} - \% \text{ use of Catalan with parents})/100$

predominant use of Catalan with their children, in contrast with just 12.7% who choose to make predominant use of Castilian.

Figure 20: The transmission of Catalan according to language(s) used with parents



Source: Image taken from Torres (2011: 95)

Smaller overall percentages of Catalan use with children can be found amongst those who spoke only or mostly Castilian and those who spoke other languages and combinations with their parents. 16% of those who spoke only or mostly Castilian with their parents use only or mostly Catalan with the next generation and a further 13.5% choose to use both Catalan and Castilian. Although the majority maintain the predominant use of Castilian, the fact that almost 30% incorporate some Catalan in their uses with their children contributes towards the net increase in the intergenerational use of Catalan. In addition, amongst families in which the couple is made up of a Catalan speaker and a Castilian speaker, it is more likely for parents to use Catalan with their children than it is for them to use Castilian (Torres, 2011).

The smallest increase in the intergenerational adoption of Catalan can be found amongst children of other language speakers. Only 7.6% of this group makes predominant use of Catalan with their children, demonstrating a preference for Castilian amongst migrants from other language-speaking contexts which is reinforced in family uses into the next generation. In terms of the intergenerational transmission of other languages, 68.3% of those who use other language combinations with their parents also use them with their children, indicating a fairly high proportion of transmission.

The significant presence of speakers who adopt Catalan and choose to use it with their children despite it not being amongst the languages spoken with their own parents indicates an association of Catalan with considerable social value, particularly amongst those migrants who come from Castilian-speaking backgrounds. The majority of those who adopt Catalan in such a way are the children of migrants from the rest of Spain in the first waves of migration to Catalonia. Just over 60% of the population of children of migrants from the rest of Spain have chosen to use Catalan with their children (Torres, 2011). Other variables which coincide with the intergenerational adoption of Catalan include the level of studies and age of arrival. The use of Catalan within the family increases alongside level of studies, with the highest rate of adoption amongst those with university studies. Besides that, the younger the age of arrival of migrants, the more likely they are to adopt Catalan.

Besides quantitative surveys of language use, some qualitative studies have interviewed parents about intergenerational language transmission amongst members of the local population and also amongst migrant populations. Reflecting Torres' results above, Boix-Fuster (2009) reports that for those parents brought up in Catalan-speaking households and most Castilian-Catalan bilingual families, Catalan is the language used in the majority of cases of intergenerational language transmission (Boix-Fuster, 2009). This has been found to be true even in cases of intergenerational transmission abroad. Juarros-Daussà studied thirty three families with Catalan-speaking parents resident in New York and found that 95% of them chose Catalan as the primary home language, citing strong integrative values and identifications with Catalonia amongst their reasons for this choice (Juarros-Daussà, 2012; Juarros-Daussà & Casesnoves-Ferrer, 2015).

In a paper reporting the results of six case studies of families in which parents who were not raised in an L1 Catalan-speaking environment decided to speak Catalan to their children, their stated reasons for passing on what is for them a second language were related to participation in Catalan-speaking social networks; favourable beliefs about the prestige of the Catalan language and perceptions of a superior cultural and economic status amongst Catalan speakers (Mollà Sellés, 2006). This phenomenon has also been observed in some mixed families with L1 Castilian-speakers and alloglots and reflects quantitative findings that highlight the capacity that the Catalan language has to attract *new speakers* (Boix-Fuster & Paradís, 2015).

Several studies have researched the intergenerational uses within families resident in Catalonia in which one parent is an L1 Catalan speaker and the other comes from a different language background, including Japanese-Catalan, Galician-Catalan, Italian-Catalan and German-Catalan families (Boix & Torrens Guerrini, 2012). Some concerns for these studies include the limited number of participants in the sample and the methods used to source participants which might have compromised the representativity of the population to the extent to which this can be achieved. However, they do provide some valuable initial insight into some topics relevant to the different populations under study. In Japanese-Catalan families, the Japanese-speaking parent tends to engage in many efforts to transmit Japanese to their children and the Catalan-speaking parent tends to maintain the use of Catalan. In Galician-Catalan families, Castilian tends to become the most predominant language in the home (Labraña & González, 2012). In Italian-Catalan and German-Catalan families, Castilian takes preference over the use of Catalan between family members (Cutillas Romero, 2014; Torrens Guerrini, 2012). Discursive analysis of several parents' interview contributions indicate that negative attitudes towards language varieties that are not the official state language seem to be transferred by the migrant parent from the home country to the Catalonia.

Another study has been conducted amongst Brazilian parents who attend activities designed to promote the maintenance of Portuguese within the family (Moroni, 2017; Moroni & Azevedo Gomes, 2015). Although again perhaps not representative of the total population of Brazilian parents in Barcelona, Moroni detailed how the parents within her sample engaged in many efforts to ensure the intergenerational transmission of Portuguese. In some cases, local parents were observed to make use of Portuguese in order to reinforce transmission.

4.3 The position of English in the metropolitan region of Barcelona

Despite not having official status, English currently has some presence within the oral and aural landscape of the metropolitan region of Barcelona which reflects its growing status as the main international *lingua franca*. It can be seen in advertising and is used as a *lingua franca* with and by tourists, short-term visitors and migrants. The presence of English in cultural consumption has meant that young people are increasingly exposed to English music, which represented 63.6% of all music listened to by a sample of adolescents from secondary school in a recent study (Bretxa & Vila i Moreno, 2012). For audiovisual productions the

original version is often available but there is a widespread preference for dubbed media. Despite this, growing trends in the use of online viewing platforms for popular television series mean that English has some presence in this arena too, particularly for young people. Although yet to be supported by research findings in Catalonia, it is arguable that the internet and recent trends in social media mean that English-medium cultural consumption is on the increase and that this has opened up new channels of meaningful communication between young people from different backgrounds, using English as something of a *lingua franca*. As reported in the Eurobarometer, between 2005 and 2012 there had been a 10% increase in the proportion of European citizens who reported the regular use of foreign languages on the internet (European Commission, 2012).

Alongside this, English has a growing presence in the education system. It is a compulsory first foreign language and is often taught from a very young age. Spain is one of the biggest markets for the English as a Foreign Language industry and there is a wide range of private language academies on offer which often specialise in extracurricular English language teaching and official exam preparation.

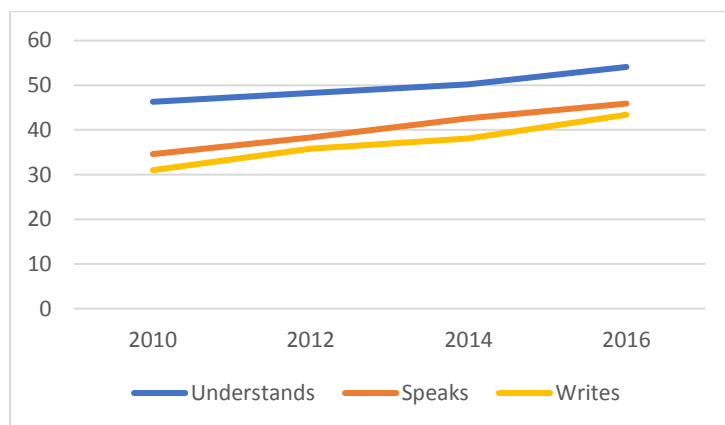
Younger generations in Catalonia have been reported to describe learning English as a “necessity” due to the opportunities for mobility, employment and connection with many people in other countries that they perceive it to grant them (Flors Mas, 2013). Policy has at times reinforced this perception, as the obtention of a CEFR B2 level certificate of competence or equivalent was recently made a mandatory requirement for graduating from university. Although this measure was suspended indefinitely in early 2017 on the grounds that not all students have equal opportunities to acquire such a level, it is still frequently necessary to present accreditation for at least a B2 level in order to access the local job market or employment opportunities abroad, which is not uncommon for university graduates between the ages of 25 and 44 (Alarcón & Fernández, 2015). English language ability is therefore highly valued as important cultural capital in Catalonia, perhaps explaining why discourses referring to English as a “necessity” are found to be most prevalent among middle and upper class students (Flors Mas, 2013). That said, in Flors’ interview study the distance between students’ reported competence (or rather, their perceived lack of competence) and their positive evaluations of the advantages of learning English successfully has been interpreted as

potentially indicating the uptake of a dominant discourse which does not necessarily truly reflect personal interests or real, immediate necessities (Flors Mas, 2013).

As a result of both its greater presence due to increased tourism and cultural consumption and perceptions of the language as important cultural capital, there has been a considerable increase in the English language proficiency of the local population over recent decades. This is particularly so for the younger generations, as shown in the results of two recent surveys which have requested information about English language ability.

In the Municipal Services Survey (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2016), an increase in self-reported English language abilities can be appreciated between 2010 and 2016. During the economic crisis starting in 2007, many language schools experienced a significant upsurge in demand for English language classes. The increase in self-reported ability during the period 2010-2016 that is represented in Figure 21 below is thought to reflect this trend.

Figure 21: Self-reported English language abilities of the population of Barcelona 2010-2016



Source: Municipal Services Survey (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2016)

A lower percentage of the population of Catalonia declared the ability to understand English (38.4%), speak it (31%), read it (34.7%) and write it (30.6%) in the Survey of the Linguistic Uses of the Population 2013. Self-reported ability thus seems to be higher for those resident in the city of Barcelona than those outside it. The same survey shows that English language ability is most prevalent amongst those under the age of 30 and less widely-known by those over the age of 50 who were more likely to have been taught French at school (IDESCAT, 2015). These figures reflect trends within other countries of the European Union, where English is

the most widely spoken foreign language (European Commission, 2012; Generalitat de Catalunya, 2018).

4.4 Transnational anglophones in the metropolitan region of Barcelona

Anglophones have visited and resided in the metropolitan region of Barcelona for centuries. There is evidence of British ambassadors and traders in Barcelona at the time of the siege of 1714. Such commercial ties were maintained throughout Catalonia's rapid industrialisation during the eighteenth century. In 1797, the United States posted its first consular official to Barcelona in order to promote commerce (Ambaixada EUA, 2018). Later, during the Spanish Civil War a few thousand British volunteers, including George Orwell, author of the famous *Homage to Catalonia*, fought on the Republican side on Catalan soil.

In the present, there are several representatives of the anglophone population who have gained some prominence in society. These include the American Liz Castro who has written about Catalan politics and played important roles in the Catalan National Assembly. Born in the United Kingdom to a British father and Catalan mother, the social psychologist Miquel Strubell has been head of the Linguistic Normalisation Service, the Catalan Institute of Sociolinguistics and Full Professor of Multilingualism at the Open University of Catalonia. Several anglophone writers have connections with Catalonia: Colm Tóibín wrote his novel *Homage to Barcelona* (1990) after a brief period living in the city; until his death in 2013 the satirical novelist Tom Sharpe wrote from his residence on the Costa Brava; and the author Matthew Tree, resident in Barcelona for over two decades, writes fiction and non-fiction in English and Catalan.

Formal institutions such as country consulates, the British Council and the American School of Barcelona are prominent points of reference as well as associations and less formal networks of contact between anglophone residents. There is an extensive network of business and cultural associations, ranging from the Barcelona Women's Network to the British Society of Catalonia. In addition, less formal networks can be observed on social networking sites where interest groups range from Barcelona Mamas for mothers raising children in Barcelona to the Barcelona TEFL Teachers' Association for teachers of English as a foreign language looking for job opportunities or professional development guidance. Publications and blogs such as *Catalonia Today*, *Barcelona Metropolitan* and *Homage to Barcelona*, as well as some television programmes on *El Punt Avui TV*, are produced in English

for an English-speaking audience that incorporates the anglophone population, other transnational residents and English-speaking locals.

It is difficult to assess the exact size and nature of the current population of L1 English speakers in the metropolitan region of Barcelona. The Survey of the Linguistic Uses of the Population 2013 calculated that 26,530 residents of Catalonia report having English as a first language, representing 0.4% of the total population. Unfortunately, official figures for the total population of L1 English speakers are unavailable for the metropolitan region of Barcelona.

In an attempt to understand what proportion of the L1 English-speaking population of the metropolitan region of Barcelona might be transnational, data regarding country of birth has been collected from the Municipal Population Register. Table 6 below uses data from the register to show the total number of residents born in the United Kingdom, the United States, Ireland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand that is currently resident in the metropolitan region of Barcelona. This figure includes children born to Catalan parents in other countries and thus may not coincide exactly with the total number of residents born in L1 English-speaking home environments. It also excludes populations who make habitual use of English, including the large population of migrants from ex-colonies such as Pakistan and India and speakers of other non-official languages who have a high level of English, such as Scandinavian, Dutch, German and Flemish migrants.

Table 6: Total number of current residents of Catalonia born in predominantly anglophone countries (2016)

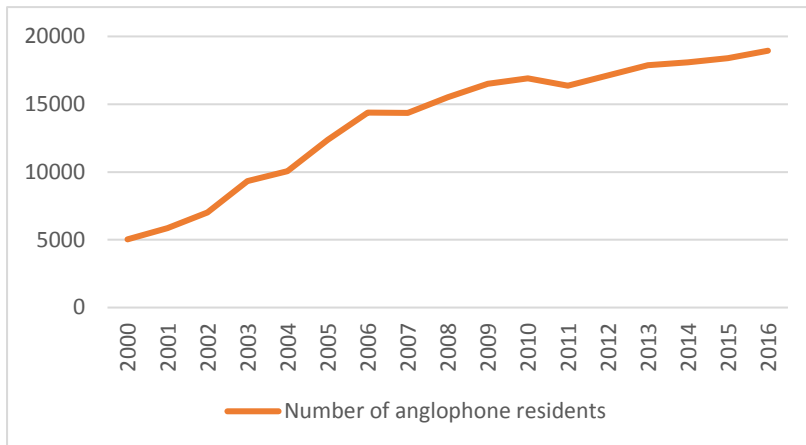
Country	Number of residents
United Kingdom	10,464
United States	5,400
Ireland	1,458
Canada	879
Australia	467
New Zealand	126
Total	18,794

Source: Municipal Population Register (IDESCAT, 2016b)

The number of residents born in the anglophone countries listed in Table 6 has increased almost five-fold since the year 2000, reflecting the significant upsurge in the number of

residents of Catalonia born in a range of different overseas contexts. Figure 22 shows how, despite a slight dip in 2011, there is a continued growth of migration from anglophone countries.

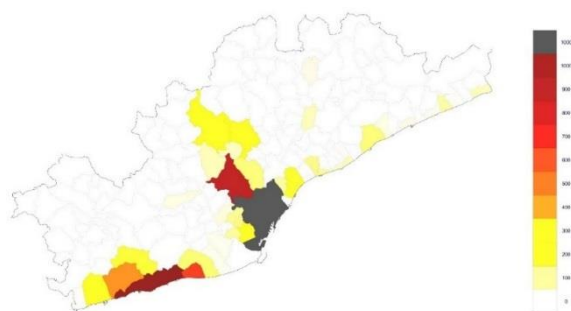
Figure 22: The number of anglophone residents in the metropolitan region of Barcelona (2000-2016)



Source: Municipal Population Register (IDESCAT, 2016b)

The distribution of the anglophone population of the metropolitan region of Barcelona is represented in Figure 23. The greatest concentration can be found in the city of Barcelona’s metropolitan area, where over half of the total population resides. Outside of the city, Sitges, Sant Cugat del Vallès and Castelldefels are each home to over a thousand anglophone residents.

Figure 23: The distribution of the anglophone population of the metropolitan region of Barcelona



Source: own image elaborated from the Municipal Register

A description of three profiles of British and American migrants to Spain has been outlined in Turell & Corcoll's study of linguistic diversity in Spain (Turell & Corcoll, 2001a, 2001b, 2007). The three profiles represent: students of Castilian who hope to improve their language skills and experience life abroad¹⁵; professionals who hope to develop their careers; and mostly retired residents who settle in coastal towns and urbanisations. Barcelona and its surrounding area is identified as a popular destination for the first and second profiles, whereas the third is more numerous in southern Spain (O'Reilly, 2000).

Turell and Corcoll's description of the type of British and American residents most characteristic to Barcelona is of professionals in their thirties who have moved alone or with their partners and families. They are well-integrated into local social networks, often using two or more languages in their daily lives. Almost all acquire Castilian, many also adopting Catalan if they intend to remain in Catalonia in the long-term, particularly if they have children.

Codó's recent work on lifestyle migrants in Barcelona reflects Turell & Corcoll's description, adding that many make use of their "coveted linguistic capital" in order to find work in call centres, language schools and in the tourism sector (Codó, 2018). Although this work is often unstable, it is a route into the labour market and facilitates social insertion or allows the individual to get by in the host society before onward migration.

In terms of the intergenerational transmission of English, anglophone parents have been noted to consider this a highly important topic (Turell & Corcoll, 2007). British parents in Barcelona have been observed to support English language transmission in and outside the home environment and to have high expectations for their children's attainment in the home language (Walls, 2012). The same study found plurilingualism to be highly valued amongst British parents, who were all in favour of additive bi- or trilingualism, most often with the hopes of additional foreign languages being acquired. Despite this, many concerns were raised about how additive plurilingualism is best achieved, perhaps due to parents' lack of personal experience of childhood plurilingualism.

In Walls' study of British parents in 2012, different values were attributed to the two host society language(s). Whilst some parents prioritised Castilian, a language which they associated with great instrumental value in a globalised world within which they considered

¹⁵ Part of this population may remain invisible as often year-abroad or ERASMUS students are not registered.

themselves mobile citizens; others highlighted the integrative values of Catalan in promoting their own and/or their children's social insertion into the host society and increasing the family's wellbeing in their immediate surroundings. These differences seemed to be related to differences in terms of migratory experiences, insertion processes and consequently, social networks, as well as differences in length of residence and intended length of stay in Catalonia. In 2012 perceived threats to economic and political stability in Barcelona seemed to create further doubt and uncertainty.

At the time of the current study, questions relating to Brexit and the status of British citizens resident in Europe, as well as the growing movement in favour of Catalan independence may well surface and affect participants' future plans.

Chapter 5. Aims & hypotheses

5.1 Aims

When raising children, many parents face important choices about what knowledge and values should be transmitted to the next generation. In the case of transnational family members, some abilities, including language abilities, can be important links to family, friends, values and traditions from the home country. Many transnational parents also desire that their children do not experience the same difficulties that they did in adapting to a new context, particularly in the area of linguistic abilities. As a result, many considerations must be negotiated when managing linguistic repertoires in such families.

The overall aim of the present study is to understand how transnational anglophone (L1) parents (hereafter TAP) resident in the metropolitan region of Barcelona manage their own and their children's linguistic repertoires and account for their family language management choices. As well as gaining insight into how language choice and FLM processes work for individuals inserting themselves and their futures into a complex multilingual context with two official languages whose values and functions are often the subject of debate like Catalonia, it is hoped that more can be learnt about language choice and FLM processes in a wider context of globalised society. The setting and linguistic repertoires of the population under study will help assess the implications of having "the global language" as a first language when residing in a local context where it is highly valued as a *lingua franca* but not considered a substitute for official languages.

There are five main research questions to this exploratory research study which address language practices, the underlying reasons beneath those practices, the strategies employed in order to influence such practices, and the effect of transnational trajectories and the passing of time on practices. The first two research questions are answered by quantitative means of analysis, whereas the latter three are answered through qualitative enquiry.

1. What languages are i) known, ii) used and iii) transmitted in families with at least one transnational anglophone parent in the metropolitan region of Barcelona?
2. Can profiles be identified according to family language uses?

3. How do transnational anglophone parents describe the functions and values of the different languages in their lives and in what way is this evaluation significant for their intended linguistic outcomes for their children?
4. What language management strategies do transnational anglophone parents employ with a view to attaining the intended linguistic outcomes they have for their children?
5. How do transnational anglophone parents evaluate their children's current language abilities and uses?

5.2 Hypotheses

The hypotheses expressed below relate to the five research questions stated above.

1. The first dimension of research question one concerns language knowledge, both in terms of first language (L1) and ability in second or foreign languages. As it is part of the criteria for participation, all families will have at least one parent who is an L1 speaker of English. Besides that, it is highly possible that the L1 and country of origin of other parents be heterogeneous with some expected to be from other L1 English-speaking contexts, some from Catalonia, some from other parts of Spain and some from other countries. The high potential for variety in terms of the families' linguistic compositions might result in a distinct heterogeneity between the combined pools of parental L1s for each family. Many parents are expected to have abilities in English and Castilian regardless of whether or not they count them amongst their L1s, whereas Catalan language abilities are predicted to be less widespread amongst those parents who are not L1 Catalan speakers.

Secondly, parental language use in the home (and particularly with children) is expected to be closely related to L1. Similarly to research conducted on English speakers in other contexts, English is expected to be used with children by all (or almost all) L1 English-speaking parents. However, their uses with their partner might vary according to their partner's L1(s) and abilities in English. There is also the possibility that some speakers of other official or non-official languages use English with their partners and might be keen to support English language transmission by using it with their children.

Intergenerational language transmission is expected to be high for English in accordance with previous studies of this language in different contexts (Boyd, 1998; Okita, 2002; Yamamoto, 2001) and with previous studies which allow a comparison to be made between English and other languages (Héran et al., 2002). Similar results are expected for Castilian and Catalan, given that the two official languages have widespread presence outside of the family, and in those cases in which one of the parents is an L1 speaker of one or both languages, within the home as well. This has been shown to be true for children of migrants from a wide range of background (Vila & Salvat, 2013).

2. Not all families are expected to report the same language uses at home. As in Fukuda's study of the Japanese population, language use profiles are expected to be identified which correspond to differences in the socio-demographic and sociolinguistic profiles of the parents in the sample, as well as their stated migratory project (Fukuda, 2009). It is thought that some families will make much greater use of English than others, particularly in those cases in which there are likely to be two L1 English-speaking parents and in which there is likely to be a higher probability of onward mobility. Besides this group, it is thought that the remaining family language use profiles might differ in accordance with parental L1 combinations. Profiles might be identified that represent the use of English and Castilian, English and Catalan and English and other non-official languages. Many families are expected to make predominant use of English and Castilian, given that Castilian is often the first language to be acquired by foreigners and the designated social *lingua franca* for use with foreigners. As in Fukuda (2009), fewer families are expected to use considerable proportions of Catalan. Such families are most likely to include an L1 Catalan speaker and/or a transnational anglophone parent who has an above average length of residence in the metropolitan region of Barcelona.
3. Transnational anglophone parents are expected to attribute high instrumental and integrative values to English as both an international *lingua franca* and a symbolic connection to the home country. Castilian, as another international language which is also Spain's official language and the main local *lingua franca* that is considered by

many locals as a language for use with foreigners, is expected to be attributed fairly high instrumental values as well as integrative values for use in the local context. Catalan may too be accorded instrumental and integrative values as it is seen as a means of upward social mobility in the local context and a means of full integration into the host society. However, Catalan may not be valued by some parents who consider English and Castilian as greater priorities. Such parents may be more likely to consider onward mobility than others who express positive values for Catalan.

The simultaneous (rather than dichotomous) application of instrumental and integrative values is thought to increase the likelihood of parents including English and official languages in their intended linguistic outcomes. Again, Catalan might be subject to some contestation where normative conflicts occur in the translation of indexical orders to the host society context.

4. Transnational anglophone parents are expected to use a wide variety of conscious strategies addressed at improving their children's language learning and use, as indicated in (Walls, 2012). Different family profiles might employ different language strategies in order to cater for their specific language transmission and learning needs in accordance with parents' desired linguistic outcomes.
5. Parents' evaluations of their children's linguistic attainments to date might vary according to their intended outcomes and the consequences of any language management strategies employed.

Chapter 6. Methodology

The following chapter outlines the design of the study in terms of the methods, tools, data treatment and data analysis procedures employed. The first section describes the mixed method approach undertaken and discusses the advantages of combining quantitative and qualitative methods. After that, the second section describes the process of designing, piloting, and distributing the family language questionnaire, as well as the processes of data treatment and analysis employed. In the third section, the sampling procedure used to select participants for the second phase of the project are described. Following that, the interview design, process and data treatment and data analysis methods are explained and the chapter is concluded with a discussion of the relevant ethical considerations that were taken into account.

6.1 Mixed methods

Until recently, quantitative and qualitative research approaches were kept very much apart from each other on the understanding that they were based on fundamental ontological differences that could not be reconciled. As a brief outline, quantitative research seeks numerical quantification of phenomena in order to describe them and test hypotheses in a way that is replicable by other researchers. Its use tends to be supported by those who follow a positivist approach to research which is based on an understanding of the world as made up of measurable and observable facts. Qualitative research, on the other hand, looks more closely at individual accounts and their interpretations in a world that is understood to be socially constructed (Murray Thomas, 2003). However, the combination of the two paradigms within the research project is becoming common practice and the advantages of doing so are numerous, as described in the following section.

Issues in combining quantitative and qualitative methods

Quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis are combined for several reasons, including the desire to resolve issues presented by: “the duality of structure” at the macro and micro levels (Giddens, 1976); the intention of complementing explanations of structural features with procedural accounts and vice versa; the need to establish a basis for selecting a qualitative sample and the hope of validating data (Brannen, 1992; Bryman, 1992).

The first motivations listed above represent explorations of two layers of social understanding: macro and micro. Macro-level understanding can be gained by large-scale enquiries into the structural features of a particular phenomenon, which can help to paint an overall picture of the status quo. Guided by the researcher's concerns and analytical precedents, quantitative instruments such as questionnaires can be used to understand the context of a research problem; describe its characteristics; and to explore relationships between different dependent variables. The micro level, on the other hand, focusses on individual accounts from an emic perspective, meaning that it is guided by the words or actions of the participant themselves in unstructured or semi-structured contexts, including interviews and observations. As such, greater insight can be gained into individual experiences of larger scale processes. Interviews are one example of research instruments that allow for the elicitation of procedural accounts that are not wholly guided by the researcher themselves. There is thus room for the emergence of new insight into the phenomenon, as participants may make the researcher aware of other factors or explanations for something to occur.

Researchers keen to analyse individual accounts with sensitivity towards how they relate to wider structural processes commonly use quantitative methods as a basis for their sampling strategy. Blending the two research paradigms thus allows for the contextualisation of emic perspectives and, in cases in which true statistical representativity is impossible to achieve (as is often true for research in the social sciences), provides greater assurance as to the degree of generalisability of the cases studied, allowing the reader to consider whether or not there might be "lessons for other settings" (Mason, 1996).

Another motivation for mixing methods that is commonly cited is data validation through the methodological triangulation of different data collection instruments and analytical procedure that represent the different research paradigms (Denzin, 2009). However, the notion that using quantitative and qualitative approaches ensures data validity has been described as naïve (Brannen, 1992). Whereas it can certainly help shed light on the differences between two data collection methods and provide insight into the shortcomings or advantages of one with respect to another, methodological triangulation does not guarantee data validity (Fielding & Fielding, 1986; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003b). The researcher is encouraged to treat data collected according to the two paradigms as complementary, enabling a fuller

understanding of the phenomenon under study from different perspectives. In fact, any discrepancies between results should be considered opportunities to be exploited by the researcher in order to delve into an issue in greater depth, potentially leading to new insight (Brannen, 1992).

The design of the present study

The present study has been designed to be conducted in two main phases: a large-scale family language questionnaire and semi-structured individual follow-up interviews. The two phases represent two different periods of data collection which follow separate procedures and target different, yet complementary types of data: macro and micro, respectively.

In the first instance, macro sociodemographic and language use data were elicited from the questionnaire respondents in order to get a broad overview of the characteristics of the population and to identify profiles according to family language use. The function of this analysis is to provide contextual description. Given that not much is known about the population under study, this first phase is believed to be an important basis for further inquiry. As such, the research design is exploratory in nature: the initial research questions have been subject to considerable review according to the development of the research process.

The second phase of the research project sought deeper, emic insight into participants' descriptions and justifications of their language uses and experiences raising children plurilingually in Barcelona through the qualitative analysis of their accounts. This phase thus appeals to contextual, explanatory and generative functions of research in that it adds to the initial description of language uses provided by the family language questionnaire; it seeks further depth of understanding into the reasons and motivations underpinning declared behaviours; and it hopes to generate greater insight into what, why and how language choices occur within families, thus contributing to current theory-building (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003b). Iterative processes of qualitative inquiry were employed in order to constantly review and refine the relevant research questions.

Design precedents

Other studies of family language use in plurilingual contexts have employed similar two-phase designs involving an initial questionnaire with follow-up interviews. Okita (2002) studied members of families with a Japanese mother and an English-speaking father who were raising

children bilingually in the United Kingdom whereas Yamamoto (2001) turned her attention to families with the same language combination resident in Japan.

In terms of language use, both Okita and Yamamoto reported changes in family language use patterns over time. Okita argued that the in-depth interviews allowed for full exploration of the often complex motivations for such change which would have been impossible to elicit using quantitative methods alone. Whereas the survey provided a broad overview, the detail of the individual interview accounts allowed for a better characterisation of the population and its language uses.

One of the main benefits of Okita's exploratory survey was the fact that it provided valuable information about a specific population. So little was known about the population under study that important differences between its members were found to have been overlooked at the crucial stage of diagnosing learning difficulties for one child at school (Okita, 2002: 220). Internal heterogeneity, possible explanations for it and factors which can help identify members of different orientations could be better explored through a combination of the two research paradigms.

In order to gain a better understanding of heterogeneity, Yamamoto took steps to construct profiles of four different family types according to the language uses reported in the initial questionnaire. Using data from interviews with six families, Yamamoto described the four profiles in greater depth, providing greater insight into the internal heterogeneity of the population under study. Such research is helpful for policymakers and those called upon to issue advice to such populations.

Also keen to demonstrate a sensitivity to how individual accounts relate to wider processes, Okita encouraged other researchers to consider to what extent the themes that emerged in the interview stage of her research might relate to other populations. By providing a fuller account of the population and some of its individual members, researchers studying other populations can better assess similarities and differences between different groups in the same or different contexts.

A further design precedent can be found in a previous project conducted by the present researcher which focussed on families with a British parent raising young children in

Barcelona (Walls, 2012). Although a more limited population and smaller sample size, the experience of questionnaire design and interview procedure was helpful for the researcher.

6.2 Phase One: The Family Language Questionnaire

A questionnaire was selected as the means of obtaining socio-demographic and language use data in the first phase of the present study. The term *questionnaire* is understood as “any written instruments that present respondents with a series of questions or statements to which they are to react either by writing out their answers or selecting from among existing answers” (Brown, 2001: 6).

Given the impossibility of uniting all members of the research population in one space, it was decided to create an online questionnaire which could be easily distributed and accessed via email, social media and a blog (see section 6.2 for further details of the questionnaire distribution method). Several websites that facilitate the creation and distribution of online questionnaires were considered for their various advantages and limitations, culminating in the choice of Survey Gizmo. This software was chosen due to pragmatic considerations including cost, design features, visual appeal, ease of use and means of distribution available. With a subscription, it was possible to embed links in social media and webpages as well as distribute QR codes. It was also attractive and easy to use for both the questionnaire creator and the respondent, something which was considered important in ensuring maximal response rates.

Questionnaires are effective means of collecting a large quantity of different types of data within a relatively short period of time (Murray Thomas, 2003). Factual, behavioural and attitudinal data are the main types of data gathered (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010). Dörnyei and Csizér (2012) remind us that questionnaires are often used in language acquisition research in order to gather factual data related to participant background information (including socio-demographic information) and intended language behaviour. In the knowledge that interviews would be carried out in the second phase of the project, an explicit decision to refrain from posing attitudinal questions was made during this stage as questionnaires are not the best vehicle for gaining subjective responses about opinions, values and attitudes and the researcher was keen to limit the amount of time required of respondents to complete the questionnaire.

Questionnaire design¹⁶

The questionnaire design process began with a focus on its main objectives: to elicit factual, socio-demographic data in order to describe the population; and to elicit reported language use data in order to create and describe profiles of family according to language use. It was considered important to include questions eliciting both socio-demographic and linguistic data given that “a simple cause and effect approach using only language-related data is unlikely to produce useful accounts of language policy, embedded as it is in a ‘real world’ of contextual variables” (Spolsky, 2004:7). Another important part of the design process involved consulting other questionnaires and surveys, details of which are provided in the section entitled *Writing the questionnaire items* below.

Identifying data types, variables and indicators

Following the objectives described above, the different types of data required and the variables and indicators which would be used to elicit them were identified as in the table below.

Table 7: Data type, variables and indicators

Type of data	Variables and indicators	Questions
Socio-demographic profile of parents	Respondent name (first name and surname); Parents' sex; Parents' age; Parents' place of birth; Parents' nationality; Parents' completed studies; Parents' occupation; Contact details	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 35, 36, 38, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81
Socio-demographic profile of children	Children's age; children's sex; children's educational activity	21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 33
Family socio-demographic profile	Household income (optional); Postcode	12, 20
Family structure	Number of children; Number of parents and hours children spend with parents not currently residing with respondent; Details of other guardians and hours children spend with them per week	34, 37, 39, 40, 41
Migration profile	Places of residence other than Barcelona and years spent there; Length of residence in Barcelona; Reasons for migrating to Barcelona; Frequency of visits home; Frequency of contact home	13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18
Sociolinguistic profile	Parents' L1; Family language strategies; Language(s) of children's educational activity	8, 19, 24, 28, 32, 35

¹⁶ The full questionnaire can be consulted in the Appendix.

Language ability	Ability to understand, speak, read and write English, Castilian, Catalan, and up to four other languages; Self-rated ability in English, Castilian and Catalan (none, limited, fair, advanced, native/native-like)	42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60
Language use	<u>Respondents' language use profile</u> Language(s) used on a regular basis (habitual language); Language(s) used on a regular basis for conversation; language(s) used on a regular basis with work colleagues; language(s) used on a regular basis with customers/students; language(s) used with last three friends met <u>Interpersonal family language uses</u> language(s) normally used with partner/mother/father/children and vice versa <u>Family language uses for cultural consumption</u> Language(s) regularly used to watch the television and films	9, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76 61-68 + SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS 69

Formatting the questionnaire

The next stage involved organising the information above into a format that would progress logically and in the most attractive and straightforward way possible. Seven main sections were identified and ordered into the following sequence:

- Respondent socio-demographic information
- Children's socio-demographic information
- Respondent's current partner socio-demographic information
- Children's other parents' and guardians' socio-demographic information (as required)
- All family members' language abilities
- Family language use
- Contact details

Socio-demographic information was located at the beginning of the questionnaire because the questions are straightforward and usually considered easy and quick to answer. The information was requested of respondents first, followed by children and other parents and guardians. This was due to three criteria: ease of information recall (from easiest to most difficult; most to least immediate); respondents' possible perceptions of relevance to the questionnaire given that gaining knowledge about children's language uses was potentially many parents' main motivation for participating; and sensitivity of data given that information was requested about the respondents' current and previous partners.

A key stage of the design process was ensuring that the questionnaire template was adequate for collecting data from the various possible formats of families, not limited to the traditional nuclear family, nor to families with cross-linguistic couples (as defined by Yamamoto, 2001). Instead, allowances were made for respondents to represent couples who share the same or different linguistic backgrounds. No discrimination was made in case of gender or otherwise, allowing both mothers and fathers to respond to the questionnaire and allowing for same-sex partners or parents in single-parent families to complete it. This meant that the questionnaire wording could make no assumptions based on traditional family models. It also meant that it was essential to design the questionnaire as efficiently as possible with a clear outline and order. If other family members needed to be accounted for, hinge questions which unlocked additional questions were located where necessary throughout the questionnaire.

Sociolinguistic information follows socio-demographic information as, for the purposes of this study, the latter is necessary context for the sociolinguistic data. Language abilities were seen to be a logical precedent to language use and were thus located in the next position despite the language use data being considered more important and indeed essential for the development of language use profiles. It was thought that if there was no logical progression through the sections respondents might grow tired of seemingly unconnected items. The questionnaire took between ten and fifteen minutes to complete, depending on family size and complexity. Efforts were made to make the questionnaire as short and as easily navigable as possible so as to maximise the response rate.

Finally, respondents were consulted about whether or not they would be happy to be recontacted in case of a follow-up interview or to receive a report of the results upon completion of the study. In this case and for these purposes only, a telephone number and/or email address were requested.

Writing the questionnaire items

Items were written based on the questionnaire used for a previous study conducted on a sub-section of the current population (Walls, 2012); notes from the literature review and from qualitative inquiry already conducted on the sub-section of the population; on existing questionnaires used for studies on similar populations (De Houwer, 2003; Fukuda, 2009; Okita, 2002; Yamamoto, 2001); and on language censuses and questionnaires designed specifically

to elicit language use data (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2016; European Commission, 2012; González González, Rodríguez Neira, Fernández Salgado, Loredó Gutiérrez, & Suárez Fernández, 2008; Hickey, 2009; IDESCAT, 2013b; P. Li, Zhang, Tsai, & Puls, 2014; RESOL, 2007; Statistics for Wales, 2015). The pre-existing questionnaires and censuses served as inspiration for the questions designed for the present instrument, however, many of the language use formats were deemed inadequate for collecting detailed information from plurilingual individuals as they tended to focus on the relative uses of two languages in any given context. A particular challenge for the researcher was to word questions in such a way that multiple languages and combinations of languages could be proffered.

Some considerations were central to determining the exact wording of some of the items. As explained earlier, considerable care was taken when considering how to pose questions of a socio-demographic nature in order to ensure that all potential family structures could be accounted for and would feel encouraged to participate in the research. In addition, where data was considered of a particularly sensitive nature and it was not essential for the main objectives of the study, respondents were given the option not to reply. This was the case for item number 12 which requested information about the respondent's approximate annual household income.

Linguistic data related to language abilities and use is vulnerable to inaccurate self-reports. One non-expert's self-assessment of their language ability may be wildly different from another's despite them both potentially being assigned to the same level by an expert observer or standardised test. Language abilities are perhaps best measured by standardised tests. However, this is often unfeasible to do so and would severely compromise participation. As such, a choice was made to request two types of information related to language ability. One was a simple Yes/No response to whether or not the individual *can understand, can speak, can read and/or can write* each language. Answers to this question would enable comparison with the Language Uses of the Population Survey (DGPL, 2015). The other measure was a scale of ability which ranged from 0-4. As parents might interpret numeral scores in very different ways, the following words were associated with each number *none, limited, fair, advanced, native/native-like*. This variable could be used to assess the degree of competence of parents, whilst always bearing in mind that the data is self-reported, or reported by a family member, rather than it being the result of a standardised test.

Studies comparing observed and reported language use often observe important differences between the two measures (De Houwer & Bornstein, 2016) which could be due to two different reasons: the interference of the respondents' language beliefs and a lack of precision on behalf of the respondents. Often participants are thought to declare the language(s) they would like to use as the language(s) actually used, perhaps more a reflection of the respondents' language beliefs than actual language uses (Vila, 2009). On the other hand, respondents are not normally used to calculating the amount of time spent using different languages and can simply provide inaccurate assessments of their uses because it is not something that they have quantified before.

Some strategies have been proposed in order to overcome the above limitations of self-reported language use data. First of all, rather than (or in addition to) eliciting overall language use data, data should be requested according to specific social fields or interlocutors for a more nuanced picture of language uses in varying situations. In the latter case when it comes to question wording, items eliciting interpersonal language uses should invoke as specific an interlocutor as possible instead of referring to hypothetical encounters (Vila, 2009). This recommendation was followed in the questionnaire items eliciting language uses between specific interlocutors. Finally, it has been recommended that plurilingual respondents be invited to list all languages used in each situation and indicate a percentage of the time using each one. Seeing as more than one language may be used in any one social field, collecting this additional data is thought to provide a better reflection of reality.

However, with additional data come additional questions regarding data treatment and analysis, as well as practical concerns related to the length of the questionnaire and potential drop-out rates of respondents who become tired of repetitive items. For the above reasons and given the limited design options available through any of the various pieces of questionnaire software reviewed, a decision was made not to request additional information in the form of percentages despite this data potentially adding to the validity of the questionnaire instrument. Instead, it was decided to include more detailed questions relating to language use in the second phase of the study in order to gain a more nuanced understanding of the extent to which the languages are used as well as additional information such as the contexts of use and reasons given for preferences.

Another issue with language use data is the fact that it is also subject to change over time. As has been documented in other studies, an individual's language use can change over time (De Houwer & Bornstein, 2016) in response to a multitude of possible factors including: confidence, motivation and responses to changes in social networks. The questions asked during the interviews made allowances for parents to recount such changes and explain their accounts of how they came about.

In response to the potential pitfalls of language use data listed above, the following measures were taken. When debating how to elicit language use, the wording of the question was carefully considered to allow for more than one language to be selected in each context or interlocutor pair in order to ensure a more nuanced depiction of the respondents' linguistic reality. However, as explained above, it was considered unfeasible to include percentages that measured the degree to which each language was used given design restrictions and the voluntary nature of participation in the questionnaire. In recognition of this limitation and of the potential changes in respondents' language uses over time, it was decided to incorporate further language use questions and opportunities to discuss percentages in the interviews that took place in the second phase of the research project.

Questionnaire pilot, revision and supplement

Once the questionnaire had been designed it was piloted in two successive stages as recommended by Dörnyei and Csizér (2012). Firstly, three experts in the fields of sociolinguistics and/or language acquisition research, all of whom are parents and two of whom fit the required profile for participating in the project, completed the questionnaire paying close attention to detail. They provided in-depth feedback on the initial design, either through think-aloud responses as they were completing the questionnaire, or as a written response to my request for piloting it. Following some revisions to the wording and order of some items, ten non-expert individuals completed the questionnaire and provided valuable feedback on issues relating to format and ease of understanding in some places which were subsequently modified and reviewed with their support.

Unfortunately, at this stage a simulated version of the language use data analysis was not performed which would have highlighted the absence of some important fields in the family language use section. Whereas data covering the individual language use of all possible

tandem pairs was collected for the respondent¹⁷, subsequent questions designed to reduce the number of tables failed to ensure that all possible tandem pairs were accounted for. As a result, a supplement was created using Survey Monkey software (see Appendix 2).

The Family Language Questionnaire had a total of 82 items which were supplemented with an additional three items in the supplementary Family Language Questionnaire – additional data. Various question types were selected in order to i) collect each piece of data in the most suitable and effective way possible; and ii) add variety to the respondents' experience and avoid incomplete submissions.

- Text fields were used to gather data such as the names and ages of participants
- Binary choice options were used when there were two options, i.e. yes/no or male/female.
- Multiple choice items were used when there were more than two options. Where appropriate, these were either restricted to one possible answer (ie. country of birth) or it was possible for respondents to select more than one option (ie. language(s) used on a regular basis with first child).
- Tick boxes were provided for language abilities (ie. can understand, can speak, can read, can write).
- Open fields were left for respondents to introduce any additional data or comments that they considered relevant on a limited number of occasions. Whereas not the main source of data, this was a way of allowing respondents to introduce ideas or variables that might not have been considered by the researcher.

There are two levels of units of analysis that have been included in the present study: the individual and the family. The individual unit is essential for understanding language choice, as argued by De Houwer & Bornstein (2016), Carroll (2015) and Lanza (2001). However, the family unit is derived from each family member's individual uses with every other member, as displayed in a matrix to calculate overall indexes of language use within each family. Given that not all individual uses were collected in the initial questionnaire, a set of follow-up

¹⁷ Although tables reduced the number of words and questions that needed to be addressed to the respondent, design options for the tables were limited and it was impossible to introduce changes to the format such as images or text formatting which might have made the questionnaire more engaging.

questions was designed to collect data from those families who had more than one child and who indicated that they did not mind being recontacted. It was not possible to collect this additional data from just five respondents, resulting in their withdrawal from the study. However, all remaining cases had full data sets.

Questionnaire distribution

Questionnaire data collection ran from February to June 2015. Criteria for questionnaire response eligibility were decided as follows:

- The responding parent must have English as a first language (determined according to whether or not it is reported to have been used at the parent's home, either alone or in combination with other languages, as a child). Note that the first language(s) of the other parent(s) does not determine eligibility.
- The responding parent must be resident in the metropolitan region of Barcelona at the time of response (determined according to the respondent's current postcode).
- The eldest child in the family must be aged between 0 and 16 years of age at the time of response, limiting the eligible population to those with children of compulsory schooling age. This was decided because school is believed to be an important influence on childhood language socialisation.

Once the eligibility criteria had been decided upon, a strategy was devised for distributing the online questionnaire and publicising the research to as wide an audience as possible. There is no one location in which all eligible participants could be found or gathered together. Instead the population is scattered, with large groups concentrated in some focal areas (see Figure 23) and other individuals unevenly distributed throughout the metropolitan area.

Several distribution strategies were undertaken simultaneously, including:

- A telephone campaign addressed towards all English-speaking nurseries, kindergartens, play-groups, private schools and children's facilities, with a follow-up email addressed to an individual identified during the telephone call in order to maximise chances of further distribution of information about the research and a direct link to complete the questionnaire via mailing lists or posters attached to the email.

- Requesting a series of contacts and acquaintances at large multinational organisations, associations, language schools and universities to forward an email with information about the research and a direct link to complete the questionnaire.
- Creating a blog entitled “Multilingual Families in Barcelona – A Researcher’s Fieldnotes” and a linked Facebook page entitled “Multilingual Families in Barcelona” with information about the study, direct links to complete the questionnaire, and other relevant information which might be of interest to families.
- Distributing information about the study and direct links to complete the questionnaire around various related Facebook groups, including mother and toddler groups; groups for language teachers and expats residing in Barcelona; and specialist groups related to raising bilingual or multilingual children.
- Publishing information about the study, QR codes and links to complete the questionnaire in Catalonia Today magazine; on the social media account of Barcelona Metropolitan magazine and on prominent blogs about the city addressed to English-speaking audiences.
- Making an appearance on television in an interview conducted by El Punt Avui TV and distributing links to the recorded interview through the blog and Facebook page.
- Putting up posters in shops and bars known by the researcher to be frequented by English-speakers.
- Asking friends, acquaintances and respondents to pass on the information to their friends and acquaintances in either email or Facebook message form by means of the snowball approach.

Such a diverse range of distribution strategies required a great investment of time and energy. However, this was perceived important in order to reduce the limitations of the necessarily self-selected sample. It is impossible to know if all of the potential respondents were reached as the total number and distribution of the population is unavailable. Respondents participated voluntarily, thus making it possible that sections of the overall population are not represented at all, under-represented or over-represented. In the hopes of encouraging the largest number and widest range of parents possible to participate, every distribution technique that could be thought of was undertaken over a period of four months.

In addition, the following recommendations from Dörnyei (2003: 75-80) were acted upon to further maximise response rates:

- the email included some text explaining the study's purpose and value (see Appendix 3)
- a direct link to the questionnaire was located prominently in the email
- distribution campaigns were carefully timed to avoid Mondays and holiday periods
- one email reminder was sent 10-14 days after the first email if a response had not been provided indicating that action had been taken
- the researcher's contact details were provided with assurances of response to questions or doubts
- the confidentiality of responses was assured and observed by the researcher
- wherever possible, the personal recommendation of a known individual or organisation was sought

Questionnaire data treatment

A total of 199 completed questionnaires were gathered via Survey Gizmo. 29 of these were excluded for various reasons (the responding parent was not an L1 English speaker; the eldest child was over the upper age limit; the respondent was resident outside of the Barcelona metropolitan region at the time of response; or incomplete data sets). Following that, five responses were excluded due to a lack of response to the subsequent questions added at a later date and one response was excluded during the cluster analysis procedures due to atypical behaviour.

As a result, the final sample consists of 164 families, covering data from a total of 614 individuals (331 parents and 283 children). In preparation for descriptive analysis the data was downloaded directly from the Survey Gizmo website as an Excel file. Responses to the additional questions were manually added to the Excel spreadsheet before it was manually coded for entry into SPSS Statistics software. A coding manual was created in which all codes were logged (see Appendix 4).

For the cluster profiles, a matrix was created using Excel in order to calculate family language use indices for English, Castilian and Catalan (see Appendix 5). The index scores were then input into SPSS Statistics, where the cluster analysis procedure was performed.

Questionnaire data analysis

Two phases of data analysis were undertaken: a descriptive analysis of socio-demographic and sociolinguistic data was performed before carrying out cluster analysis procedure in order to identify family language use profiles.

Descriptive analysis

The initial phase of the questionnaire analysis involved describing the sample in terms of both socio-demographic and sociolinguistic data. This is particularly important because to date few studies have been conducted on the research population. The descriptive analysis of the whole sample involved basic frequency count and cross-tab procedures in order to describe the main characteristics of the sample in terms of age, sex, education, profession, length of residence, family structure, language ability and language use.

Cluster analysis and profile development

There are various methods of describing a sample whilst taking multiple variables into account simultaneously. Cluster analysis has been selected for the current study in order to classify families according to their language use profiles. The following description explains what the process involves:

“Cluster analysis groups data objects based only on information found in the data that describes the objects and their relationships. The goal is that the objects within a group be similar (or related) to one another and different from (or unrelated to) the objects in other groups. The greater the similarity (or homogeneity) within a group and the greater the difference between groups, the better or more distinct the clustering.” (Tan, Steinbach, & Kumar, 2006: 490)

Given that the aim of this study is to identify family profiles according to their language uses in interactions, cluster analysis procedure will be performed in order to obtain a classification. Family language use has been chosen as the basis for classification. The population is considerably heterogeneous in terms of parents' places of birth and linguistic trajectories, however, a classification according to language uses will help to describe the different situations in which the same choice occurs and to further explore motivations behind certain choices, as will be explored in the interview phase of the study. Yamamoto (2001) is another

example of a study focussing on family language management using a similar design that uses family language use as criteria for sampling interview participants.

Indexes were created in order to measure family language use. A total of 16 indexes were created: one for each language (English, Castilian, Catalan and Other) and interaction (Parent to Parent; Parents to Children; Children to Parents; Children). The index is the average percentage of use of each language across the different interactions within each family. In order to do so a matrix of family language uses was created in which each interaction was tabulated. For interactions for which a single language was reported to be used, the value for this language was 1/1; for those for which two languages were reported to be used, the value was 1/2 for each language, and so on (see Appendix 5). Taking into account the fact that different families have different numbers of family members, the average of all interactions was taken for the index value. As a result, the scales can be interpreted as the average percentage.

An imputation strategy has been employed to account for missing data for the interaction between children given that not all families have more than one child. For only children, the Children to Parents value has been repeated. This is because it has been supposed that the time only children spend speaking to their parents at home should include the time when they might have spoken to their siblings. The correlation between the two variables is high ($r=0.7-0.8$), implying this to be a sensible imputation strategy.

The procedure chosen for the cluster analysis was hierarchical agglomerative clustering given that many variables were used for relatively few cases (16/164). The squared Euclidean distance and the average linkage method were chosen for the construction of the proximity matrix and for the classification, respectively. For the former, the Euclidean distance was used because it is the most common measure with good statistical properties and can be interpreted intuitively. For the latter aim, single linkage was chosen on account of it performing best for the data compared to other classification methods. This was judged in terms of cophenetic correlation (see Table 8).

Table 8: The cophenetic correlation of different classification methods for the cluster analysis procedure

Method	Correlation
Average linkage	0.79
Complete linkage	0.74
Ward	0.64
Single linkage	0.60

After the cluster analysis procedure was undertaken, other structural variables regarding the family situation were used in order to enable a thicker description of each cluster. The following variables were crosstabulated with the family language profile (FLP) derived from cluster analysis, so that their composition could be described in terms of:

- Parents' country of birth (English country, English country + Spain, English country + other, Spain + other)
- Parents' studies (no higher education, one parent higher education, both parents higher education)
- Parents' age (average age of parents)
- Parents' L1 (English, English + Castilian, English + Catalan, English + other languages, other combinations)
- Countries of residence (the number of countries previously resided in by the responding transnational anglophone parent)
- Length of residence in metropolitan region of Barcelona of the responding transnational anglophone parent
- Reason for moving to Barcelona of the responding transnational anglophone parent
- Parents' language abilities for each language (English, Castilian and Catalan) on a scale of 0 to 4: 0 representing no ability and 4 all four (understanding, reading, speaking and writing)
- Children's language abilities for each language (English, Castilian and Catalan) on a scale of 0 to 4: 0 representing no ability and 4 all four (understanding, reading, speaking and writing)

6.3 Sampling procedure

Before moving on to the semi-structured interviews in the second phase of the study, criteria were devised for sampling participants from the original sample of questionnaire respondents for participation in interview.

Sampling method

As the total number of L1 English-speaking parents of children in the metropolitan region of Barcelona cannot be determined from the census or survey data available, it is necessary to adopt a non-probability sampling method. Such methods are used as a basis for qualitative research for populations whose total size is unknown and cannot be discovered, hence making statistical representativity impossible (Lanza, 2008).

Within the range of non-probability sampling strategies, the stratified purposive sampling method was selected. Through this procedure, groups are selected that display variation on a particular phenomenon in order to capture a variety of perspectives (Mason, 2012). In this case, within each cluster profile, interviews will be conducted with parents of children of a range of ages representing the three stages of compulsory education, which are considered to be important influences on their childhood socialisation. However, each subgroup will be homogenous in terms of language use profiles so that they can be compared, allowing for the identification of similarities and differences within and between profiles and age groups.

The data analysis procedure to be followed for the interviews imposes a further condition on the sampling procedures. For the grounded theory methodology employed (see section 6.4 for a description of the method), theoretical sampling methods are encouraged. As part of a cyclical data collection and analysis process, theoretical sampling involves the selection of participants on the basis of the questions raised in previous interviews. Within the stratified purposive sampling method employed to ensure the representation of each cluster and age group, theoretical sampling was used to select participants who were thought to have the attributes necessary to fill in the properties and dimensions of emergent categories. However, the limited availability of many parents contacted meant that sometimes these attempts were frustrated.

Another non-probability method commonly employed in the field is convenience sampling, for which choices tend to be made on the basis of how accessible participants are to the

researcher. One of the main limitations of this method is that it is often used without a previous contextualisation of the research sample in the form of a larger scale research instrument such as a questionnaire or even in terms of a sociodemographic description of the total or estimated population. This important previous step has been undertaken for the present study. However, according to participant availability this strategy may need to be employed within each subgroup (see section 6.3.3 on sampling criteria for more information).

Whereas it is recognised that generalisability is impossible to achieve for a population of this nature, the decision to use a stratified purposive approach has been made to gain as wide a variety of perspectives as possible on the phenomenon. This is in order to produce results which are relevant to as much of the research population as can be catered for and to gain as much information relevant to theory-building as possible, without making claims to statistical representativity.

Sample size

In recognition of the fact that no definitive number of individuals selected can be prescribed universally or on the basis of one sole factor, the initial sample size was chosen in accordance with guidelines, research objectives, the number of subgroups within the sample and the resources available (Mason, 2012; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Further to this, data saturation (Fusch & Ness, 2015; Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006; Mason, 2010) and considerations concerning the quality of data (Burmeister & Aitken, 2012; Dibley, 2011; Mason, 2012) were used in order to determine whether or not to expand on the initial sample.

Guidelines for qualitative researchers vary: some have indicated that between 20 – 30 participants (Cresswell, 1998: 64) or 30 – 50 participants (Morse, 1994) is appropriate for grounded theory approaches, whereas others have suggested that as few as twelve in-depth interviews may lead to data saturation, with basic metathemes being identifiable after just six (Guest et al., 2006). Data saturation is a point of diminishing return beyond which no new codes are created or further insight gained. At this point, it is often counterproductive to continue collecting new data. Factors contributing to data saturation are the quality of the data and its analysis (Mason, 2010), often assessed in terms of richness and thickness (Dibley, 2011) or depth (Burmeister & Aitken, 2012) and dependent upon the skill and experience of the interviewer. Beyond the initial sample the degree of data saturation will determine the need to carry out further interviews.

However, in establishing the size of the initial sample, guidelines cannot be universal as research objectives can and do vary widely. Charmaz (2006) has underlined that the number and complexity of research aims will affect the number of individuals in any one sample, with projects addressing several questions from the perspective of various different disciplines requiring larger sample sizes than those more focussed in scope. Ritchie & Lewis (2003) have also pointed out that the number of subgroups within the sample will affect the overall sample size, with a greater number of subgroups requiring larger sample sizes.

A final point to bear in mind is the scope of the resources available to the researcher(s). Given that interview data is unwieldy in terms of its storage and costly in terms of the time dedicated to its collection, transcription and analysis, it is undesirable to conduct any more interviews than those necessary to reach data saturation. For this project, just one researcher conducted, transcribed and analysed the interviews.

As a result of the above considerations, an initial decision was made to conduct between twenty-two and thirty research interviews, the number subject to variation due to the limited number of eligible participants in some of the subgroups of the sample and to the moment at which data saturation is thought to occur (see Appendix 6). A total of twenty-six research interviews were conducted over a period of four months. For the larger profiles, a minimum of eight individuals were interviewed, whereas for the smaller profiles that number dropped to just three. In terms of the different age groups incorporated, there were between eight and nine individuals representing each group.

In order to counterbalance the potentially negative effects of the limited number of interviews in the smaller subgroups, they were left until later in the analysis in order for the researcher to gain further interview experience and, once the coding procedure had been initiated, focus in on the areas of most interest.

Sampling criteria

In many cases there were several participants to choose from within each subgroup. Before selecting participants for the interview sample, however, some cases were removed if they did not fit the following criteria:

Further contact

Those questionnaire respondents who had requested no further contact were eliminated from the sampling population.

Children's age

Given the two-year time lapse between questionnaire data collection and the interviews, the main criterion for participant eligibility was whether or not their eldest child was still within the same age band. Those whose eldest child was not still within the same age band were eliminated from the sampling population.

Number of offspring

Where possible, families with two children were selected for interview in order to keep the number of siblings constant. There were, however, some cases in which a limited number of eligible participants required the participation of a family with a greater or lesser number of offspring.

For selection from the remaining cases, participants were ordered in accordance with how closely their language uses fitted the cluster profile. A Euclidean distance index was created which showed the distance of each participant from the cluster centres. The smaller the distance, the closer the language uses were to the profile description.

An email was sent to invite the chosen individuals to participate in an interview, a model of which can be consulted in Appendix 7.

After the initial interviews with a member of each subgroup, theoretical sampling methods were attempted to identify individuals from families with attributes that were considered to be of interest. Ultimately, however, due to limited participant availability the most central cases and even some of the participants chosen theoretically were not always available for interview. When a negative response was received from a prospective interviewee, other individuals were contacted until a positive response was obtained.

6.4 Phase Two: Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were selected as qualitative research tools for the second phase of the present study. Qualitative data collection took place between March and June 2017,

two years after the FLQ. Phase two was designed to enable a thicker description of the profiles, in addition to obtain a fuller understanding of the underlying motivations for and strategies behind the different family language use patterns identified.

Qualitative enquiry is often labelled *emic* as it grants access to “people’s own perspectives on and interpretation of their beliefs and behaviours – and, most crucially, an understanding of the meanings that they attach to them”. It is also often the “only means of understanding certain psychological phenomena, such as motivations, beliefs and decision processes” (Ritchie, 2003: 36). It was thus deemed the best method to obtain the detailed and complex data required for the second phase of the study.

Interview format and design

The in-depth semi-structured format was chosen over and above looser models in order to ensure that the same key questions were asked in the same way to each participant and guarantee the coverage of key topics (Arthur & Nazroo, 2003), thus allowing for comparison between different individuals’ responses. The semi-structured interview follows a list of questions as a guide whilst allowing the researcher to digress or probe for further information where deemed insightful (Mackey & Gass, 2005). Probes and digressions enable the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the issues raised and also allow the researcher to check their interpretation of an interviewee’s answer or ask for clarification. The semi-structured format also grants flexibility in case an interviewee introduces new topics which they consider to be relevant, thus allowing for the emergence of previously unconsidered issues.

An interview script was devised based on previous interview experience and discussion with other researchers (see Appendix 8). The first step in this process involved clarifying the goals of the second phase of the study. The goals were identified as providing a thicker description of the language use profiles and as gaining a deeper understanding of the reasons for using the languages reported, including the values attributed to the different languages at stake; the strategies employed to manage language uses; and parents’ evaluations of their children’s attainment.

These goals were then used in the process of deciding the five main section headings, the information required from participants and the first draft of the questions that each section

would include. The section headings are: migration story, language practices, language strategies, language beliefs¹⁸ and future orientations. The order of the sections was carefully designed in an attempt to provide a sense of natural flow or progression and in order to ensure that the interviewee had as good an experience of the interview as possible. As such, they follow a broad chronological progression from their personal migration experience in the past, to language uses past and present, and on to future orientations and advice.

Starting with broad questions about the interviewees' biography eased them into the interview with general details of their migration history before moving on to discussing the specifics of their language practices, as recommended by Arthur and Nazroo (2003: 112). Asking interviewees to explain how they came to set up home in Barcelona enabled the interviewer to simultaneously i) gain a fuller picture of the different migratory trajectories which bring transnational anglophone parents to Barcelona; ii) identify moments or turning points in the migration stories that were highlighted by the interviewees as decisive in determining their current situation; and iii) understand any significant changes in family situation since the time of the questionnaire. In case all expected areas were not covered, cues were included in the script so that the interviewer could ask follow-up prompt questions. This meant that all interviewees explained about their partner, work, social networks and language acquisition process prior to delving into family language practices.

During the second stage of the interview, the interviewee was asked to complete a grid based on that used by Yamamoto (2001: 140) which detailed the languages used between all members of the family in tandem pairs (see Appendix 9). This structured data was collected near the beginning so as to avoid breaking the flow or rapport of the interview (Arthur & Nazroo, 2003: 127). The data from the original questionnaire was also input into a similar grid, which acted as a prompt to generate further discussion about changes in their reports since the time of questionnaire, as well as possible reasons for them.

The third stage of the interview focussed on language strategies: present, past and future. The first questions attempted to gain information relating to parents' goals and expectations, before questions were asked about intentional strategies employed in order to manage their

¹⁸ Covering the three components of family language management identified by Spolsky.

children's language uses. These questions were included in the same section so that it could be assessed to what extent the strategies used were helpful in achieving the desired outcome.

In a similarly straightforward way, the fourth stage dealt with language beliefs using questions that elicit discussion from which the values attributed to the different languages could be understood. With the understanding that values questions can often be value-laden¹⁹, every attempt was made to withhold value statements that might indicate the researcher's own values from the question wording. Given some early responses to these questions, in which participants seemed to assume that they were in possession of a commonly held perspective that was not required to be made explicit, these questions were often prefaced with "It might seem obvious, but could you explain ...". This strategy was inspired by an example for the iterative probing technique provided by Legard, Keegan & Ward (2003).

The final section was important in gaining an understanding of the parents' future migration plans as well as their perspectives on their children's futures. Looking towards the future helped to signpost the ending for the interviewees and brought the interview to a natural conclusion. The final question about advice for other parents also helped to transmit a sense of closure, as also recommended by Arthur and Nazroo (2003). It served as a point of reflection on what the interviewees believed to be most important and generated some thoughtful responses.

The overall structure of the interview script followed a "tree and branch" model (Rubin & Rubin, 1995) with flow diagrams to indicate the sequence of questioning according to different expected responses. This worked well in practice and enabled greater agility in determining the order and relevance of different questions during the course of the interview.

The script was piloted on the first three participants who represented families with the eldest child in each of the three age groups. Given that these interviews were deemed successful, no changes were made to the script after the pilot interviews. As they are therefore fully comparable with the other interviews, the pilot interviews have been incorporated within the full sample.

¹⁹ As can codes (Saldana, 2009).

The interview process

As opposed to naturalistic data, interview participants generate data through the mental reprocessing and verbal recounting of their own experience. Such accounts are not mere factual reports. Instead, they are filtered experience which may be interpreted or presented in different ways on different occasions (Legard et al., 2003). Part of this variation in interpretation and presentation is due to factors related to the interviewee's psychological state at the time of interview. Another part of this variation has to do with the interlocutor effect brought about by the interaction between interviewee and interviewer.

Social constructivist perspectives have called for interview accounts to be regarded as "situated narratives" (Silverman, 1993) or "negotiated texts" (Fontana & Frey, 2003) which are indexical of the social situation in which they are embedded:

"Interviews are cooperative products of interactions between two or more persons who assume different roles and who frequently come from contrasting social, cultural and or linguistic backgrounds" (Briggs, 1986: 102).

This relates to the observer's paradox in that the interviewer, through their very physical presence and participation in interaction, necessarily conditions the course of the interaction. The interviewee's conscious or unconscious assumptions about their interlocutor and the norms that they expect to govern the appropriate modes of communication between them will affect how they present themselves and their experience to the interviewer. Researcher reflexivity, that is the researcher's awareness of their own role in co-constructing a social reality in the interview setting, is thus a central concern in the design of qualitative research involving interviews and other ethnographic methods.

It is customary to include personal reflections on the role of the researcher at this point. An assessment of the impact of my personal history and cultural background will be followed by a consideration of my personal views on the topic which have been subjected to critical evaluation.

Firstly, my insider status as somebody who shares the same first language as the interviewees; who has also migrated from a predominantly English-speaking country to Barcelona and experienced language socialisation in this context; and who has a long-term local partner and envisions a future in the local area overcomes some of the potential pitfalls of insuperable

social, experiential and linguistic distance between interviewer and interviewee. Like many of the interviewees, I became interested in the culture and people of Spain while studying Castilian at secondary school and later went on to study the language to undergraduate level. I met my partner while still a student on an extended stay in Barcelona and came to live in Spain seven years ago, just one year after graduation. Lewis reminds us that “sharing some aspects of cultural background or experience may be helpful in enriching researchers’ understanding of participants’ accounts of the language they use and of nuances and subtexts” (Lewis, 2003: 65).

The shared experience perspective guides recommendations for matching interviewers to interviewees, particularly on the grounds of key socio-demographic criteria. It is also widely recommended to match interviewer and interviewee in terms of language ability, with many advocating the importance of interviews being conducted in a first language of the participant, or the chosen language of the participant (Pavlenko, 2007). Due to the fact that all initial contact had been established in English through the questionnaire campaign, further contact with those sampled for interview was naturally continued in English and there were no circumstances in which that was questioned or in which it was thought that the interviewee was uncomfortable to proceed in English. Despite the use of English as our main means of communication, most interviewees inserted Castilian or Catalan terms during the course of the interview, clearly assuming (or in some cases directly enquiring about) my familiarity with at least these expressions. Official language terms were commonly used to refer to specific school vocabulary (ie. *pati* or *patio* for playground), members of family from the host society (ie. *iaia* for grandmother) and in several cases to refer to the two official languages themselves (ie. *castellano* for Castilian or *catalán* for Catalan).

One potential drawback of sharing cultural backgrounds, however, may result in shared implications that are implicitly understood without being explicitly stated during the interviews. In such cases, these implications should be identified and made explicit by the researcher. This is best done during the course of the interview, when the interviewer can probe to confirm the interviewee’s intended meaning of any items which could otherwise result ambiguous.

Furthermore, it is impossible to match interviewer and interviewee entirely. Some aspects of my social background and experience which do not fully match with interviewees' experience are outlined here for consideration of to what extent this might affect the analysis.

Firstly in terms of social background. I come from a mixed social background with family members from what would traditionally be termed as a range of working and middle/upper-middle classes. Having also been exposed to what might be considered predominantly upper-middle or upper class environs whilst studying at the University of Cambridge, I consider myself adaptable to interlocutors from a range of backgrounds.

Secondly, this understanding of social background and norms of interaction may well be rooted in a distinctly British sense of social class and politeness. This is something which might be shared with British participants, but might not be true for participants of other nationalities. However, I myself can be classed as a transnational migrant according to my earlier definition and have experience of living in various contexts other than that of my home country. In addition, I have a wide network of international acquaintances and a broad range of first-hand experiences of cross-cultural communication contexts which have heightened my sensitivity to other cultural realities and norms. I hope that this experience has helped me to avoid any problems that might be caused by cross-cultural pragmatic differences.

Thirdly, I am not a parent. I am a graduate student who conducted the interviews in her late-twenties. I have, therefore, not shared the experience of raising children plurilingually in Barcelona, something which meant that few shared assumptions about the process could be taken for granted. Many participants were keen to know (often at the start of the interview) if I myself had children. Upon my negative answer, I was often treated as (or perhaps keen to be viewed as) something of a novice in terms of transnational experience and parenthood. I believe that this might be helpful in terms of making it more likely for participants to be open about their experiences and perceptions, without possible comparisons of what I might be doing or have done with my own children.

I decided early on to avoid sharing personal details about my own experience of migration, language acquisition and language socialisation processes before or during interviews so as not to unduly influence interviewees' responses. However, there were one or two occasions when this was asked of me and I made a conscious decision to share information upon request

in the attempt to create an atmosphere of trust and equality. Where possible, I tried to avoid going into detail until the end of the interview, giving a brief answer initially and offering to follow-up later. In fact, in most cases, these questions were asked after the tape recorder was switched off and as I was packing up my things to leave the interview location. This seemed a natural transition as they asked me what I was going to do with the information and made enquiries about any insights I might have gleaned so far.

One area in which many participants asked about my personal experience was in terms of my linguistic competence. The question of whether or not I had acquired Catalan came up repeatedly, either before, during or after the interview. My affirmative answer to the question tended to bring up one of two different responses. Interviewees who also reported Catalan competence and use made signs that they regarded my response as positive and considered me to be understanding of the advantages of using Catalan that they reported in terms of sense of belonging and interaction. There was a greater incidence of comments which demonstrated a sense of shared implication in the host society context in these cases. However, for those who reported Catalan ability but not use, or for those who reported little or no Catalan competence, my answer was often followed by justifications for why they had not learnt or did not use it and I felt that some participants regarded themselves either at a disadvantage or perhaps as the potential object of my disapproval. As a linguist well acquainted with the various discourses commonly associated with the use of Catalan I was not shocked by any opinions voiced and did my best to remain impartial to and understanding of all viewpoints expressed. As Corbin & Strauss remind us:

“Participants’ belief systems and values may differ significantly from those of the researcher. Nevertheless, participants should be treated with dignity and their time respected. Researchers are there to gather information and not to make judgments”
(Corbin & Strauss, 2015:13)

Finally as a researcher with an email address linked to the University of Barcelona, my role was sometimes questioned and may have been perceived in different ways. Some clearly regarded the pursuit of doctoral studies as a sign of great intelligence and positioned themselves in deference to perceived greater wisdom or knowledge. This was a perception which I was not keen to perpetuate and my reference to their expertise in the topic as parents

who experience the phenomenon first-hand was helpful in that sense. In some cases my role at the university might have been questioned in terms of possible allegiances with people or organisations who might have a vested interest in defending the Catalan language, as was explicitly drawn to my attention by a participant in a previous study keen to find out “who I was working for”. However, this project is more of a personal pursuit in search of the answers to my own questions, which I believe were raised by my own experience of transnational migration and socialisation in a host society context. Nevertheless, I have tried to manage both of these possible perceptions by presenting myself as a developing researcher. I have also emphasised my commitment to knowledge transfer through a blog, social media page, participation in local events and conferences, and by hosting an event with a world-renowned expert on the topic. At all stages I have stated my desire to share research results with the participants and contribute to a better understanding of family language use phenomena, establishing a relationship on an equal footing and based on mutual interest. Many parents’ enthusiasm to participate was conveyed to me by those I am lucky to have as friends and acquaintances and also via emails, additional comments on the questionnaire and questions and encouragement after the interviews by people I am not so familiar with. I believe that many parents have questions and concerns about family language management; were happy to have the opportunity to participate in such a project; and will be interested to read the results.

Interview data treatment

The interviews were recorded using a TASCAM DR-40 recorder and downloaded onto a computer as a WAV file. The files were stored in such a way as to maintain participant anonymity and kept with a password to ensure that only the researcher had access to them. In this way, all recordings were available to the researcher throughout the project, both for transcription and posterior consultation purposes.

An online transcription platform named Transcribe²⁰ was used to transcribe the interviews in full. As recommended by Turell & Moyer (2008), each transcription file was accompanied with data pertaining to the sociodemographic and sociolinguistic profile of the participant (in anonymous format). Each file also includes fieldnotes made shortly after the interview had taken place with the researcher’s reflections on the interview process as well as insight gained

²⁰ <https://transcribe.wreally.com>

from the researcher's immediate impression of the interview. The transcriptions used for the current project did not employ the kind of detailed transcription conventions designed for conversation analysis or critical analysis studies, because greater analytical attention was paid to the content of participants' contributions than to the context of interaction. As a result, a broad transcription format was followed that reflects written conventions (see Appendix 10).

Atlas.ti 8 software was used to code the data and store the analytic memos. The software allows for audio and text files to be stored and coded, as well as offering search and visualisation functions which assist analysis.

Interview data analysis

Once transcribed, interview data takes the form of autobiographic narrative. Interviews are thus an important source of subject reality, that is, findings on how things or events are experienced by respondents (Pavlenko, 2007). Participants' accounts of such things or events provide glimpses into the beliefs that motivate choices and also grant insight into participants' life trajectories, socialisation processes and future intentions (Heller, 2008). Given that an individual's experience influences beliefs in the form of the meanings that they attribute to events (Corbin & Strauss, 2015), retrospective accounts of migratory trajectories and language socialisation processes will be important contextualisers for present-day beliefs and practices.

Narratives are a form of "self-presentation" (Goffman, 1959) and their subjectivity, rootedness in time, place and personal experience make them highly valuable means of gaining emic insight into data that is closely bound to life events (Riessman, 1993: 5). However, some limitations of participants' accounts of such events should be taken into consideration, including the possibility of selective recall, self-delusion, perceptual distortions and memory loss (Hall & Rist, 1999: 297-298). As such, reported interview data cannot be assumed to be wholly reliable (in the same way as reported questionnaire data). It is common to find contradictions and incoherences in participants' accounts, which can act as a signal for researchers as areas of particular interest.

Data interpretation is not a neutral process either and it is possible for different perspectives and interpretations to be held held by the teller, listener, transcriber, analyst and reader. Riessman reminds us that "awareness of representation presses us to be more conscious,

reflective, and cautious about the claims we make” (Riessman, 1993: 16). Rather than branding participants as particular types of individuals or making value judgements about opinions voiced, the researcher must reflect on their own values and beliefs and be capable of identifying them whilst consciously seeking to limit their presence in the data analysis process.

One of the most common ways of systematically analysing autobiographical narrative data in the social sciences is using grounded theory. The grounded theory approach was founded by Glaser & Strauss, whose development of the category “awareness contexts” whilst studying the topic of dying emerged from terminal patients’ accounts of the different contexts in which they became aware of their fate (Glaser & Strauss, 1965). Shortly afterwards they published *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*, which introduced a systematic methodology for the inductive analysis of narrative data (Glaser & Strauss, 1968). Since then, later developments and revisions have been provided in response to some criticism that the method has received (Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Strauss, 1990).

Distinctive features of the grounded theory method include analysis by induction, the simultaneous occurrence of data collection and analysis, theoretical sampling and the principle of data saturation. First of all, grounded theory uses inductive analytical techniques following procedure which lead through different cycles of coding that are designed in order to encourage the naming of codes and categories that emerge from the data. As such, research questions are subject to modification and new ones might emerge during the course of the research process (Riessman, 1993: 60). An alternative to this process would be content analysis, which uses pre-established codes and categories from the relevant theory to label the data. However, content analysis lacks sensitivity to the participants’ use of categories in their interactions and does not allow for the emergence of new concepts or categories that might enrich current theory (Silverman, 2006).

In grounded theory analysis, the data collection and analysis take place simultaneously, “informing and streamlining each other” (Bryant & Charmaz, 2013). This paves the way for theoretical sampling, which involves the selection of interview participants according to characteristics deemed to be of interest on the basis of the interviews conducted so far. Although theoretical sampling in its true sense proved difficult due to a reduced overall sample size and several instances of participant refusal due to unavailability or having moved

away from the area, where possible participants who were thought to exemplify a range of cases were contacted. For grounded theory analysts, data collection stops at the point at which theoretical saturation is reached. The moment of theoretical saturation is when there is no emergence of new categories or significant new insight into the properties and dimensions of the categories identified.

There are two cycles of grounded theory coding. The first cycle involves the identification of concepts whereas the second aims at developing those concepts into categories and paving the way for theory-building. Different coding procedures are employed during each cycle. The terminology for the different types of coding procedure described in this section come from Saldana (2009).

During the first cycle of coding, a combination of open coding, structural coding and values coding procedures were used. First of all, open coding was used on the first reading of the complete interview transcript in order to identify the main concepts that arose throughout the course of the interview. Secondly, structural coding involved the use of content-based titles or phrases that emerged from the open coding and represented the main topics of inquiry that were identified to be of interest for the purposes of the present study. Thirdly, an explicit focus on values coding allowed the researcher to identify concepts related to values and beliefs. Special care was taken during this process to avoid the use of value-laden labels for such codes in order to monitor for the interference of the researcher's values during the coding process. The values codes were later related to concepts related to the individuals' sociodemographic and sociolinguistic characteristics as well as their accounts of their migratory trajectory, language socialisation experiences and envisioned future migratory projects, all of which are understood to shape values (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009).

During the second cycle of coding, organisation of the initial concepts and relationships between them was sought. Three processes were undertaken, in sequence. Firstly, focussed coding followed on from the open coding conducted initially. Focussed coding involves searching for the most frequent or significant initial codes that might be developed into the most salient categories. This requires decisions to be made about which initial codes make most analytic sense. It occurred alongside a review of the research questions, which enabled the researcher to redetermine priorities. Secondly, axial coding took place which involved relating categories to each other, specifying the properties and dimensions of categories, and

identifying the conditions, causes and consequences of family language management processes. Finally, theoretical coding involved the integration of data in relation to an explanatory concept.

As can be appreciated from the processes described above, coding is an interpretive act that can be systematised and monitored in order to avoid the interference of the researcher's possible prejudices. The constant comparison of data means that code names and category items are continually revised in order to attain alignment and more accurately reflect the phenomena observed in the data.

In addition, analytical strategies were employed by the researcher to enhance the code labeling process. The following strategies can be found in Saldana's *Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (2009): asking questions, making comparisons, making summary statements, waving a red flag (when intruding biases, assumptions and beliefs are identified), considering metaphors and looking for negative cases.

At all stages of the research process researcher reflexivity is important. The coding process is no exception to this rule. Reflective memos were written immediately after each interview with reflections on the setting and context of the interview, alongside first impressions of the participant, their accounts and the relevance of the data generated to the research questions in mind. Questions to be considered in future interviews were also recorded here as potential criteria for the theoretical sampling of future participants. Furthermore, analytic memos were written during the analysis process with reflections on the co-occurrence of codes, the possible dimensions and properties of codes, ideas for how initial codes might be separated or joined and for how separate codes might be related to each other. These were regularly consulted and linked, thus informing the advancement of the analytical process.

One criticism often voiced about grounded theory is the fact that it would be difficult for researchers who have read widely on their research topic to conduct such an analysis without their coding being influenced by prior knowledge of existing theoretical categories (Kelle, 2013; Silverman, 2006). The dilemma of whether or not grounded theory makes sufficient acknowledgement of implicit theories which guide researchers' work can be partially resolved by the researcher making such theories explicit, generating and modifying research questions and hypotheses. In fact, it is arguably impossible for such research to be conducted with no

influence from pre-existing knowledge of categories, and in many cases it could be helpful for theory-building for the researcher to acknowledge any influence observed from or relationships with existing categories. The ability granted by grounded theory to create, modify and align codes and categories is surely much more advantageous than simply applying pre-established categories to data that might not fit it.

An important source of reflection on such questions and a chain of evidence was also established through the development of a codebook: “a set of codes, definitions and examples used as a guide to help analyse interview data” (DeCuir-Gunby, Marshall, & McCulloch, 2011: 138). The codebook developed for the current project is available for consultation in Appendix 11 and is the result of an iterative process which involved the revision and redefinition of codes alongside data analysis. As recommended by DeCuir-Gunby et al (2011), the codebook for the present study contains the code name, a definition (including any relevant inclusion and exclusion criteria), and at least one example. It also identifies the main categories of codes.

Pavlenko reminds linguists analysing narrative data about some other potential shortcomings of grounded theory methodology that need to be borne in mind. In particular she draws attention to the need to consider “participants’ linguistic means in positioning themselves and making sense of life experiences” (Pavlenko, 2007: 167). The form in which participants articulate their accounts should not be ignored when interpreting the content of them. As such, Pavlenko advocates that particular attention should be paid to participants’ use of ethnic categories and personal pronouns (as in Čmejrková, 2003; Neustupný & Nekvapil, 2003). Such membership categories depict memberships which are “often complex, overlapping, contrasting and conflicting” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015), yet fruitful areas for analysis of participants’ positionings of themselves and their family members, especially those positionings which are relative to host society and home country contexts.

6.5 Ethical considerations

At all times, the researcher was concerned with ensuring that participation in research would not bring about any harm for the participants. Ethical considerations regarding participants taking part in the project and the data they provided have informed the research design process, particularly when considering the stages of data collection, analysis and representation. Such considerations include access to information about the nature and

purpose of the study, guarantees of anonymity and confidentiality, informed consent and an understanding of the right to withdraw participation (Moyer, 2008).

Upon first contact with the research study, information regarding its nature and purpose had been provided to participants before they agreed to take part in the questionnaire and interview stages. At all times the researcher's contact details were facilitated in order for participants to be able to discuss any doubts or concerns about the research process as they arise and participants were consulted as to whether or not they would be willing to be contacted for follow-up inquiries or participation in future research projects. These wishes have been recorded and adhered to at all stages of the project.

Before both the questionnaires and the interviews, participants were informed of the protection of their anonymity and confidentiality. Participants' names were only used to guarantee that data from the same family was not repeated in multiple entries and in order to contact participants for follow-up enquiries or invitations to participate in the interview stage. At all other stages, names were replaced with numbers and stored in separate documents on separate computers in order to ensure that nobody but the author would be able to identify individual participants.

Participants signed consent forms which confirmed their awareness of the nature and purpose of the study; the anonymity and confidentiality guaranteed by the researcher; and the voluntary nature of their participation in the project, including their right to withdraw from it at any time. Examples from Lanza (2008: 87) and Mackey & Gass (2005: 322-325) were consulted in order to produce the consent form used for the current project (see Appendix 12).

At the data representation and divulgation stages, confidentiality was assured in terms of statements or declarations made by participants not being attributed to them by name, but through the use of non-identifying pseudonyms.

In addition, some form of return to the participants and the wider population was sought through participation with official media; the organisation of an event about raising plurilingual children with a world-renowned specialist as guest speaker (to which all questionnaire respondents who had indicated a desire for further contact were invited); and

a blog²¹ and Facebook page²² with updates and insights about the research process as well as other information of interest.

²¹ <https://multilinguafamiliesinbarcelona.wordpress.com/>

²² <https://www.facebook.com/multilinguafamiliesbcn/>

Part III. Analysis

Chapter 7. Describing the sample

164 completed questionnaires were analysed from 164 individual respondents who provided data relating to themselves and their family members, resulting in a total sample which comprises 614 individuals: 331 parents and 283 children. In the following section, the sample is described in terms of the socio-demographic and sociolinguistic data gathered in the questionnaire. The socio-demographic data description allows for a contextualisation of the sociolinguistic data, which is used to answer the first research question: what languages are i) known, ii) used and iii) transmitted in families with at least one transnational anglophone parent in the metropolitan region of Barcelona?

7.1 Socio-demographic description

The socio-demographic description will proceed in three phases. First of all, a basic description of the data pertaining to the parents will be provided. The responding parents' migratory trajectories will also be described in order to understand something of their transnational status. In the second section, data related to the children will be described. Finally, moving beyond the individual unit of analysis, a description of the different family structures represented within the sample will be provided.

Parents

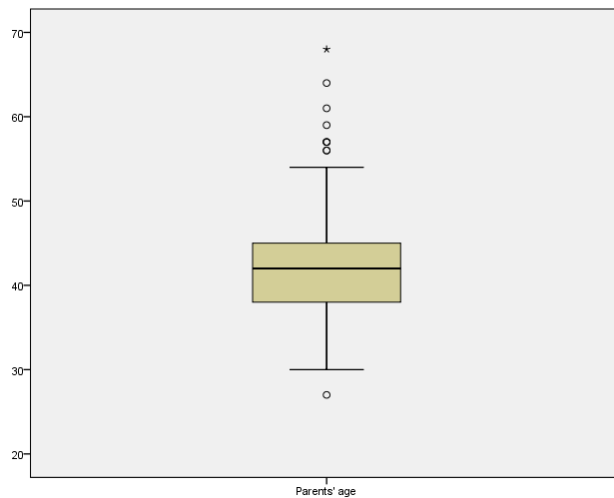
In the following section, data relating to the parents is described taking into consideration the variables sex, age, studies and occupation. After that, parents' place of birth and the responding parents' migratory histories are described according to the available indicators.

General description

Data referring to 331 parents was collected in the questionnaire. Of the 330 parents for whom age data was reported, 164 are female and 166 male. However, it should be noted that despite the almost equal representation of male and female parents, 121 (73.8 %) of the 164 respondents were female. One implication of this is that only 26% of males reported their own data.

The mean age of parents is 41.95 (SD=6.009), most falling between the ages of 30 and 55 as can be seen in Figure 24 below.

Figure 24: Parents' age



The majority of parents (87.7%) reported having completed university studies, with 43.5% reporting completion of postgraduate level studies and 44.2 % reporting completion of a bachelors degree. 12% of the sample of parents reported secondary school as their last level of completed studies. The high proportion of parents with university studies differentiates this population of transnational migrants from many others from less favourable backgrounds.

Of those parents who gave data regarding their occupational status ($n = 320$, 96.7%), 28 (8.8%) were not employed at time of questionnaire. It is not known whether this was due to personal choice or inability to gain employment, however, it is very low in comparison with contemporary official unemployment figures in Catalonia, which at time of questionnaire stood at around 19% of the active population (INE, 2015). The remaining 293 parents in employment gave details of their professions, which were categorised according to the Catalan Classification of Occupations (IDESCAT, 2013a) and have been tabulated below.

Almost two thirds of the parents who gave information about their occupations were classified within the category of scientific and intellectual technicians and professionals. This category included professions such as university professor, university lecturer, researcher, teacher, translator, editor, web developer, consultant, lawyer, architect, engineer and pharmacist. A further 15.7% of parents were categorised as managers, demonstrating that the majority of parents within the sample have occupations which require university studies and are strongly connected to the knowledge economy and late-capitalist society. Such

professions are often considered to represent members of the population with an above average socio-economic status.

Table 9: Distribution of parents' occupations according to the Catalan Classification of Occupations

Category	Number of parents Total n = 293	Percentage of parents
Managers	46	15.7%
Scientific and intellectual technicians and professionals	179	61.1%
Support technicians and professionals	29	9.9%
Accounting, administrative and other office staff	16	5.5%
Catering, emergency services and sales staff	17	5.8%
Qualified agricultural workers	1	0.3%
Artisans and qualified construction workers	2	0.7%
Machine operators	1	0.3%
Basic services providers	2	0.7%

In order to complement the above indicators, data pertaining to approximate annual household income was also elicited, although the question was optional. Responses were obtained that represented 114 families and demonstrated that 93% of those families are situated above the average household income for Catalonia which is currently 18,828€ (IDESCAT, 2017). 68.4% of all who responded have a total household income of 35,000€ or more per year, which is almost double the regional average. However, there is some bias as the parents in the sample are economically active and have economic dependents. Overall though, despite difficulties in the employment situation in Spain and often a marked disparity between average household incomes in Catalonia and in their home countries, many of the parents within the sample could be considered to be in a relatively favourable economic position.

As an additional note, prior to conducting the survey it had been thought that many of the responding parents would have professions relating specifically to languages. 48 (29.3%) responding parents and 60 (18.1%) of all parents had explicitly language-related professions such as language teacher, journalist, translator or interpreter. One concern at time of distribution was that it would be difficult to encourage participation beyond the researcher's

own social networks which included many fellow language teachers. Only 32 (19.5%) of the responding parents reported working in the English language teaching industry, and 38 (11.5%) of all parents.

Although the percentage of explicitly language-related professions represents just a third of responding parents, it should be noted that many more parents reported the use of English in their jobs. As presented in Table 18 in the following section, 84.3% of responding parents reported the use of English with colleagues and 88.4% reported using it with customers or students. Many responding parents reported working in multinational companies or the technology sector, where their ability in English is likely to be highly valued.

As a result, the advantages that language skills have proportioned most responding parents in the sample should be taken into account when considering parents' language beliefs in the second phase of the study.

Parents' place of birth

The criteria for eligible participation in the study were based on the responding parents' first language, defined as language(s) spoken at home as a child. As such, both responding parents and the other parents represented in the sample come from a variety of different places of birth. The following table details the composition of the sample and the migratory trajectories of the responding parents according to the variable *Country of Birth*.

Table 10: Parents' country of birth

Country of birth	Responding parents (<i>n</i> = 164)		Number of other parents (<i>n</i> = 167)		Number of parents (<i>n</i> = 331)	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
United Kingdom	91	55.5%	28	16.8%	119	36%
United States	42	25.6%	9	5.4%	51	15.4%
Ireland	7	4.3%	3	1.8%	10	3%
Canada	6	3.7%	-	-	6	1.8%
Australia	4	2.4%	-	-	4	1.2%
New Zealand	1	0.6%	-	-	1	0.3%
Spain	4	2.4%	80	47.9%	84	25.4%
Other countries where English is not the official language (by law or de facto)	9	5.4%	47	28.1%	56	16.9%

First of all, the majority of responding parents come from countries in which English is a first language of a significant proportion of the population. Just 7.3% of respondents were born in countries for which this is not true yet declared that English was spoken to them at home when they were children.

There is a clear majority of responding parents from the United Kingdom (55.5%), followed by those from the United States (25.6%), with much fewer respondents from Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. The proportion of respondents born in the different primarily English-speaking contexts listed above roughly corresponds to the proportion of residents born in each country that are listed in the Municipal Register (IDESCAT, 2014), as shown in Table 11 below. Although it is impossible to demonstrate representativity for a population that cannot be bounded, the similarity of countries of birth is one indicator that the sample might provide a good reflection of the wider population in terms of this particular variable.

Table 11: Representativity of the wider population

	Proportion of residents of the metropolitan region of Barcelona born in primarily English-speaking contexts according to country of birth	Proportion of responding parents born in primarily English-speaking contexts from the sample according to country of birth
United Kingdom	56.7%	55.5%
United States	27.2%	25.6%
Ireland	7.9%	4.3%
Canada	4.3%	3.7%
Australia	2.3%	2.4%
New Zealand	0.8%	0.6%
South Africa	1%	0.6%

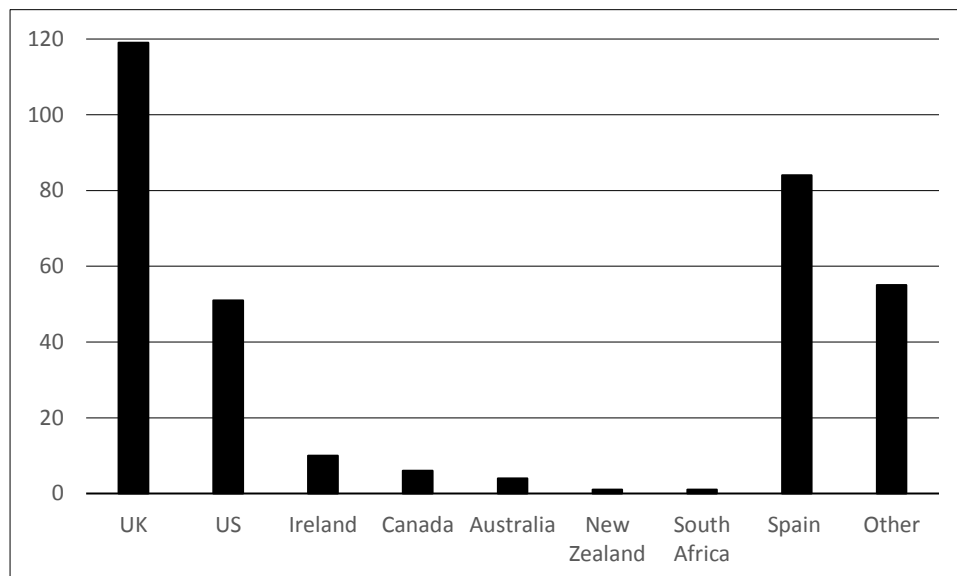
Source: Own table produced with data from the Municipal Register (IDESCAT, 2014)

Regarding the other parents represented in the sample (those who did not respond personally, but whose data was provided by the respondents), the majority (76%) are from contexts which are not primarily English-speaking. 80 (47.9%) are from Spain. Although the exact figures are unavailable, some of these parents will have been born in Catalonia itself and others in other autonomous communities in Spain. Besides that, 47 (28.1%) are from various other countries, 16 (34%) of whom come from contexts in which Castilian is a first language of the majority of the population, namely Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, Mexico,

Peru and Venezuela. The remaining 40 other parents (24%) are from the United Kingdom, the United States and Ireland.

The following figure shows the distribution of all parents' countries of birth, demonstrating that over half of the sample (58%) is made up of parents from primarily English-speaking countries, with a quarter from Spain (25.4%) and 16.6% from other countries. Those parents who are from Spain might have been born in Catalonia or in other autonomous communities²³. As a result, it cannot be assumed that a quarter of the population have been brought up in the sociolinguistic context described in Chapter 4. Although not strictly transnational, those moving from other areas of Spain will have at least the sociolinguistic context to adjust to in a similar way to the transnational parents.

Figure 25: All parents' countries of birth (n = 331)



Parents' migratory trajectories

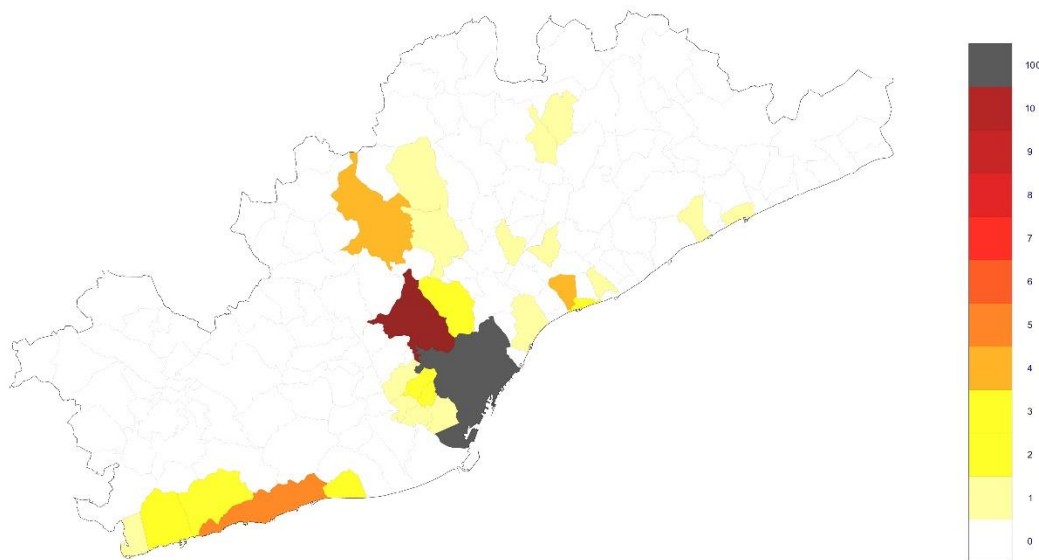
In the following section, the geographical distribution of the sample will be considered before detailing the responding parents' lengths of residence in the host society. Following that, details of their motivations for moving to the Barcelona area, their migratory history and their transnational activity are included in order to provide a more detailed picture of their trajectories.

²³ Unfortunately, a distinction was not made between whether or not parents were born in Catalan-speaking contexts within Spain.

Geographical distribution

Responding parents were asked to provide a postcode in order to be able to illustrate the geographical distribution of the families in the sample, as in Figure 26. It represents a map of the metropolitan region of Barcelona²⁴ in which it is clear that the majority (over 100 of the 164 families) are resident in Barcelona city. Most of the remaining families living in cities located immediately behind the capital in el Vallès (particularly Sant Cugat del Vallès) and the Sitges area to the south-west of Barcelona. There are some families in el Maresme on the coast north-east of Barcelona, with several also present in the municipality of Alella.

Figure 26: The geographical distribution of the families represented in the sample

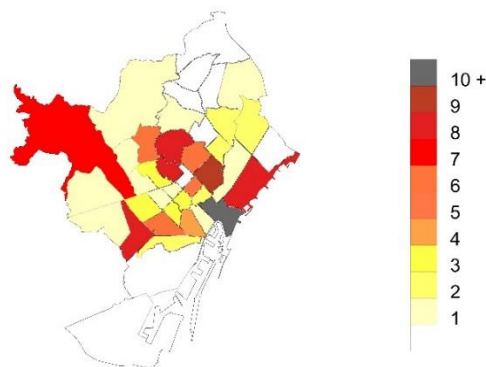


Source: own image, elaborated using questionnaire data

²⁴ The maps were created with Grasshopper 3D programme, using a template from the Barcelona Institute of Regional and Metropolitan Studies *iermB* (Autonomous University of Barcelona), and according to the pre-2014 composition of the metropolitan region of Barcelona.

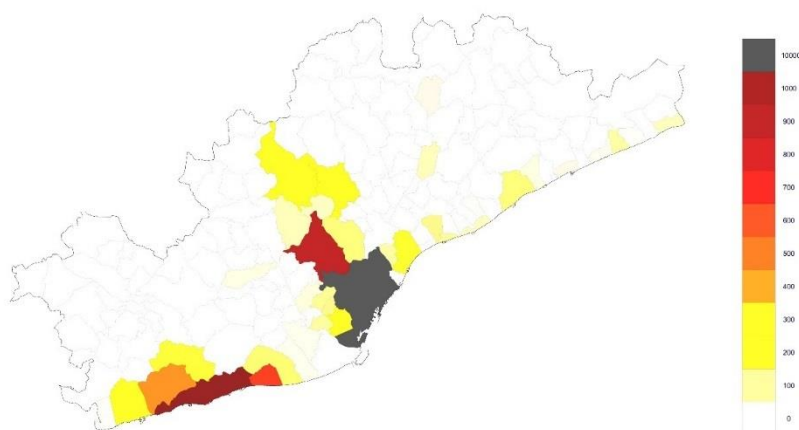
For those living within the city, their distribution amongst the different neighbourhoods has been represented in Figure 27. The districts with most representation in the sample are Ciutat Vella, Eixample dreta, Sant Martí, Gràcia, Sants and Sarrià-Sant Gervasi.

Figure 27: Geographical distribution of sample families resident in the city of Barcelona



Source: own image, elaborated using questionnaire data

Figure 28: The geographical distribution of the anglophone population of the metropolitan region of Barcelona



Source: Own image, elaborated using Municipal Register (IDESCAT, 2014)

Using figures from the Municipal Register, the geographical distribution of all residents registered who were born in a country where English is a first language of the majority of the population has been represented in Figure 28. This can be compared with Figure 26 in order to assess to what extent the distribution of the sample reflects the distribution of the wider anglophone population.

As clearly represented in Figure 28, Barcelona is home to the vast majority of the anglophone population of the metropolitan region of Barcelona. There is a clear similarity with Figure 26 in that the number of anglophones resident in Barcelona is roughly ten times the number of anglophones in the most populated areas outside of the city. Besides that, the most populated towns are Sitges and Sant Cugat del Vallès, which are also well-represented in Figure 26.

Length of residence

The average length of residence of the responding parent is 10.03 years (SD = 6.025) with a range from 0 to 20 years. The distribution of responding parents is fairly even across four broad categories, as shown in Table 12.

Table 12: Responding parents' length of residence

Length of residence	Responding parents	
	Number (<i>n</i> = 164)	%
0 – 4 years	36	22%
5 – 9 years	45	27.4%
10 – 14 years	41	25%
15 – 20 years	42	25.6%

Motivations for moving to Barcelona

The questionnaire included an item that asked responding parents why they had chosen to come to the metropolitan region of Barcelona. In response, 47 (28.7%) stated that it was due to their partner; 52 (31.7%) for work reasons; 10 (6.1%) for their education; 13 (7.9%) for learning a language and 42 (25.6%) indicated that it was for other reasons. The parents within the sample thus attributed various different motivations for migrating to the metropolitan region, indicating an internal heterogeneity within the population.

Migratory history

Prior to living in Spain, over half (58.7%) of the responding parents reported having lived in at least one other country apart from their country of birth and Spain. 25.8% reported having lived in at least two other countries, a figure which falls to 3.9% and 3.2% respectively for at least three and at least four other countries. This demonstrates a fairly high degree of mobility and shows that the trajectories of over half of the responding parents in the sample incorporate more than two contexts of reference.

Links to the home country

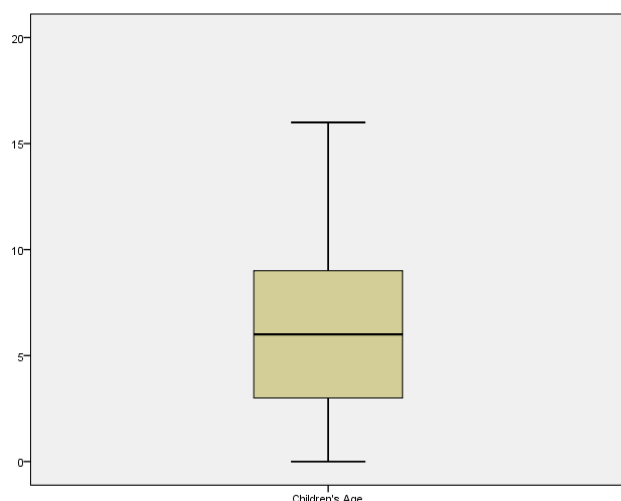
Two questionnaire items inquired about responding parents' transnational links with the home country. The first asked how many times per year the responding parent travels back to the home country to visit friends and family. 85.2% of responding parents reported travelling to the home country to visit friends and family at least once per year, 51.8% at least twice and 21.6% at least three times. Those reporting three or more visits per year originated from the United Kingdom and Ireland, their geographical proximity relative to other countries of birth therefore seems to allow for more frequent visits, as might be expected.

The second item inquired about the frequency of contact with friends and family via phone, Skype, social media, emails and letters. 98.2% of responding parents establish contact at least once per month and 81.6% at least once or twice a week. The responding parents thus demonstrate a fairly high degree of connectivity with friends and family in the home country.

Children

Of the 283 children represented in the sample, there are slightly more boys (53%) than girls (47%). The mean age of the children in the sample is 6.11 (SD = 3.957) and the boxplot below shows how there is a weighting towards the younger end of the 0 to 16 age range for eligible participants. Despite this, all ages within the specified range are represented.

Figure 29: Children's age



The following table shows the distribution of children according to three categories which represent age groups corresponding to educational stages: pre-compulsory schooling, primary education and secondary education.

Table 13: Distribution of children according to three age groups

	Number	Percentage
Pre-compulsory schooling 0 - 5 year olds	141	49.8%
Primary education 6 - 11 year olds	110	38.9%
Secondary education 12 – 16 year olds	32	11.3%

Whereas there are similar numbers of children in the former two categories, secondary school aged children are under-represented in the sample. Possible reasons for this include the fact that during distribution stages, there were many more groups, organisations and shops which were aimed at parents of babies or young children. This makes it likely that information about the study may have been more widely disseminated amongst parents of younger children. In the same vein, parents of older children tend to have longer lengths of residence in Barcelona. As a result, they may not participate as actively in the expat networks where the information was disseminated as parents who have arrived more recently.

224 (79.15%) of the children represented in the sample were born in Catalonia, whereas 59 (20.85%) were not. The average age of arrival for those not born in Catalonia is 4.95 years old.

These two different situations will need to be taken into account when considering children’s language ability and use in particular. They will also have an impact on children’s and parents’ experiences of transnational migration.

Families

The following section moves beyond the individual data provided in order to explore details pertaining to the structure of each of the 164 families represented in the sample. Such details enable a description of the contexts in which the children are being raised plurilingually.

Table 14: Family structure

Number of parents/caregivers	Parents/caregivers [per household]	Number of families	Percentage of families
1	[A]	2	1.2%
2	[A+B]	148	90.2%
	[A] + [B]	9	5.5%
3	[A+B] + [C]	5	3%

Table 14 above details the family structure of each family in the sample. There are 148 families that would be considered traditional nuclear families in that the children’s two biological parents reside together in the same household (in the table [A+B]). This childrearing context represents an overwhelming majority (90.2%) of families within the present sample, despite it not being a prerequisite for participation in the study. Such figures are much higher than those of the population of the Barcelona metropolitan region (IDESCAT, 2016a).

The next most frequent context also represents a family structure with two parental figures, however, the two parents live apart as separated couples (in the table [A] + [B]). Children in nine of the families in the sample thus live alone with one parent or spend periods of time residing with each parent alternately.

Five of the families could be described as reconstituted families, in which the responding parent lives with a step parent and another parent lives separately (in the table [A+B] + [C]).²⁵ In these cases, data has been collected pertaining to the three relevant parents. Each of the

²⁵ No data relating to step-parents resident with the other parent was disclosed in the questionnaire, even though space was granted for additional adults who played a significant role in their children’s lives.

three parents' linguistic data is considered relevant for an understanding of the children's family language context.

In addition to this, there are two single parent families in which data is only included for one parent (in the table [A]). In one case the other parent was reported to have deceased, whereas in the other, no data or comment was proffered to explain the specific circumstances. It can be understood, however, that in two of the families within the sample there is one relevant parental figure.

7.2 Sociolinguistic description

The language data gathered has been used to describe the sample in sociolinguistic terms. First of all, the linguistic repertoires of the parents and children represented within the sample is described in terms of first language, language ability and individual language uses in specific situations. In the second part of this section, the languages used in interactions between dyadic pairs are presented alongside indexes of family language use for the different interactions. Finally, the rates of intergenerational language transmission of parental L1s are calculated according to children's language abilities and language use.

Linguistic repertoires

Parents' first language(s)

The sample includes parents from a wide variety of countries of origin, many of whom have linguistic repertoires boasting several languages. Their first language(s) or L1(s), operationalised for the present study as the language(s) spoken at home when the individual was a child, are presented in Table 15 below. It should be noted that each language may figure alone or in combination with other languages.

Table 15: Parents' first language(s)

	Responding parents (n=164)	Non-responding parents (n=167)	All parents (n=331)
L1 English	164 (100%)	47 (28.1%)	211 (63.7%)
L1 Castilian	11 (6.7%)	81 (48.5%)	92 (27.8%)
L1 Catalan	4 (2.4%)	48 (28.7%)	52 (15.7%)
L1 Castilian & Catalan	4 (2.4%)	34 (20.4%)	38 (11.5%)
L1 other languages	15 (9.1%)	33 (19.7%)	51 (15.4%)

First of all, as was one of the requirements for participation in the study, 100% of the 164 responding parents reported having English as a first language, either alone or in combination with other languages. 139 (84.8%) of the responding parents were brought up with the exclusive use of English at home. 18 (11%) were brought up in bilingual homes and 4 (4.3%) were brought up in trilingual homes. English and Castilian were spoken in 11 bilingual or trilingual homes, English and Catalan in 4 and English and other language(s) in 15.

Only 28.1% of the other (non-responding) parents represented in the sample were spoken to in English at home as children, either alone or in combination with other languages, meaning that just under a third of families are made up of two L1 English-speaking parents. 48.5% of the non-responding parents have Castilian as a first language; 28.7% Catalan; and 16.2% have another language as a first language. 116 (69.4%) were brought up monolingually; 48 (28.7%) bilingually and 3 (1.8%) trilingually.

Regarding all parents, it can be seen that English is a first language for 63.7% of the parental sample. In terms of the official languages of the host society context, 27.8% have Castilian as a first language, as opposed to almost half of that number (15.7%) who have Catalan as a first language. This can be explained by the presence in the sample of many L1 Castilian speakers from other Castilian-speaking contexts, including other autonomous communities of Spain and other Castilian-speaking countries.

15.4% of the parental sample report having another language as a first language which is neither English, nor official in the host society context. A total of 20 other languages were reported, the most common being French, Italian, German and Russian, as can be seen in Table 16 below.

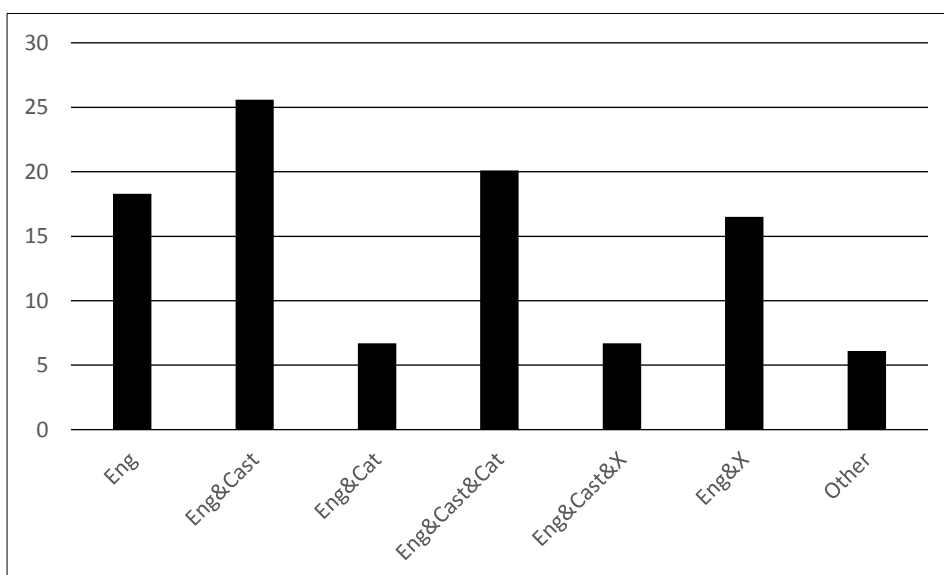
Table 16: Other languages reported as parental L1s

Language reported as parental L1	Number of parents
French	12
Italian	10
German	8
Russian	4
Croatian	2
Dutch/Flemish	3
Irish	2
Greek	2

Hebrew	2
Welsh	2
Basque	1
Bengali	1
Galician	1
Hausa	1
Hindi	1
Latvian	1
Polish	1
Portuguese	1
Swedish	1

Finally, when the family is taken as the unit of analysis, the combination of L1s between all parents within each family has been represented in Figure 30 below. 18.3% of families count just English amongst their parental L1s, however, all remaining families (81.7%) have at least two languages. English & Castilian and English, Castilian & Catalan are the most numerous categories, representing 25.6% and 20.1% of families respectively. Before English & Catalan (6.7%), though, the next most numerous category is English & another non-official language, which represents 16.5% of the families in the sample. A remaining 6.7% of families count English, Castilian & another non-official language amongst parental L1s, as well as 6.1% which represent other combinations of official and non-official languages with English.

Figure 30: The percentage of families with each parental L1 combination (n=164)



As such, the sample represents a diverse range of families according to parental L1(s). 81.7% of the 164 families represented count more than one parental L1, 63.4% including official languages and 29.3% including other non-official languages.

Parents' language ability

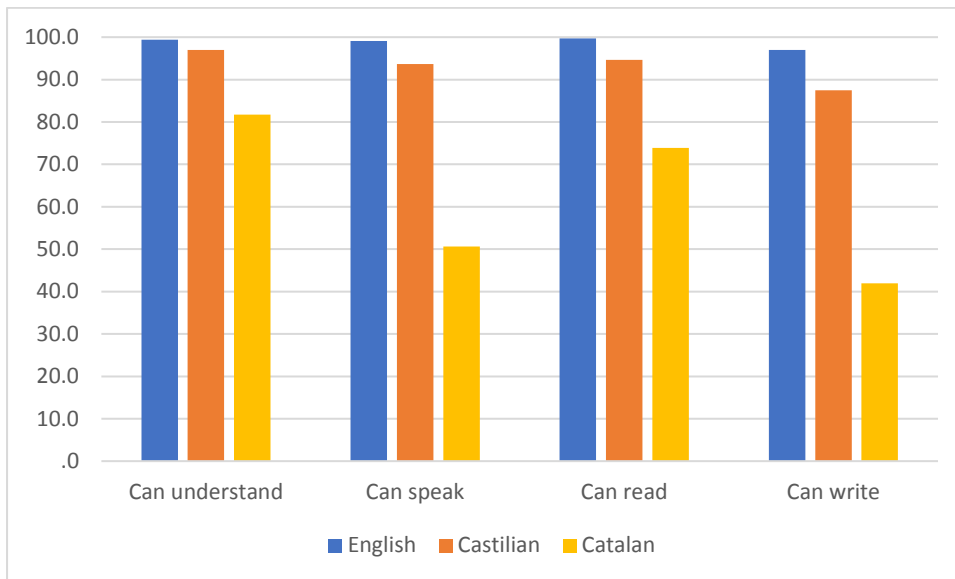
In this section, all parents' language abilities are presented together before assessing their language abilities according to first language. Figure 31 shows the results of an index created from the data from all parents in each family. It has a high correspondence to the individual results, yet this index allows for comparisons to be made with other measures on a family level. In the questionnaire, parents responded 'Yes, I can' or 'No, I cannot' according to whether they self-reported the ability to understand, speak, read and write English, Castilian and Catalan in dichotomic terms. These 0 or 1 values were combined to create indexes from 0-1 that included all parents within the same family. Therefore, these indexes are the average parental ability per family for each language and skill.

Throughout this chapter, in order to test differences in abilities and use between languages repeated measures ANOVAs were applied. Where the test was significant at the 5% level, bivariate related-sample tests with Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons was examined (see Appendix 13).

As shown in Figure 31, there are no significant differences between English (99.4%) and Castilian (99.1%) ($p=0.09$) for the ability to understand. However, there is a significant difference for parents' ability to understand Catalan, which is significantly lower at 81.7% ($p<0.05$), indicating greater variation in parents' scores. For the ability to speak, parents' abilities in the three languages are ordered in the same sequence: English (99.1%), Castilian (93.7%) and Catalan (50.6%). However, the differences between all three languages are greater and all are significant ($p<0.05$).

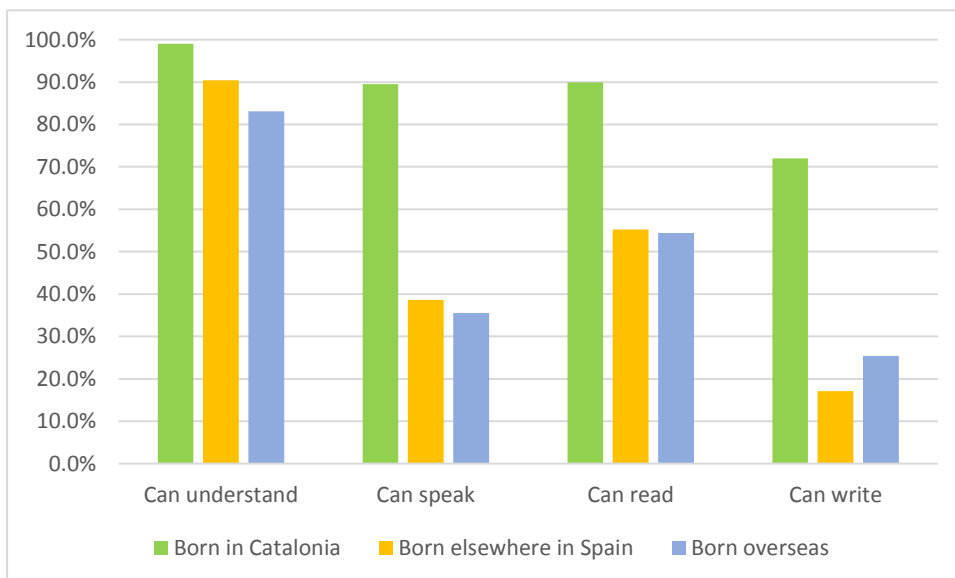
For the other two abilities, there are significant differences between each language. Similarly to understanding and speaking though, the receptive skill (in this case reading) has higher percentages than the productive skills (writing), with a much more accentuated drop in each case for the Catalan language.

Figure 31: Parents' English, Castilian and Catalan language abilities



The marked difference between receptive (understanding and reading) and productive (speaking and writing) abilities within the sample reflects the data for the Catalan abilities of the whole population of Barcelona, as can be seen in Figure 32 according to place of birth.

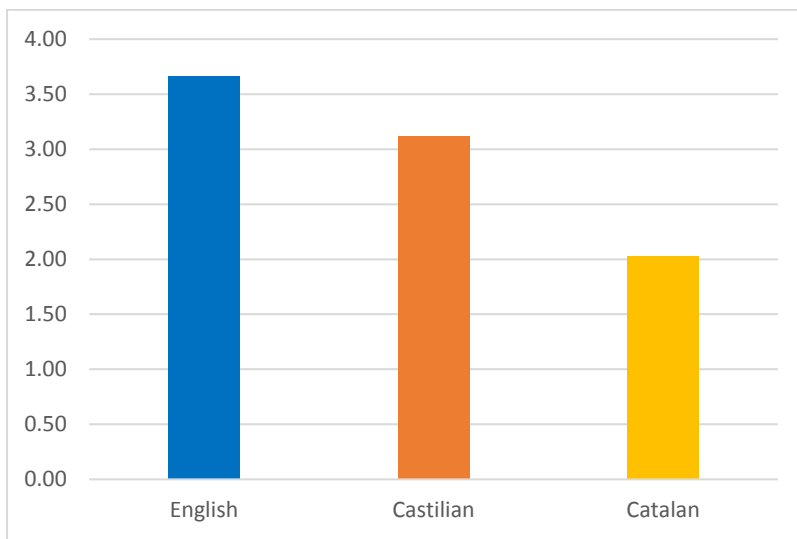
Figure 32: The Catalan language abilities of the population of the metropolitan region of Barcelona according to place of birth



Source: Graph elaborated from *INE population and housing census* (INE, 2011)

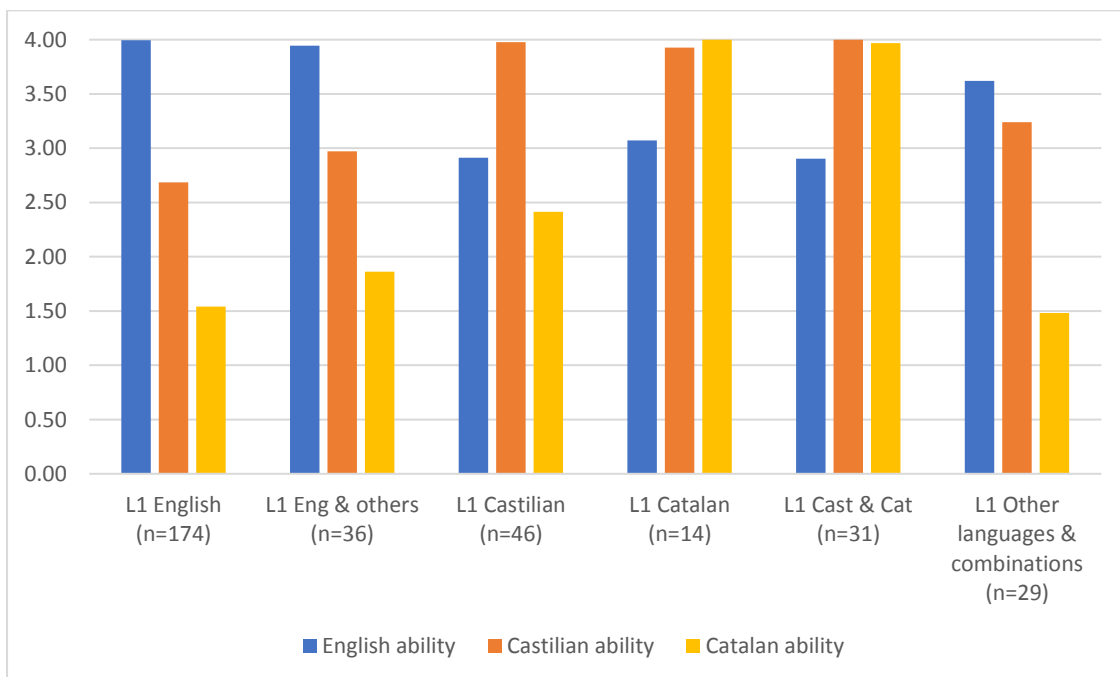
As well as stating whether or not they understand, speak, read and write the different languages, parents also rated their ability on a scale of 0-4 (0 = none, 1 = limited, 2 = fair, 3 = advanced, 4 = native/native-like). The average scores for all parents are represented below.

Figure 33: The average parental language abilities in English, Castilian and Catalan



There are significant differences between parents' average scores for each language ($p < 0.05$). The highest average score is English at 3.66 points, which is situated between advanced and native/native-like proficiency according to the original scale. Regarding the official languages, the average score for parents' Castilian language abilities is 3.12, situating them at an advanced level in Castilian. However, the average rating for Catalan is just over 2, which is classed as fair. The lower rating for Catalan is demonstrative of greater variation between parents' scores: some report full abilities and others report passive or no abilities.

Figure 34: Individual parents' language abilities according to first language (n=330)



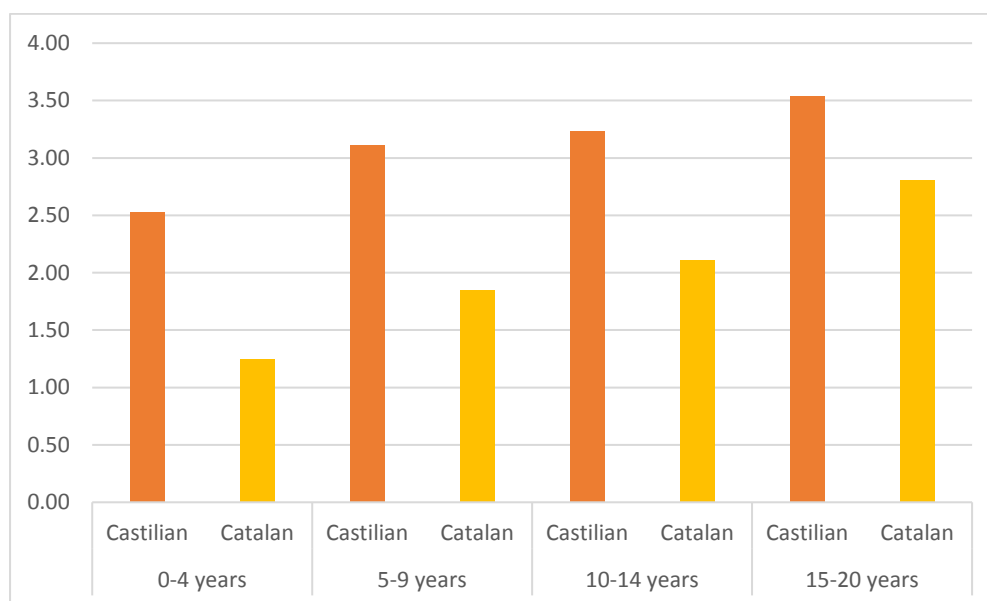
In Figure 34, the language ability ratings have been broken down according to first language. A repeated measures ANOVA test shows a significant relationship between L1 and language ability ($p < 0.05$). As might be expected, the average ability score for the parents' L1 is higher than the average score for the other language(s) in all cases. The only instance in which this is not significantly so is the case of L1 Catalan speakers' and L1 Castilian&Catalan speakers' ratings of their Castilian and Catalan abilities ($p = 0.99$ in both cases). This is unsurprising given the sociolinguistic context in which they are likely to have been brought up.

For those with English as a first language, either alone or in combination with other languages (be they official or non-official), Castilian language abilities are much higher than Catalan language abilities with an average difference of just over one point ($p < 0.05$). For L1 speakers of Castilian and L1 speakers of other languages and combinations, there are also significant differences between Castilian and Catalan abilities, with Castilian ability ratings consistently higher than the Catalan ones. Amongst those who do not count Catalan as an L1, it is L1 Castilian speakers who have the highest average rating in Catalan ability, situated at 2.14 points.

It has been observed that migrants to Catalonia are more likely to learn Castilian before acquiring Catalan (Boix & Torrens Guerrini, 2012; Fukuda, 2014, 2016). As a result, length of residence is often cited as an important indicator of the probability of a migrant having acquired Catalan. This is clearly reflected in Figure 35 below, in which parents' language ability ratings in Castilian and Catalan can be seen to increase according to length of residence.

The average Castilian score for each category is significantly higher than the average Catalan score ($p < 0.05$ in all cases), reinforcing the idea that Castilian is acquired first. For Castilian there are significant incremental increases in Castilian ability between the first and second categories. The total difference is 1.01 points between the first and final category, which shows that reported Castilian ability also increases according to length of residence. For Catalan there are significant incremental increases between the first and second, and between the third and fourth categories ($p < 0.05$), with a total difference between the first and fourth categories of 1.56 points. Length of residence therefore remains a predictor of Catalan and Castilian language ability in this sample, particularly so for Catalan.

Figure 35: Parental language abilities according to length of residence



To conclude the section on parental language ability, the table below lists the other languages (apart from English, Castilian, Catalan or any of their reported L1s) in which parents declared abilities, revealing how several parents have wider linguistic repertoires to draw on than just their first language(s). As can be seen in Table 17, the most widely spoken other languages that were acquired by parents outside of their childhood homes are French, Italian and German.

Table 17: Other languages acquired by parents

Language acquired by parents	Number of parents (n=331)
French	68
Italian	25
German	22
Portuguese	5
Swedish	3
Danish	2
Galician	2
Norwegian	2
Swahili	2
Chinese	1
Dutch	1
Greek	1
Jamaican Creole	1
Japanese	1
Polish	1

Responding parents' language uses

More specific data was collected relating to the language uses of the transnational anglophone parents who responded to the questionnaire in order to understand more about their transnational profiles and social networks. Table 18 shows the percentages of responding parents who declared the use of each language in four different situations: in conversation, with colleagues, with customers or students and with friends.

Almost all responding parents (96.2%) reported the regular use of English in conversation with unspecified interlocutors, either alone or in combination with other languages. This figure is similarly high for language use with friends (92.4%) and not far behind in the workplace, be it in interactions with colleagues (84.3%) or customers/students (88.4%). Despite not being widely used in the host society, it is evidently possible and common for the questionnaire respondents to use English in social and professional spheres. The social use of English suggests a social network composition which includes other L1 English speakers, or indeed the use of English as a social *lingua franca*. Its use with colleagues, customers or students is related to the type of jobs many in the sample have, which are closely tied to the information society and require language skills, including English.

Table 18: The language uses of responding parents (n=164)

		Proportion of parents who report use of each language (either alone or in combination with other languages)			
		English	Castilian	Catalan	Other languages
Situation	in conversation	96.2%	78.6%	24.5%	7.5%
	with friends	92.4%	70.4%	23.2%	5.6%
	with colleagues	84.3%	68.5%	27.9%	2.3%
	with customers or students	88.4%	63.4%	24.2%	0.9%

Although English is reported in more cases than the other languages, Castilian also has a notable presence in the four situations. 78.6% of responding parents use it in everyday conversation, 70.4% with friends and over two thirds report the use of Castilian at work. This suggests that English is not used as a *lingua franca* for want of Castilian proficiency in many cases. Regarding Catalan, language use figures drop to approximately a quarter for all areas, reflecting the important differences between Castilian and Catalan language abilities (see

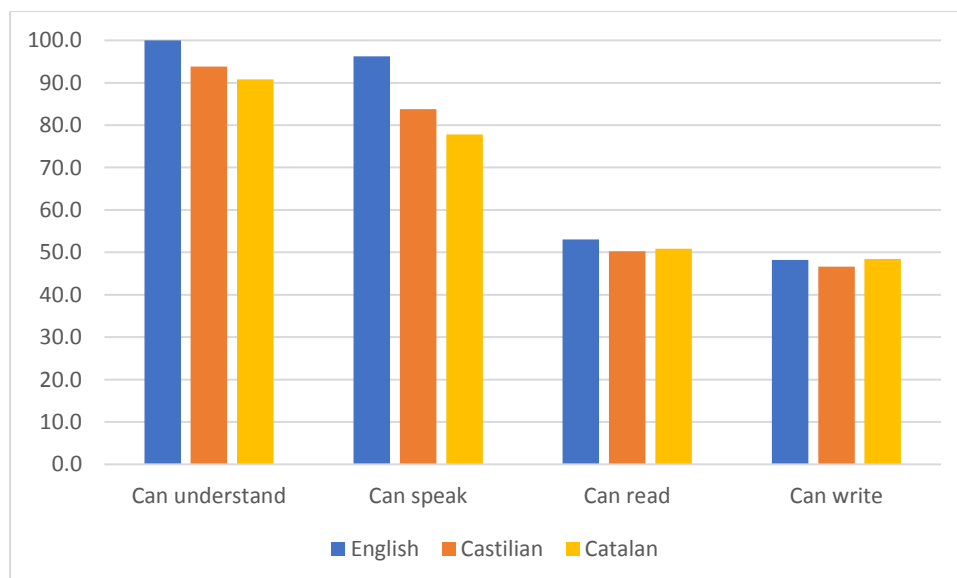
Figure 33). Other languages have a much lower presence in responding parents' social and professional interactions, with less than 10% of parents reporting the regular use of languages other than English, Castilian and Catalan in the situations listed above.

Children's language ability

An index for children's language ability was created with the same computation as that for parents, that is the combined abilities declared for all children within each family. Again, a comparison was made between these scores and individual scores and a high degree of correspondence was found.

Figure 36 shows the scores for the children's language ability index according to the four skills. For understanding and speaking, there is a significant difference between children's reported abilities in English and children's reported abilities in the official languages ($p < 0.05$ in both cases). 100% of children are reported to be able to understand English. There are no significant differences between children's scores for understanding and speaking Castilian and Catalan.

Figure 36: Children's language abilities

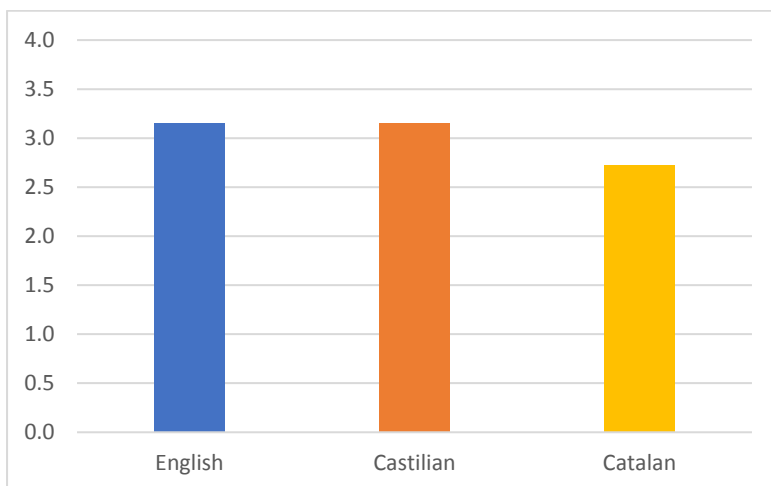


There are no significant differences between the languages for children's reported reading and writing abilities, although the sample of children who were reported to be able to read and write in any language was much smaller ($n=146$). The marked difference between aural/oral and literacy skills here might be understood by the weighting of the sample towards

the youngest age group, members of which cannot be assumed to have begun literacy instruction in any language yet.

In addition to detailing children's language ability according to the four skills, parents also gave their children a rating for how well they understand and speak English, Castilian and Catalan. An average score was calculated for each language. The scores reveal that children's abilities in English and Castilian are considered to be equal at 3.2, which is situated just above advanced level on the Likert-type scale provided in the questionnaire. However, the score for children's Catalan language ability is significantly lower at 2.7, with a difference of 0.5 points ($p < 0.05$). Overall then, fewer parents seem to consider their children to have a high level of ability in Catalan than do for English and Castilian.

Figure 37: Parents' assessments of children's language abilities in English, Castilian and Catalan



Children's language uses in educational activities

In the family language questionnaire, parents also reported data on the languages used in their children's educational activities, including school and informal pre-school activities and clubs. A wide variety of language combinations were reported, as displayed in Table 19.

The most popular combination of languages in educational activities (which may include school and extracurricular activities, both state-funded and private) is a combination of the home language and the two official languages: English, Castilian and Catalan. A third of all children in the sample were reported to attend educational activities in these three languages.

Table 19: Language combinations used in children's educational activities

Language combination	Number of children (<i>n</i> = 272)
English, Castilian & Catalan	93 (34.2%)
Catalan	69 (25.3%)
Castilian & Catalan	45 (16.5%)
English, Castilian, Catalan & other	21 (7.7%)
English	13 (4.8%)
English & Catalan	11 (4%)
English & Castilian	6 (2.2%)
Other language	4 (1.5%)
Castilian	3 (1.1%)
Castilian, Catalan & other	3 (1.1%)
English & other	3 (1.1%)
Castilian & other	1 (0.3%)

Catalan appears in all four of the most popular combinations. In fact, 242 (88.9%) attend educational activities which include Catalan amongst the languages taught, in contrast with 172 (63.2%) attending activities including Castilian. Potential reasons for this might include the fact that Catalan is accorded the function of main vehicular language of state-funded education in Catalonia. Parents from families in which neither of the parents is an L1 Catalan speaker might choose to send their children to Catalan-medium educational activities to ensure their children's exposure to and acquisition of the language from an early age.

Over half of the 272 children for whom this data was provided (*n*=147 or 54%) were reported to attend some or all educational activities in English and only three of these cases do not include the presence of one of the two official languages. This shows that besides the home environment, many of the children in the sample are exposed to English language use in educational activities.

Finally, 32 (11.8%) of the children in the sample attend educational activities which include other languages, either alone or in combination with one or both of the official languages, and even in combination with English in three cases.

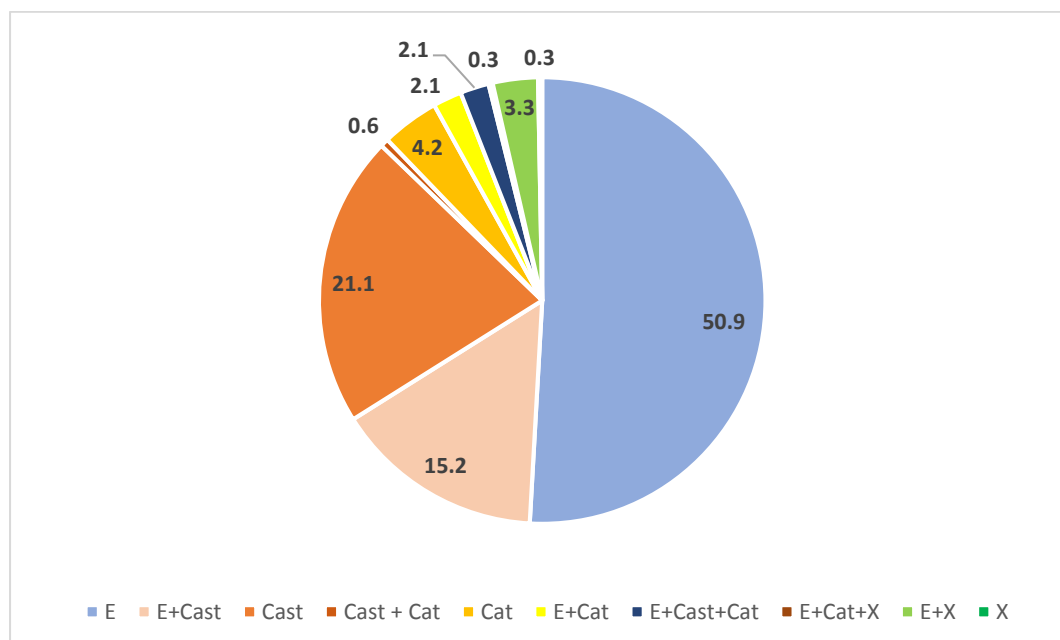
Language use

In order to assess language uses within the family environment, two measures have been used. Firstly, the language(s) used in interactions between dyadic pairs (eg. Parent-1-to-Parent-2 or Child-1-to-Parent-1) are described. Following that a series of language use indexes provide a proportion of use for each language for each type of interaction.

Language use between parents

Language use between parents was calculated using dyadic pairs to take into account all reports of the language(s) used between parents (responding parent to current partner; current partner to responding parent; and where appropriate responding parent to other parent; other parent to responding parent).

Figure 38: Language combinations used between parents (dyadic pairs)²⁶



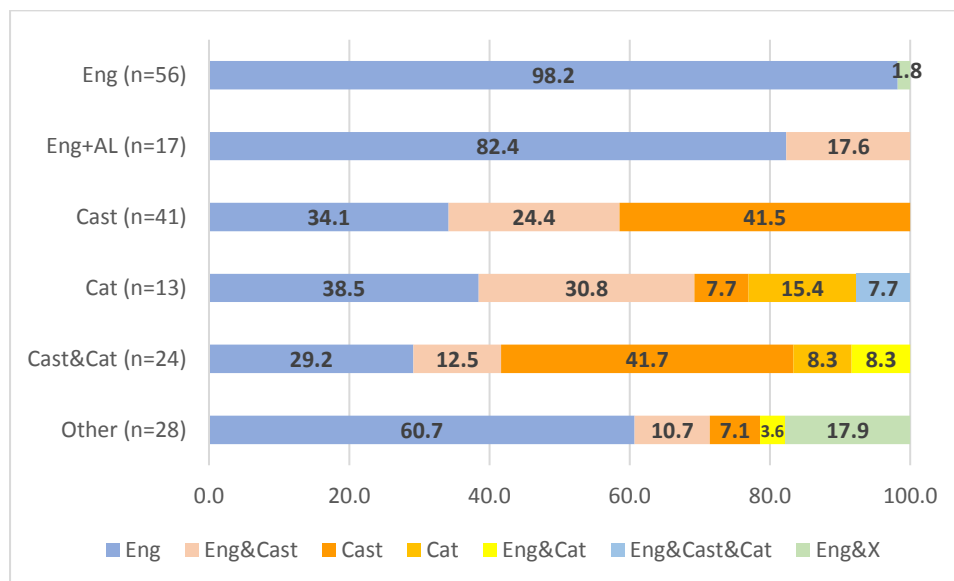
When asked which language(s) parents used to one another, it is clear from Figure 38 that English features in the vast majority of interactions between parents. The sole use of English was reported in half of between-parent interactions, and English appears either alone or in combination with other languages in 73.8% of them, most commonly in combination with Castilian (15.2%). Castilian was reported to be used alone in 21.1% of between-parent

²⁶ Throughout the data analysis section, X refers to other non-official languages (not including English, Castilian or Catalan).

interactions whereas Catalan was reported to be used alone in just 4.2%, demonstrating the predominance of the former official language in use between parents.

The figure above includes all parents, regardless of their first language whereas the following tables show a breakdown of between-parent interactions according to the first language of both the speaker and the interlocutor. Figure 39 shows the proportion of all interactions between parents who are speakers of English as a first language that were reported to be conducted in the different language use combinations. The results are presented according to the first language of the L1 English-speaking parents' interlocutors. In this case, 'Eng+AL' represents parents who declared having English as a first language alongside any other language (including official and non-official languages) and 'Other' represents any combination of first languages not featured on the axis.

Figure 39: The proportion of interactions in each language use combination between L1 English-speaking parents and their interlocutors according to interlocutor L1 (dyadic pairs)²⁷



Firstly, between two English-speaking parents (whether English is their sole first language or it is accompanied by other languages), English was reported to be used in all interactions. The majority of these interactions were reported to be exclusively conducted in English, with just a few cases (17.6%) of the use of English & Castilian between L1 English-speaking and L1

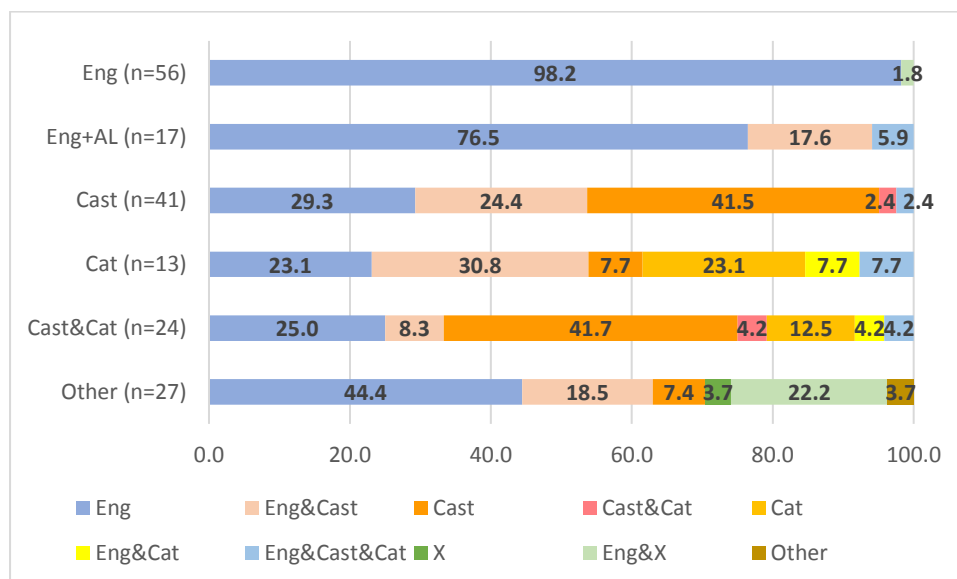
²⁷ Significances are not available for this series of charts due to the fact that the unit of analysis is interactions (rather than uses), which undermine basic assumptions of statistical comparison.

English+-speaking parents and very few cases (1.8%) of English & another language being used between two L1 English-speaking parents.

For the remaining interlocutors, the proportion of English used varies according to whether or not the other parent is an L1 speaker of an official language or not. It was reported to be used more between parents who form part of a couple with other language combinations than it was between parents who form part of a couple with a combination of English and official languages. In the latter case, Castilian and Catalan play a more important role. English speakers reported the use of either English (34.1%), English and Castilian (24.4%) or Castilian (41.5%) in interactions with Castilian speakers. In cases where the interlocutor has Catalan or Castilian & Catalan as a first language, Castilian also plays a greater role than Catalan between parents, although Catalan, English and Catalan, and English, Castilian and Catalan uses also appear.

Figure 40 shows the languages used by parents when interacting with L1 English-speaking parents, separated according to their first language(s).

Figure 40: The proportion of interactions in each language use combination addressed to L1 English speakers by speakers with other L1s

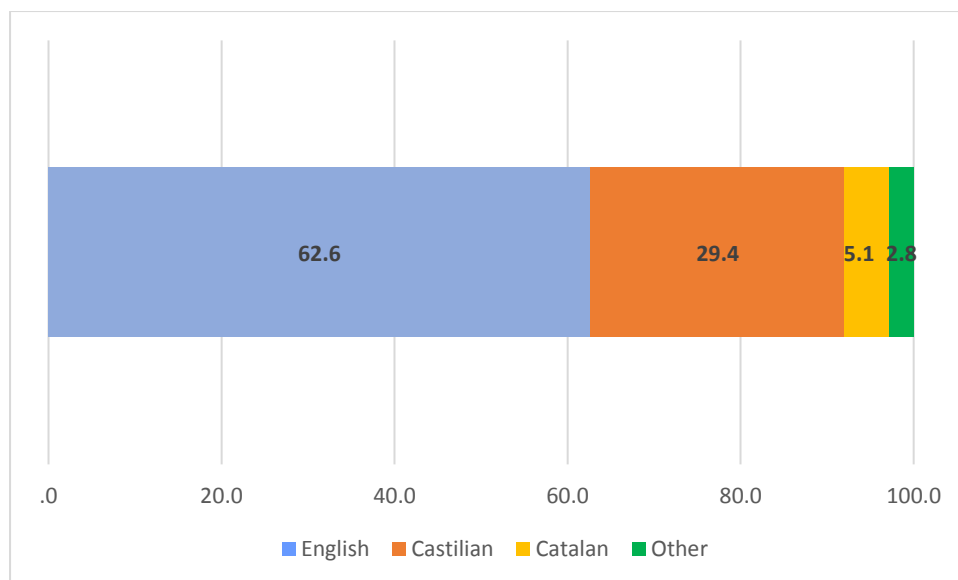


In this case a similar dynamic can be observed regarding the proportion of English used by parents of other first languages when addressing L1 English-speaking parents, although reports indicate there to be slightly less exclusive use of English. Approximately a quarter of interactions directed towards L1 English speakers by L1 speakers of official languages were

reported to be exclusively in English. Approximately 41.5% of interactions between L1 speakers of Castilian or L1 Castilian & Catalan and L1 English-speaking parents were reported to be in Castilian. This can be contrasted with the 23.1% of interactions in Catalan for L1 Catalan speakers and the 12.5% of interactions in Catalan for L1 Castilian & Catalan speakers when interacting with their L1 English-speaking partner, showing that Catalan is used to a much lesser extent than Castilian in these interactions.

The overall frequency of use of the different languages within these interactions between dyadic pairs has been represented in Figure 41. Where two languages were declared each language counts as 0.5 in order to attain a percentage over 100.²⁸

Figure 41: The overall proportion of the languages used in between-parent interactions



English is the language that was most widely reported to be used in interactions between parents, accounting for 62.6% of them. This is followed by the 29.4% of interactions that were reported to involve the use of Castilian. In contrast, Catalan was reported to be used in just 5.1% of interactions between parents and other languages make up an even smaller proportion at 2.8%.

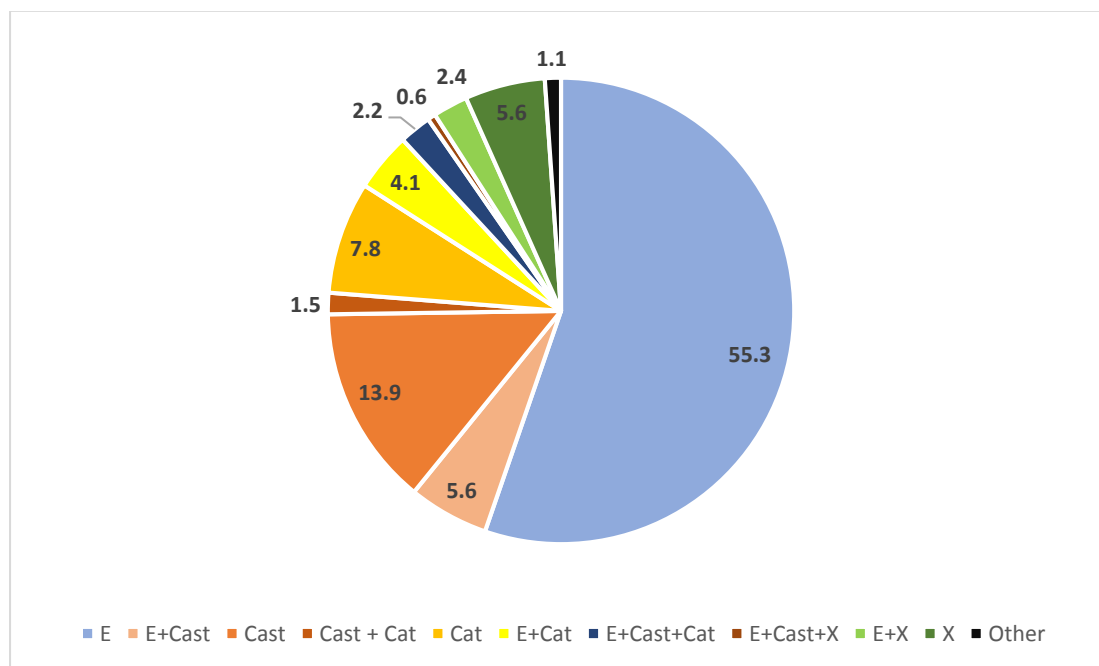
²⁸ Considering it was not possible to elicit percentages from the participants due to shortcomings of the questionnaire software, a choice was made to attribute each language equal value. This may not fully reflect the reality of these interactions but helps to provide some initial insight.

Most parents in the sample thus seem to use English and Castilian, either alone or in combination, in between-parent interactions. Catalan, also an official language, seems to account for a much smaller portion of these interactions despite 15.7% of parents declaring Catalan as an L1. Finally, very few interactions were reported to be conducted in other languages, suggesting that English is the non-official language in which speakers have the highest ability or which is most highly prioritised between parents.

Parents' language use with children

Taking into account all interactions in which a parent speaks to a child, Figure 42 below shows that English has a strong presence in these interactions too. It was reported to be used alone in 55.3% of all parent-to-child interactions and in combination with other languages in a further 14.9% of them, making a total of 70.1%.

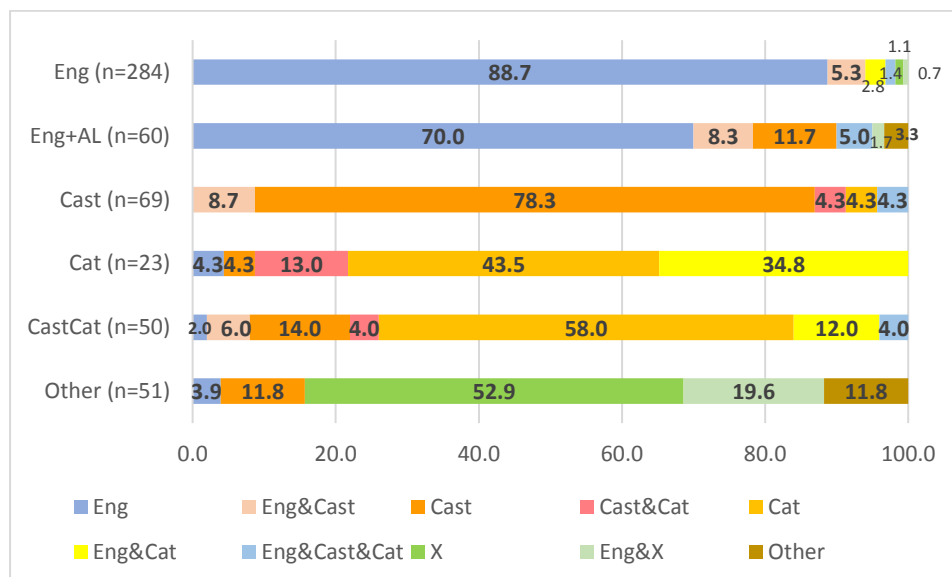
Figure 42: Languages used by parents to children (dyadic pairs)



Of the remaining, 13.9% of parent-child interactions were reported to be carried out exclusively in Castilian, and 7.8% exclusively in Catalan, with 1.5% in Castilian and Catalan. Combinations including Castilian were reported to make up 23.8% of interactions, whilst those including Catalan account for 15.6%. Other languages, used exclusively or in combination with English and/or official languages, were reported to be present in 9.1% of parent-child interactions (considerably more than in between-parent interactions).

In Figure 43 below these interactions have been broken down according to parental L1. For those parents who have English as their first language, English is reported to be used alone in 88.7% of interactions with their children and 98.9% together with official or other languages. This is reflected to a slightly lesser extent for those parents who are L1 speakers of English and other languages, for whom 70% of interactions were reported to be exclusively in English and 85% in English with other languages. Despite the latter case, it is remarkable that although English is not widely used in everyday interactions in the host society, it seems to be the language which is least likely to be abandoned by parents who are L1 speakers when interacting with their children.

Figure 43: Proportion of parent-child interactions in each language combination according to parents' L1



For parents who have official languages as their first language, there is a noticeable difference between those with Castilian as their first language and those with Catalan amongst their first languages. For those with Castilian as their first language, either Castilian alone (78.3%) or English and Castilian (8.7%) account for most interactions with their children, although 12.9% of their interactions were reported to be in Catalan either alone or in combination with other languages.

For parents with Castilian and Catalan or Catalan as their first language(s), the use of Catalan was reported to be much greater at 58% and 43.5% respectively, sometimes in combination with English, in turn 12% and 34.8%. Parents with Catalan as a first language tend to show a

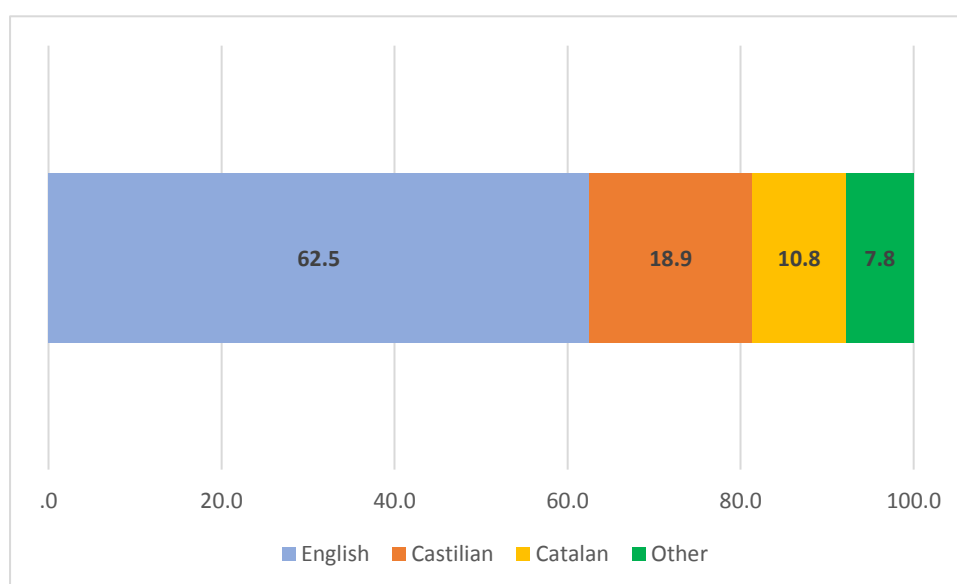
preference for Catalan over Castilian when interacting with their children, a behaviour which is not reflected in the same speakers' language uses when addressing the other parent.

When assessing the amount of English used by L1 speakers of official languages with their children, there are some differences in behaviour between L1 Castilian-speaking parents and L1 Catalan-speaking parents. L1 Castilian-speaking parents seem much less likely to use English with their children, with English appearing in just 13% of all interactions. L1 Catalan-speaking parents, in contrast, were reported to use English in 38.8% of interactions with their children. Almost halfway between the two, L1 Castilian and Catalan-speaking parents declared the use of English in 24% of interactions with their children.

Finally, for the 51 interactions led by parents who are L1 speakers of other languages and combinations, in total at least 72.5% were reported to be conducted in other non-official languages, marked X, (52.9%), or in a combination of English and other languages (19.6%). This indicates that, in families with a parent who speaks another non-official language, there is often an attempt to transmit an additional language.

In Figure 44 below, the overall proportion of languages used in parent-to-child interactions can be observed. English is the most widely-used language in parent-to-child interactions, accounting for 62.5% of them despite English not being widely used in everyday interactions in the host society context.

Figure 44: The overall proportion of the languages used in parent-to-child interactions

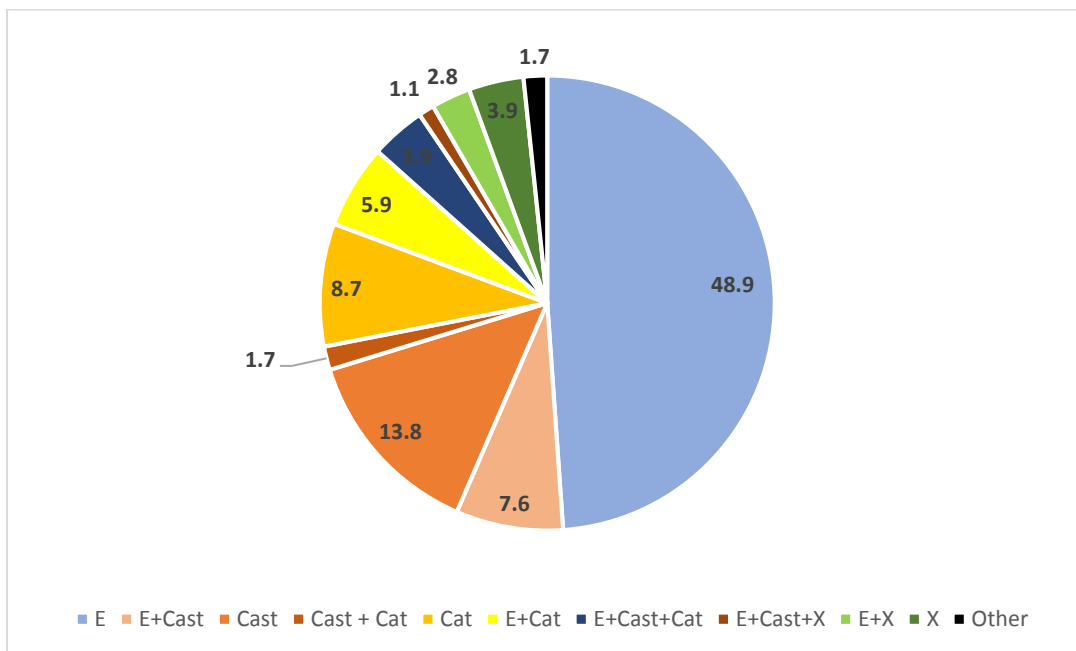


Castilian is the next most commonly used language in parent-to-child interactions, accounting for 18.9% overall. Catalan (10.8%) and other languages (7.8%) have a stronger presence in parent-to-child interactions than they do in between-parent interactions, perhaps indicating both a reinforcement of the main vehicular language of education and of those languages which are not widely used in the host society context (English and other, non-official languages).

Children’s language use with their parents

The language(s) used by children when addressing their parents has been assessed overall in Figure 45 and according to parents’ first language(s) in Figure 46. Broadly speaking, it is clear that English maintains a particularly strong presence, either alone or in combination with other languages. The official languages spoken in the metropolitan region of Barcelona also have considerable presence.

Figure 45: Children's language use with their parents



Just under half (48.9%) of child-parent dyad language uses were reported to be in English alone, with a further 21.4% of children addressing their parents in a combination of English and another language. This means that English was reported to be present in 70.3% of child to parent uses. Despite the exclusive use of English being lower in this case than in parent-to-child interactions (55.3%), the use of English in combination with other languages by children in interaction with their parents is almost identical (70.3%, as opposed to 70.1% in parent-to-

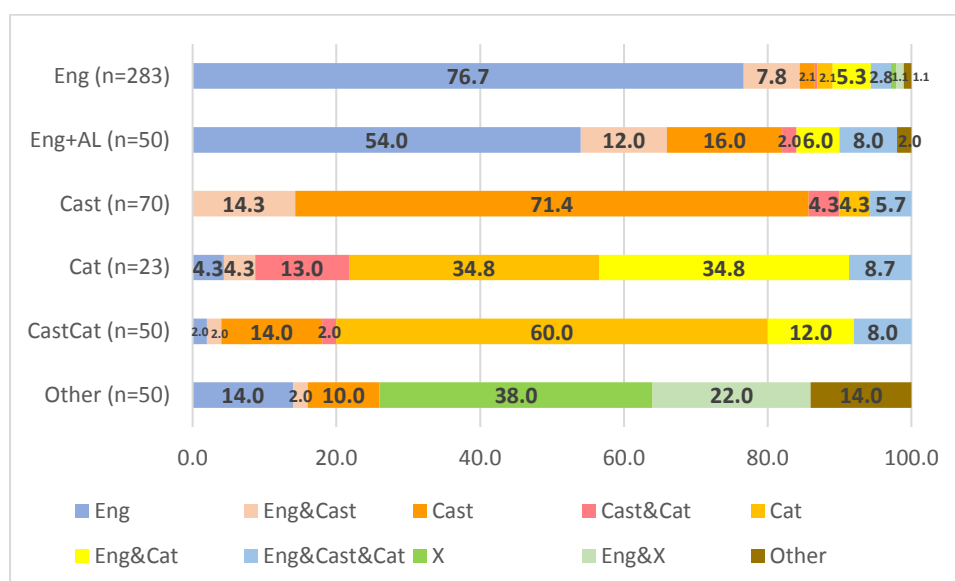
child interactions). This is again remarkable given the limited role of the English language in everyday interactions in the host society context.

Official languages have a strong presence in children’s language use with parents, although it is considerably weaker than English. Castilian was reported to be used alone in 13.8% of interactions, and in combination with other languages in a further 14.3%, making a total of 28.1%. Catalan was reported to be used alone in 8.7% of interactions, and in combination with other languages in a further 11.5%, making a total of 20.3%.

Finally, other languages were reported to be used by children with their parents to a much lesser extent. Other languages were reported to be used alone in 3.9% of child-to-parent interactions, and in combination with English and/or official languages in a further 3.9%, making a total of 7.8%. This suggests that, in contrast to English, other languages are much more susceptible to language loss in intergenerational transmission.

The results for child-to-parent interactions have been broken down according to each individual parent’s first language. In Figure 46 below, each parental first language(s) combination is listed in the left-hand column. The bar shows what percentage of child-to-parent interactions are carried out in which language(s). The overall number of parents who declared each first language combination is included on the right.

Figure 46: Proportion of child-parent interactions in each language combination according to parental L1



English was reported to be used alone in 76.7% of child-to-L1-English-speaking parent interactions, with a further 17% of them in English and other (including official and non-official) languages, making a total of 93.7% of child-to-L1-English-speaking parent interactions in English. That said, 5.3% of children's interactions with L1 English-speaking parents were reported not to include English: 2.1% are in Castilian, 2.1% in Catalan and 1.1% in other languages. English was also reported to be used alone by children in a large proportion of interactions (54%) with parents who have English and another language as their L1. It was reported to be used in combination with other languages in a further 26% of interactions, making a total of 80% of interactions which include English.

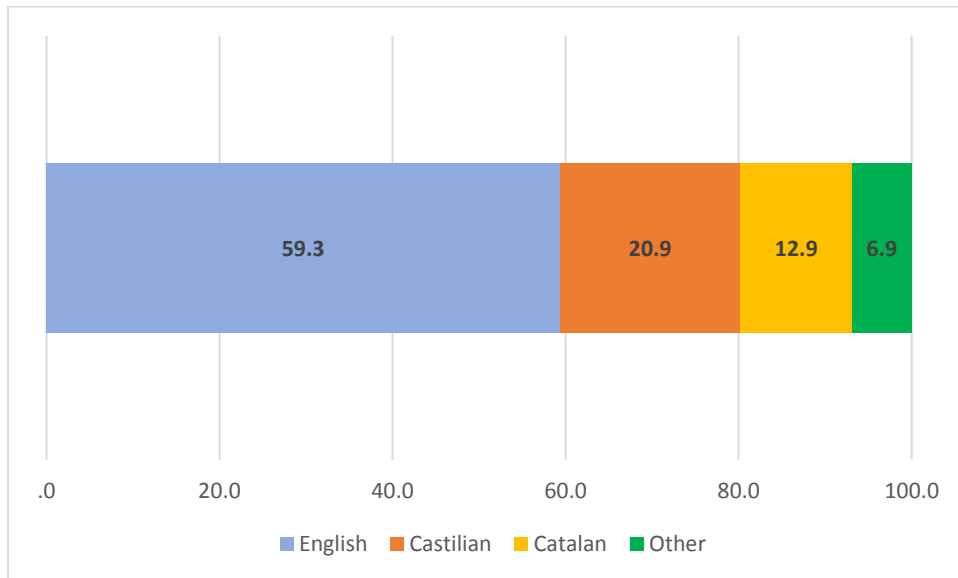
When addressing L1 Castilian-speaking parents, children were reported to use predominantly Castilian in their interactions. 71.4% were said to use only Castilian, and a further 20% were said to use it in combination with other languages, totalling 91.4%. In this case, English was reported to be used in combination with official languages in just 20% of interactions.

This is different for children addressing L1 Castilian&Catalan and L1 Catalan-speaking parents. In these cases, Catalan was reported to be used alone to a much lesser degree: in 60% and 34.8% of interactions (respectively). Catalan was reported to be used in combination with other languages in 22% and 56.5%, making respective totals of 82% and 91.3%. When an L1 Catalan-speaking parent is present, English seems to play a greater role in their interactions: 24% for L1 Castilian&Catalan-speaking parents, and 52.1% in L1 Catalan-speaking parents.

When it comes to interactions with parents who are L1 speakers of other languages and combinations, children seem to make very little use of official languages. Castilian was reported to appear alone in 10% of interactions, and in combination with English in a further 2%. English was reported to be used in 38% of interactions: 14% conducted exclusively in English and the remaining 24% in English and another non-official language. Other non-official languages were reported to be used in 60% of children's interactions with parents who are L1 speakers of other languages and combinations. 38% of all interactions were reported to be conducted exclusively in the other non-official language whereas 22% were reported to be used in conjunction with English, indicating that some of the children represented in the survey will be able to actively produce English, Castilian, Catalan and another language.

For an overview of the languages used in all child-to-parent interactions, the following figure shows the overall use of each language under study.

Figure 47: The overall proportion of the languages used in child-to-parent interactions

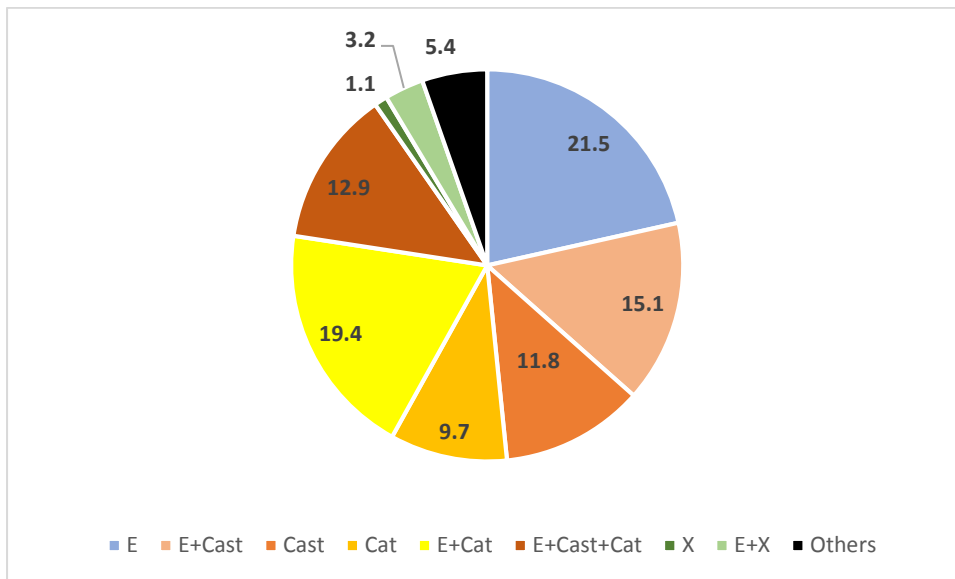


In child-to-parent interactions, English is again the predominant language with a total proportion of use of 59.3%. Official languages together account for approximately a third of the languages used, with an increase in the amount of Catalan used by children to parents in comparison with parent-to-child interactions. Finally, 6.9% of this overall measure is accorded to other languages, indicating that several children actively produce two home languages.

Children's language use between siblings

For the 93 families within the sample who have two or more children of speaking age, parents were also asked to report what language(s) their children spoke to each other when they were together. As shown in Figure 48 below, children were reported to speak English alone to each other in just 21.5% of the 93 families with two or more children, which is quite a significant difference to the number of exclusively English interactions between parents and children. English was, however, also reported to be used between siblings in combination with official languages and other languages in 50.5% of families, which combined with those using just English makes a total of 72.0%.

Figure 48: Language use between siblings

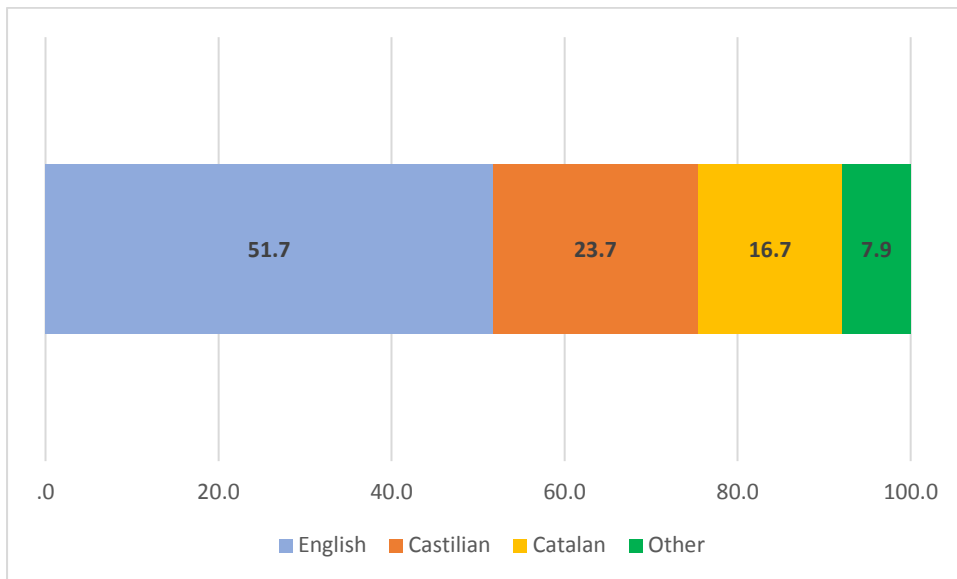


Official languages were reported to be used in various combinations in 68.8% of families with more than one child. The presence of Catalan increases to 41.9% and Castilian to 39.8%, both of which are almost double the proportion used between children and parents. Considering the fact that many parents do not use Catalan at home, it is interesting to see such an increase. It shows how some children acquire the official languages from society and even adopt them for interpersonal communication with siblings even if they are not used by or with parents at home.

1.1% of children were reported to use a different language when talking amongst themselves. The 'other' category includes combinations of other languages or combinations of other languages and official languages and represents 5.4% of between-sibling interactions. This suggests that in some cases, the other language is used on an intra-generational level as well as an intergenerational one.

In Figure 49 below it can be appreciated that although it drops by 7.6% points from child-to-parent interactions, English still plays an important role in interactions between siblings with a proportion of 51.7%. At the intragenerational level amongst siblings, English appears to lose ground to the proportion of official languages, which together rise to the proportion of 40.4%.

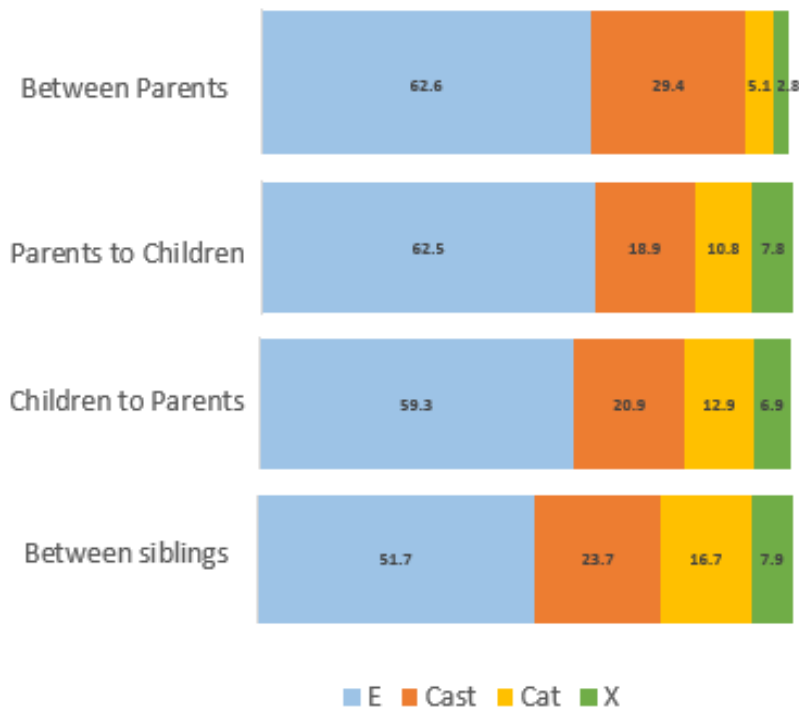
Figure 49: The overall proportion of the languages used in between-sibling interactions



Comparing within-family interaction indexes

The languages used in four kinds of within-family interactions have been presented in the preceding section. Figure 50 provides a comparative overview of the proportions of English, Castilian, Catalan and other languages used in each type of interaction.

Figure 50: The overall proportions of use of English, Castilian, Catalan and other languages in different types of interaction



The proportion of each language reported to be used in the different kinds of interaction is fairly similar and there are no significant differences between the proportion of Castilian or the proportion of other non-official languages used at each level (see significance tables in Appendix 14).

For English, there is a significant drop ($p < 0.05$) from 62.6% at between-parent level, 62.5% at parent-child level and 59.3% at child-parent level to just 51.7% at child-child level. English was therefore reported to be used much less between children than at other levels of interaction, indicating that the intragenerational use of English at sibling level is inferior to its use in intergenerational interactions and intragenerational interactions between parents.

In contrast, the trend for Catalan is towards increased use from parent-parent interactions to child-child interactions. Catalan was reported to be used significantly more ($p < 0.05$) between children than at all other levels of interaction. It was also reported to be used significantly more by children with parents than it was between parents and by parents with children. This is perhaps due to parents' language preferences and abilities in Catalan. After all there is an important difference between choosing a *lingua franca* (between parents) and choosing between L1s (between children). Interestingly, despite increases in the use of Catalan, there are no significant differences in either direction for Castilian. As a *lingua franca* between parents and also the second most widespread L1, it maintains its share of language uses throughout the four types of interaction.

Similarities in the overall proportions of each language used in the different types of interaction can be explained by the correlations presented in the table in Appendix 15. The presence of any language in one type of interaction has a positive correlation with the presence of the same language in other types of interactions. This means that the presence of English in interactions between parents makes it more likely for English to be present in intergenerational interactions, as well as in interactions between children. In turn, its presence usually makes it less likely for other languages to be present across all types of interaction.

Parent-child Vs child-parent

At an intergenerational level, the proportion of any one language used in parent-child and child-parent interactions is highly positively correlated. The highest positive correlations

between parent-child and child-parent interactions can be found for the official languages. The correlation for Catalan has the highest value, closely followed by Castilian and other non-official languages, suggesting that their use by children in child-parent interactions is highly dependent on parents' use of them. The value for English is lowest, making it the least likely language to be reciprocated in intergenerational interactions. It is still, however, a fairly strong positive correlation.

Parent-parent vs intergenerational interactions

There is also a clear relationship between the proportion of each language used in parent-parent interactions and the proportion of each language used in parent-child and child-parent interactions, indicating that the former plays a role in influencing children's language uses. For all languages, including other non-official languages, there is a positive correlation between its use in parent-parent interactions and its use in intergenerational interactions, the strongest of which can be observed for Catalan.

Table 20: Correlations between parent-parent interactions, parent-child interactions and child-parent interactions

		English Parent-child	English Child-parent	Castilian Parent-child	Castilian Child-parent	Catalan Parent-child	Catalan Child-parent	Other Parent-child	Other Child-parent
English Parent-parent	Pearson correlation	.532**	.500**	-.315**	-.286**	-.380**	-.340**	.171*	-.152
	Bilateral significance	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.029	.054
	<i>N</i>	162	162	162	162	162	162	162	162
Castilian Parent-parent	Pearson correlation	-.438**	-.400**	.484**	.419**	.125	-.089	-.219**	-.192*
	Bilateral significance	.000	.000	.000	.000	.114	.262	.005	.015
	<i>N</i>	162	162	162	162	162	162	162	162
Catalan Parent-parent	Pearson correlation	-.197*	-.214**	-.200*	-.197*	.564**	.546**	-.103	-.093
	Bilateral significance	.012	.006	.011	.012	.000	.000	.193	.240
	<i>N</i>	162	162	162	162	162	162	162	162
Other Parent-parent	Pearson correlation	-.038	-.027	-.176*	-.121	-.053	-.038	.373**	.325**
	Bilateral significance	.635	.738	.025	.125	.503	.634	.000	.000
	<i>N</i>	162	162	162	162	162	162	162	162

** The correlation is significant at the level of 0.01 (2-tailed)

*The correlation is significant at the level of 0.05 (2-tailed)

The use of English in parent-parent interactions is negatively correlated to the use of both official languages in parent-child and child-parent interactions. Interestingly there is little noticeable effect of the use of English in parent-parent interactions on the use of other languages in intergenerational interactions. It has a small yet significant positive correlation with the use of other languages in parent-child interactions, reinforcing the earlier finding that parents who are speakers of other languages tend to use English with their partners, and there is no significant effect on their use in child-parent interactions.

Parent-parent Vs child-child

The smallest positive correlations within each language and between the different interaction types are those between parent-parent and child-child interactions. The two intragenerational interactions are thus less strongly correlated than the two intergenerational interactions. As such, parent-parent interactions and child-child interactions can be said to be the most different from each other.

Table 21: Correlations between parent-parent interactions and child-child interactions

		English Child-child	Castilian Child-child	Catalan Child-child	Other Child-child
English Parent- parent	Pearson correlation	.320**	-.262**	-.140	.116
	Bilateral significance	.000	.000	.075	.142
	<i>N</i>	162	162	162	162
Castilian Parent- parent	Pearson correlation	-.213**	.348**	-.059	-.138
	Bilateral significance	.000	.000	.459	.081
	<i>N</i>	162	162	162	162
Catalan Parent- parent	Pearson correlation	-.191**	-.161*	.412**	-.047
	Bilateral significance	.000	.041	.000	.557
	<i>N</i>	162	162	162	162
Other Parent- parent	Pearson correlation	-.083	-.006	-.002	.167*
	Bilateral significance	.293	.941	.980	.034
	<i>N</i>	162	162	162	162

** The correlation is significant at the level of 0.01 (2-tailed)

*The correlation is significant at the level of 0.05 (2-tailed)

For other languages, there is a small yet significant positive correlation between their use in parent-parent interactions and their use in child-child interactions. The smaller correlation suggests that even though other languages tend not to be used between parents, children

still use them in intragenerational sibling interactions (and are particularly highly likely to be reciprocated in interactions between parents and children). As such, other non-official languages demonstrate a remarkable resilience in intergenerational transmission in this highly complex context.

Intergenerational language transmission

Intergenerational language transmission can be measured in two ways: according to language abilities or according to language uses. In Table 22, the following calculations can be found: the percentage of families within which all children who were able to understand a language were reported to be able to understand their parents' L1; the percentage of families within which all children who were able to speak were reported to be able to speak their parents' L1; and the percentage of families within which all children of speaking age were reported to use their parents' L1.

Table 22: Intergenerational language transmission

Parents' L1	Number of families with an L1-speaking parent	Can understand	Can speak	Use at home (with parents and/or siblings)
English	164	100%	99.4%	97.6%
Castilian	86	95.3%	92.6%	66.3%
Catalan	51	94%	85.7%	76.5%
X	49	51%	50%	49%

The results show evidence of significantly higher rates of English language transmission in terms of both ability and use than the other languages: 100% of the families in which at least one child was reported able to understand declared all children able to understand English; 99.4% of families with at least one child reported able to speak declared all children able to speak English; and 97.6% of the families declared their children to use English at home (see significance table in Appendix 16).

Castilian and Catalan obtain similar results and there are no statistically significant differences between them for any indicators. Although it is not 100%, children from almost all families are reported to be able to understand Castilian (95.3%) and Catalan (94%). Interestingly, despite their societal presence, some of the children who are reported to be able to understand English are declared unable to understand Castilian and/or Catalan. Fewer

children are reported able to speak the two official languages than are English too, with this figure dropping to 92.6% for Castilian and 85.7% for Catalan when it comes to the ability to speak. However, when it comes to family language uses a slightly larger proportion of children with L1 Catalan-speaking parents use Catalan at home (76.5%) than children with L1 Castilian-speaking parents use Castilian at home (66.3%). The different pattern of ability to speak and language use indicators is a little puzzling, however, it should be remembered that neither difference is statistically significant.

The fact that figures for the official languages are not closer to 100% is perhaps more surprising. It might be explained by the heavy weighting of the sample towards the younger age limit of the eligible sample, who might not yet fully participate in official language-medium socialisation. Furthermore, some children were reported to attend educational activities in English and/or other non-official languages, which might limit their exposure to the official languages. Even so, it seems surprising that the official languages do not obtain highly similar or greater results than English.

Finally, for families in which other non-official languages (X) are amongst parental L1s, approximately half of the families declare that their children are able to understand (51%) and speak it (50%). These are significantly lower scores than those obtained for English and for the official languages. That said, there is greater stability across measures for other languages, with just a 1% difference between those declared able to speak other languages and those reported to use other languages at home (49%).

7.3 Discussion

The initial research question aimed to describe the questionnaire sample in terms of language uses. Such a description has been situated within a brief socio-demographic description in order to further the limited available knowledge about the research population under study. A discussion of the main findings of both sections of the present chapter ensues.

The socio-demographic description

In socio-demographic terms the sample of responding transnational anglophone parents has been shown to be highly similar to the estimated total population as far as country of birth and geographical distribution are concerned. Although it is impossible to assess true representativity, the fact that the proportion of questionnaire respondents originating from

different countries and resident in different areas reflected that of the wider population is encouraging in the sense that it reflects estimates.

The responding transnational anglophone parents are characterised by their relatively favourable socio-economic status and professions which involve the use of English at work. The description so far largely reflects Turell & Corcoll's outline of a professional city-dwelling profile of British and American residents in Spain, many of whom settle and establish a family in the host society context (Turell & Corcoll, 2007). Their average length of residence is ten years, with a range of between 0 and 20. A considerable number of the responding parents (58.7%) have more than two countries of reference, showing signs of being fairly mobile. The majority also report maintaining regular connections to the home country through virtual or physical contact with family and friends there, demonstrating a fairly high degree of transnational connectivity.

Almost half of the responding parents' partners (47.9%) were reported to be from Spain, including those born in Catalonia and those born in other autonomous communities. Almost a third (28.1%) are from other countries with 9.6% originating from other predominantly Castilian-speaking countries, most frequently from South America. As a result, 58% of all 331 parents represented in the sample are from predominantly English-speaking countries, 25.4% are from Spain and 16.6% are from other countries. There is thus a wide variety of couple compositions in terms of geographic origins, suggesting that the experience that the parents bring to the families and their expectations of socialisation processes may also be highly varied.

Data for 283 children was provided in the questionnaire. Far greater numbers of children of pre-school and primary-school ages are represented than secondary school students. This might be due to the fact that parents of older children are less connected to expat networks or perhaps also to the possibility of such parents having moved away from the host society context. Unfortunately it is difficult to know whether or not this is representative of the wider population due to its very characteristics.

Regarding family structure and despite consideration being taken in order to account for all possible family formats in the questionnaire design process, the vast majority of families represented within the sample (90.2%) take the form of a traditional nuclear family structure.

Again due to the self-selected nature of the sample, it is difficult to know whether or not this is representative of the population. Despite this, it is thought unlikely to be fully reflective of the population because the proportions of single-parent and reconstituted families for the host society context and the English-speaking home country contexts are known to be much higher.

The sociolinguistic description

In terms of first language combinations, approximately one fifth of the sample (18.3%) is made up of families with two L1 English speakers. Just over a half (52.4%) are formed of an L1 English-speaking parent and an L1 official language-speaking parent. 16.5% of parents represent the combination of an L1 English speaker and an L1 speaker of a non-official language, indicating that the population is highly likely to be a heterogeneous one, much like the Japanese population in Catalonia (Fukuda, 2009). Similarly to Fukuda's findings, such heterogeneity might be extended to the population's language socialisation trajectories and hence repertoires and uses.

Parents' language abilities in English and Castilian are both reported to be high, indicating that regardless of L1, almost all parents demonstrate ability in these two languages. As has been shown in research conducted on other populations, Castilian is normally the first language acquired by transnational parents who are not L1 speakers of either of the two official languages of the host society context and often acts as a *lingua franca* for use with foreigners (Fukuda, 2014, 2016; Vila & Salvat, 2013). As such, reported Catalan abilities are significantly lower. Reported Castilian and Catalan ability scores amongst L1 English speakers increase with length of residence; those for Catalan to a greater extent than those for Castilian. The association of Catalan ability with length of residence has been made in previous studies (Fukuda, 2009) and perhaps relates to the increased opportunities for socialisation in social fields in which it is a vehicular language that a longer length of stay might grant.

Interestingly, parents report similar patterns of language abilities for their children. Whereas there are no significant differences between parental reports of their children's English and Castilian abilities, their ratings were significantly lower for Catalan. Despite the fact that 88.9% of the children are reported to attend educational activities in Catalan (alongside other languages), the sample is weighted towards the pre-school age range which means that some children might not yet have had the intensive immersion experience of the Catalan language

that most state-funded or semi-private schools in the metropolitan region of Barcelona offer. Considering the fact that only 26.8% of families have an L1 Catalan-speaking parent in the home, parents might not be confident in their children's ability, or perhaps even might not be entirely comfortable assessing their children's level of Catalan ability.

Family language uses were represented as different indexes according to four interaction types. Between parents English and Castilian are the most common languages, representing 62.6% and 29.4% of the index of between-parent language uses respectively. The high use of English between parents might reflect situations in which English is the common language between parents, or perhaps situations in which English is prioritised at home in order to ensure its transmission. The fact that there seem to be several cases of non-L1 English-speaking parents using English with their children at home would seem to reinforce this possibility, which will be explored further in the research interviews.

The relatively high proportion of between-parent uses of Castilian (which is particularly notable when compared to other types of interaction) might reflect the fact that Castilian is often the first language acquired by most foreigners and the language in which many partners first meet, regardless of whether the partner is an L1 speaker of Castilian or Catalan. The inertia condition might mean that the first language used between parents does not often change, even if either or both parents' linguistic repertoires grow (Spolsky & Cooper, 1991).

Parents seem to use much more English and much less Catalan with their partners than children do with their siblings, perhaps indicating that the children introduce or increase the presence of official languages in the home environment. The increased use of Catalan between siblings appears to support the sibling effect thesis (Tuominen, 1999), which posits that children with older siblings are likely to have less input in the home language due to the older child's increased use of the official language(s). The older child's increased use of the official language(s) is often attributed to the fact that their contact with institutions and social fields external to the family environment influences their language use both outside of and within the home. It should be noted, however, that the increased use of Catalan between siblings is not to the entire detriment of English. Although English is used alone in just 21.5% of between-sibling interactions, it appears alone or in combination with other languages in a total of 72% of interactions. This is similar to children's reported language uses in Japanese-English families in Japan (Yamamoto, 2001: 169).

In terms of intergenerational uses (ie. between parents and children and vice versa), it should be noted that a highly similar proportion of English is used by children when interacting with their parents as occurs vice versa. Despite English playing a limited role in everyday life in the host society, many children are reported to actively use the language in the home environment, as in Yamamoto (2001). Although other non-official languages are not present in all families and not all parents who have one as an L1 use it with their children, it seems as though most children who are addressed in other languages use a similar proportion of those languages in interactions with their parents, demonstrating a remarkable resilience of other non-official languages alongside English and the official languages of the host society context.

Finally, in terms of intergenerational transmission calculations were made according to language ability and language use, taking into consideration those children who were able to understand and speak at time of questionnaire. English is transmitted both in terms of ability and use in an extremely high percentage of families. All 164 families reported their children able to understand English, 163 families reported their children able to speak it and 160 families reported their children to use it within the home environment. Such figures are much higher than existing studies with data from anglophone parents (Boyd, 1998; Héran et al., 2002; Yamamoto, 2001) although it should be remembered that the current sample includes 18.3% of families with two L1 English-speaking parents (as opposed to one L1 English-speaking and one L1 official language-speaking parent in Boyd and Yamamoto's studies at least).

At first glance it is quite shocking that the transmission rates for English are so much higher than those for the official languages of the host society context. However, a comparison with the percentages for the official and other non-official languages, alongside an awareness that the sample is weighted towards a younger age range, would appear to reinforce the possibility that some families might be consciously prioritising the use of English at home, at least in early childhood before entering compulsory schooling. This will be explored further in the interview phase of the study.

Despite being significantly lower than the percentages for English, similarly high percentages of children are reported to be able to understand, speak and use both official languages, indicating that they are acquired by osmosis if not through parental language uses within the home. An important consideration to be noted, however, is that the figures for Castilian are

slightly higher than Catalan, indicating that some children might not acquire Catalan and thus perhaps be versant in just one of the two official languages of the host society.

Finally, non-official languages other than English appear to be transmitted in approximately 50% of the families with an L1 non-official language-speaking parent, a proportion which is significantly lower than those for the other languages. Similar percentages are reported for each indicator, suggesting that a second non-official language (apart from English) is actively used within the home by children in several families. This serves to show the complex plurilingual realities of many of the families within the sample.

In answer to the research question about the extent to which English, Castilian, Catalan and other languages are known, used and transmitted within families with at least one transnational anglophone parent then, the following results have been found.

Firstly in terms of language knowledge, English and Castilian abilities are reported to be similarly high amongst all parents, but Catalan abilities, particularly active ones, are less widespread. For children, a similar dip in Catalan language ability is reported, although to a lesser extent than that for many parents.

Regarding family language uses, many parents' uses within the home are closely associated with L1. English-speaking parents tend to use English with their children, and often also with their partners. However, there is some evidence to suggest that, particularly in cluster two, some parents who are not L1 speakers of English might be using English with their children, probably in order to reinforce its transmission. Children tend to reciprocate similar proportions of each language used with them. However, where many parents make sole use of one language with their children, many children seem to respond in more than one.

Finally, the rate of English transmission is almost absolute (>97%) when measured according to children's language ability and use. It is significantly higher than that of the two official languages, particularly in terms of uses which lag behind by over 20%. Finally, the rate of transmission of other non-official languages is much lower at approximately 50%.

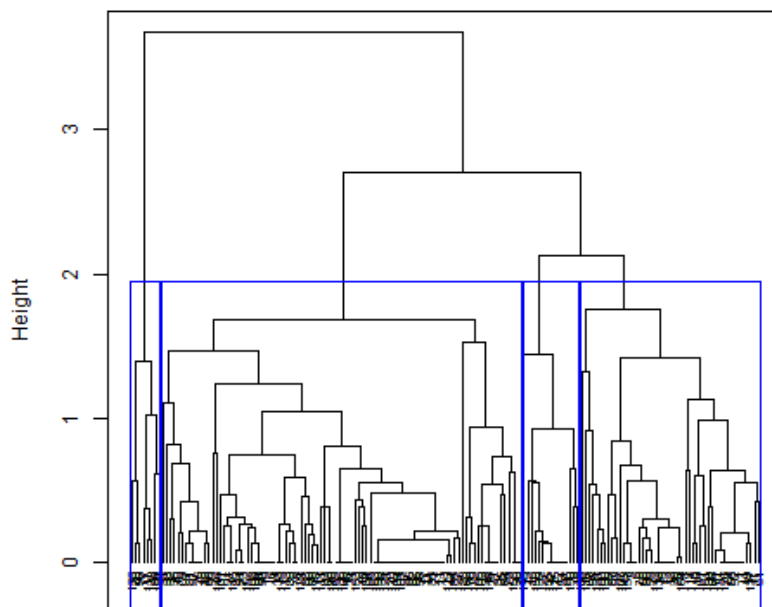
Chapter 8. Developing language use profiles

A hierarchical cluster analysis procedure using the squared Euclidean distance measure was carried out with 16 variables and 164 cases. The variables used were 16 language use indexes for the four different family interactions (Parent_Parent; Parent_Children; Children_Parent and Children_Children) and four languages (English, Castilian, Catalan and Other).

According to the changes in agglomerative coefficients, it seems that three or four based cluster solutions are informative enough to be retained. Both procedures were carried out, but it was considered that the four-cluster solution made allowances for an interesting nuance to be explored whilst still providing an acceptable silhouette index value of 0.33 (within a range from -1 to 1), which is considered good enough to continue with this interpretation.

The dendrogram in Figure 51 illustrates the hierarchical clustering procedure and shows how the four clusters, marked by the blue dividing lines, were arrived at. The biggest difference is marked between the smallest cluster (to the left of the figure) and the remaining three clusters. Then a considerable difference is marked between the second cluster and the remaining two.

Figure 51: Dendrogram with 4 clusters (average linkage)



Initial descriptions were performed in order to identify the main characteristics of each cluster and a decision was made to focus on four clusters because they were clearly organised

according to the proportion of the different languages used. Further clusters were identified by the cluster analysis procedure which are helpful in understanding the composition of each cluster and indicating the relative numbers.

As can be appreciated in Table 23 below, the clusters differ considerably in size. Clusters one and two are considerably larger than three and four, collectively representing 86% and 14% respectively. Although the latter two are comparatively speaking much smaller, when their descriptions are analysed the difference between them is both coherent with hypotheses and of sufficient interest to maintain the distinction.

Table 23: Cluster sizes and their corresponding proportion of the sample

Cluster	N	%
1	47	28.7
2	94	57.3
3	15	9.2
4	8	4.9

In the following section, each cluster will be described in terms of the quantitative sociolinguistic and socio-demographic data from the family language questionnaire, as well as in terms of the qualitative interview data relating to the family's migratory history, language socialisation process in the host society and future migratory project.

Before going into a detailed description, it should be noted that the sociolinguistic description comes from an exploration of the average language use indexes for different interaction types within the family, as is summarised in Table 24 below.

On the basis of this information, the four clusters have been labelled as below. The names for each cluster should be interpreted in terms of family language uses as opposed to their members' full repertoires or first languages.

- Cluster 1: Castilian - English bilingual families
- Cluster 2: monolingual English families
- Cluster 3: English, Castilian and Catalan trilingual families
- Cluster 4: Catalan - English bilingual families

Table 24: Distribution of language use indexes according to cluster

	Clusters from Average linkage (4 groups)							
	Cluster 1		Cluster 2		Cluster 3		Cluster 4	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
English_Parent	0.35	0.32	0.91	0.18	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.19
English_ParentChildren	0.45	0.14	0.75	0.22	0.50	0.00	0.42	0.12
English_ChildrenParent	0.40	0.20	0.73	0.23	0.49	0.08	0.30	0.16
English_Children	0.37	0.28	0.62	0.29	0.56	0.19	0.17	0.24
Castilian_Parent	0.62	0.34	0.04	0.12	0.98	0.06	0.05	0.15
Castilian_ParentChildren	0.48	0.17	0.07	0.16	0.11	0.18	0.00	0.00
Castilian_ChildrenParent	0.53	0.23	0.09	0.16	0.07	0.14	0.00	0.00
Castilian_Children	0.56	0.31	0.12	0.19	0.04	0.10	0.04	0.12
Catalan_Parent	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.09	0.02	0.06	0.77	0.37
Catalan_ParentChildren	0.04	0.10	0.07	0.16	0.36	0.21	0.55	0.10
Catalan_ChildrenParent	0.04	0.10	0.08	0.18	0.39	0.23	0.67	0.18
Catalan_Children	0.03	0.09	0.16	0.27	0.35	0.23	0.75	0.38
Other_Parent	0.02	0.09	0.04	0.12	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.08
Other_ParentChildren	0.03	0.09	0.11	0.19	0.03	0.13	0.03	0.09
Other_ChildrenParent	0.03	0.07	0.10	0.17	0.04	0.13	0.03	0.09
Other_Children	0.05	0.11	0.10	0.20	0.06	0.15	0.04	0.12

It should be noted here that other languages are used to a small degree in all four clusters, usually ranging from 2% to 6%, with a slightly greater presence of other languages in intergenerational interactions in cluster 2 (10% and 11%). There is a greater presence of other languages within cluster two, indicating that one of the sub-clusters within it might represent families with at least one other language-speaking parent. However, given that there is no clear grouping of families with other languages that is separate from other clusters, the presence or absence of other languages has not been taken into account in the labelling of the different clusters.

For the socio-demographic description, the language use profiles for the families have been cross-tabulated with fourteen other socio-demographic and language ability variables. In the following table, the variables have been ordered in terms of their association (according to the V Cramer coefficient which ranges between 0 and 1). These coefficients are used to summarise the possible relationships between the variables. A mean analysis was carried out after a closer examination.

Table 25: Association coefficients

Variable	Coefficient
Parents' age	0.54
Parents' L1	0.40
Length of residence (LoR)	0.40
Parents' Catalan ability	0.38
Parents' country of birth	0.32
Parents' English ability	0.30
Children's Catalan ability	0.28
Parents' Castilian ability	0.26
Children's Castilian ability	0.25
Children's English ability	0.23
Reasons for coming to metropolitan region of Barcelona	0.18
Parents' studies	0.18
Visits home	0.17
Number of countries of residence	0.06

The association with language use is highest with parents' age, parents' L1, the responding parents' length of residence, parents' Catalan ability and parents' country of birth. The relationship of sociolinguistic variables regarding first language and language abilities with language use are unsurprising given that a family member cannot choose to use a language that they do not have the ability to speak. The fact that Catalan language ability has a strong association with the language use profiles suggests that it might be a differentiating factor. Catalan language ability, in turn, is highly related to length of residence (as shown in chapter 7) in that those transnational anglophone parents who have been living in the metropolitan region of Barcelona for longest are more likely to report receptive and productive Catalan language abilities.

The following table shows the average for each variable and cluster, as well as the standard deviation. Where values are compared between clusters, no significances have been calculated on the basis that the values do not result from a random distribution of families. On the contrary, the cluster analysis procedure is the result of empirical association so it is to be assumed that each cluster differs from the others.

Table 26: Distribution of variables according to the clusters

	Cluster							
	1		2		3		4	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Parents' age	42.68	5.47	40.99	5.24	43.07	4.01	44.81	8.43
Parents' L1: English	0.00	0.00	.31	.46	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Parents' L1: English and Castilian	.51	.51	.14	.35	.27	.46	0.00	0.00
Parents' L1: English and Catalan	.02	.15	.10	.30	0.00	0.00	.25	.46
Parents' L1: English and other	.15	.36	.32	.47	0.00	0.00	.13	.35
Parents' L1: Other combinations	.32	.47	.14	.35	.73	.46	.63	.52
Length of residence	11.30	6.09	8.34	5.55	14.33	4.62	14.38	6.28
Parents' Catalan ability	2.67	.87	2.13	1.33	3.30	.73	3.94	.18
Parents' countries of birth: English-speaking countries	.04	.20	.35	.48	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Parents' countries of birth: English-speaking country and Spain	.64	.49	.28	.45	.87	.35	.63	.52
Parents' countries of birth: English-speaking country and others	.23	.43	.35	.48	.13	.35	.13	.35
Parents' countries of birth: Spain and other countries	.09	.28	.02	.15	0.00	0.00	.25	.46
Parents' English ability	3.93	.25	4.00	0.00	3.80	.53	3.81	.37
Children's Catalan ability	2.78	1.33	2.37	1.34	2.98	1.09	2.95	1.01
Parents' Castilian ability	3.96	.16	3.55	.80	3.93	.26	4.00	0.00
Children's Castilian ability	3.10	1.01	2.34	1.25	3.01	1.15	2.67	1.11
Children's English ability	2.90	.98	2.90	.99	3.13	.98	3.11	1.00
Reason for coming to MRB: Partner	.32	.47	.30	.46	.07	.26	.38	.52
Reason for coming to MRB: Work	.30	.46	.35	.48	.20	.41	.25	.46

Reason for coming to MRB: Education	.06	.25	.03	.18	.13	.35	.25	.46
Reason for coming to MRB: Learn language	.06	.25	.09	.28	.13	.35	0.00	0.00
Reasons for coming to MRB: Other reasons	.26	.44	.23	.43	.47	.52	.13	.35
Parents' studies: No higher education	.36	.49	.39	.49	.53	.52	.38	.52
Parents' studies: One parent higher education	.45	.50	.36	.48	.33	.49	0.00	0.00
Parents' studies: Both parents higher education	.19	.40	.24	.43	.13	.35	.63	.52
Visits home	1.48	1.17	1.83	1.28	2.00	1.07	1.25	1.16
Countries of residence	1.91	1.01	1.99	1.07	1.80	1.01	2.00	0.76

8.1 Cluster one: Castilian – English bilingual families

The first cluster is composed of 47 families, thus representing just over a quarter of the sample (28.7%).

Sociolinguistic description

Castilian and English language uses predominate in this profile.

Figure 52: Cluster one average language use indexes (n=47)

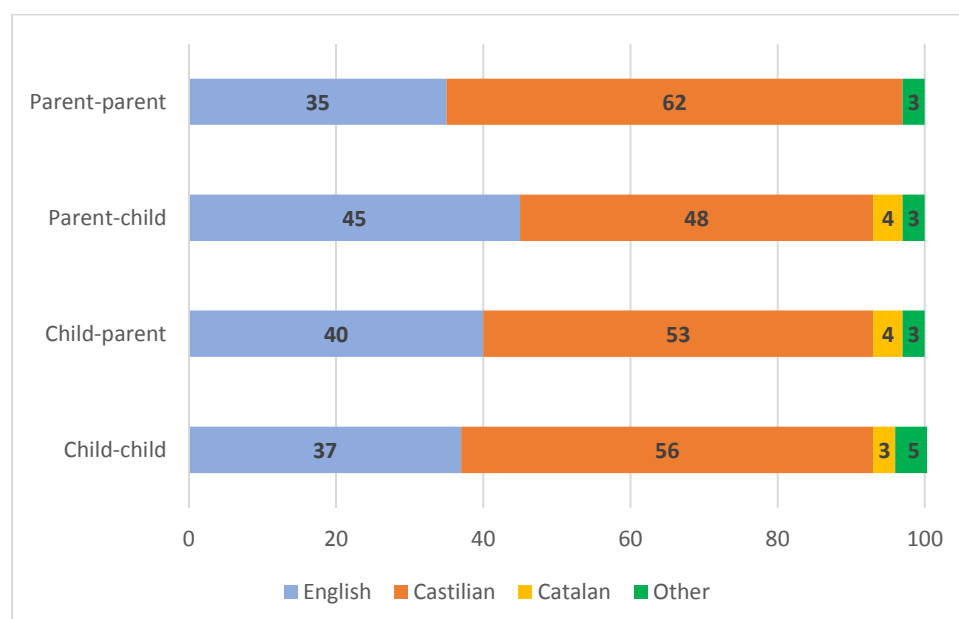


Figure 52 shows how Castilian is the language which is used most between parents, representing 62% of all parent-parent uses, while English follows with 35%. When addressing their children, parents use similar proportions of Castilian (48%) and English (45%). In response, children use slightly more Castilian (53%) than their parents and slightly less English (40%). Amongst siblings, more Castilian is used (56%) than English (37%), the gains made by Castilian perhaps reflecting its greater presence in between-parent interactions and outside the home environment.

Socio-demographic description

The average age of parents in this cluster is 42.7 years and the average length of residence of the responding parent 11 years. 64% of the couples²⁹ are made up of a parent from a predominantly English-speaking country and a partner from Spain and 23% are made up of a parent from a predominantly English-speaking country and a partner from other countries. In terms of first languages, 51% of couples' L1s include English and Castilian and there is a high proportion (32%) of other combinations which may include L1 speakers of English, Castilian and Catalan. Such couple compositions explain the almost equal use of English and Castilian by parents with their children, which is highly suggestive of families within this profile typically following a one-parent, one-language approach.

In this cluster, most parents declare full abilities for English and Castilian (average 3.9/4 for both). Parents' language abilities in Catalan, however, are considerably lower with an average of 2.7/4, explaining the extremely limited presence of this language in cluster one.

Children in the first cluster have an average age of 6.1 years. Their abilities are reported to be slightly lower for English (2.9/4) than they are for Castilian (3.1/4). Catalan is the language for which children are reported to have the lowest ability in this cluster (2.8/4).

Migratory trajectories

The ten parents interviewed in cluster one are from families which are either made up of two partners who were not born in Catalonia or one partner from an L1 English-speaking country and the other a Castilian-dominant bilingual from Catalonia. Most partners are L1 Castilian-speaking from other autonomous communities in Spain or from South American countries.

²⁹ Here the term *couples* is used to refer to the combination of parents, regardless of the number of parents (ranging from 1-3) or whether currently cohabiting or not.

Most parents interviewed relate their move to the metropolitan region of Barcelona as motivated by job opportunities or by meeting their partner whilst studying, travelling or working here and deciding to stay. Most of the parents interviewed have lived in other contexts besides their place of birth before moving to Barcelona.

In terms of their language socialisation processes, most parents in cluster one use either English and Castilian (4/10 cases) or just Castilian (5/10 cases) with their partners, with just one case of English, Castilian and Catalan. With friends, 7/10 interviewees report using English and Castilian, one uses English, Castilian and German and two use English, Castilian and Catalan. Similarly to the other clusters, all transnational anglophone parents interviewed in cluster one use English at work, sometimes alongside other languages, most frequently including Castilian. Relatively little Catalan is used in interactions with partners, friends, colleagues and clients.

When asked whether or not they speak Catalan, some parents in cluster one justify their lack of use of the language. Some demonstrate a lack of confidence in their Catalan ability, stating a reluctance to return to beginner level in another language and the possibility of confusion between Catalan and other Romance languages spoken. Others explain that L1 Catalan speakers' tendency to use Castilian with them makes it difficult to practise or leads them to conclude that there is no immediate need to speak it. In many friendship circles that include L1 Catalan speakers, Castilian is used as a *lingua franca* in order to facilitate communication or in some cases parents report the holding of bilingual conversations with mutual comprehension.

Considering questions of identity, parents in cluster one demonstrate some angst about their own and their children's sense of belonging to the host society. Parents in this cluster refer to themselves as "expats" or "professional foreigners", heightening a sense of distance from the local population which is reinforced by the motif of concerns for roots and attachments. Two parents refer to their children as third culture kids and another parent suggests that his children feel little attachment to Catalonia and the Catalan language. In the following excerpt,

C1C ROBERT³⁰ contrasts attachment to place of birth with international perspectives, suggesting that his children do not feel tied to a local context:

Excerpt 1: C1C Robert

You know, having an international perspective, they haven't got any family at all in *Cataluña* apart from their mum and dad. And they don't feel especially tied to *Cataluña*

Some parents demonstrate further evidence of conflict regarding questions of their children's identity, referring to their children as Catalan, Spanish and/or foreign within the same interview. Despite arguing that as a Spaniard her son should go to a state-funded local school in order to integrate, in the following excerpt C1A Karen also refers to him as a foreigner and suggests that she believes he will self-identify as such in the long-term.

Excerpt 2: C1A Karen

the point is to to be able to kind of fit in as a foreigner. Fit in because he'll always be a foreigner just because we're always foreigners but find the language in which to communicate and somehow part of the culture and just in the end for him to be happy.

Regarding parents' expectations for the future, most parents explain how they are happy to be living in the metropolitan region of Barcelona and would like to stay. All ten parents, however, include at least a temporary period of transnational mobility in their descriptions of their children's imagined futures. Most would like their children to study at a university abroad and have access to professional opportunities in other countries.

Summary

Cluster one is characterised by couples who tend to have English and Castilian in their linguistic repertoires, either as an L1 or as a foreign language in which they are highly proficient. L1 English-speaking parents in this cluster tend to have high ability scores in Castilian and make considerable use of it with their partners, several of whom are described to lack confidence in English in the interviews. This might explain why there is a certain predominance of Castilian over English at all levels of within-family interactions.

³⁰ The code C1C identifies participants according to cluster belonging (C1: Cluster One) and age range of children (A: 0-5 years old, B: 6-11 and C: 12-16). Further details can be found in the participant details table in Annex.

In terms of intergenerational transmission, parents in cluster one appear to undertake the one-parent, one-language strategy with almost equal amounts of English (45%) and Castilian (48%) being used in parent-child interactions. Although the proportion of English used by children in reciprocation is lower at 40%, English is still used by children in intergenerational and intragenerational interactions. The linguistic composition of the home environment for cluster two thus seems relatively conducive to the transmission of English, despite this taking place alongside the use of an official language.

There is a markedly reduced presence of Catalan in cluster one as compared to clusters three and four, which goes alongside a much lower parental ability score in it. This may be because most partners in the cluster were not born in Catalonia but come from other Castilian-speaking contexts in the rest of Spain or in South America. Those parents who were born in Catalonia are described in the interviews as identifying with and being dominant in Castilian, usually because their parents originated from other areas in Spain and this was the predominant home language when they were children. The few cases in which it does appear might represent the uses of a few Castilian-dominant partners born in Catalonia or perhaps even some isolated cases of Catalan being used for transmission by non-L1 Catalan-speaking parents. The L1 English-speaking parents interviewed express a lack of confidence in their abilities in Catalan and an overwhelming preference for and use of Castilian in all social fields reported. Interestingly though, children's Catalan language abilities are not reported to be hugely different from those reported for English and Castilian. These reports should be understood in the light of parents' low or null declared ability in Catalan. If accurate, children seem to acquire both official languages despite Catalan hardly being used at home. If not, it might be a form of disclaimer to justify a lack of parental ability in the language.

In terms of migratory trajectories, cluster one is amongst the most mobile. During the interviews, most cases were of families in which both parents had moved away from their place of birth before setting up home in Catalonia. This is thought to be one of the main reasons that parents in this cluster express such concern for the recurrent topics of roots, attachment and belonging. Interestingly, several of the partners of the parents interviewed from this cluster originated from non-Catalan-speaking areas of Spain, indicating that parents perceive important differences between them and Catalonia. The use of terms such as third culture kids and contradictory claims of Catalan identity/foreignness indicate a degree of

detachment from local context which perhaps also influences beliefs about the Catalan language in particular.

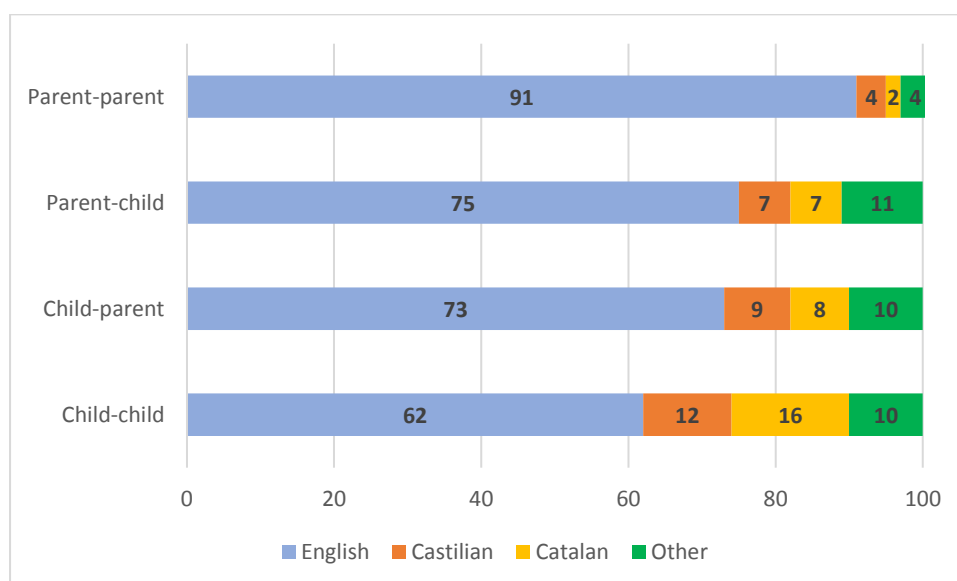
8.2 Cluster two: Monolingual English families

The second cluster is the largest with 94 families, representing 57.3% of the sample. Although it could have been divided further into smaller sub-clusters, the defining feature of this large cluster is the predominant use of English within the home environment and unites all groups.

Sociolinguistic description

In this cluster the use of English at home predominates over other languages. English is used almost exclusively between parents (91%) and to a much higher extent between parents and children than any other language in any cluster (75% from parents to children and 73% from children to parents), suggesting that the sociolinguistic environment within the home motivates children to reciprocate in English to a greater degree than in other clusters.

Figure 53: Cluster two average language use indexes (n=94)



Compared to the other clusters, English is used much more at both intergenerational and intragenerational levels. English accounts for 62% of between-sibling uses, although there is still a relatively strong presence of Castilian (12%) and Catalan (16%), which makes a total percentage use of 28% for official languages. Interestingly the percentage of Catalan used in families belonging to this cluster is much higher than that of those in cluster one. It is also within this cluster that the greatest use of other, non-official languages appears. The greatest number of other language speakers are contained within this cluster and it is reciprocated by children in similar proportions to that which is used at the parent-child level of interaction.

Socio-demographic description

The average age of parents is lowest in this cluster at 40.9 years. Parents' countries of origin within this cluster are fairly heterogeneous. Both members of 35% of couples come from English-speaking countries; 35% of couples come from an English-speaking country and other countries; and a further 28% of couples come from an English-speaking country and Spain. The same is true for combinations of L1s. 31% of couples have English as the only L1; 30% have combinations of English and other languages as first languages; 14% and 10% respectively have either English and Castilian or English and Catalan as first language combinations.

In terms of language abilities, Catalan language abilities are the lowest at 2.1/4, suggesting that these are mainly passive skills. On the other hand, all parents report full English language abilities (4/4) and high Castilian language abilities (3.5/4). Despite the heterogeneity of countries of origin and language backgrounds, the fact that all parents report high competence in English correlates with the high proportion of English used in this cluster compared to the others. It suggests that at least some parents who are not L1 speakers of English use this language with their children.

For children's language abilities, children in this cluster have the lowest score for each of the languages, which is thought to be related to the average age of children within this cluster (5.5). Children's abilities in English (2.9/4) are, however, slightly higher than those for the official languages (Catalan, 2.4 and Castilian, 2.3/4). Given that a considerable number of children under the age of five might well be at home, it is possible that they have not had as much contact with the official languages as older children are likely to have had. As might be expected for the cluster with the youngest children, the average length of residence of the transnational anglophone parent is the shortest of the four groups, standing at 8 years.

Migratory trajectories

Cluster two is perhaps the most distinct from the others in terms of migratory history, language socialisation and migratory project. It is the most heterogeneous in terms of parents' origins, yet most parents decided to move to the metropolitan region of Barcelona for professional reasons. In several cases, both parents have lived in different contexts to their place of birth previously and have been mobile for their careers.

The exclusive use of English is most common between partners, despite the plurality of parental L1s represented within cluster two. Many parents in cluster two refer to the supportive role of their non-L1 English-speaking partners in reinforcing the use of English at home. Parents also tend to use English at work, as is true for all clusters. Interestingly, however, when it comes to social networks, cluster two presents the most diverse range of language uses, including Castilian, Catalan and other non-official languages in that order of frequency. The widespread presence of official languages is indicative of integration into friendship circles with members of the local population, although parents talk about belonging in terms of two different communities: expat and local networks.

With a view to the future, parents in cluster two are the most likely to consider onward migration, mostly for professional reasons. However, similarly to the other clusters, parents express a high degree of satisfaction with their lives in Barcelona and state no desire to leave for the moment. As in all other clusters, parents' imaginations of their children's futures include periods of transnational mobility for professional or academic reasons, although parents also leave the possibility open for children to want to settle in Catalonia in the long term.

Summary

By far the largest cluster, representing over half of the families in the sample, is cluster two which contains families that make predominant use of English at home. The heterogeneous nature of the families within this cluster refutes an entirely one-to-one ratio between parental first language combinations and family language uses. However, all parents within this cluster are reported to have full language abilities in English and many non-L1 English-speaking parents make considerable use of English at home in order to support their partners in their intergenerational transmission efforts. Parents in cluster two thus seem to be prioritising the transmission of English within the home. Child-parent reciprocation in English is remarkably high, suggesting that these family environments encourage children to make active use of English.

Parents in this cluster have the youngest average age, the shortest length of residence and youngest average age of children. They are highly mobile, most often for professional reasons, and are the most likely to consider onward migration to advance their careers. Parents in this cluster also have the lowest ability in official languages, which is perhaps a consequence of

their relatively short lengths of residence. In turn, official languages are not granted a central role in within-family interactions. Their children's increased use of them at the intragenerational level is suggestive of their acquisition by osmosis, without necessarily having much parental input. Many of the children in this cluster seem to acquire official languages through exposure in family-external interactional contexts.

Despite having the lowest ability in the official languages and shortest lengths of residence, parents in cluster two have varied social networks which incorporate speakers of official languages. In terms of their socialisation processes in the host society context, parents speak of a dual sense of belonging to "expat" networks and the local population. They envisage the possibility of their children remaining in Catalonia long-term and are more likely than parents in cluster one to suggest that Catalonia and Catalan are integral parts of their children's identity alongside English and other home languages where relevant.

Interestingly, where relevant, parents in cluster two also appear to promote the intergenerational and intragenerational use of other non-official languages within the home. Child-parent reciprocation of these languages is in almost exactly the same proportion as parent-child uses, demonstrating that several families manage to transmit English and another language alongside their children's acquisition of official languages.

8.3 Cluster three: English, Castilian and Catalan trilingual families

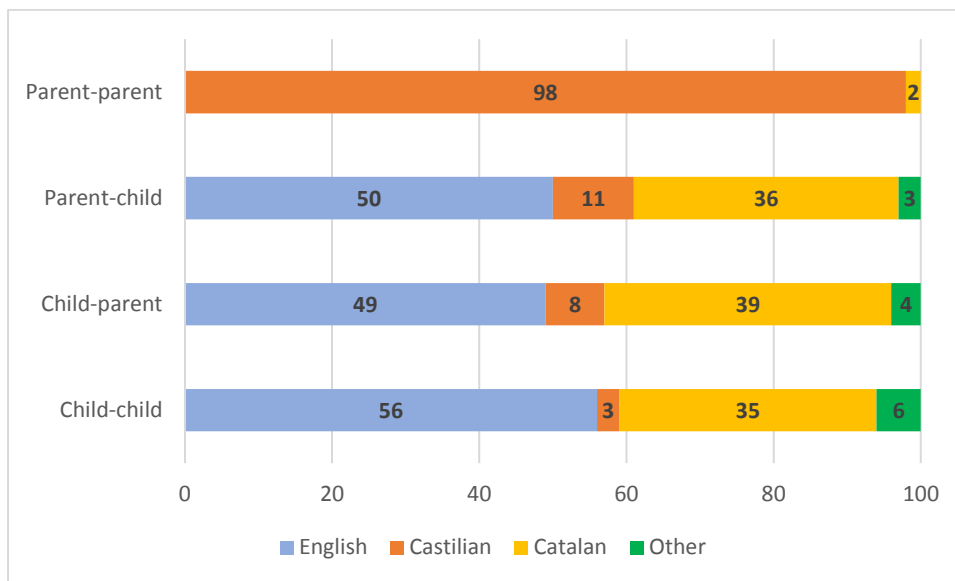
The third cluster represents 9.2% of the sample, comprising a comparatively small total of 15 families.

Sociolinguistic description

The sociolinguistic profile of the third cluster is made up of families who make trilingual use of English, Castilian and Catalan. As can be seen in Figure 54, the use of each language seems to be largely dependent on the family interaction taking place.

For this group Castilian seems to be the language of choice between parents (98%), yet English and Catalan are the preferred languages for interaction between parents and children as well as between siblings. The average use of English by parents to their children is 50% and of Catalan, 36%. In return, the average use of English by children to their parents is highly similar (49%) and of Catalan slightly higher (39%). Between siblings the same trend can be witnessed with English playing a more dominant role (56%) alongside Catalan (35%).

Figure 54: Cluster three average language indexes (n=15)



Socio-demographic description

The average age of parents in cluster three is 43.1 years. 87% of the families in the third cluster are made up of couples comprising a parent from an English-speaking country and another from Spain, the other 13% being made up of couples comprising a parent from an English-speaking country and another from another country. 27% of the parents' L1s are a combination of English and Castilian, with the remaining 73% belonging to other combinations which are highly likely to include English, Castilian & Catalan.

The higher proportion of use of Catalan in the third cluster is thought to be linked to the demographic of parents. Those partners who are from Spain are highly likely to have been born or to have lived for a long time in Catalonia. They might be children of the second wave of migrants from other areas of Spain, who would have been spoken to in Castilian at home but would have had plenty of opportunities to acquire Catalan outside of the home environment. Studies have shown many such children of migrants to adopt Catalan as a language of habitual use, which might well be the case for the parents in this cluster.

Children in cluster three have similarly high language abilities across all three languages: English (3.1/4), Castilian (3.0/4) and Catalan (2.9/4). The children's age is higher than the preceding two groups, at 7.07 years, as is the average length of residence of the transnational anglophone parent, which stands at 14 years.

Migratory trajectories

All parents interviewed from cluster three are married to bilingual members of the local population who use Catalan regularly and identify with it to some extent, despite not necessarily having been brought up with Catalan as the main language at home. Parents in cluster three cite affective rather than professional reasons for moving to Barcelona, either for a relationship or because they fell in love with the city.

In terms of language socialisation processes, participants in cluster three use just official languages in interactions with their partners and a combination of English and official languages with friends. For work, parents in this cluster make use of English alongside official languages. Although most parents have some knowledge of Catalan they do not all use it on a regular basis. Two parents use Castilian as a *lingua franca* with Catalan speakers, suggesting that they feel more comfortable in the first official language that they acquired. However, all parents interviewed refer to Catalan as an important part of family life, referring to their children as Catalan or half-Catalan and thus establishing a strong sense of belonging to Catalonia.

When asked about their visions for the future, all parents in cluster three indicated contentment with their lives here and suggested that they are likely to stay although the future is never absolutely certain. Parents' predictions for their children's future again consisted of a period of transnational mobility, with a distinct possibility that the child would want to return to Catalonia after a time.

Summary

The trilingual family cluster demonstrates the use of English, Castilian and Catalan. Parents in this cluster have higher levels of Catalan and Castilian ability than those for clusters one and two which may be related to their longer lengths of residence as well as couples being made up of an L1 English-speaking parent with a local partner who was either brought up as an L1 Castilian and Catalan speaker or has acquired both languages to an extremely proficient standard through their socialisation processes in the bilingual host society context.

There is a stark difference between intragenerational parental language uses and other levels of interaction within cluster three. Whereas Castilian is the predominant language of use between parents, its presence at other levels is relatively marginal. Many parents in cluster three describe how they met their partner in Castilian and have not changed to Catalan

despite their partners' desires to use Catalan with the children, partly because they do not feel as confident using Catalan and partly because they would find it difficult to change the language of interaction with their partner. Families in this cluster seem to follow a largely one-parent one-language approach with their children, L1 English-speaking parents using English with their children and official language-speaking parents using Castilian or Catalan, with a marked preference for Catalan.

The parents interviewed from cluster three communicated a strong sense of belonging in Catalonia for themselves and their children. They cited affective reasons for moving to the metropolitan region of Barcelona and visions of a long-term future here.

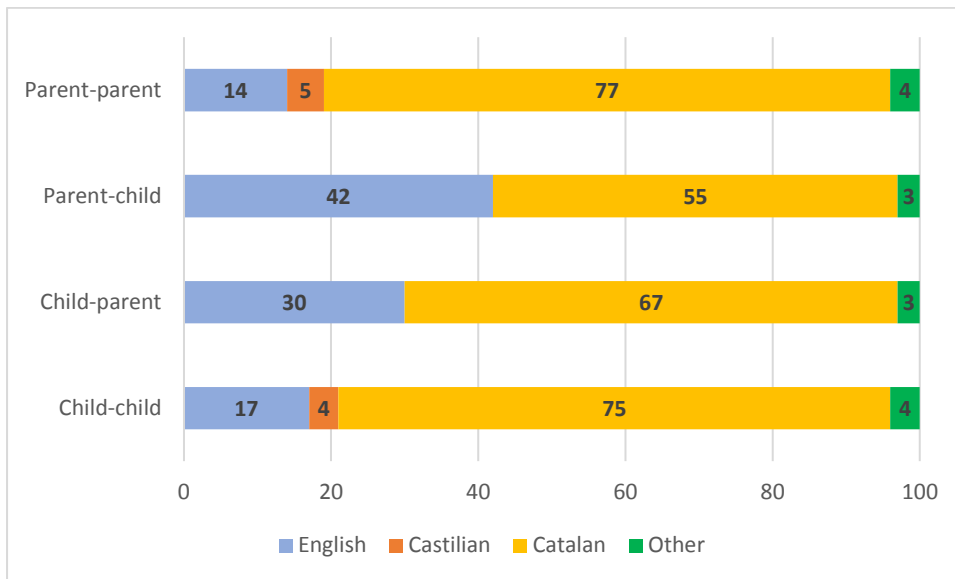
8.4 Cluster four: Catalan - English bilingual families

The smallest cluster, representing just 4.9% of the sample, is made up of eight families. Despite being small, this cluster has been preserved because it was the first to separate from the remaining clusters during the hierarchical procedure, suggesting that these families are the most different from the others.

Sociolinguistic description

Cluster four represents families which make predominant use of Catalan and English, with notably greater use of Catalan in each interaction type than English, as is clear in Figure 55. The average index of Catalan used between parents is high at 77%, with 14% English. For parent to children interactions, Catalan (55%) and English (42%) account for the majority. Children reciprocate with higher uses of Catalan (67%) and lower uses of English (30%). Between siblings, Catalan is the predominant language of use (75%), compared to 17% for English. Castilian use is minimal at intragenerational levels and is not present in intergenerational interactions.

Figure 55: Cluster four average language indexes (n=8)



Socio-demographic description

This cluster represents eight families whose parents are all a combination of transnational anglophones and Spanish citizens. Two of the families are made up of an English L1 speaker and a Catalan L1 speaker, one an English L1 speaker with another language speaker, and the remaining six fall under other combinations which include L1 English-speakers with L1 speakers of Castilian and Catalan. Parents are reported to have high levels of ability in all three languages: English (3.8/4), Castilian (4/4) and Catalan (3.9/4), indicating that most partners have Catalan as an L1 and use it regularly.

In cluster four, parents' and children's language competences are similar in all three languages: English (parents 3.8/4 and children 3.1/4), Castilian (parents 4/4 and children 2.7/4) and Catalan (parents 3.9/4 and children 2.9/4). Parents' language abilities in the three languages are notably high.

The average age of parents within this cluster is highest at 44.81 years and the average age of the children in this cluster is also the highest at 7.33 years. The average length of residence is also the longest at 14.5 years, another factor which might explain the L1 English-speaking parents' high levels of Catalan language ability.

Migratory trajectories

The parents interviewed from cluster four are similar to those from cluster three in that the couples consist of an L1 English speaker and a member of the local population. However, in the case of cluster four, all three partners clearly identify themselves as L1 Catalan speakers.

Again, most parents cite affective reasons such as relationships or love of languages as reasons for moving to Barcelona.

Parents tend to speak to each other in Catalan in cluster four, although there is one example of a relationship conducted mostly in Castilian with just a little Catalan. Language use in social networks tends to include English, Castilian and Catalan. No membership categories are used to refer to parents or children as foreigners or locals, suggesting a greater ease with regards to sense of belonging in the host society.

Parents' descriptions of their migratory project again indicate contentment with life in Catalonia, although some mention is made of emotional ties in the home country which might need to be tended to with temporary stays.

Summary

Cluster four is the smallest cluster identified. However, the distinction between it and cluster three is worth making. Cluster four demonstrates the highest proportion of Catalan use at all levels of interaction, showing instances of L1 English-speaking parents making use of Catalan with their partners and to a lesser extent with their children at the expense of English and Castilian. The parents in this cluster have the highest ability scores in Catalan and Castilian, with similarly high abilities in English, and the longest lengths of residence. They seem to be well integrated into Catalan-medium social networks and largely content with their degree of social integration, demonstrating a greater ease with their own and their children's sense of belonging to the host society than parents in other clusters.

Within this cluster notably more English is used in intergenerational interactions than in intragenerational ones, indicating that it is still considered important for transmission. However, the highly elevated proportion of Catalan in this small sample suggests that its position as an official language in the host society and the L1 English-speaking parents' competence in it have strong implications for the proportion of English used by children at home.

8.5 Discussion

The cluster analysis procedure was undertaken in order to answer the research question of whether or not family profiles could be identified according to their within-family language uses. The resulting four clusters represent different language use patterns within the home:

English and Castilian bilingual families; monolingual English families; trilingual families (English, Castilian and Catalan) and English and Catalan bilingual families. Interestingly, no separate cluster was found which contained all families with a non-official language-speaking parent. Such families are found to be present in several of the clusters, although the highest concentration can be found in cluster two, unsurprisingly the largest. Each of the four clusters have been explained through an exploration of sociolinguistic and socio-demographic variables, as well as parents' narrations of their migratory experience and project.

The hypothesis for the second research question postulated a close connection between parental L1 and family language uses based on the assumptions that parents would be likely to want to transmit an L1 to their children and thus likely to use considerable proportions of that language with them. There does seem to be some correspondence between these variables: the majority of couples in cluster one comprise an L1 English speaker and an L1 Castilian speaker; all couples made up of two L1 English speakers can be found in cluster two; the majority of couples in cluster three comprise an L1 English speaker and an L1 Castilian and Catalan speaker; and the majority of couples in cluster four are made up of an L1 English speaker and L1 Catalan speaker.

Despite this apparent correspondence, there is also some heterogeneity which might be explained further in the interview discussions of family language management processes with respect to migratory project, identity and integration in local networks. Cluster two, the biggest one, is perhaps the most heterogeneous in terms of couple L1 composition. One third of parents are made up of two L1 English speakers, which would reinforce the assumptions of the hypothesis that parents would want to transmit their L1 and therefore use it in the majority of interactions. Another third is made up of an L1 English speaker and an L1 speaker of official languages; and the final third is made up of an L1 English speaker and an L1 speaker of other non-official languages. The facts that all parents are reported to have full abilities in English (with an average ability score of 4/4) and the majority of parents use English with each other indicate that non-L1 English-speaking parents are making use of English in the home environment. This is true to a greater extent for between-parent interactions than it is for intergenerational uses, yet it remains likely that non-L1 English-speaking parents are using some proportion of English with their children. Such language behaviour might be indicative of conscious attempts to compensate for the lack of English used outside the home, as has

been reported by Moroni in the case of some non-L1 Portuguese-speaking parents raising children plurilingually in Barcelona who used Portuguese in order to support its transmission (Moroni, 2017).

Another insightful heterogeneity can be observed when tracing the language behaviour of L1 English-speaking and L1 Catalan/L1 Castilian&Catalan-speaking couples, who can be seen to behave in several different ways. First of all, as predicted all couples in cluster four are made up of an L1 English speaker and an L1 Catalan speaker (either alone or in combination with other languages). However, such couples are also represented in clusters two and three. This would seem unsurprising in cluster three, in which the L1 Catalan-speaking parent can be seen to use Castilian with their partner whilst demonstrating a preference for the use of Catalan with their children. However, in cluster two it suggests that some L1 Catalan-speaking parents use at least some proportion of English with their children. As mentioned above, this is thought to be a conscious form of compensation for the reduced presence of English outside of the home environment.

In terms of explanatory variables, the categories resulting from the cluster analysis procedure performed in the present study are not quite as clear-cut as Fukuda's three clearly distinguished language use profiles according to migratory project and socialisation experiences (Fukuda, 2009). That said, a combination of sociolinguistic variables and accounts of socialisation and migratory project can still be used to describe the composition of the four clusters arrived at in the present study. No distinct cluster reports such definitive plans as Fukuda's *passavolant* category, who understand their length of stay in Barcelona as strictly temporary and are thus anxious to ensure their children's maintenance of the appropriate level of Japanese for them to be able to reintegrate in the home country. That said, due to cultural reasons, reintegration in anglophone contexts is unlikely to represent such a challenge as it does to Fukuda's *passavolants*. In terms of their future plans, all members of the current sample speak with greater uncertainty. Despite this, clusters one and two demonstrate a higher predisposition towards onward mobility, usually for professional reasons. Similarly to Fukuda's *passavolant* category, in many cases neither parent in these clusters is from the metropolitan region of Barcelona, perhaps contributing to a sense of a lack of strong ties to the host society. This can be observed in these parents' accounts of a more troubled sense of belonging for themselves and for their children.

However, there is an important difference between clusters one and two. The family language use profiles for cluster one demonstrate an extremely limited use of Catalan in all types of family interaction and the most problematic accounts of family members' identities can be found in this cluster, with some parents suggesting that their children do not identify with Catalonia or the Catalan language. In cluster two, despite most couples also being made up of two parents who were not born and raised in Catalonia, there is a greater presence of Catalan in family language use indexes. In addition, a greater degree of integration into local social networks with speakers of both official languages of the host society can be observed. Given that Catalan is often identified as an important feature of full integration and acceptance within the host society, the implications of these two strikingly different orientations towards the local context by migrant couples are potentially considerable and will be explored further in the following chapter.

Amongst long-term Japanese residents who move to Catalonia voluntarily as the result of a personal decision to study or to be with a partner, two subgroups were identified according to their uses of the official languages and long-term residence. One group demonstrated a preference for the use of Castilian with their partners and other members of the host society. Members of this group typically considered Catalan unnecessary for life in Catalonia, but believed Castilian to be essential. In the present study, cluster three does not entirely match this profile as parents identify Catalan as an important part of their children's socialisation in the host society context. However, the parents themselves display some similarity in their preference for the use of Castilian with their partners and members of the host society.

Fukuda's other group of long-term residents made considerable use of Catalan, as does cluster four in the present study. This second subgroup has much higher levels of ability in both Castilian and Catalan, longer lengths of residence and makes reference to the integrative value of Catalan. Similarly to those represented in the present study, such behaviour is limited to a minority of the overall sample.

Three aspects of parents' accounts of their migratory trajectories have been taken into account: migratory history, including how and why they chose to move to the metropolitan region of Barcelona; socialisation processes, focussing on linguistic aspects such as language use at work and in social networks; and migratory project. A combination of all three factors is necessary in order to explain family language use. Interestingly, when explaining their

reasons for coming to Barcelona, parents reflect both urban profiles proposed by Turell and Corcoll (Turell, 2001): one of young graduates looking to improve language skills and experience life abroad, and another of young professionals looking to advance their careers. The latter category is also represented by Codó's description of lifestyle migrants who make use of their "coveted linguistic capital" for work (Codó, 2018).

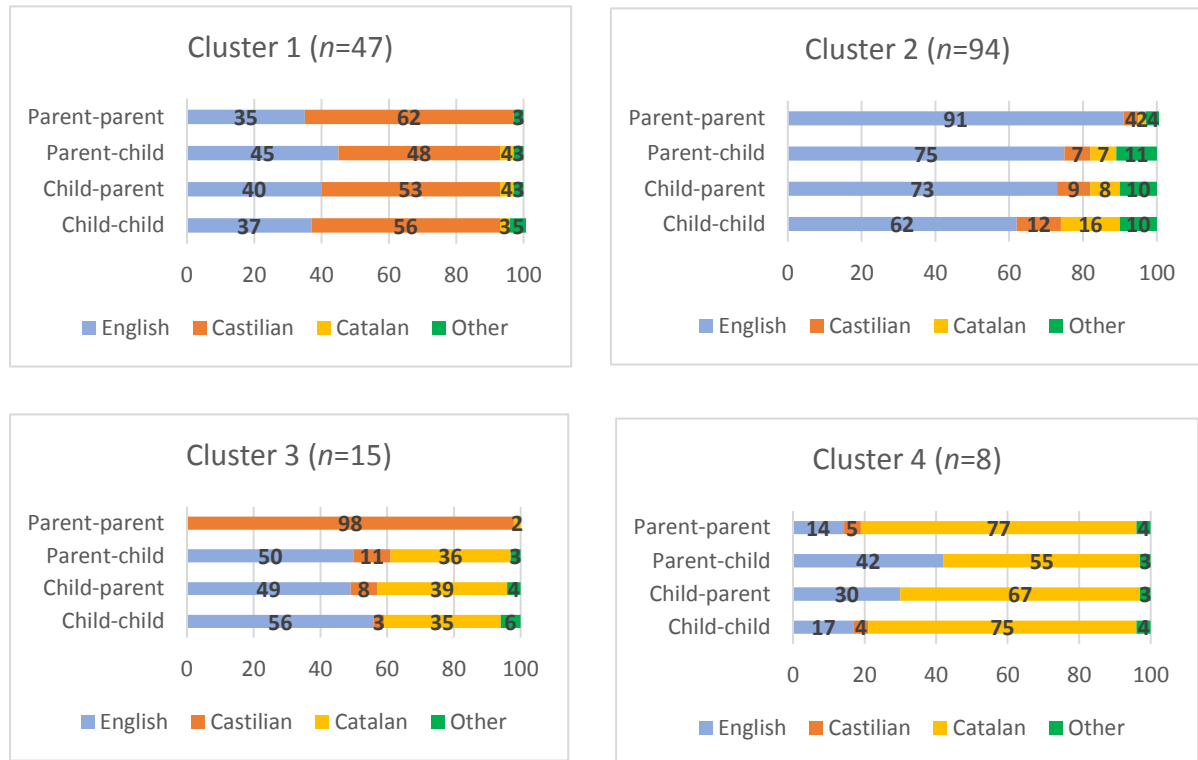
One of the most interesting aspects of parents' accounts of migratory project was their perspectives of their children's futures. All parents envisioned some period of transnational mobility for their children, often in the form of working or studying in a predominantly English-speaking context. Some parents suggested that they were perhaps constructing their imaginations of their children's futures in their own image, hoping that their children would do the same as them since they consider their own transnational experience to have been highly enriching. Relating this discourse to family language uses, such accounts help to explain the remarkable presence of English in intergenerational uses in all clusters.

In terms of intergenerational language transmission, further insight can be gained from comparing the cluster-specific language uses at the different levels of interaction, as can be seen in Figure 56. In terms of overall tendencies, in clusters one and four English can be seen to act as a minority language, receding in favour of the official language it is in direct competition with in the home environment. In cluster two, English clearly predominates and in cluster three, the simultaneous use of both official languages within the home does not diminish the presence of English to a greater extent than the predominant use of one of the official languages.

An important common feature of all clusters is that English is used to varying degrees in parent-child interactions in all clusters, demonstrating that attempts to transmit English to the next generation are made by parents in all four clusters. The monolingual English families predictably make the most use of English at this level, with a proportion of 75%. Accordingly, they have the highest proportion of child-parent use of English at 73%. Following them is cluster three, the trilingual families. As mentioned earlier, the presence of three languages in cluster three seems to favour the use of English in parent-child interactions and promote a greater proportion of reciprocation. It is in the bilingual English-Castilian and English-Catalan families that the lowest proportion of English is used by parents with children and that the lowest proportion of children's responses are in English, as it is placed in direct competition

with one other official language which is likely to have a wider presence outside of the home environment.

Figure 56: Comparing family language use indexes according to cluster



Official languages have some presence within all clusters, although the proportions of Castilian and Catalan vary considerably. In three of the four clusters, either Catalan or Castilian make gains at between-sibling intragenerational levels. The increased presence of official societal languages in sibling interactions has been noted in other contexts (Kopeliovich, 2013; Tuominen, 1999). It is understood to reflect the dominance of the official language(s) outside of the home environment as well as children’s tendency to prefer conforming to social norms. The only exception to the rule of official language gain between siblings is in cluster three, where English makes slight gains in child-child interactions to the detriment of the official languages.

Chapter 9. Family language management

The following chapter focusses on family language management processes as described by the 26 parents who participated in the semi-structured follow-up interviews, including representatives from each of the four clusters and from three different age ranges according to the age of their oldest child (0-5, 6-11, and 12-16)³¹. First of all, the intended linguistic outcomes and language beliefs expressed by parents are analysed. In the second section, the strategies employed by parents are listed and their roles as agents of FLM processes are considered. In the third part, parents' evaluations of their children's language abilities and uses are explored. Finally, the interview results are discussed in relation to the relevant literature.

9.1 The beliefs underlying parents' intended linguistic outcomes

In the interviews, parents were asked about their goals for their children's linguistic outcomes and how important it was for them for their children to speak each of the different languages. Their responses to these questions have been analysed in order to understand something of the values and functions accorded to plurilingualism, and specifically to English, Castilian, Catalan and other home and foreign languages.

The values accorded to the different languages are categorised using the labels instrumental and integrative, which are found to be far from mutually exclusive with many parents simultaneously ascribing the same language with both values. The functions referred to are those of Lamuela (2004), with particular emphasis on the classifying function. A consideration of scale is also important in distinguishing between values and functions for perceived local language hierarchies and the almost commonsense hegemony of a global language hierarchy.

9.1.1 Parents' intended linguistic outcomes

Three codes were generated in order to categorise parents' responses to the question of whether or not they would say that they had an ultimate goal in terms of the language(s) they would like their child(ren) to speak, as outlined by cluster distribution in the table below.

³¹ As explained in the previous chapter, the codes used to identify the different members of the sample can be interpreted by applying the following logic. C1 refers to cluster one, C2 cluster two and so on. The subsequent letters A, B or C refer to the age group which the oldest child in the family belongs to. A is 0-5 years old, B 6-11 and C 12-16.

Table 27: Parents' stated intended linguistic outcomes for children

	Cluster 1 (n = 10)	Cluster 2 (n = 9)	Cluster 3 (n = 4)	Cluster 4 (n = 3)
Home language(s) + official languages	5	3	2	1
Home language(s) + official languages + other (foreign) languages	4	5	2	1
No intended outcome	1	1	-	1

The table shows how only three of the twenty-six interviewed parents fully rejected the premise of having an intended linguistic outcome for their children. Of those parents, C2B Louise believes that her children will become trilingual in English, Castilian and Catalan regardless of her intentions. C1C Dennis and C4A Una simply state that they do not have a goal in mind, yet both go on to justify their motivations for ensuring the transmission of English, indicating that they would especially like their children to attain competence in the home language. In the other twenty-three cases, parents state a minimum goal of their children being competent in English, Castilian and Catalan, with twelve parents adding a hope for their children to learn additional foreign languages. Noticeably here, parents from cluster one can be seen to include Catalan within their intended linguistic outcomes, suggesting that they perceive some instrumental value in the language.

9.1.2 Beliefs about plurilingualism

Before detailing parents' discourses relating to each language individually, their ideas about plurilingualism and language skills in general have been outlined. Importantly, ability in multiple languages is highly valued by parents from all clusters. Several parents emphasise the importance of languages in their responses.

Table 28: The value of plurilingualism

C1A Tom	Languages are important. And the three languages are important.
C2C Jack	INT: Ok. So how important is it for you for your children to be competent in the different languages? F10: It's extremely important. I know other parents who seem to emphasise a kind of social wellbeing over language or whose attitude has not been programmatic - that they seem to improvise as they go along. I've noticed one American mother at my younger daughter's school who has quite young children and has spoken to them quite consistently when they were sort of four and two. She would drop one kid off and she would have one in a stroller and one in a sling initially. And then over the years she's switched to a kind of half-English half-Spanish and her son answers her in Spanish at a

	very very Catalan school. It's a pattern that I've seen more than once. I didn't want that to happen. It hasn't happened.
C2C Mary	INT: So how important is it for you for your children to be competent in the different languages? F35: Very important! All three, it's very important.
C3C Amanda	INT: We're getting quite close to the end. How important is it for you for him to be competent in the different languages? F95: Erm, I think it's really important
C4A Una	INT: Ok, maybe, it might sound very obvious but my next question is how important it is for you for your children to be competent in the different languages? F122: Hmm. INT: Like English Spanish and Catalan F122: Obviously for me it's important if they can develop themselves in the three languages.

In the case of C2C Jack, it can be seen how language is often considered a high priority that is equally important to or perhaps even more important than their children's social wellbeing.

With reference to their own experiences, many parents explain how language skills have helped them professionally or fascinated them intellectually. Parents' descriptions of the advantages language skills have granted them or the personal satisfaction gained from learning them show that they would like their children to have a similar experience. Regarding professional advantages, it is parents in cluster two in particular who highlight the importance of language skills for employment opportunities. When narrating their own personal trajectories, the parents in cluster two reveal themselves to be the most mobile, some having lived in various countries prior to moving to Barcelona, most often for professional reasons. C2A Karl, a Canadian who met his Catalan partner in the UK, is a good example of this. Describing a period of his life when he commuted transnationally for work, he explains how he understands "global geographical mobility" and what he sees as the complementary abilities of learning languages and understanding cultures as a necessity in the current labour market:

Excerpt 3: C2A Karl

F129: In two thousand and err, early 2013, during the deep financial crisis of Europe and North America, I had to go to London to find work so I was commuting back and forth between Barcelona and London for work. I worked from Monday through Thursday in the city of London and I worked from home Fridays in Barcelona and I did that for almost two years. **Global geographical mobility is required.** It's not a ___ to have, it's now required in ___ **so them being able to learn and grow and grasp other languages and cultures to me is as much of a**

necessity as learning now to add one and one. I'd put it on the same level. Otherwise you're not employable. That's how I see things, only from personal experience.

C2A Karl's description of the global employment market highlights a perception of languages being an important professional advantage for current and future work forces. The love for his girls that this father referred to when stating his intended linguistic outcomes encompasses a need to furnish them with instrumental abilities which grant them opportunities.

Apart from the professional advantages that plurilingualism might bring, some parents frame their evaluations of the importance of language skills in terms of a personal interest in languages and fascination with highly competent speakers of more than one language. Many of the parents studied languages (most commonly French and Castilian) at university level and are interested in learning about languages and cultures. In the exchange below C2B Jim explains how participation in exchange programmes sparked his curiosity for languages and motivated him to raise his children plurilingually.

Excerpt 4: C2B Jim

INT: Would you say you've defined an ultimate goal for your children in terms of what languages you'd like them to speak?

F83: I always had, growing up, I always loved the idea of having an exchange student. And I had several exchange students. Thankfully I did because, not only exchange students at my house but also friends from Barcelona that have come that weren't living in my house, and, **but I always had this like, I always thought completely bilingual people just fascinated me. Someone who could speak in two languages without an accent at all was really always fascinating to me. And that was always kind of like, you know, some people would think "Oh I want my kid to be a lawyer!" and I always wanted my kid to be bilingual (laughs). I thought it was just amazing to me that they could speak in two languages and sound American or sound Spanish and not notice the accent or the words so for me it was always just, this was something that I always kind of thought about and I always thought it was extremely cool. I'm still fascinated by them talking and I'm super interested in languages in general so yes, this is something that I've made a [conscious decision about] - so it's almost kind of bad that they don't get a French class at school or, you know, right now it's practically impossible to study French or German or**

INT: So your goal would be for them to be totally bilingual in English and Spanish?

F83: And Catalan too.

C2B Jim’s account explicitly talks of fascination, and rather than a commodifiable skill, bi- or plurilingualism is portrayed as an end in itself based on his keen interest in languages. He counterposes this goal with socioeconomic aspirations related to parental hopes for their children’s future professions when he contrasts his intended outcome with a generic “other” who wants their child to be a lawyer. Instead, he demonstrates a distinct orientation towards language and an intrinsic motivation to achieve personal enrichment for himself and his daughters through language acquisition.

C2B Jim’s definition of bilingualism clearly denotes absolute mastery of the two languages, with the individuals described as having the ability to sound as if they are from two places. As such, it seems as though he would expect the same mastery of the three relevant languages from his daughters. In addition to his intrinsic motivation to acquire the official languages of the host society, the idea of sounding authentically American and Spanish suggests a simultaneous desire for full acceptance and integration in the home country and host society.

An interesting additional theme at the end of the excerpt is the belief that the importance of language skills is not just limited to English and the two official languages, Castilian and Catalan. As shown in Table 29 below, many parents from all clusters and age groups extend this plurilingualism to other non-official languages, indicating a subscription to widespread beliefs in the value of plurilingualism for themselves and for their children in terms of both professional advantage and personal enrichment.

Table 29: The more languages, the merrier

C1C Valerie	Would you say that you've defined an ultimate goal for your children in terms of what languages you'd like them to speak? F114: Erm, yes. I think it's amazing that they can learn as many as possible
C1C Robert	In terms of ultimate goals I think it's more a question of what other languages they should learn
C2A Karl	INT: Would you say you’ve defined an ultimate goal for your children in terms of what languages you’d like them to speak in the future? F129: Ummm, minimum three . Hopefully being trilingual, in whatever meaning that really comes, the definition of trilingual is and means. That is the minimum that I would like them to be. The same as what my wife is. She’s trilingual. I believe and hope for her as well that they’re fluent Spanish, Catalan and English. Now if they wish to go on and

	learn other languages I'd probably encourage it but as a minimum wherever they live that would be my hope. To me if they could get French or German on top that would be fantastic , only because of opportunity professionally.
C2B John	INT: So would you say you've defined an ultimate goal for your children in terms of what languages you'd like them to speak? F136: Uhm, I think we had it clear that we were, being here it made sense to become and there was the opportunity to become trilingual. It was a question of creating habits which enabled that. They're also learning - I don't know if I'd say it was a goal - I think certainly languages are important and multilingualism is important so, I suppose in that sense I have an expectation, but it depends a bit as to how they evolve from then on it's up to them. I mean they're learning French at school now so they'll take that to where they want to take it but they'll be encouraged by us, yeah, I think so!
C2C Anthony	And school now, thinking of middle because he's getting closer to the age where he might learn another language we think that's great! He's already got four actually and it'll probably be quite easy for him to add another one so it could be a real advantage for him in the future to have a lot of languages, but not specifically located - like next he's going to learn Japanese or next he's going to learn German or anything like that.
C2C Jack	we would like both of them to have a strong second foreign language because properly they don't have a first foreign language. You know, they have home language use in three languages. INT: Ok. F10: So we want them to really work on their French in secondary.
C2C Mary	My son has the opportunity at his school to also learn French and German and so I want him to have a good level in both of those.
C3A Jenny	INT: Good. And yeah, I suppose, anything you're anticipating doing in the future to the same effect? F125: Erm, I'm, we've started kind of practising a little bit of French. Just because the Catalan is so similar, I wouldn't mind just trying to teach her a bit of French and we've gone to Paris when she was smaller, just going to visit friends, and I found even when she was there she was like "How do you call a cat" or "how do you call a tree in French?" And she still does that a little bit now because her friend is French. I really think that she really does enjoy languages. She doesn't see it as a chore. She actually really enjoys it. And because Catalan and French are so easy I think it would be very easy for her to pick it up, you know?
C3B Jason	so in that sense that's the only kind of, you know, our sort of, our sort of <i>raison d'être</i> is very much the more languages the better they can pick up and as I said before, if there was Russian and there was German or French in there then it would be those languages as well. The more the merrier.
C4A Una	But yes, the three languages and if they'd like to have more then that's perfect
C4A Brian	And then, if they've got that to a certain point, erm, by the time they're sort of getting to proper school, you know, 6 or 7, I would like them to learn another language in the sense of the way I've learnt the language if you see what I mean

As can be seen in the comments made by C2C Anthony and C3A Jenny, some parents express a belief that their children's plurilingualism will make it easier for them to acquire additional languages. In C2C Anthony's case, he seems to subscribe to popular beliefs that plurilingual children have an advantage for language learning. C3A Jenny explains how she believes that

the typological similarities between Catalan and French would make it easier for her daughter to acquire French as an additional language.

Finally, several parents compare their experiences of learning languages later in life with their children’s chance to acquire them as first languages, often framed as an opportunity or gift which can enrich their children’s lives professionally and personally as learning foreign languages has done for many of the parents. The idea of their children having a particularly high level in several languages seems very attractive for many parents and is clearly considered an advantage in preparing them for life in contemporary society.

Table 30: Plurilingualism as an opportunity or gift

C1B Jeremy	INT: Ok, all right then. Could you explain how important it is for you for your children to be competent in the different languages? F134: It's one of the top priorities in our raising them because first of all I think it - multi, being able to speak multi languages both for my wife and myself has been a comp, professional competitive advantage. I think also from a personal standpoint it's opened up a lot of doors
C2C Mary	the gift of being able to read in multiple languages to me is just phenomenal
C3A Jenny	I think the opportunity I'm giving my daughter here learning three languages is going to change her life basically
C4A Brian	INT: how important it is for you for your children to be competent in the different languages? F80: Oh very important! I mean, sort of the modern world in which we live in. I've kind of learned languages myself and however much I learn them I'll never be at the level they would get to so I think it's very important yeah.

In sum, plurilingualism is highly valued by the parents whose intended linguistic outcomes for their children extend over and above the home language(s) and official language(s) to additional foreign languages. Parents believe that enabling their children to become plurilingual is an opportunity or gift which will help them in their later lives. In turn, parents’ visions of their children’s futures are clearly envisioned as similar to their own experiences.

9.1.3 The values of English

It is clear that parents consider the transmission of English to their children an important goal and part of their duty as a good parent. In the extract below, C2A Karl relates his love for his twin daughters to what he perceives to be his duty: ensuring the transmission of English to them.

Excerpt 5: C2A Karl

What do I need to do as a parent in another country to teach English? I'm not a teacher. I don't pretend to be. I don't know what I'm doing. **I'm just a father who loves my girls.**

Besides being clearly established as a goal by almost all parents, the degree of importance accorded to it is also reflected in their desired linguistic outcomes for their children's level of competence in English. Many parents referred to native or native-like levels as a benchmark for satisfaction, using themselves as points of reference for those standards.

Firstly, parents explicitly refer to the concept of fluency as an indicator of a highly proficient level. As shown in the excerpts in Table 31, this is almost always defined as being equivalent to their own expressive abilities or to the abilities of a native speaker who is able to communicate fine-grained nuance. Basic communicative competence therefore falls far short of parents' expectations.

Table 31: Expectations for children's level of fluency in English

C1B Jeremy	I would like them to be completely fluent and so have my level of English when they grow up, when they're 18 years old
C2B Jim	If I don't know how to say something or prevent me from saying something with a certain undertone or that thing that native speakers have that certain non-native speakers don't, you know, I wanted them to have that obviously as well with me
C3A Leah	I would love her to speak proper, I mean fluent English
C4A Brian	INT: And er, when you say that you'd like them to speak like you, do you mean like a native speaker? F80: yes, yeah yeah Later in the interview: F80: I would love them to be fluent, like my wife is, in Spanish and Catalan and as fluent as I am in English

Besides fluency, many parents also place considerable emphasis on their children's accent. Parents appeal to the symbolic function of language in forging a sense of shared identity and heritage. In the table below C1A Hannah talks about how unnerving she finds the idea of her daughter not sounding like her, indicating that she feels a need for a sense of her own continuity in order to establish a connection with her daughter.

Table 32: Expectations for children's accents

C1A Hannah	because if I had a child, my child will speak English like me. The thought - just the thought of having a child that didn't sound like me in English freaked me out, you know? And I was like really like, I don't know, that being really important to me so I was really like, must be a native English speaker
C2A Eliza	my goal isn't that they can just speak English - of course they're going to speak English - it's that they sound like an American
C3C Amanda	But I would say that my son, having, only having spoken to him always in English but also having gone to England with him on a regular basis and having a reasonable amount of Englishness in my life, he is a native speaker on an accent level. He sounds like he's somebody from North London.

C2A Eliza and C3C Amanda relate their desired accents to a specific geographical location which coincides with their place of origin, demonstrating how discourses of authenticity can be used to locate language and speakers. Despite all three of their children being born in the metropolitan region of Barcelona, a sense of origin that precedes place of birth is established that includes their own origins. The English that they would like their children to acquire is not a deracinated, anonymous, global English but a specific English that connects their children to a place and group that their children do not inhabit. This sense of authenticity reveals parents as unwilling to totally disconnect with their own place of origin and hopeful that their children might feel as if they belong there too.

Finally, many parents also state high expectations for their children's literacy skills. In the table below, C1A Karen explains that she would like her children to read and write English as well as they speak it. This is clearly considered a longer term goal that will be achieved "eventually".

Table 33: Expectations for children's literacy skills

C1A Karen	So I'd like to make sure that he can eventually read and write English as well as he'll be able to speak it
C2A Eliza	that's my job as their Mum to have them speak my language at a level that they could get a masters degree or a phd or whatever they wanted to do or work
C2C Jack	The goal from the start is that they'd be highly literate individuals in all three of their languages and be capable of carrying on university level studies in any of their three languages and accordingly be able to make their lives in a professional environment defined by any three of the languages or any combination of the three languages

C2A Eliza and C2C Jack clearly relate the importance of literacy skills to their visions of their children's future professional and academic trajectories, which is perhaps itself a reflection of the importance that their own linguistic competence has had in their own lives. Relating

professional and academic success to language skills shows how parents also subscribe to descriptions of languages as skills, commodities or capital which might generate economic gain or profit for their children. They thus appeal to advanced oral and written communication skills in English as having a classifying function which might provide their children with some advantage in socioeconomic terms: an advantage which they might well perceive themselves to have enjoyed.

The considerable proportions of English used in family interactions in all clusters demonstrate the high importance parents consider it to have. In order of frequency, the positive values associated with English have been coded as: *my language*, *work and studies*, *global language*, *family connection* and *socially accepted language*.

My language reflects the idea expressed by many parents that they simply would not know how to address their children in any other language than their own, as demonstrated by C1B Daniel in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 6: C1B Daniel

on a personal level because it's my own language. **I wouldn't like to - I couldn't express - I can only express myself in a certain way when I'm speaking my own language because that's where it comes from.** I always say that swearing always comes from your own language. I never ever swear in Spanish, ever. And talking to babies. Because that's just, if I see a baby, I don't go "*Hola!*", do you know what I mean? That comes from within and I go "Hello!"

This father explains that the only language he can truly express himself in is English and that he believes certain emotions can only be genuinely transmitted in a first language. The emphatic use of the possessive "my own" appeals to the discourse of authenticity in order to reinforce the link between his own identity, emotion and linguistic expression. These are the grounds given for many parents that speaking English was not a choice but an inevitability that was often simply assumed by parents, especially for those couples who are both L1 English speakers.

The code *My language* also encompasses the dimension of identity and heritage, as part of a symbolic emotional connection with their children. In the following excerpt, C1A Hannah describes her fears that she would be unable to connect with her daughter if she could not speak English with the same accent as her.

Excerpt 7: C1A Hannah

F64: The thought - just the thought of having a child that didn't sound like me in English freaked me out, you know? And I was like really like, I don't know, that being really important to me so I was really like, must be a native English speaker

INT: Why do you think that is?

F64: **I think maybe a fear of not being feeling like completely connected or related to her because she would feel foreign**

In the same interview, C1A Hannah acknowledges a contradiction between her own fascination with all things foreign and her fear of her daughter seeming foreign to her. Questions of language thus seem to be deeply entwined with notions of identity and parenthood for some parents, and a sense of authentic connection seems important.

Although explicitly referenced less often, the idea of English being a means of ensuring communication between grandparents and grandchildren (represented by the code *Family connection*) is related to the idea of a continued family heritage and identity. Parents are keen to maintain their transnational connections with the home country and their family and friends who remain there. C2B Jim makes a link between emotional and cultural connections that he would like to continue for future generations.

Excerpt 8: C2B Jim

INT: Was it a conscious decision to do things a particular way from the start? Did you discuss it?

F83: I think it was just always assumed that we would speak English to them. I was always always sure that I was going to speak English to them. To me, like I said, **the emotional connection I had with the language, the cultural connection and at the end so they can speak to their grandmother in English, so that they can understand**

After *My language*, the next most frequently occurring code is *Work and studies*, in this case referring to the instrumental utility of English for their children's professional and academic progress. C1B Dennis explains below how local parents he knows remark about how lucky his children are to have an L1 English-speaking father, relating this to a need for English that he identifies both in the host society labour market and further afield.

Excerpt 9: C1B Dennis

INT: Could you explain, it sounds really obvious but could you explain how important it is for you for your children to be competent in the different languages?

F93: **In terms of opportunities in the future in the job market, because everyone at work, the local people here tell me, "your kids, they must think it fantastic and how lucky they are to have an English father!"** But we say they don't seem to appreciate it. For them of course it's normal and they don't see how different it is. But I think in terms of opportunities in the future when they're older if they don't have Spanish [meaning English], I think they'll lose out in the job market. **They'll miss out on opportunities to work in other countries, to travel.**

INT: You mean if they don't have English right?

F93: **Yeah, if they don't have English. I mean even today in Spain, Catalunya, everyone says it's a prerequisite today. And it really is because otherwise you're so limited in terms of what you might do, where you might work, that it's fundamental. It's as important as learning to read and write in your local language.**

It is clear from the excerpt above that parents understand English to have value for their children's futures within the host society context and more globally in terms of transnational job opportunities. The comments made by local parents demonstrate that English language abilities are considered valuable capital within the host society context, as do C1B Dennis' references to English as "a prerequisite" or "fundamental" in present-day Spain. As such, clear associations are made between the language's value and its classifying function. The father's comments about the function of English as an important *lingua franca* for the international job market and for global travel also indicate that it is highly valued for children's futures if they move away from the host society, making it a form of linguistic capital which could be easily translated into economic capital in many contexts.

Shortly behind *Work and studies*, the code *Global language* also makes frequent appearances in the interview data. Parents use a variety of positively connotated adjectives to describe English including "useful", "important", "global" and "worldwide", as well as superlatives such as "the most important language in the world" (C1B Daniel). Two metaphors stand out in representing parents' beliefs that English is of enormous value to their children. One parent describes English as "a great international language that opens a lot of doors" (C1C Robert), clearly referencing a wealth of opportunities that he believes his children's ability in it would grant them access to. Another parent refers to English as "the dominant language in the world

in terms of business, education, science, technology, you know, politics” before going on to say “it’s kind of like a no-brainer” (C2A Eliza), indicating that it is an obvious choice due to the international prestige it is perceived to have. As a result, parents’ values for English position it at the top of their family language hierarchy in alignment with their perceptions of a global language hierarchy with English in prime position.

An acknowledgement of this global language hierarchy can be found in some parents’ references to what they might have chosen to do if they were L1 speakers of other non-official languages raising their children in the metropolitan region of Barcelona. It is telling that C1B Simone uses the adjective *weird* to allude to other languages which are not positioned so highly within a global language hierarchy defined in terms of prestige and utility. The examples of Swahili and Arabic that are given by other parents reveal which languages are perceived to be in low positions and unveil an uncomfortable implicit bias against African languages commonly associated with migrants of lower socioeconomic status.

Table 34: Comparisons between English language transmission and that of other languages

C1B Jeremy	And to me when I see people who, regardless of the language, I don't care if it's Swahili, their children do not speak it, I think it's such a shame, especially when you're talking about a language like English or Spanish, a language that is, let's say, worldwide important be very strict with your kids
C1B Simone	well yeah it is important. I mean, it's English. If it was kind of some weird language then maybe not so much but it is English so it's not just a question of, I don't know, pride or whatever. I think it's useful, no? It's useful so yeah, it's important
C2A Eliza	Maybe if I grew up speaking Swahili as my native language it would be an emotional relationship but it wouldn't be reinforced necessarily by the rest of society but English is clear cut, you know
C2B Louise	Because both the parents are English so that's how we communicate with our children so it's not really anything to do with - it's just lucky that it'll be useful for the future. And it's lucky that, fortunate that English happens to be that language. But it's just the language we speak and it's also socially accepted. I mean, I imagine from some of their friends that speak Arabic languages that tend - some of the parents try not to speak those languages with them, maybe because it's not as acceptable. But English obviously is very, it's acceptable so there's no issues with it.

C2A Eliza and C2B Louise suggest that the commonsense hegemony of the global language hierarchy can be understood in terms of social acceptability and support. C2B Louise posits that the host society’s positive evaluations of English reinforce the efforts made by parents attempting to transmit the language at home. In contrast, her example of L1 Arabic-speaking parents that she has met at her child’s school, reveals how negative evaluations of a language by the host society population might discourage parents from trying to transmit their first

languages. Parents therefore seem to recognise greater ease in transmitting English due to the prestige it is widely perceived to have. They also seem to accept the notion of a global language hierarchy formed on the basis of utility, which is calculated in terms of the number of speakers, and prestige, which is calculated in terms of its acceptability.

In sum, English is attributed highly positive values as a symbolic emotional connection to parents and grandparents and as an inherently useful language in the home country, host society and elsewhere in gaining employment and study opportunities. This combination of integrative and instrumental values make English fit at the top of the language hierarchies that are understood to be recognised within each family, within the host society, within the home country and within an imagined trajectory of a transnational future.

9.1.4 The values of Castilian

When assessing the values that parents ascribe to Castilian, its status as a global language far outweighs reaffirmations of Castilian as an important language for family connection, perhaps because their children's success in acquiring the language is judged to be more guaranteed because it is an official language. Only one parent explicitly referred to this symbolic value for Castilian during the interviews.

Excerpt 10: C1C Robert

Spanish is the language their Mum speaks, their Spanish family speaks. There's no one else in the Spanish family who speaks English apart from one aunt. Or the English family who speaks Spanish so, you know, they need it again.

All other comments regarding the importance of their children's abilities in Castilian make reference to its utility.³² The majority of parents from all clusters appeal to its utility on a global scale, suggesting that its large number of speakers grants opportunities to learners of Castilian. The idea that Castilian is widely spoken in South America is recurrent, with clear allusion to the possibility of their children having access to more employment opportunities as a result. Arguments such as "it's a growing language" (C3A Leah); and "it opens up a lot of

³² It is thought that the greater appeal to instrumental values for Castilian might reflect a bias presented by the fact that the anglophone interviewees were speaking to an anglophone interviewer. L1 Castilian-speaking parents might well have emphasised integrative values for Castilian in the same way as L1 English-speaking parents have for English.

doors for her” (C3A Jenny) show that global hierarchies established in terms of numbers of speakers are reinforced within many families’ language hierarchies, and not just for English. The latter comment also shows that Castilian is regarded to perform classifying functions too, with the metaphor of opening doors alluding to opportunities that would enhance their children’s prospects of social mobility.

Often such instrumental evaluations of Castilian come alongside explicit comparisons with Catalan, as can be seen in Table 35.

Table 35: The relative importance of Castilian and Catalan

C1A Karen	I mean you have to pretend that Catalan is a worldwide internationally necessary language here. I don't know if you've run into that before but, so probably I'd say English and Spanish are higher than Catalan in my opinion and I'm sure my husband would say the same, although you're not allowed to say it
C1C Robert	they're very aware that Catalan is a kind of regional language. You know they've both grown up with an international outlook so the older one wants to live in New York or whatever. And she shrugs her shoulders and rolls her eyes whenever you mention Catalan
C2A Eliza	Catalan I don't care about, I mean it only serves them here so if we move from Catalunya I don't think that would be my biggest concern. But Spanish would, I mean Spanish for me is mandatory, they have to speak English, Spanish and Italian, you know
C2C Anthony	And then on the Spanish Catalan it's more because Catalan is a very, not a very widely spoken language and Spanish is very widely used so it's more useful for him
C2C Mary	INT: Ok, and is any one language more important than others for you at the moment? F35: For us, of course English is very important because that's our native language. And then I would say Spanish just because it translates more fully worldwide. But we also highly value Catalan

In the examples above it can be seen how some parents in clusters one and two argue that the global utility of Castilian in terms of its number of speakers worldwide makes it a greater priority for their children than Catalan. Despite living in a local context in which the value of Catalan is often very highly indexed (albeit not universally), the global language hierarchy based on the language’s total number of speakers is used to justify the adscription of greater value to Castilian over Catalan. In these cases, the global language hierarchy is applied to a local context with a contested language hierarchy. As will be seen in the following section, those who contest the local value of Catalan tend to utilise justifications commonly used for the global language hierarchy in order to do so, conceiving the issue in dichotomic terms, rather than complementary ones.

Not all parents compare locally situated language hierarchies with an abstract global hierarchy. Two American parents refer to the role of Castilian in the USA to justify their considerations of it as more important than Catalan for themselves and their children, comparing two locally-situated language hierarchies in order to relativise values. In the following excerpt, one mother recounts her personal experience of her socialisation into Castilian-medium social networks during her study abroad year in Barcelona. She explains that her knowledge of Castilian proved advantageous linguistic capital upon return to Chicago as she used it for her work there.

Excerpt 11: C1A Hannah

I lived with a Spanish-speaking family in that first year. If they would have been Catalan-speaking for sure – and if I would have been with Catalans – like my social circle, but it was a high socioeconomic family and everyone spoke Spanish. There was very little Catalan spoken. I mean it was 1989. They were still not too far away from Franco. And so I just wasn't really exposed in my first year but I did know another kid in that programme and he lived with a Catalan family and he didn't speak Spanish – he was speaking in Catalan. So really I think it just depended on – and mine was *castellano* which actually probably was good because you know I, because in Chicago Catalan wasn't probably going to help.

Referring more directly to the utility of Castilian in the USA for her children, participant C2C Mary explains how it could be something that sets them apart in the labour market if they returned to the USA to work.

Excerpt 12: C2C Mary

And also as Americans, most Americans speak one language. If they speak two, there's so many Spanish speakers now in the US but most of them don't have an academic level in Spanish. So for me I feel like the Spanish language in particular, being Americans, to have an academic level and a high spoken level is very advantageous for the future for our children and it'll be something that's unique for our kids and, in comparison to other Americans.

Parents who imagine their children returning to the home country in the future thus might refer to home country and host society language hierarchies (both situated in specific contexts) in order to determine priorities.

Castilian is thus attributed instrumental values by parents from all clusters, who make reference to its utility in terms of number of speakers. On some occasions in clusters one and

two, the values for Castilian and Catalan are relativized. Some parents refer to global language hierarchies in order to justify their preference for Castilian, whereas others refer to specific locally-situated language hierarchies that they imagine will accompany their children on their envisionings of their children’s future geographical trajectories.

9.1.5 *The values of Catalan*

Whereas parents’ assessments of the value of English and Castilian are fairly similar, when it comes to Catalan there are some nuances which can be appreciated through a between-cluster comparison of recurrent categories.

Cluster one

Cluster one is the only cluster which includes the voicing of explicitly negative values for Catalan. As demonstrated in the description of parents’ language socialisation processes in Chapter 8, several parents in this cluster are fairly reluctant to learning and/or using Catalan in their everyday lives. In the excerpts in Table 36 below, a similarity between parents’ and children’s beliefs might be noted.

Table 36: *Negative values*

C1A Tom	<p>He actually, he doesn't go to a, he goes to an international school in el Vallès. And the languages of instruction are English and Spanish. They do classes in Catalan as well. That was a conscious decision on my, on our part as well, because I wanted him to use English and see English as a vehicular language. Not just something in class which some people, they do an hour or two hours a week of Spanish or whatever in English. I wanted him to see that he could use the language for education.</p> <p>INT: Ok, yeah. Erm, so has that had a sort of knock-on effect on say anything about how he perceives Catalan?</p> <p>F74: Well one of the issues is his mother always tells him off in Catalan. So yeah, she - it's just, that's the way she learnt Catalan as well, so supposing she's telling him about something about school, because it comes so naturally, that's the language she was taught in not Spanish. So if she's telling him off about doing his homework or doing this or doing that, it'll be in Catalan. And so there was a little concern that he might have this negative connotation of Catalan and having to do things. And initially, in terms of the reports from school he didn't have a very good attitude towards Catalan. But also because I think, it was because it was difficult for him because it's not something he was used to experiencing or working with. But now his attitude towards Catalan seems to be fine as well and he just treats it as another language. But he doesn't treat it as his language I don't think at this stage.</p>
C1B Simone	<p>INT: Ok, and in terms of the Spanish and Catalan as well? That sounds even more obvious to ask but</p> <p>F87: Oh but there's no problem with that because they're living in Spain. Catalan - my son doesn't like Catalan but this theatre thing's in Catalan so, you know? He may come round but that's another thing, his Dad's always going on about Catalan "M'entesos,</p>

	<p>mentesos" taking the mickey out of the Catalans and stuff. But my son's best friend is Catalan now as well so he's making up his own mind which is good. But I personally also find Catalan quite funny but I don't, you know, I don't say, I mean I don't, we laugh gently, nicely about it. You know? but I suppose that's what his Dad was doing and it's awful that he does it and it's ok that I do it so it's not very (laughs). But yeah, I've never heard him speak Catalan</p>
C1C Robert	<p>INT: has that goal changed or developed over time? F5: I think when we first moved to Barcelona we were more optimistic about them becoming trilingual. INT: yeah? F5: And over the years we've come to realise they're not trilingual. They're bilingual with good Catalan but they don't really feel like Catalan is something that they particularly value, you know? because living in Castelldefels which is very Spanish-speaking, all their friends are Spanish-speaking or nearly all their friends. And the Catalan-speaking kids speak Spanish perfectly and you know they kind of, they're very aware that Catalan is a kind of regional language. You know they've both grown up with an international outlook so the older one wants to live in New York or whatever. And she shrugs her shoulders and rolls her eyes whenever you mention Catalan.</p>

All of the examples above are highly suggestive of negative attitudes towards Catalan within some of the families in cluster one. Two of the situations described above are clearly considered to be (at least partially) the result of parental influence. C1B Simone describes how herself and her husband have been known to make fun of Catalan speakers, explaining that she finds its use quite comical despite having some proficiency in it. She suggests that this may have had a negative effect on her son but that she was hopeful that he would have a more positive attitude after becoming close friends with a Catalan speaker.

Another example can be found in the case of C1A Tom, who notes that his wife often scolds their son in Catalan, causing him to associate the language with negative experiences. He relates his wife's use of Catalan to her own experience of language acquisition, suggesting that the Catalan language might not have wholly positive associations for her either. The effect of C1A Tom's son being scolded in Catalan is understood to be compounded by his relative lack of exposure to the language outside of the home, which is limited to a few classes per week at the primarily English and Castilian-medium private school that he attends. Like C1B Simone, C1A Tom is concerned about the situation and describes how he plans to use more Catalan in order to act as a positive role model of Catalan language use.

Excerpt 13: C1A Tom

I ought to really start making an effort with my Catalan. Not so much before, but I feel I do now because of his need for positive reinforcement in learning a language or using a language because to him it's still the language which he learns at school. (C1A Tom)

In both situations described above, the parents demonstrate some preoccupation for their children's negative associations with Catalan. This concern seems to come from a belief that Catalan is important for their children's sense of belonging and ability to integrate socially with the local population.

Excerpt 14: C1A Tom

because one thing's about his heritage, who he is. One language comes from me, one from his mother, and the other thing is the society where he lives and where he's from. He's Catalan. He was born here. You know?

As such the parents seem to attribute value to their children knowing Catalan (a value that is reflected in the local language hierarchy), despite them simultaneously maintaining reference to global language hierarchies and not always reinforcing this value with their own practices.

The case of C1C Robert is slightly different, however. The way that he introduces his daughters' negative evaluations of Catalan as a statement of fact which "they are very aware" of suggests that he too shares the opinion that Catalan is a regional language which is of inferior status to languages such as English and Castilian that are positioned higher up on the global language hierarchy. His use of the word "regional" is indicative of a belief in a legitimate prevalence of national hierarchies over local ones. C1C Robert highlights a discrepancy between the global language hierarchy he seems to subscribe to and the local language hierarchy of the metropolitan region of Barcelona.

Unlike the parents above, however, C1C Robert resists acceptance of the function of Catalan in society, and particularly in education. In the following excerpt he expresses his dislike of the way that Catalan is one of the core school subjects used to determine which stream students follow and explains that he will seek support for his daughters despite his opinion that the status quo is "ridiculous".

Excerpt 15: C1C Robert

We've been talking about getting them some support for the Catalan because the way the Spanish, the Catalan high schools work is that they do streaming which is a very old-fashioned model. And they look at a few subjects and take the average of those when they set the streams and inevitably Catalan's one of them. So having bad Catalan really puts kids in a lower stream than it would, you know, and it's just ridiculous when they're in a low stream for maths because they don't know which way the accents go in Catalan. It's a big mistake in the school system here. And so we've been talking about getting them some support for Catalan but haven't got round to it recently.

The need to seek support for his daughters' Catalan that he identifies is framed in terms of an obstacle that needs to be overcome. This can be seen clearly in the excerpt below in which Catalan is described as nothing more than an inconvenient requirement for completing school.

Excerpt 16: C1C Robert

And Catalan, they live here so, **they at least need to be able to get enough Catalan to get out of the school system, get a certificate from the school system saying that they're educated.**

A similar process can be noted in C1B Daniel's account. He relates negative attitudes towards the language, explaining that he believes it is not as valuable as more widely spoken languages and that it is in some way inferior to or "more antiquated" than other languages. He links these negative beliefs to his dismissal of the importance of Catalan in front of his children. However, he identifies a realisation that Catalan is important for academic results as a turning point after which he consciously accords Catalan the same importance as English and Castilian. In the final line, despite ultimately accepting the values accorded to Catalan as the main vehicular language of education, he continues to show signs of disagreement with the central role it is accorded.

Excerpt 17: C1B Daniel

Catalan is the language that they speak the most! **So at first I didn't give it much importance because I think it's a bit of a, not a silly language but, it's not as valuable to them as another language would be because it's only spoken here so it's very restrictive and it's kind of a bit backwards in some of its grammar and some of its vocabulary and things like this.** And so when they used to get, when they used to make mistakes and things, I'd say "it doesn't matter, Catalan's not really important!". **But then, that was until I learned that like, all of the exams**

that you're going to be taking are all in Catalan and that you'd get marked down in the global result if you've got too many spelling mistakes and things like that, which I think is a shame but that's just the way it is. So now I put equal importance on Catalan.

Some members of cluster one therefore display a certain unease with the role of Catalan in the host society. Parents in this cluster have a fairly low average ability level in the language and tend not to use it, arguing that they feel less confident in it and prefer to use Castilian as a *lingua franca*. When describing the relative importance of the two official languages, parents insist on applying a global language hierarchy which accords English and Castilian greater value than Catalan and notice a mismatch upon application of the global language hierarchy to the local context, especially upon realisation of the function of Catalan as the main vehicular language of state-funded education and of the values that such a function entails. Some evidence of negative attitudes towards Catalan amongst family members is related in some of the accounts from within this cluster, highlighting an uncomfortable relationship with the Catalan language that is not reflected in other clusters.

Cluster two

Despite the fact that cluster two has been identified as the profile that is most likely to move away from Catalonia, the parents interviewed did not proffer explicitly negative values for Catalan. Although they do not necessarily see Catalan as a necessity for themselves, it is clear that the parents in cluster two understand the language to be important for their children whilst they are living in Catalonia and if they decide to stay in Catalonia long-term.

Catalan is understood to be valuable for children in terms of social integration. Many parents explain that one of the most important reasons for putting their children in local schools where classes are taught partially or totally in Catalan is that this is seen as a way of helping children gain ability in the official languages and develop a sense of belonging.

Excerpt 18: C2B Beth

F85: we put them into a Catalan school right away, yeah.

INT: hmhm

F85: Yeah, we thought for them to, because this was our long-term plan in order to pick up the languages to live here and feel part of the community.

The integrative value of feeling part of society is emphasised to a much greater extent by parents from cluster two than it is by those from cluster one. Besides indexing integrative values, the same excerpt could be categorised in terms of instrumental value. Beth describes Castilian and Catalan as necessary languages for living in the host society context. The necessity of a language to survive everyday interactions is quite different from the desire to belong to a community, demonstrating how instrumental and integrative can be applied to the same language within a single utterance.

Some parents underline the integrative benefits of their children establishing friendships with children with local parents rather than children of migrants. The underlying idea is that international friendship circles can be particularly unstable, with a higher probability of individuals moving away. The official languages are valued in enabling friendships with local children so that children can integrate into local social activities and develop roots in Catalonia.

Excerpt 19: C2C Anthony

We put them in a - it's *concertada* - but it's a very Spanish Catalan school because we wanted them to be more integrated here. We're settled here, we've no plans to move and we wanted him, our middle child especially at the time, to have Spanish friends, to have people that are here not people who are going to move or not only part of the English community or only part of the Russian community.

When it comes to dealing with schools, several parents comment that their contact with the staff and parents, as well as their children's need for support with homework, has encouraged them to learn Catalan despite them not having considered it necessary beforehand. In this case, the role of Catalan as main vehicular language of education accords Catalan instrumental value for both children and parents, making it an important institutional point of contact with migrant parents and children.

Excerpt 20: C2B Louise

I suppose Catalan came more when the kids started school, when I realised that it was going to be quite important, Catalan. Because I'd always - well obviously it already existed - but there wasn't really much need for it. But now my son, well they both come home and, the eldest son's got homework in Catalan so, and he wants me to look at it so I need to know!

Although parents in cluster two clearly value Catalan for their children (and some for themselves) due to the integrative advantages it can convey in the local context, many still evidently have a global language hierarchy in mind and explain that Catalan is the least important language for them due to its comparative lack of utility in other contexts. In the following excerpt, C2A Eliza debates what would happen if her family moved away from Catalonia.

Excerpt 21: C2A Eliza

Catalan I don't care about, I mean it only serves them here so if we move from Catalunya I don't think that would be my biggest concern.

As such, the future possibility of further mobility seems to cause parents to seek fulfilment of both local and global language hierarchies, in case their children will require high levels of competence in English or Castilian in other contexts in the future. Regarding the local language hierarchy, the integrative and instrumental value of Catalan in facilitating social integration with the local population is upheld by parents in cluster two, although usually relativised by the possibility of future mobility.

There are, however, some exceptions. One parent in cluster two establishes a hierarchy which has English at the top, followed by Catalan. He explicitly justifies this priority of Catalan over Castilian on the grounds that he perceives Catalan to be in a weaker position, hence in need of more speakers.

Excerpt 22: C2C Jack

So I'd say my hierarchy is English because it's what I bring to them, and I see that as my job, my province. Followed by Catalan, because it needs more speakers. It's in a delicate state. Followed by Spanish which is the strongest language in media and in terms of language use in most social settings in Barcelona.

Throughout the interview this participant demonstrates an awareness of the sociolinguistic situation of Catalan in autonomous communities where Catalan is spoken and suggests that he perceives adding speakers to that language as a positive contribution to the host society. His belief in an imbalance between the statuses of Castilian and Catalan in Catalonia seems to have influenced his priorities without compromising considerations of Castilian and English as valuable languages for himself and his children.

Members of cluster two, therefore, consider Catalan to be of high instrumental and integrative value for their children as long as they continue to reside in Catalonia, demonstrating an acceptance of the prevailing local language hierarchy which differentiates them from cluster one. The possibility of future mobility, however, means that high standards in languages at the top of the global language hierarchy remain a top priority.

Cluster three

The parents interviewed in cluster three are all partners or ex-partners of Catalan speakers brought up in Catalonia. The fact that they have Catalan family members might explain why the values that they associate with Catalan are positive and tend to emphasise symbolic notions of identity.

Table 37: Integrative values of Catalan

C3A Leah	How important is it for your daughter to be competent in the different languages? F27: I think it's extremely important. Catalan probably is for her identity, for the fact that her father is Catalan that her grandparents are Catalan
C3A Jenny	for me the most important reason that I want her to speak good Catalan is because she's blue-eyed and blond haired like me and for her to really feel like she's Catalan Catalan , because they can be quite racist about it considering her a guiri or whatever. INT: Really? F125: Well, people still say I'm a guiri, just because of your colouring just because you're, you know INT: I get that to. F125: But I think for her, if she can come back with good strong Catalan and a good accent, she'll feel she's half-Catalan and people will know she's half-Catalan, you know? It's different if she's speaking Spanish because they'll still be like, "well she's still not Catalan Catalan". INT: Would you say it's important then in terms of integration? F125: Here definitely, here definitely.
C3B Jason	I think it's really important for me that my kids learn Catalan because it gives them access and the opportunities and it's their language. It's their language construct. It's Catalan and Spanish and English
C3C Amanda	it's interesting, a lot of friends who live here and who are in English were desperately looking for school that won't teach them any Catalan, will just teach them Spanish and feel that it's a bit of a waste of time this Catalan thing. And I think if I had a partner who was English I might possibly fall into that trap. But in fact, having a partner who is Catalan and in the inevitability of him [referring to her son] you know maybe going to Britain to do a degree, getting fed up with the weather and saying "Oh my god, I'm really Catalan " and really probably spending most of his life here is very high and therefore, the better he can get in Catalan and Spanish I think was sort of the goal for me

For C3A Leah this sense of identity is formed on the basis of her daughter belonging to a family which self-identifies as Catalan. In the second excerpt, C3A Jenny worries that her daughter's

appearance might cause her to feel different from other local children and even become a motive for social exclusion. Her mother states a belief that good Catalan abilities would help her daughter develop a sense of belonging and shared identity that could compensate for the difference in her physical appearance. This sense of belonging and identity is conveyed with the membership category “Catalan Catalan”, which is a term often used by non-Catalan speakers to refer to Catalan-speaking citizens of Catalonia. C3B Jason conveys the idea of ownership through his use of the possessive in “their language”, suggesting a belief that the Catalan language is part of their identity. Finally, C3C Amanda indicates that her son is highly likely to self-identify as Catalan and want to live in Catalonia in the future. Catalan and Castilian language abilities seem to be considered important elements of that identity.

Indeed, Catalan is not the only language linked to children’s identities in cluster three. C3A Jenny refers to her daughter as “half-Catalan”, clearly also keen to recognise her own Irish heritage. She establishes some sense of difference between her daughter and local children who do not have a different linguistic or cultural heritage, which alongside her reference to fears of racism indicates some fear of a lack of social acceptance of that difference. C3B Jason speaks of Catalan, Castilian and English being important parts of his children’s identity and is keen not to present them in hierarchical form. When referring to Catalan and Castilian, this father references the dynamic as a political one and seems eager to distance himself from the potentially political interpretations of prioritising one over the other. Later in the excerpt and on numerous occasions elsewhere in the interview, he speaks of the plurality of languages and cultures represented at his children’s state-funded local school. He clearly presents the multilingual and multicultural context in which they are growing up as a distinct advantage for his children and is simultaneously eager to distance himself from local questions framed in terms of Catalan Vs. Castilian.

Excerpt 23: C3B Jason

INT: And with their Catalan and Spanish as well is there anything that you do specifically?

F156: Erm, not really, I think we try to, kind of not to, erm, **there's a lot of politics discussed between me and my wife. Erm, but we try not to kind of make too many, I don't think there's any kind of linguistic discrimination now.** Apart from me saying, "Oh speak to the kids in Catalan" there's nothing, there's not. We try to kind of avoid all of that in all sorts of senses. I

mean that's a kind of family judgement. We're both very clear without speaking about it as parents that we want them to speak, the more languages the better, in a sense without pushing it. if they're able to speak Spanish. if they're able to speak French, you know. And I really like Portuguese as a language even though I don't speak it. I like the sound of it. I like, you know Portuguese and stuff. The more access - it's like listening to French hip hop - the more access they have to different languages. I mean they come home from that. They literally want to talk about different languages. **I think in my son's class there's probably 15 languages - that's four European languages as well as Urdu, and you know some African languages, some French and so on.** But nothing, you know, we're not kind of strong and saying you must do this and must do that.

In the above two examples, ideas of “Catalan Catalan” and the possible political positionings that accompany that are sometimes referenced in opposition to the idea of multiculturalism, indicating some tension between a sense of local belonging and a wider sense of global belonging which these parents seem to struggle to resolve.

Despite this, the same parents also allude to instrumental values in terms of the utility of knowing Catalan. The examples in Table 38 below demonstrate how Catalan is considered instrumental both in terms of access to opportunities in Catalonia and in terms of facilitating the acquisition of other Romance languages that are typologically similar in the future. These evaluations suggest that the differences between local and global hierarchies in terms of utility are fairly easily resolved by parents in cluster three.

Table 38: Instrumental values of Catalan

C3A Jenny	INT: And in terms of Catalan as well? F125: Catalan I think it would more be beneficial to her here. But I think also it would be beneficial to her eventually if she was learning Italian or Portuguese or French, I think that would help her, you know?
C3B Jason	I think it's really important for me that my kids learn Catalan because it gives them access and the opportunities

In sum, cluster three represents parents who value the Catalan language in both integrative and instrumental terms. Parents seem highly sensitive to local language hierarchies and accept the role of Catalan in society, suggesting that as Catalans, the Catalan language will be an integral part of their children’s identities. However, some parents in this cluster demonstrate some unease regarding the tension that they imply exists between local identity

and the full acceptance of other languages and cultures. Despite this, Catalan is accorded high instrumental value with a view to their children's futures in Catalonia.

Cluster four

Parents' beliefs about Catalan in cluster four are fairly similar to those expressed in cluster three, although there is less reference to competing hierarchies.

The symbolic function of identity and family connection are appealed to by C4A Brian in the following excerpt with direct reference to the idea of Catalan being important for integration in a Catalonia in which he envisions a long-term future. It seems as though the idea of staying reaffirms the importance of establishing roots and connections with the local context. This father clearly believes that the connection would be best established in Catalan, referred to as the "first language" of where he lives, which suggests that Catalan is believed to be at the top of the local language hierarchy.

Excerpt 24: C4A Brian

INT: Yeah. It sounds obvious but could you kind of explain the reasons for the different languages that they use?

F80: Erm, well Catalan is very important because it's the first language here where we live. I imagine we're going to continue living here and my wife's family's very Catalan-speaking so I think that's very important for her to communicate with her family.

The instrumental value of Catalan is referred to by C4A Una below with reference to her personal experience of living in other contexts. She explains that, although Catalan is not widely used in other contexts, she believes it to be highly valuable within Catalonia. Perhaps in anticipation of potential questioning or criticism of this statement, she reaffirms that Catalan is not a dying language, but a very useful one for communication within this local context, indicating that locally it has a strong position in the language hierarchy.

Excerpt 25: C4A Una

I don't think Catalan is very useful out of Catalonia because, I mean, well I have experience from my reality because it's like it's only here. But in here they speak a lot (laughs). So there's a lot of Catalan. It's not a language that is dying. So the society here, they speak Catalan and it's a language that if you want to communicate with more people I guess it's good to know (C4A Una)

Parents' beliefs in the local value of Catalan and intentions to stay in Catalonia long-term result in much less troubled relationships with the contested language within this cluster and a closer reference to the local language hierarchy. English and Castilian are still believed to be important for integrative and instrumental reasons, although Castilian is granted less emphasis at home with many parents believing that its acquisition is guaranteed with exposure through school, peers and the media.

9.1.5 The values of other languages

In families with parents who are L1 speakers of other languages, many of those languages are attributed value. Amongst those interviewed, Italian, French, Greek, Irish and Galician can be found in parents' L1 repertoires. Whereas Italian, French and Greek are underlined as serving a primarily symbolic role in terms of it being a means of emotional connection with family members, Irish and Galician are accorded little significance and are not mentioned when parents are asked what their language goals are or why they consider the different languages important.

All parents from families with Italian, French and Greek amongst their parental L1 repertoires express a desire for their children to speak it. Reasons for speaking it are predominantly framed in symbolic terms, with regards to family connections and emotional wellbeing. One mother explains how she is frustrated by her husband's lack of effort transmitting Greek in the excerpt below, describing how she believes that this is detrimental to her children's relationships with Greek family members as well as damaging their ability to connect with that part of their heritage and identity.

Excerpt 26: C2B Beth

Now with the Greek that's much more like emotional. I'm a little bit disappointed in my husband because he's made such little effort. I don't know why **and it's a little bit of a family issue** with his parents. I think they're really disappointed and everytime I think his parents, we spend about a month in Greece there, and I mean, **I don't want the kids to not feel Greek and I think language is a big factor in how closely you feel part of a culture. So I see them feeling a little bit isolated or different or, I don't know like something is missing, I sense it like "How come we're Greek or part Greek and have a Greek grandfather"** - the grandmother is Greek - American so there's a mix there - but they have Greek cousins and Greek family but they don't speak any Greek. I mean I don't have any answer for that.

When it comes to Italian, C2A Eliza (who speaks of a distinct possibility of future mobility) describes how Italian, Castilian and English are more important than Catalan for her due to how widely used they are globally.

Excerpt 27: C2A Eliza

Catalan I don't care about, I mean it only serves them here so if we move from *Catalunya* I don't think that would be my biggest concern. But Spanish would, I mean Spanish for me is mandatory, they have to speak English, Spanish and Italian, you know.

The fact that Greek and Italian are considered prestigious state languages that are considered valuable in the global language hierarchy seems to reinforce the symbolic function that they have in reinforcing emotional bonds between family members. In the cases of Irish and Galician, however, no reference is made to integrative or instrumental values, nor symbolic functions and neither language appears in the relevant parents' goals or priorities.

As with parents' beliefs about additional foreign languages presented in the first section of this chapter, their value within the global language hierarchy seems to determine how likely children's acquisition of other non-official parental L1s is to be encouraged by parents. Chinese, Japanese, German and Portuguese are all favourably considered with reference to utility and their classificatory functions as potential providers of future opportunities.

9.2 Family language management strategies

In the following section the language management strategies, understood in accordance with Spolsky (2004) as "any specific efforts to modify or influence that [language] practice", that parents describe during the interviews will be presented. First of all the role of parents as agents of family language management in making language choices and supporting their children's literacy development is explored. Secondly, their role in balancing the effects of external agents and maximising the contributions of contextual affordances will be described as well as their mobilisation of home country resources.

9.2.1 Parents as agents of family language management

Some family language management strategies can be enacted by the parents themselves and do not rely on other actors in order to implement change. These strategies include parents' conscious decisions to use a language, their persistence in doing so and literacy support efforts.

Parents' conscious language choices

For some parents there is no conscious choice to be made when deciding which language to speak to their children. If they do not have sufficient ability in a different language for them to use one, it makes little sense to refer to that parents' uses as a language choice. However, in most cases parents are proficient in at least Castilian so there is some element of individual choice to be made.

Some parents refute that their language choice was the result of a conscious decision because they declare it totally inconceivable for them not to use their own first language. They appeal to a need to establish an authentic connection with their children to justify this position, using words such as "natural" and "strange" to indicate how inherently right or wrong using a particular language might feel. In some cases this assumption goes unquestioned and thus becomes an example of an unconscious choice. In other cases, such as C4A Brian, it is recognised as a conscious decision that is justified by the belief that they could not express themselves truly in any other language.

Excerpt 28: C4A Brian

I mean it's a conscious decision but also **I just can't imagine talking to them in another language. It would be a bit weird**, you know?

Most parents show signs of conscious decision-making processes which are sometimes the result of a personal decision and at other times negotiated between partners. In their accounts of their decision-making processes, 22 of the 26 parents interviewed explicitly recount talking together and consciously making decisions about which language(s) they should use with their children in order to best ensure the attainment of their intended linguistic outcomes. The table below includes examples of how parents researched, discussed and agreed on which languages should be spoken in the home, often negotiating specific, coordinated strategies in order to guarantee the transmission of their desired language combination.

Table 39: Parents' accounts of conscious, negotiated decision-making

C1A Karen	INT: Is that something you decided consciously from the very beginning. F56: Yeah, I think we saw other people made mistakes, we heard, I read a lot about bilingual children and how what their development is because I was interested , I mean I didn't know because it's like an experiment in my family because there's no other cases of this because we both moved abroad and the rest of both of our
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	families are in those countries. So it's kind of an experiment in a way so I didn't want to have everything go wrong. And so yes we consciously made a decision that he would speak in his language and me in mine and he would have both of them hopefully equally
C2C Anthony	INT: from the very beginning did you make a conscious decision to do things one way or another? F57: Yeah INT: Yeah? Did you discuss that? F57: Yeah so we always, we decided and we always have very strictly only spoken one language to the children. So with me I always speak English to them, and my wife only spoke Russian with them so that they would associate the language with the person.
C1C Robert	INT: Is that a decision that you made consciously from the very beginning? F5: yeah. INT: yeah? You discussed it together? F5: Yeah and it was strange. I remember when my wife was pregnant with her first child. That was kind of when you're encouraged to talk to the bump and things. I started talking to it in Spanish and she slapped me and said, "That's not me, you've got to speak to the bump in English". And it felt very strange at first speaking to a baby in English because actually babies don't understand anything (laughs)
C3A Jenny	INT: And did you make a conscious decision from the beginning, perhaps with the, with you using English and your ex using Catalan with her? Was that F125: Erm, I think my ex really wanted to speak Catalan with her and I kind of said well maybe Spanish was better because she'd do Catalan in school and in the creche. And he was like very adamant that he wanted to speak Catalan because he's Spanish / Catalan

C1A Karen explains how she and her husband observed other cases of transnational families and conducted research about raising bilingual children in order to inform their choice. Their decision was for each parent to use their first language with their son in the hope that that would provide equal exposure to both English and Castilian at home. C2C Anthony also chooses a similar strategy, often referred to as one-person one-language, in agreement with his wife to encourage the children to associate each interlocutor with a different non-official language: English and Russian.

Whereas some parents portray their decision-making processes as rational and easily agreed upon, others narrate turning points of realisation that they would need to make a conscious effort to speak English to their child in order to ensure transmission. In the case of C1C Robert this is related in a comical way through the story of how his wife reprimanded him for speaking Castilian to their unborn baby. The event provoked reflection and meant that the father changed the language he was using, despite him having some initial difficulties doing so, in order to promote English language transmission.

C3A Jenny exemplifies how parents do not always initially agree on which language(s) should be used and some degree of negotiation is required. These negotiations need to reconcile parents' individual preferences and external factors such as the language(s) that the child will be exposed to in other settings.

Persistence

Besides their initial language plans, several parents relate how they had to consciously employ additional techniques to ensure their child reciprocated in English. Some parents describe times when they have made conscious efforts to insist on the use of English and the most common piece of advice given by parents was persistence in using English, some examples of which can be found in the table below.

Table 40: Persistence

C1A Tom	Do you have any advice for other parents who are in a similar situation to you? F74: Advice in terms of the strategies? I think strategies that we've employed have worked out very well for us and always use your mother tongue of the child in every situation. Even on other occasions, even with other people speaking Spanish I'll turn and speak to him in English. And he'll respond to me in English as well in that situation and that I think is very important
C1C Robert	F5: So when she was little she might say something like "Daddy, I need a <i>vaso</i> of water", you know, or something "Daddy, <i>dame un vaso de</i> water" or something like that. It sounds Spanish but she's making an effort and I'd have to go "what, let me get you a glass of water" and just repeat the vocabulary back. And I wouldn't get angry. I wouldn't assume it was Spanish, I'd assume it was bad English and over the years that kind of corrected itself although she still uses Spanish words when she doesn't know the English one.
C2A Eliza	if youngest keeps speaking to me in [Catalan], I repeat again and again and again and again, like lovingly and jokingly, but I'm very insistent that if he says it to me in Catalan I don't understand what he's saying you know? I'm like, youngest I don't know what you're saying, you know?
C2C Anthony	F57: Finally, do you have any advice for other parents in a similar situation to you? INT: Um, I would – I've seen other parents in similar situations whose children do not speak the languages of their parents and it is because the parents are not... what's the word I'm looking for, they're not committed enough to speaking only that language with their child. So you see a Russian mother speaking Spanish to her child, or an Italian father who's speaking Spanish to their child. And I don't know why they give up or they think it's easier for their child, but if you stick to it it will work, it absolutely works. It'll take children longer, a bit, to develop their vocabulary and their language, but if you're consistent, you have to be consistent, that's what I was wanting to say. If you're consistently only speaking the language you want them to learn, which is – most likely your native language – they will learn
C3C Amanda	INT: Ok, all right then. I think we've answered most of those questions already so the last one is if you have any advice for other parents in a similar situation to yours? F95: Always speak English right from the start. Don't even have a moment where you consider that because you're telling them off or something it'll be more effective

	in another language, you know? Don't drop the guard! Because the second you do they spot the breach and they're in there, sort of thing you know!
C4C Sarah	INT: So, my last question is if you have any advice for other parents in a similar situation to yours? F76: Well as far as language goes I would just say be consistent. Even if a child stops talking to you in your language, you just carry on. The language is there and it will eventually manifest itself. I don't think that's the problem. You think that, "Oh he doesn't speak the language or she doesn't" but it's there!

In the excerpts above, parents underline the importance of continuing to use English with their children in almost all circumstances. This includes whilst in the presence of people who do not speak English (unless the message must be understood by all present); when children do not have the English vocabulary necessary to perform a task in English; and even when children do not answer in English.

In the cases of C1C Robert and C2A Eliza, parents report employing the minimal grasp and expressed guess interaction strategies when their children lack specific vocabulary in English. Such strategies are towards the monolingual end of Lanza's monolingual-bilingual scale (Lanza, 1997) and thus encourage children to develop their vocabulary in English.

Two parents describe experiences of extended periods of time during which their children did not answer them in English. For C4C Sarah, this lasted five years and for C1B Jeremy one and a half years. Both parents explain that they continued to use English and they believe that this persistence was essential for the eventual return to English language use of their children. C1B Jeremy expresses these beliefs in the excerpt below and uses anecdotal evidence of other cases to support his claims.

Excerpt 29: C1B Jeremy

INT: And you've always just used English with your children?

F134: Only English. That's one of my best, one of my biggest accomplishments I think as a parent. But as my kids' education is, **they're both very fluent in English because I'm just insistent** and probably I would have mentioned it in the last interview or the last survey but with my daughter who's now ten, **that was a specific, a huge challenge. She started really speaking let's say fluently around between two and a half three years old. And she for a whole year, year and a half would only speak to me in Spanish and I would only speak to her in English and I would insist that I would not understand her unless she addressed me in English until finally I remember it was July when she was four years old, something clicked and she just started speaking to me in English and since then she's only ever spoken to me**

in English and in fact that kids find it really odd trying to speak to me in Spanish – they really don't like it. So we've created a really, a channel of communication in English that's only one language.

INT: Yeah, what do you think would have happened if you'd used Spanish?

F134: I know what would have happened because I've seen it in other kids. They would not because the kids, I've seen it, I'm kind of interested in this as well and **I've seen it with other people that if they don't insist on one language being the dominant language the local language becomes the main language.** The kids, the child will understand English, will probably be able to say some things in English and in fact, it's interesting, I have a friend who, he's Spanish and she's American and they have three kids and that happens. The three kids can speak a little bit of English but it's very choppy because she speaks to them in Spanish. So I've seen, I know, **I'm quite sure what would have happened. My kids would understand English but they wouldn't be able to have a good conversation with their grandparents, with my parents; they wouldn't feel comfortable in a multi-language environment,** so yeah, that's the answer.

In the above excerpt, it is clear that the relative dominance of the different languages is taken into account when coordinating strategies. A sense of threat from the host society official languages is conveyed, which serves as an indication that parents' conscious choice of English language use and persistence in it is associated with counterbalancing the influence of the official languages that children will come into contact with outside the home.

Amongst the interviewed parents, there are three cases in which parents explain that they switch to official languages to accommodate their children's language uses rather than continuing to use English in all circumstances. Interestingly, these are the three cases in which the parents are least satisfied with their children's ability in English, which might support claims that persistence is a worthwhile strategy.

Literacy support

All parents interviewed demonstrate that literacy is hugely important to them: 25 of them explain how they read to their children in English regularly and 16 describe literacy activities that they do at home in order to support their children's reading and writing skills in English. Most parents report reading to their children in English on a daily basis as a night-time ritual, often until after their children have moved on to secondary school. These sessions are often

also opportunities to introduce children to letter and word recognition activities, as demonstrated in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 30: C2A Karl

F129: Yes, so during the evening we're telling each other stories. Before we start the stories it's tell me the letters. And if there's certain words in the story I tell them, can you recognise that word? They recognise it but they don't necessarily read it. So then they remember it so the word "one" – they know that just by memory now. I don't think they can physically read it but they recognise the sequence and the shapes. And that's typical for a four year-old I'm led to believe.

For C1C Valerie, reverse transmission can be observed in her practice of reading books in Castilian and Catalan (as well as in English) with her daughter, who helps her to pronounce and understand the words. At several stages throughout the interview, this participant demonstrated regret for not having higher abilities in either of the two official languages. She even suggested that it was her who should be the focus of the study rather than her children, given that they had had comparatively few problems acquiring the language and fitting in at school.

Excerpt 31: C1C Valerie

And my daughter we read out loud and we switch off. So I read two pages and she reads two pages. And we started out first in English that way and now she's teaching me Spanish and sometimes Catalan.

Beyond reading together regularly, parents of younger children report using evenings and school holidays to undertake class-style activities with workbooks and play literacy-based games on educational applications. One mother explains how she introduces English language activities during the summer holidays by creating a pretend English classroom at home.

Excerpt 32: C1B Simone

F87: the school that they go to which is just across the road here. It's not a textbook-y kind of school. They, it's not like that so he actually gets quite excited – so does my daughter now – she's five going on six and they actually think it's fun to do kind of like homework and stuff because they don't do any of this. And so in the summer we, our mornings, I have a coffee and then we all sit down and we do this traditional kind of school set-up which is so funny. You should see them playing the traditional classroom with desks and everything because they

don't have that there. So we have our table and we get these books that I buy – these little, you know, flimsy

INT: Exercise books?

F87: Yeah, little books. And we do little exercises and they really enjoy it! And they get their little stars! They get to stick their stickers and their stars and they go through it and so that's just like really amazing!

INT: And those are exercises in English?

F87: It's all in English, it's all in English.

For literacy, several parents express regret for the lack of support they perceive to be available from external sources. Parents' impact beliefs for their children's literacy development tend to be somewhat weaker than they are for children's language uses.

9.2.2 Parental management of external agents

Alongside consciously managing their own language uses, parents report the use of strategies involving external agents. Parents' accounts of their family language management decisions include an awareness of a need to balance different sources of language input that are outside of the home environment. In order to do so, parents take into account the contextual affordances that are on offer in the host society and also mobilise support from the home country. The external sources of language input that parents describe managing are: television and digital media, school choice, extracurricular classes and social activities. Besides this, contact with family and friends in the home country and trips abroad are used as strategies to consciously manage their children's language uses.

Television and digital media

All parents explain their personal preferences for English-medium television and describe how they facilitate access to it for their children through the use of the dual language function, satellite boxes or specialist websites.

Excerpt 33: C1B Jeremy

In English I insist if they want to watch TV, it has to be in English. So we have Digitalplus so we can change the language, we have Netflix. All the movies that we watch, unless they have a friend over that doesn't speak English, has to be in English.

In fact, most parents report their children expressing a preference to watch their favourite programmes in the original version (which is almost always English), indicating that, even at a young age, children enter into language use negotiations as active agents.

Excerpt 34: C2B Beth

All the TV, all the cartoons they watch are always in English. To this day they still will always switch the language to English even though they understand now exactly what is being said.

Parents' explanations of the positive benefits of English-medium television extend as far as those parents who are wary of the role of television in child-rearing and limit their children's screentime, as can be seen in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 35: C2A Karl

F129: The other part which I will definitely say for the record is that TV does not form a big part of our lives but whenever we do watch TV it's always in English so the girls do like watching Peppa Pig and Paw Patrol not *Patrulla Canina* and they're used to watching it in English. Since day one we've always done it. But I do not allow them to sit all day watching TV. It's done and controlled maybe an hour maximum.

Here the father is clearly anxious to clarify his stance on the role of television in his parenting practices. He states that it will not be the only way of learning English, but that when the television is viewed they take advantage of the opportunity to introduce more English use into the home.

For older children some parents underline the impact of the internet, in particular Youtube, Vlogs and Instagram. C3C Amanda explains how her teenage son, who had previously been less engaged in English reading and writing, has found new motivation to develop those skills on the internet and social networking sites.

Excerpt 36: C3C Amanda

the only thing that I can just, you know, think that's really brought his language on enormously is the amount of exposure on the internet that they get as well. I mean there's just no worry now. It's just, they really want to know about something and the youtube is only in English and they're going to watch that English thing. And he watches lots of Vlogs now so he's got sort of people that he follows in different subject matters. And he's joined up with a video crew in the States and they chat and, they're obviously chatting in English so I mean it's becoming a real thing for him you know, I think that's the thing isn't it when it becomes something real for you is when you start really taking care of it and owning it. And that's what he's doing.

Again here, the notion of children as active language agents can be found. C3C Amanda's description of her son's recent progress in English demonstrates how, as teenagers, the children can make decisions independently of their parents and take control of or "own" their language acquisition.

School choices

School is an institution where children spend a considerable proportion of their waking hours during the week. As such, the language(s) used in this environment are considered to have an important impact on their children's language acquisition process. Linguistic aspects are therefore an important, although not exclusive, element of parents' choice of school.

Most parents interviewed (22 out of 26) send their children to local wholly or partially state-funded schools whose main vehicular language is Catalan but in which Castilian is also used. Parents explain their choice of local schools on the basis of social integration, arguing that they are important in establishing friendships and developing a sense of belonging to the area in which their children are growing up. The value of Catalan as a language that facilitates social integration seems thus to be tightly linked to its central role in state-funded education, as can be seen in the following excerpts:

Table 41: Parents' reasons for choosing state-funded Catalan-medium schools

C1A Karen	Then coming and not speaking a word of Catalan – I mean having heard it – and so we wanted to find a very warm place for him to be. But we both thought that it's quite important because we do live here and we don't want him to be ousted on the playground either, you know, so you have a lot of international schools that have that certain language or whatever but without, you know, we live here , he's going to have English fine, he's going to have Spanish fine, we're not worried about that, about
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	speaking and eventually writing. That's fine. And eventually reading. But we wanted him to have what's here because once you know two, you can learn three, you can learn four, it's not a big. So we wanted him to fit in. That's why we did that.
C2B Beth	INT: Have they started going to school? No, they were at school already. F85: yeah, we put them into a Catalan school right away, yeah. INT: hmhm F85: Yeah, we thought for them to, because this was our long-term plan in order to pick up the languages to live here and feel part of the community.
C3A Jenny	INT: Would you say it's important then in terms of integration? F125: Here definitely, here definitely. INT: Ok. F125: And that's why I really wanted her to go to a public school with Catalan, you know, as opposed to, as much as the English schools and French schools were more expensive, I was like, I still really wanted her to go to a public school not just so she was speaking Catalan but also to mix with a normal bunch of kids, you know?

Social integration and using Catalan seem to go hand in hand in parents' accounts of their school decision-making processes. Despite parents' high expectations for their children's level of English, this is obviously not to the exclusion of them gaining official languages. In these cases, extra measures are usually taken to support English transmission as parents do not express much confidence in the ability of local state-funded schools to support their specific circumstances as heritage language speakers in the hours dedicated to English as a foreign language classes.

As can be seen in the first and last excerpts of Table 41, local state-funded schools are contrasted with the alternative: private international schools. Many parents report an aversion to the idea of sending their children to a private international school on the basis that they want their children to socialise with "normal" children, understood in opposition to socioeconomically privileged children who might attend costly private schooling. Only four of the parents interviewed choose to send their children to international schools, two in cluster one and two in cluster two. The fact that they are in the two clusters which are most likely to move away from Catalonia may not be a coincidence. The four parents' accounts of their reasons for choosing international schools are presented below, alongside their observations of the effects of these strategies.

Reasons for choosing international schools include a consideration of the relative proportion of languages spoken and the degree of provision that can be made for their children's specific needs. C2C Mary is an example of a mother who migrated with older children who arrived in the metropolitan region of Barcelona after they had started school.

Excerpt 37: C2C Mary

And this school is trilingual. **A big part of it was socially for the kids. It was also for proper English so we could continue to support their English development because we were already thinking university for my daughter and we were thinking just the basics for my son.** And so we moved them to [the international school that they are at now]. When we got [there it] generally has what they call international homeroom which is their *aula d'acollida* [linguistic support programme] essentially and usually what they are they start, students whose first language is English and then if it's English they go to Spanish and if it's Spanish they go to Catalan, but usually the international students don't know – they start them with Spanish. And our children came in and they did all of the testing and they said, we're not sure what to do with your kids because their Catalan is so far advanced for English students that we get in, they passed everything and made good grades, but their Spanish, they can speak Spanish but their academic level is trash (laughs). **And so they switched them, they put them kind of in the end of Catalan, supported them a little bit in Catalan and then integrated them into Catalan classes a bit quicker, and then added, let them stay in Spanish support for a while to get up the academics in Spanish.** So that kind of brought them to this point where they are now.

C2C Mary states that she chose an international school in order to ensure trilingual academic input alongside social integration in the host society. She emphasises the benefits of her children socialising in the three languages, whilst continuing to develop English on an academic level with a view to continuing university studies in English. The ability of the trilingual private school to tailor their curriculum in order to meet their children's linguistic needs is presented as another advantage of attending such a school.

C2C Jack is similarly motivated. He explains his satisfaction with the way that the private international school his elder daughter attends is understanding and providing for the specific language needs of children who speak a non-official language at home.

Excerpt 38: C2C Jack

she was at a school where Catalan first language speakers predominated until she was, sort of eleven and a half at which point she moved to a school that has a Spanish-speaking stream and Catalan-speaking stream at primary up to the age of eleven. Then they're moved to the secondary building, even though they're still in primary, and they organise their work day in, sort of, the high school fashion rather than the primary fashion. And they start to divide their

language use up by subject rather than by stream so they'll be doing a quarter of their coursework in English, a quarter in French, a quarter in Spanish a quarter in Catalan.

Later in the interview, he indicates that he is so satisfied with the outcome for his elder daughter that he is considering also sending his younger daughter there.

Excerpt 39: C2C Jack

And we might send her to the school her sister's going to. It's not really very clear yet, but yeah, and **that has in part to do with our perception that if she stayed on at the school that she's been attending for the last eight years, she'd find the attention she'd receive as a foreign[heritage] language student in a foreign language classroom really inadequate in secondary.** Early in primary you don't feel that distinction quite so much because the other children are singing songs and the like, and your child's already getting the colloquial spoken English at home. You do what you need to reinforce it. But, having come back from the four or five months in Canada with much stronger written English, and knowing the school fairly well and knowing that many schools simply don't know what a heritage speaker is. **Knowing how, my eldest daughter's school have responded to my daughter 's language profile – and they have responded very well – it's made us want to go out and find a stronger option.**

C1A Tom explains his choice of a school with English and Castilian as the vehicular languages of instruction based on his hopes to find another context of interaction in which English is the normal language of use. He suggests that otherwise his son might think that English is somewhat restricted to use with his father.

Excerpt 40: C1A Tom

And the languages of instruction are English and Spanish. They do classes in Catalan as well. That was a conscious decision on my, on our part as well, **because I wanted him to use English and see English as a vehicular language. Not just something in class which some people, they do an hour or two hours a week of Spanish or whatever in English. I wanted him to see that he could use the language for education.**

Interestingly though, the father recounts receiving reports from school alerting him to the fact that his son had negative attitudes towards Catalan. He demonstrates an awareness that his decision might have had a negative impact on his son's knowledge and perception of Catalan and says that in the future he intends to make more active use of Catalan himself in order to act as a positive role model.

C1A Hannah also reports unforeseen consequences of her choice to send her daughter to an English-medium school. This, coupled with the fact that she addresses her daughter exclusively in English and has not taken her to participate in any official language medium social fields, has resulted in her daughter claiming to be unable to understand or speak either official language. In the following excerpt, the mother expressed her concerns that the emphasis she placed on English has had a detrimental effect on her daughter's social and emotional functioning.

Excerpt 41: C1A Hannah

Then, erm, she, **I noticed that she'd be like, you've really affected her functioning, like social and emotional functioning** because she's super, like, I mean, I have for example her uncle, my best friend of 20 something years – he's like "Hey! See Mum" and he doesn't speak any English and so he's like bla bla bla. And she like pulls away from him but she's also a little bit shy and introverted and also culturally the Spanish people can come on a little strong and she's like "woah!", you know like because. **And so, but like, he feels rejected and I'm constantly feeling stressed that other people are feeling rejected by her, like strangers in the community feeling rejected by my daughter** who, when they're like "¿Cómo te llamas?" [What's your name?] - she can certainly answer that - and she's like [crosses arms and shakes head to imitate daughter's response]. And then, but she's actually expressed since she was probably three, three and a half, saying "Mummy, I don't speak Spanish!". She doesn't really distinguish between Spanish and Catalan. And she's like "Mummy I don't speak it". And then there was one time so it was last year so she was probably about three and a half and I was like, "oh!". **She was like "Mummy!" and she looked at me like with this desperation. And she was like "could you please teach me Spanish because I don't know Spanish and I can't". And I was just like "Argh!". I felt so stupid about how I'd focussed everything.**

Her account of the moment when her daughter asks her to teach her Castilian reveals a moment of realisation that made C1A Hannah question her initial choices. Although her daughter is still young and remedial action can be taken, C1A Hannah highlights the limitations of focussing solely on a non-official language in terms of socio-emotional functioning. She worries about her daughter's ability to interact with members of the host society, let alone integrate fully into host society social fields and questions whether, in her drive to ensure transmission of a native level of English, she has done her daughter a disservice.

Extracurricular activities

Several parents express low impact beliefs in their ability to help their children with literacy development or a preference not to mix the role of parent with that of teacher. As a result, some parents employ language tutors for their children.

Two of the parents interviewed currently employ an English tutor in order to help their children develop reading and writing skills. Both are parents of 6 - 11 year olds from cluster two. Interestingly, despite both parents being L1 English speakers, they still feel the need for external support. C2B John explains how he has hired an English tutor for his eldest daughter in the hope that this will help to develop her reading and writing skills in English in more varied ways than he or the school can offer. Parents are keen to cover gaps in writing skills related to the different conventions for English which they believe that their children will not acquire in local state-funded schools.

Excerpt 42: C2B John

But it's certainly something that we continue to try and work towards, is getting their reading and writing in English developed in various different ways. So they, one of the things is having this teacher who's been helping with eldest's reading and writing so that will continue.

C2B Beth describes how she forms part of a group of parents who have arranged group classes for their children in order to share the costs that the classes represent. Such initiatives seem to be quite common, with parents pooling resources in order to facilitate their children's linguistic development.

Excerpt 43: C2B Beth

starting this year we've gotten an English tutor to work with the kids. Actually there's some kids in the school that are in a similar situation, that have one parent who's a native English speaker so we've created two groups based on age and level and we have a tutor coming in once a week and does forty-five minutes with each group. Not very structured, they're not working from a textbook but just covering like, my daughter's group is doing just spelling, introduction to grammar, a little bit of writing, and then my son's group is concentrating more on sort of, being able to set up a paragraph and things like that. More the writing side. So we've started to formalise little by little the English education side.

Some parents comment on the lack of extracurricular private specialised educational offer in this area, given that the classes provided in the state-funded education system are often

considered insufficient in attaining the high standards desired. C3A Leah’s reflections indicate a need for more specialist tutors with experience working with children who have English as a home language.

Excerpt 44: C3A Leah

Then probably I would love there to be heritage language classes, English classes, but it’s a service that’s not very, it’s not offered to people here. There’s a few people that do it on a private basis but there’s no organised classes for English speakers. And anything that, any of the English language schools that you ask, like the popular Kids and Us, which could work, but it’s probably too basic at times, for, at certain levels especially when they get to around six it’s too basic for heritage speakers and so therefore, you know. But that’s one thing I would love. Extra classes really, that gives them a bit more of a challenge because I think most parents here in Barcelona find that the English classes are not taxing enough for them at all.

In the table below, some parents anticipate the need to employ an English tutor in the future in order to attain reading and writing skills or pass official exams. C3A Jenny discusses the possibility of putting her daughter into a reading group that she knows is run, whereas C2B Louise explains how her friends have hired tutors for official exam preparation classes. C2C Mary explains how she has purchased online university courses from the USA for her daughter so that she can continue to develop her academic English abilities and prepare to study in an English-speaking context if she wants to.

Table 42: Future need for English tutoring

C3A Jenny	so I think the English maybe not so much now but I think maybe in a few years time when it comes to spelling and writing stories she might have a problem with reading or writing. So I think i might either put her into a reading group because some people in the playgroup do that. Or I could do it myself. But I think maybe the mother-daughter teaching relationship is not always the best when they’re a little bit older, you know?
C2B Louise	There’s always the issue of when they get a bit older of – when they get to 15, 16 – of taking exams in English, which I know a lot of my friends here have got children who are probably a bit older than theirs and they’ve, they’re now at the age when they could be doing English exams and they realised that their English writing is not as good as it could be. So a lot of my friends might have to put a bit of work or get a tutor for their teenager just for them to do an exam.
C2C Mary	F35: Well, for instance for English with my daughter, we chose to, since second of ESO (she’s in third of ESO) so, take that back, its been three years then because she’s in fourth of ESO. So second and third of ESO and fourth of ESO we’ve purchased, through an online school, an English literature course for her. So it’s an online school, she has an English teacher from the US and this way she’s, she loves English literature and

composition, and so this gives her a native level of English support up and above what she gets at school where she's quite bored

Besides English literacy tutors, there are four instances of parents hiring tutors for the official languages. Three of these instances are to be found in cluster two, which is characterised by the predominant use of English at home between highly proficient and L1 English-speaking parents. In two of these cases the children involved were not born in Catalonia, and in one of those there is the additional complication of the child concerned recently having been diagnosed with learning difficulties. This case is described in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 45: C2B Beth

INT: Yeah. Ok, so my next question was, as things are, is there anything you do at the moment to support one of the languages? You've mentioned the group.

F85: Yeah, well my son is doing a computer program, online program to help him reading in Catalan. It's called Glifing so he, we do that five times a week. It's twenty – because he's working with a Catalan tutor – which was recommended for various reasons. One to help him improve the reading and writing, and to help diagnose if there's something going on with him. So they've been working together since September.

Besides the cases in cluster two noted above, there is one instance of the use of a tutor for Catalan and Castilian in cluster four. In this case, the teenager has been diagnosed with dyslexia and attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD).

Social activities

Outside of school, parents also speak of organising activities and playdates with other L1 English-speaking children in order to motivate their children to use English. This is particularly common among the younger age groups. The role of peers is identified as particularly helpful by several parents, as can be seen in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 46: C3A Jenny

INT: Ok, yeah. And does she have English-speaking friends here?

F125: yeah, she has a few English-speaking friends. **One of her best friends is half-Irish as well. And then I don't know if you know the playgroup on Friday**

...

F125: So she's been going there since she was about one and a half. So we try and go there every two weeks as well. **So from all the years gone by she's got loads of friends in that group as well.** And sometimes we meet outside that group as well because I've become quite close to the parents as well.

INT: So how helpful do you think those different things are? Are there any signs that things have worked?

F125: **I think the playgroup really helped because maybe the words and stuff, she would have been speaking with me and learning from me, it didn't really involve that much play. Whereas when she's with younger kids and they're playing on the slide and doing stuff, I think that opened up a new world to her as well and really helped her English come along.**

Parents talk of the benefits of children establishing meaningful relationships with peers, developing play language and understanding English as a means of establishing friendships rather than being an obligation or something restricted to use with older generations. However, not all endeavours are successful and some parents speak of setting up playgroups with this aim, only to find that the children tended to use official languages to communicate with each other.

Excerpt 47: C3A Leah

INT: Ok then, and is there anything you've done in the past to support any of the languages that you think has been helpful, or.

F27: I think, more than anything, it's trying to find reasons for her to speak. I went out trying to find other families, English-speaking families with their main language being just English which was ideal. I found some of them, there was a lot of mixed families like ourselves which really wasn't what we were looking for because the kids tend to go for the dominant language and switch so she wouldn't force her to speak English

Family and friends: communicative need

Situations of real communicative need in which interlocutors are not proficient in the official languages are reported to be more consistently successful than managed social activities (although there are fewer opportunities to generate them). Parents identify relationships with other family members living in the metropolitan region of Barcelona and visits to the home country to see family and friends as important contributions towards progress in English.

For those from the United Kingdom and Ireland, parents are able to visit home several times a year and important relationships are established with grandparents and cousins through the medium of English.

Table 43: Contact with friends and family from the home country

C1A Karen	<p>INT: Ok. And you mentioned going home. Is that something you do regularly?</p> <p>F56: Well, it's kind of far (laughs). And expensive so often, if we have long productions where we have to go travel to a concert, you know like a month long or whatever, one of the grandparents from one of the sides will come and help us because we have no other family here. So in that case he's surrounded by the real, from that country, because they don't speak the other languages. They're not like us where you pretend you don't understand but you do. So that's, that's what we do.</p>
C2B John	<p>INT: Ok, so looking at strategies and things. As things are is there anything you do at the moment, I guess apart from that, to support one of the languages that they speak?</p> <p>F136: Uhm I suppose yeah, I mean, other than what I've said, their speaking, we do – I think one of the things that supports their languages is regular contact with family and time spent in the summer, because that makes it very, it consolidates it and there's an emotional link to the language and it makes much more sense for them after they've spent, you know. And we noticed that, that between themselves they will start to speak in English much more in the summer in that environment.</p>
C3C Amanda	<p>Ok. All right then, and is there anything else you've done in the past to support any of the languages that you think might have been helpful?</p> <p>F95: Trips.</p> <p>INT: Hmm, yeah?</p> <p>F95: I know it's a really obvious thing to say but the trips really help because I'm thinking, my sister-in-law's boys. She's an English person, she's English but doesn't really have much family in Britain. She has a lot of family in other areas but not. So I'm thinking I'm, I do probably in a year six or seven trips to the UK, of which my son now used to come on all of them, and now probably comes on three or four of them, you know, the Christmas, the Easter, the Summer and maybe one more. But I think that's really helped and put that sort of cultural reason and background and to have real friendships there, you know. So he goes back and he now has people that he'll phone who are sons and daughters of my friends but they've grown up together and are his friends too so, and he whatsapps with them as well. So I think the whatsapp thing is quite key for writing as well. That's been good.</p>
C4A Una	<p>INT: And did you say that you go on holiday to the States and things as well?</p> <p>F122: Yes, now with my second kid I, we haven't travelled but I mean, we have some friends there. It's like some things that you say well I'd like to go there to review or remind me of the way of living there. So it's like for holidays it's like well we can do some little travels. It's a little bit far as well and expensive. So but it's like, to keep in touch as well. To go and it's also you know to understand and to see that people in other countries they speak English and it's not like "Why is Mummy always talking in English?". I am not practising with anyone so when you got to the United States you see everyone talking in English. They don't use Catalan for example, you don't see anyone talking Catalan there.</p>

In the first example C1A Karen emphasises the benefits of situations of communicative need with grandparents who only speak one of the languages. The monolingual interaction is thought to be helpful in developing his son's language skills. In the second, C2B John underlines the symbolic ties that family visits have enabled his children to establish in English, identifying these as important motivations for their children to use the language. In the third extract C3C Amanda speaks of the benefits of her son sustaining contact with friends in the United Kingdom via Whatsapp, not only symbolically but also in terms of developing her son's writing abilities. Using writing to contact friends is perhaps a more motivating way of developing practical language skills than doing exercises. Finally, C4A Una explains how travelling to countries in which English is widely spoken as a first language helps to reinforce her efforts at home as it shows her children that it is not just limited to talking to their mother.

In recognition of the benefits of situations of communicative need, many parents explain their future intentions to use travel as a strategy in promoting English use at the same time as developing important life skills. In most cases travelling abroad is intended to provide their children with an experience of life in another country and an opportunity to study in a different context too, further developing their English and preparing them for the possibility of university studies abroad. C3B Jason explains how anecdotal evidence from other families' experiences have revealed this to be a positive experience.

Excerpt 48: C3B Jason

INT: And is there anything you're anticipating doing in the future for any of their languages?

F156: Erm, not, not, I don't. I think, not really. I think more educationally at a certain point although again the jury's out now with that. We have talked about when they're older maybe giving them the opportunity for the example to do – and there are people who I've worked with where they've sent their kids to, because their kids have asked to do a year of sixth form in the UK for example, **and that really has had a tremendous impact on their late-teenage or mid-teenage on their English language production and kind of widening their kind of horizons.** That's something which we would think about but ____

9.2.3 Ongoing, complex negotiations

In the above section it has been shown how most parents consciously refer to explicit language choices and language management strategies designed to influence their children's

language uses. Parents' choices for language use and the strategies that they employ are the result of complex negotiations between parents, children and actors from the different social fields in which they participate. As such, parents can be observed to continually monitor their children's language uses and assess their opportunities to use each language in and outside of the home environment. Therefore, old strategies may be adapted and new strategies may be developed accordingly.

An illustrative example of this phenomenon is C2B John who, after evaluating his daughters' immediate context, establishes priorities according to their opportunities for using each language. He and his wife are L1 speakers of English; the two girls attend a state-funded Catalan-medium school in a neighbourhood with a high proportion of L1 Catalan speakers and tend to use Catalan or English for social interactions, resulting in a lack of contexts for the use of Castilian. In the excerpt below C2B John explains how his family has collectively undertaken the initiative of using Castilian at home one day per week.

Excerpt 49: C2B John

F136: And then we have one day a week when we speak in Spanish to strengthen the Spanish so that's where the Spanish comes in basically.

INT: And have there been any changes over the last couple of years?

F136: Well interestingly, after the talk. I was influenced by what she was saying actually, you know you don't need to stick rigidly to one language and **we realised that the Spanish was going to be weaker if we didn't. I mean it's taught, it gets up to a reasonable level by the end of primary at the school, but obviously they're not having a lot of opportunity to speak it so we introduced that.** It was a day when they'd both had their Spanish lessons and we said right, and there wasn't much resistance actually, they've just sort of adopted it as a rule and they'll pick us up on it.

INT: And you do it every week, right?

F136: Yes, what's difficult is sometimes forgetting in the morning when we wake up and sometimes it takes for us to get out of the house for us to realise that we should be speaking in Spanish but it seems to work, and actually what we've noticed is they're at the same level

now. Youngest has less of a natural language ability than eldest generally, in terms of vocabulary and sort of expressions that she's acquired, but actually in terms of, **she's speaking better Spanish now because of that so that's definitely paid off I think, having a natural environment every week where she's speaking.**

The above example demonstrates how parents monitor the contexts of use available to their children and take creative measures in order to provide more support for the language(s) identified to be in need. FLM can thus be seen to be a continually evolving process.

9.3 Parents' satisfaction with their family language management processes so far

During the interviews, parents were also invited to evaluate to what extent their children showed signs of attaining (or progressing towards attainment of) their desired linguistic outcomes for them. Such evaluations are understood to form part of FLM as a continually evolving process. Parents were asked to what extent their children's language uses now reflected their initial expectations and also whether or not their goal had changed or developed over time.

In response to these questions, seven parents indicate that their children's uses are in line with their expectations for them and two parents suggest that their children have met their expectations so far yet anticipate potential future difficulties. Besides that, seven parents state that their children have exceeded their expectations and ten parents demonstrate some degree of dissatisfaction with their children's progress.

In Table 44 below, citations can be found from interviews in which parents indicate that their expectations have been met. C1A Tom demonstrates an awareness of bilingual acquisition processes, indicating that the speed of acquisition may be affected but that that was to be expected. C2C Anthony indicates that his children are using the languages that he was expecting with himself and his wife yet does not proffer any additional comment or explanation. Finally, C3C Amanda assesses her son's current performance in each language and indicates that she is satisfied with what he has accomplished so far. The only slight doubt she has regards the size of her son's English vocabulary. However, she reflects that her initial expectations for that were formulated according to her own experience and her later revision of those expectations adapted them to account for her son's strengths and life goals. Overall then, she seems satisfied with her son's linguistic outcomes in all languages concerned.

Table 44: Expectations met

C1A Tom	<p>INT: Ok, and do his uses at the moment reflect your expectations from the start? F74: Yeah, I'm very happy with his abilities, language abilities. One thing is with young children who are bilingual, they're slowly developing full repertoires, their ability in one language, but no he's come along very well, very well.</p>
C2C Anthony	<p>INT: Ok. And do your children's uses now, their language uses at the moment, reflect your expectations from the start? F57: Um, what do you mean like, their uses? INT: Um, I suppose the languages that they're using at the moment. Is that what you were expecting to happen or..? F57: Umm, I expected that they would always use English with me and always use Russian with their mother yeah. INT: Yeah. And that's the way it is right? F57: yeah.</p>
C3C Amanda	<p>INT: And does your son's use, do your son's current language uses reflect your expectations from the start? F95: Hmmm. Ok, yeah. I think so. I think he's proficient at Spanish which is the objective isn't it really. His French is sort of at a B1ish level. He can pick that up in the future like I did with my Spanish O level. I think he's got a minimal base which helped me enormously in the first few months and maybe even influenced a decision about where to live. So I think he's got that little element of French in there. His English is certainly as good as it can be for somebody who doesn't read as much as he should read. If he read more he'd have a wider vocabulary. I think that's - he's got sort of a limited vocabulary really if I look and compare to myself but I don't know whether my expectations for him were any different but, were too high there, but maybe that's the sort of thing that he - I was a bookworm and he really isn't. He's visual. He's an artist. He's not going to spend hours reading a book about anything so I think that does in the end influence your command of vocabulary in another language and Catalan he's fluent. Catalan, I don't think I can judge that but he seems to be just somebody who's born here who speaks Catalan and writes it really well as well, I mean, he's had sixteen years of, I mean he will have had til he's 18, he'll have had thirteen years of training in that so I think he's fairly good at Catalan, tricky little language as it is!</p>

There are, however, two further cases in which parents state that their expectations are met so far although they believe that difficulties may lie ahead which might compromise that satisfaction. Both of these parents represent the youngest age group of children from cluster two and voice similar experiences of coming to a realisation that raising plurilingual children will involve significant effort on their part. For C2A Eliza, the fact that she has decided to send her children to a local school means that she believes that her intended outcome of them attaining a native-like level will require much more intensive work on her part. She uses the example of a family that she met to explain how she perceives her children's level to be inferior because they do not have two native English-speaking parents. As a result, she foresees the need to invest more time and energy in her children's level of English than she had perhaps hoped.

Excerpt 50: C2A Eliza

INT: And do your children's current uses reflect your expectations?

F36: Yeah, but I don't know because we don't I mean, this is something I'm only recently starting to realise like the other day, because my daughter does horseback riding and there was another American family there and there were two three year old twins – but both of the parents are American and they moved from the US like a year ago and the daughter's six so there's [some differences between our situations]. And the kids came up and introduced themselves to my kids and I realised this was the first time my children have ever met American children. They don't know, they know Americans but nobody else in my family has kids and none of my friends here are American or none of their kids are American. **So if I sit them next to two three year olds who have two English-speaking parents at home and who spent the first few years of their life in the US, I can obviously tell that there's a difference between how my kids speak English and how they speak English. But I think it's just a matter of, I'd say the one thing it is is that it's taking a lot more work than I thought it was going to take, especially if I don't want to put them in a private school.** If I want them to have the benefits of being in a public school because I believe in public schooling then I have to, **it's taking a lot of strategic thought and analysis and it's taking a lot more work than I thought it would take. It's not just speak the language to your kids and they'll learn it.**

For C2A Karl, literacy is understood to be a considerable challenge which will be difficult to achieve. He also perceives a need for his daughters to improve and suggests that he has come to a similar realisation to C2A Eliza in that he will need to find ways of supporting their development. His impact belief in terms of his ability to aid his daughters in their literacy development is limited, suggesting that he does not feel confident in being the guarantor of literacy transmission at this stage.

Excerpt 51: C2A Karl

INT: Do their uses at the moment reflect your expectations, taking their age into consideration. Is that more or less what you were expecting?

F129: I don't know if I actually had any preconceived expectations. I've always tried to take a passive look out on this and not be actively driving it. Because my belief, and I guess part of me is still feeling that by them spending time with their Daddy, they're going to learn it. Part of that is true, another part of it is Daddy's wrong. **I do need to do more so my expectation is that I think they need to improve. At four years old should they be doing more?** Maybe they

should but at the moment I think they're, I've seen marked improvement over the past say year or so. So at the moment I guess I'm content but **I also realise that going forward more will need to be done to improve their literacy. Especially the understanding of grammar that, I'm not an English teacher so I won't be able to convey that as well as an English teacher would be able to.**

Seven of the parents interviewed express such a degree of satisfaction with their children's outcomes so far that they explicitly acknowledge how their initial expectations have been surpassed. They indicate that their initial expectations have been revised after observing their children's capabilities, either in terms of their ability to learn other languages or in terms of their ability in and use of English. In several cases, including the latter two examples of such evaluations that can be found in the table below, parents remark on how surprising it is for them for their children to have acquired their accents when speaking English.

Table 45: Expectations exceeded

C1C Valerie	INT: Yeah. Ok, and has that goal changed or developed over time in any way? F114: I thought it would be more difficult for them to learn other languages. So I wasn't as ambitious for them. Ambitious whatever that means. But I thought with their four languages that's already enough, let's not push them too much. And then with my son when he entered high school, then I realised why not, I mean go for French. Then he's learning French, he wants to learn German, my daughter's learning Portuguese. So yeah, I've opened my mind a little bit. I've removed the limitations that I had for them.
C2B Jim	INT: And do their language uses at the moment reflect your expectations from the start? F83: Yes, I didn't think it would be. Like I said, I think I overdid it at the beginning. Or maybe I didn't have such high expectations so I think they've actually – they're more bilingual at this age than I thought they would be.
C2C Jack	INT: And has that goal changed or developed over time? F10: Yeah, I'd say it's got more specific because I've seen what they're capable of. We had plenty of friends who told me initially that the heritage language would never be well-developed, and some who said they would never speak it. So as I've seen the heritage language develop as well as it has I've become more confident in their being able to pursue university studies in Scotland for example, or in Ireland
C3B Jason	INT: Ok, and do their language uses at the moment reflect your expectations from the start? F156: Er, yeah I think so. I mean I think you've sort of, in a sense it's almost beyond it. You've heard it there with those two clips from my daughter. I think it's almost, there's a hilarity for me that someone, I mean I've got sort of an accent which I spent years and years when I went to university, when I left [my home city] kind of being embarrassed about [...] It's quite funny that my daughter has got a kind of [from my city] accent. [...] You know, there's a kind of, there's a nostalgia about that

C4A Brian	F80: That's the only thing that surprises me is her English. It kind of surprises me for how good it is and by the fact that she just doesn't, to me she comes across as, her English sounds like she's grown up in [a city in the UK] or somewhere like that rather than here
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Finally, ten parents express some degree of dissatisfaction with their children's linguistic outcomes. Some are disappointed with their progress in English and others express concern for their performance in Catalan, Castilian or both.

Several parents express a desire for their children to use English more confidently and some express their regret that their children do not appear to want to use it. Four of the six parents who voice concerns about their children's level of English are from cluster one. The remaining two parents are from cluster three and cluster four.

Table 46. Expectations for English are unmet

C1B Dennis	INT: And do their uses at the moment, their language uses at the moment, reflect your expectations from the start? F93: The elder one in terms of understanding. But the younger one, no I don't think so. I think, when they were born. Certainly when the first one was born I thought this would be really easy. I thought it would come naturally to them and to the older one yes, in that he understands but he doesn't want to talk.
C3A Leah	INT: And do her current language uses reflect your expectations that you had from the beginning or? F27: No, no. I think before, at the beginning I thought she was going to be able to express more fluently in English since everyone says the mother language is always more dominant but it's not the case, not at all. I find it's more of an uphill struggle to get her to speak English despite English being a key language everywhere. There's not enough opportunities for her to speak here.
C4A Una	INT: I think so. And do their uses at the moment, the languages that they use, do they reflect your expectations from the start? F122: Erm, it's a little bit, it changed because at the beginning he did talk more English so he didn't, so he talked but he probably didn't understand all. Now he understands but he's a little shy to talk sometimes. But I also think that if I just take him one month to any English country he will pick it up really quickly.

The three examples above demonstrate cases of parents who are unhappy with the amount of English that their children produce. In the interviews these parents demonstrate considerable concern for the possible consequences of their children not using English, with both C1B Dennis and C3A Leah referring to the dangers of them not knowing what they perceive to be such an important language. C3A Leah expresses this in the excerpt above with her reference to "English being a key language everywhere".

In one case, children's lack of confidence in and use of English is related to emotional factors associated with a difficult divorce. C1B Simone discusses a traumatic divorce from a father who was controlling of the languages used in the household.

Excerpt 52: C1B Simone

I actually can remember my ex- husband saying "Can you not speak to him in Spanish because I'm worried that he won't know how to speak Spanish?" And I was like, "We're in Spain. He's surrounded by Spaniards. I'm the only person speaking English to him sometimes so I don't think it's anything to worry about."

She describes the divorce as high-conflict because the father had been criticising her use of English and French with the children and undermining her efforts to use them. She discusses the psychological effects that this has had on her son in particular, who had assimilated some of his father's attitudes. However, now that the parents are divorced, she voices optimism for her ability to increase her children's exposure to English and help improve their attitudes.

Excerpt 53: C1B Simone

And then I switched when our relationship started going pear-shaped. I thought well, you know. And then definitely having the children with me, not sharing, not living together any more with the father - that meant I could actually speak to them in English because before, despite the fact that he understands English and he reads in English, he doesn't kind of speak it. So, erm, so that also helped. That was one of the good things actually from separating. You get to speak your own language (laughs)

Later in the interview, C1B Simone talks of how her son has discovered English music and theatre and that she hopes this will help boost his motivation to use English and develop his skills.

Finally, some parents from clusters one and two also show concern for their children's level in the official languages. The case of C1A Hannah has been described in section 9.2. She is clearly concerned for her daughter's lack of ability in or identification with Castilian at least and in other excerpts she expresses a belief that it will affect her socio-emotional wellbeing in her future in the host society. The mother expresses significant regret for not having facilitated her daughter with greater access to Castilian and talks of finding solutions to what she identifies as being a significant problem.

C1C Robert expresses regret for his daughters' lack of confidence in Catalan. Although he voices criticism for the central role that is accorded to Catalan in the education system, he states that he had hoped that his daughters would have acquired "better Catalan". Given the limited values accorded to Catalan by this parent, it is thought that such a regret is related to the consequences that a lower level of exposure to Catalan might have on his daughters' educational opportunities.

Finally, C2C Mary – mother of two children who arrived in Catalonia during their early teens – implicitly infers some disappointment with her children's level in the official languages in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 54: C2C Mary

INT: Ok. And do their uses at the moment reflect your expectations from when you arrived here? Did it work out as you'd thought?

F35: Um, I think they've learnt very quickly. It was more difficult that I'd thought in a lot of ways. People often say kids learn language quickly and it's easy for them. Now I would say learning language is not easy for children, they do it because they have no other option. [...] But that being said, I think my kids have done phenomenally. While they prefer to read in English, they can read novels in Spanish and Catalan as well and so for me, that is huge!

In contrast with her initial expectations of her children immediately and effortlessly acquiring the official languages, C2C Mary admits that her perceptions of language acquisition processes have changed and her expectations have been modified. Although C2C Mary seems satisfied with her children's progress overall, she appears to have reassessed her initial intended outcomes in order to accommodate for her children's actual experiences of language socialisation in a new context.

In sum, the majority of parents (16/26) appear to be satisfied with their children's linguistic outcomes to date. Seven of these parents even indicate that their initial expectations have been surpassed by their children's performance and that this has led them to revise their goals in order to achieve more ambitious results. However, ten parents express some degree of dissatisfaction with their children's progress. The majority of these parents (6/10) are

concerned about their children's level of English, although some worry for their children's abilities in the official languages.

9.4 Discussion

The final chapter of analysis attempts to answer the final three research questions in order to gain further insight into FLM processes. In the first section, it accounts for how transnational anglophone parents describe the functions and values of the different languages in their lives and assesses in what way these evaluations are significant for the intended linguistic outcomes they have in mind for their children. In the second section, attention is turned to the language management strategies employed by parents in order to attain their intended linguistic outcomes. Finally, the third section relates how transnational anglophone parents evaluate their children's current language abilities and uses with reference to their initial expectations.

Intended linguistic outcomes and language beliefs

In terms of intended linguistic outcomes, most parents state an intention to encourage their children to attain high levels of ability in English and the official language(s), and many are keen to add additional foreign language(s) to that. Plurilingual repertoires are highly valued as an important skill-set for children growing up in a world that many parents perceive to require language skills for transnational mobility, and consequently social mobility.

For English in particular, parents' intentions are specific and highly demanding. They report a desire for their children to achieve native or native-like levels of fluency, accent and literacy skills. In their comments about accent, parents appeal to the symbolic functions of language in establishing a connection with their children and as a sort of coping mechanism for parents bringing children up in a different context to their own (Tannenbaum, 2012). The English that they would like to transmit is an authentic English (Woolard, 2008) which is spoken confidently and in an accent that indexes their parents' origins. This is far removed from some depictions of cultural elites engaged in processes of linguistic imperialism and attempting to establish English as an anonymous, 'cosmopolitan' alternative to official languages in the host society (Phillipson, 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2010; Woolard, 2008). It reinforces arguments for transnationalism as movement between two locally-situated contexts rather than some sort of global third space (Appadurai, 1996; Hannerz, 1996).

Appeals to the symbolic function of language often co-occur with those to integrative values, as emotional connection, identity and heritage are often expressed in terms of a desire to feel a part of a family or society. Integrative values are mainly expressed for English and Catalan. English is considered important in establishing a sense of belonging with friends and family in the home country and Catalan is considered highly important for children who may spend their whole lives growing up in Catalonia by many parents. The extensive attribution of integrative values can be contrasted with the lack of such attribution to Castilian. This is demonstrative of a generalised belief that Catalan is the language of integration *par excellence*, despite the emphasis accorded to Castilian as a language of global utility and the important roles that it plays in the metropolitan region of Barcelona.

Each language is also attributed instrumental values, revealing that the labels integrative and instrumental are not mutually exclusive of each other. The instrumental value of the different languages is calculated according to their utility, however, utility is seen to be dependent on scale.

De Swaan's global language hierarchy is established according to the Q-value or total number of speakers a language has worldwide (de Swaan, 2001). In the interviews, many parents reinforce perceptions of English as a hypercentral *lingua franca*, an essential linguistic capital for obtaining professional and academic opportunities, and also a useful tool for travel and leisure. Their references to English as a global language refer to the same hegemonic notion of English being a necessity for globalised society that Flors Mas reported amongst learners of English in Catalonia and that parents around the world subscribe to when justifying their investments in their children's acquisition of English as a foreign language (Flors Mas, 2013; Park & Wee, 2012). As Flors Mas' study shows, English is also considered to be of high instrumental value in the host society. C1B Dennis' account of host society parents telling him how fortunate his children are to have a native speaker at home demonstrates how this is a widespread belief that parents are aware of. Besides that, English is also deemed to be of high instrumental value in other anglophone contexts where all parents envisage their children to spend some time studying or working in the future. As a result, local host society and home country hierarchies and the global hierarchy appear to be in agreement about the relative utility of English and accord it a high value in terms of linguistic capital.

Castilian is also attributed considerable importance due to its instrumental value in the host society and other Castilian-speaking contexts. Parents refer to its value in the local host society language hierarchy as well as on the global language hierarchy, with some parents from the USA pointing out that it is also valued in the local home country hierarchy. Like English, the instrumental value of Castilian remains uncontested as indexical orders are aligned at different scale levels.

The instrumental values associated with Catalan are contested and vary according to cluster belonging. In cluster one conflict appears when the local host society hierarchy and the global hierarchy do not match. Some parents who represent the first cluster question the roles Catalan performs within the host society and context. They refer to the limited instrumental value that Catalan has outside of the local scale host society context to justify their disregard for Catalan as a legitimate language choice for themselves, for their children and in the education system on a local level. However, on a local scale Catalan is widely used and attributed a significant classifying function for social mobility (Alarcón & Garzon, 2011; Cappellari & Di Paolo, 2018). Such contradictions of indexical orders evidently cause some discomfort to these parents and in some cases, this discomfort is reported in their children's attitudes towards Catalan too. In one case a father speaks of his daughters' desires to move away from Catalonia and shun what he depicts as a narrow-minded, parochial insistence on using a "regional" language. Such accounts clearly oppose local and global, parochial and cosmopolitan, authentic and anonymous as dichotomic opposites. It seems as if these parents appeal to transnational mobility as a form of cosmopolitanism which transcends local contexts, and the need to acquire Catalan which they identify is perceived as a form of impediment, barrier or unenlightened attachment to localities. Interestingly though, it is parents who express such views that seem to be most troubled and unsettled within their surroundings.

Parents in clusters two, three and four, however, demonstrate an acceptance of the role of Catalan in the local host society context. Parents in the latter three clusters attribute instrumental values and classifying functions to Catalan as a means of access to opportunities on a local scale. For cluster two, their greater likelihood of engaging in further transnational mobility is thought to be the reason why this tends to be relativized by a stronger emphasis on English and Castilian, as parents seem to be keeping an eye on that imaginary global third

space represented by potential onward mobility. The greater utility of English and Castilian in multiple other local contexts and in the global hierarchy of desirable commodities means that parents in cluster two are likely to consider Catalan of less instrumental value, despite still respecting the roles they perceive it to have in the host society and considering it important for their children as long as they remain in Catalonia. As such, like Japanese migrants (Fukuda, 2009), their migratory project influences a prioritisation of languages that are high in language hierarchies at all scale levels. In clusters three and four, however, the instrumental value of Catalan for their children is unquestioned and it is deemed to be an essential tool for their access to opportunities in the future that their parents envision them to have in Catalonia, albeit with possible extended stays abroad.

When it comes to other languages, whether heritage languages or not, parents tend to subscribe to global language hierarchies. These hierarchies prioritise ancient imperial languages or languages associated with economically powerful nation states. Discursively, however, parents refer to the global language hierarchy on the basis of utility for their children in an interconnected world characterised by mobility. The symbolic functions of European languages that are widely regarded as prestigious state languages are described by parents who count on that language amongst the pool of parental L1s, while their instrumental values are appealed to by parents who encourage their children's acquisition of foreign languages. However, less widely-spoken languages are not accorded much importance in the interviews, either as a form of emotional connection or a capital that could be used in the global marketplace. This is highly suggestive of the fact that less widely-spoken or prestigious languages in terms of global hierarchies are not encouraged for transmission in families with an L1 speaker, denoting an implicit, unquestioned subscription to some of the more worrying implications of a single reified global hierarchy.

Strategies

As documented in many other studies, strategies are consciously researched and developed by parents from all clusters in order to attain their language goals, taking into account the sociolinguistic circumstances of the host society and the contextual affordances and constraints that they are able to identify (Aronin & Singleton, 2010; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2016; Fukuda, 2015; Juan-Garau & Pérez-Vidal, 2001; Van Mensel, 2016). Parents can be considered key actors, particularly at early stages of their children's linguistic development

(Van Mensel, 2016). However, there is also evidence of management and negotiation between different actors, including the children, school teachers and children's peers.

The strategies reported include parental language choice, literacy support, the use of television and digital media, choice of school and extracurricular activities, the conscious management of children's social networks and the exploitation of connections with the home country.

In terms of language choice, the idea of parents drawing on several languages to perform identity with their children is firmly refuted by parents' accounts of consciously choosing to use a specific language. They even talk of implementing strategies to ensure the persistent use of English and avoid interference from official languages, with one mother talking of code-switching as a practice that is a potential threat to English language transmission. The disapproving tone used when referring to 'bad examples' of other parents' language practices show that little tolerance is afforded to notions of translanguaging as described by Wei and Hua for other transnational migrants (2013). Where accommodation is made in the form of code-switching, parents report the least satisfaction with their children's level of English, suggesting that persistence and the systematic separation of languages might well be an important ingredient for language transmission.³³

Most strategies undertaken and commented on in the interviews are designed to support the transmission of English, which is considered to be in greater need due to its lesser presence in society, particularly at school. Whereas most of the strategies listed are commented on in fairly equal proportions throughout the clusters, cluster two has the greatest proportion of accounts of literacy support in English and clusters one and two are most likely to choose a private international school. This might be related to their higher likelihood of onward mobility and the particular importance that English language skills have had for these parents' professional opportunities, which they are likely to want for their children as well.

Some strategies are also employed in order to reinforce Catalan and Castilian when this is considered necessary by parents, and in one case reverse transmission can be observed (Llompart Esbert, 2017). It is in cluster two that Catalan and Castilian support is undertaken

³³ Given that this observation relates to the reports of three parents, further research would be required in order to answer this question with any authority.

most frequently, perhaps due to the lower average parental ability score in the official languages and the greater proportion of cases of children who were not born in Catalonia and thus may have arrived after the age of school entry. Such family profiles seem more likely to seek external support for their children's development. Members of other clusters who take such measures report other reasons for undertaking such activities, including cases in which children have been diagnosed with learning difficulties.

Parents' satisfaction

Parents' accounts of FLM processes show that they continually assess their children's language abilities, contexts of use and future needs. This ongoing reassessment means that adjustments can be introduced at different points, often in response to changes in children's contexts of use, reinforcing Spolsky's representation of FLM as a dynamic process that is open to longitudinal change (2012).

Sixteen of the parents reported satisfaction with their children's linguistic attainment to date, stating that their children's uses were largely consistent with their initial expectations. Two parents of younger children, however, foresee future difficulties in the realms of their children's literacy skills. These parents' impact beliefs are low and they express some uncertainty for whether or not they will be able to achieve their intended outcomes without specialist help (De Houwer, 1999). Seven parents of children in the older two age ranges express their contentment for their children surpassing their expectations for their abilities in English. Parents of younger children may be unsure about their ability to transmit English, however, many parents of older children report being pleasantly surprised by the outcomes.

Ten parents indicated dissatisfaction with their children's attainment in terms of socioemotional wellbeing, unintended outcomes, normative conflicts and reassessment in accordance with language beliefs that did not match reality. Their cases are highly illustrative of important phenomena so each is assessed in some detail with reference to the relevant literature.

C1B Simone is unable to separate her evaluation of her children's attainment in English from emotional factors originating from a difficult divorce from the children's father, who was reported to be controlling of the languages used and unhappy with the mother using English or French with the children. She talks of her son's development since the divorce in some

detail, relating his lack of confidence in English and unfavourable attitudes towards Catalan to his emotional distress, clearly linking languages to socioemotional wellbeing (De Houwer, 2015). Her accounts of rediscovering English and reintroducing her children to it show how it is something of a coping mechanism for her in coming to terms with her situation (Tannenbaum, 2012).

C1A Hannah's case demonstrates how efforts to promote English can be so successful that they are detrimental to official languages that are necessary for children's socioemotional wellbeing as they grow up in the host society context. Few similar cases have been identified in the literature, although there are examples of children with only partial language abilities in several languages due to parents' mistaken beliefs about how language acquisition works (De Houwer, 2009a; Fukuda, 2009). Although C1A Hannah is an extreme case, several parents reflect that they were perhaps overzealous with their efforts to transmit English and redressed the balance when they saw that their children's English attainments had surpassed their expectations.

C1C Robert provides an example of normative conflict in which he battles with the instrumental need for his daughters to develop their Catalan abilities. His imposition of the global language hierarchy on the local scale results in contradictions between Catalan's lack of instrumental value outside of Catalan-speaking contexts, and its high instrumental value and classifying function on the local host society scale. As such, although he identifies a need for his daughters to improve their Catalan, he demonstrates great discomfort in accepting the role that the language plays in host society institutions.

Finally, C2C Mary demonstrates a case of the re-evaluation of intended linguistic outcomes after witnessing the difficult realities of her children's adaptations to the new linguistic context of the host society. C2C Mary states that she had originally believed that the children would find it much easier to acquire the official languages, but after their traumatic first year in official language-medium schools she reassessed her intentions to bring them in line with the difficulties faced by her children.

Parents' evaluations of children's attainment are important in defining future strategies and reviewing intended outcomes. Depictions of FLM as a complex, continually evolving process

with multiple influences and possible outcomes are reinforced by such accounts (Bastardas Boada, 2016; Spolsky, 2012).

FLM processes in terms of intended outcomes, language beliefs, language management strategies and parental evaluations have been presented above. Clear differences can be identified between the first two and the second two clusters in most of these areas. As in Fukuda (2009), these differences can be attributed in great part to differences in their migratory projects.

In terms of intended outcomes and beliefs, whereas parents in clusters one and two are more likely to engage in onward migration and thus tend to prioritise languages which are highly valued across all scale levels, parents in clusters three and four attribute greater uncontested value to Catalan as an instrumental and classifying language for their children's futures in Catalonia. In terms of language strategies, members of clusters one and two are more likely to choose to educate their children in private international schools (although few do), and also seem to have a greater predisposition to hiring tutors to support their children in English or official host society languages. Finally, in terms of parental satisfaction, parents from cluster one seem the least likely to be satisfied with their children's linguistic attainment to date.

Part IV. Discussion and conclusions

Chapter 10. Discussion

The overarching aim of the thesis was to understand how transnational anglophone parents residing in the metropolitan region of Barcelona manage their own and their children's linguistic repertoires and to understand how they account for family language choices. In order to do so, family language management has been situated within the framework of language choice.

10.1 Family language management and language choice for transnational parents in a globalised society

Language choice has been shown to be a complex process that is influenced by multiple factors at multiple levels. At the micro level, individuals' linguistic repertoires and habitus, including their beliefs and experience inform language choice (Bourdieu, 1982). However, individual choice cannot be disassociated from immediate contextual and wider societal influences given that communication is necessarily interactive (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Coulmas, 2005b; Edwards, 2010; Gumperz, 1977). At the meso level, characteristics and expectations of the interlocutor and the linguistic norms which prevail in the context of interaction have an impact (Wei, 1994). At the macro level, the effects of wider social processes such as globalisation, language spread and language shift, with accompanying ideologies in societal circulation exert influence on individuals' language choices (Duchêne & Heller, 2012b; Gal, 1978; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994).

Language choices for intergenerational language transmission involve parental decisions about which language(s) to learn and speak in the home environment with and around their offspring. The study of parents' justifications of their family language choices provides valuable insight into their language beliefs. These decisions are particularly significant as they are heavily value-laden and related to parents' envisionings of their children's future socioemotional, socioeconomic and educational wellbeing in a world submitted to constant processes of change (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; De Houwer, 2015; Hickey, 1999; Okita, 2002). Family language choices are not only about preparing for an uncertain future but, especially when concerning families in which at least one of the parents is a transnational migrant, they are also about maintaining links with the past. Transmitting a first language which is not widely-spoken in the host society context is one core value that provides transnational parents with a symbolic sense of continuity of their identity and heritage that is of emotional significance to them (Smolicz, 1981; Tannenbaum, 2012).

A family language choice can be defined as the adoption of a particular language for interaction with a family member. Such choices might be unconscious or carefully planned, individually or together with the partner, in order to provide input and opportunities of interaction in a particular language so as to attain a predetermined intended linguistic outcome. Planned choices might also be referred to as family language management strategies. These, alongside the intended linguistic outcomes, are consciously decided on and often also negotiated between family members.

Parents initially have a great deal of agency in making such decisions because they spend a great deal of time with their children when they are young and are responsible for managing their children's interactions with the outside world. However, as children grow they gain agency and can change patterns of family language choices, often in favour of hegemonic languages of the host society context (Gafaranga, 2010; Kopeliovich, 2013; Tuominen, 1999).

Internal and external factors can affect what happens within the home (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013). As well as within-family negotiations, which can manifest themselves as struggles and sometimes even conflict (Calvet, 1987; Hua, 2008), family language management strategies can include the mediation of external influences which could favour host society languages. The school that children attend is one significant choice to be made, as are the social fields and specific institutions (ie. clubs and activities) in which they participate, because this will determine a considerable proportion of the children's input and opportunities for interaction. In order to make such strategic choices, parents often evaluate the affordances and constraints of the host society context (Aronin & Singleton, 2010, 2012a) and assess to what extent these might contribute towards or pose a threat to the intended linguistic outcomes. Changing contexts might mean that this is difficult to interpret, especially upon recent arrival, given that the transnational parent has limited experience of engaging with the host society. This, coupled with the fact that it might pose a threat to parents' intended outcomes can provoke some unease and concern (Van Mensel, 2016).

With the theoretical framework within which the study was conducted summarised above, the following sections are dedicated to reviewing the main results according to the five research questions which guided the project.

10.2 Parents' language abilities, uses and choices for intergenerational transmission
Transnational anglophone parents in the metropolitan region of Barcelona tend to be highly proficient in Castilian and less so in Catalan. As is the case for the Japanese population studied by Fukuda (2009), Catalan abilities increase according to length of residence and seem most likely when transnational anglophone parents have an L1 Catalan-speaking partner. However, transnational anglophone parents seem more likely to acquire Catalan than do transnational Japanese parents.

At work, the majority of transnational anglophone parents use English alone or in combination with other languages, reflecting Codó's description of lifestyle migrants who make use of "coveted linguistic capital" to make a living in the host society (Codó, 2018). Their social use of English is also common, alongside Castilian and there is some presence of Catalan too. They tend to use mainly English and Castilian in interactions with their partners, reflecting Turell & Corcoll's descriptions of integrated populations of UK and US migrants in urban contexts in Spain whose social networks include local residents (Turell & Corcoll, 2001).

For intergenerational transmission, the proportion of English used by parents in these families when addressing their children is high, representing 62.5% of parent-child interactions. This suggests that transnational anglophone parents are keen to transmit their L1 to their children. Castilian and Catalan are used to a lesser extent in intergenerational interactions, accounting for 18.9% and 10.8% of uses, respectively. Other non-official languages are less widely-spoken by parents in the sample and account for just 7.2% of parent-child interactions.

In all cases children respond in similar proportions to those used by parents although there are slight, non-statistically significant dips in English and other languages and increments in Castilian and Catalan. When measured according to children's language ability and children's home language uses, intergenerational language transmission rates are exceedingly high, compared to both populations of transnational migrants raising children to speak other languages (De Houwer, 2003; Héran et al., 2002; Soehl, 2016), and other populations of anglophone parents raising children in different contexts (Héran et al., 2002; Yamamoto, 2001). 100% of children are reported to be able to understand English, 99.4% able to speak it and 97.6% to actively use it. What is particularly surprising is the significantly lower proportion of children who are reported able to understand, speak or use Castilian and Catalan. Given the fact that approximately half of the children in the sample are of pre-school age and that

the majority of parents interviewed expressed a preference for mainly Catalan-medium state-funded schools, this is highly suggestive of parents of younger children choosing to prioritise English language use at home in order to compensate for the later influence of the official languages from family-external sources.

10.3 Profiles

Family language use indexes were created and used as a basis for cluster analysis procedure which identified four profiles of family according to within-family language uses. Clusters one and two are by far the most numerous, together accounting for 86% of the sample. However, there are some interesting differences between the former and clusters three and four. A brief summary of the profiles is provided below.

Castilian-English bilingual families (n=47)

Cluster one accounts for approximately a quarter of all families and is composed mainly of couples with an L1 English-speaking member and an L1 Castilian-speaking partner, who is most likely to have been born in another autonomous community of Spain or another predominantly Castilian-speaking country. In terms of family language uses, Castilian predominates in all interaction types. Between parents it represents 62% of uses, from parent to child 48%, from child to parent 53% and between siblings 56%. Besides the relatively insignificant proportions of Catalan and other non-official languages used in the cluster, English is used for the remaining proportion. The parents interviewed from this cluster spoke of the possibility of onward migration for professional reasons, although indicated that they were happy to be in the metropolitan region of Barcelona for the time being.

Monolingual English families (n=94)

Although not entirely monolingual, families in this cluster make predominant use of English at all levels of interaction. It accounts for 91% of between-parent interactions, 75% of parent-child interactions, 73% of child-parent interactions and 62% of between sibling interactions, demonstrating how the host society languages make gains at the between-sibling intragenerational level as predicted by models of intergenerational language shift. In terms of couple composition, cluster two is insightful as it is not solely made up of couples with two L1 English-speaking partners, as might be expected from the proportion of English used in between-parent interactions. The cluster also contains examples of families that include L1 Catalan, L1 Castilian & Catalan, and L1 other non-official language-speaking parents. These

parents seem to be making use of English in within-family interactions, perhaps with the intention of reinforcing the transmission of English in the home environment. English might be deemed a priority for these parents because their accounts reveal them to be the most predisposed to engage in onward mobility for professional opportunities.

English, Castilian and Catalan trilingual families (n=15)

Couples in cluster three tend to be composed of a transnational anglophone parent with a local L1 speaker of Catalan or Castilian and Catalan. Between parents, Castilian represents a proportion of 98% of interactions. However, at intergenerational levels, it seems as if parents undertake a one-person, one-language approach with the L1 English-speaking partner using English and the local partner demonstrating a marked preference for the use of Catalan with their children. Children's intragenerational language uses largely reflect interactions between parents and children. In contrast to the predominance of professional motivations in clusters one and two, the transnational anglophone parents interviewed from this profile cite affective motivations for moving to the metropolitan region of Barcelona, including relationships or love of languages. They seem more settled in the area, with family ties and clearer visions of their children growing up as members of Catalan society.

Catalan-English bilingual families (n=8)

Although they represent a tiny proportion of the sample (4.9%), the behaviour of members of cluster four is considered sufficiently different to make their separation worthwhile. Similarly to cluster three, all couples are composed of a transnational anglophone parent with a local L1 Catalan-speaking partner. However, their language uses are markedly different. At all levels of interaction Catalan is used to a considerable degree. At between-parent and between-sibling levels, the proportion of Catalan used is 77% and 75% respectively. At intergenerational levels, English accounts for 42% of parents' uses with children and 30% of children's uses with parents, demonstrating the largest drop in reciprocation. Parents in cluster four also emphasise affective motivations for moving to the metropolitan region of Barcelona and cite family ties as an indicator of their long-term plans to stay in the area.

The main explanatory variables for the differences between clusters include parental L1 and country of origin combinations, parental language abilities in Catalan, length of residence and migratory project. Length of residence and migratory project were also important explanatory variables for Fukuda's three profiles of Japanese migrant to Barcelona and seem intricately

linked with knowledge of Catalan (Fukuda, 2009). Those who had lived the shortest time and planned to stay for a brief, temporary period as a form of extended business trip showed little interest in the host society languages and culture. Those who were married to local partners, however, tended to have longer lengths of residence and long-term plans to stay in Barcelona. These used the host society languages, with those with the longest lengths of residence most likely to use Catalan. A similar pattern is true for the family profiles identified for the current study.

Transnational anglophone parents in cluster one are most similar to Fukuda's *passavolants* category in that many of them explicitly stated a disinterest in acquiring Catalan. A considerable amount of resistance to accepting the role of Catalan is demonstrated by some of the parents interviewed from this cluster, which is not noted in any of the other three profiles. Their resistance is justified by applying global language hierarchies to the local context in which they find themselves, resulting in normative conflicts when the two indexical scales do not coincide.

Parents from cluster two, who state similar intentions in terms of onward mobility, however, demonstrate a greater acceptance of the local language hierarchy and attribute great importance to their children's acquisition of Catalan for integrative and instrumental purposes. These parents seem to have three language hierarchies in mind: two local language hierarchies that are situated in home and host society contexts and the global language hierarchy, which ranks languages in terms of utility in other potential locations to which they might onwardly migrate.

When it comes to Fukuda's group of long-term residents with longer lengths of residence, the main differentiating factor is their use of Catalan. Cluster four demonstrates a process of socialisation which may well have begun in Castilian before the transnational anglophone parent adopted Catalan and began to use it actively with their partner and with Catalan-speaking members of the host society, resulting in many of them using noticeably more Catalan than Castilian in their everyday lives. Members of this cluster have the longest lengths of residence, indicating that language socialisation processes of adaptation to the local language hierarchy might have taken place. Cluster three, on the other hand, shows parents who have kept Castilian as the common language between parents due to the inertia condition (Spolsky & Cooper, 1991), despite the partner preferring to use Catalan as the

language of intergenerational transmission with the children. Transnational anglophone parents in cluster three vary in terms of the extent to which they use Catalan professionally or in their social networks, but fully support their children's acquisition of it as an important element of their identity and tool for their futures in Catalonia.

10.4 Intended outcomes, functions and values

Parents' intended linguistic outcomes for their children include English, Castilian and Catalan. Several parents also indicate that they would like their children to acquire additional foreign languages, demonstrating beliefs that foreign language acquisition processes would be easier for their plurilingual children. It is clear from parents' discourse that they believe that bringing their children up plurilingually is an important dimension of good parenting and that it is perceived as an investment in useful capital for their children's futures. This echoes King & Fogle's analysis of the discourse of parents raising children bilingually in the United States (King & Fogle, 2006).

Beyond their linguistic composition, many parents' intended outcomes are not just for functional communicative competence in the languages concerned, but for native or native-like fluency and accent and high academic performance in oral and literacy skills in all of them, including English. Many parents interviewed demonstrate considerable concern for their children's academic achievement and highlighted literacy as a key area for development for which they feel they have little support.

Many parents' justifications of their intended outcomes and language choices used to attain them include reference to discourses that are in wider societal circulation. The transnational anglophone parents studied appeal to the notions of *pride* and *authenticity* when they specify that they would like their children to speak English with their own accent and when they marvel at their children's native or native-like mastery of Castilian and Catalan (Heller & Duchêne, 2012; Woolard, 2008).

They also speak of languages in terms of their *instrumental* and *integrative* values. Far from separating the two concepts, however, they appeal to a language's communication potential and classifying value alongside considerations of how important it is in order for their children to develop a sense of belonging to a family, group or society. For many, the *integrative* value of "my language", again indexing discourses of authenticity, in establishing emotional links

with the L1 English-speaking parent and the parent's family and friends in the home country is mentioned before the advantages English language skills can bring professionally and academically. It is perhaps the combined presence of instrumental and integrative values indexed to English that make it so robust in intergenerational transmission. There is no conflict between values at different scale levels either, meaning that language hierarchies in discursive circulation leave English in high positions in the home country, the host society and on a global level (as depicted by de Swaan, 2010).

The question of hierarchies and scales is essential in analysing parents' beliefs about Catalan, a language which was subject to some contestation where English and Castilian were not. During the interviews it was found that several parents in cluster one demonstrated some discomfort with the roles played by Catalan in the host society. Two interviewees from cluster one questioned its role as the main vehicular language of the local education system and regretted the classifying function accorded to it in determining which streams children should be schooled in. Another member of cluster one suggested that she felt the need to pretend that she believed Catalan was "a worldwide internationally necessary language" in order to be accepted in some conversations. These parents' discourse highlights an unresolved conflict between indexical orders at different scale levels. Whereas Catalan appears much lower down the rankings of a global language hierarchy and is perhaps little known in the home country, it enacts important functions within Catalonia. On a local level in the host society, Catalan language ability is associated with social mobility (Alarcón & Garzon, 2011) and higher wages (Cappellari & Di Paolo, 2018) and is an important capital in addition to Castilian language abilities. The fact that both parents in cluster one tend to be migrants to Catalonia, one an L1 English speaker and the other an L1 Castilian speaker, might explain this. Interestingly though, many of the parents in cluster two are also made up of two migrant partners. The differentiating factor between couple composition in clusters one and two is that partners in cluster one are majoritarily L1 Castilian speakers.

10.5 Language management strategies

Parents' language choices are often part of a negotiated family language strategy and are thus consciously pre-meditated. Almost all of the transnational anglophone parents interviewed report the conscious exclusive use of English with their children in almost all situations, even if this is detrimental to their own development in the host society languages. This provokes

some reflection about the accuracy of the family language use indexes, which might have been more fine-tuned if they had been able to take into account parents' assessments of the percentage of use. Perhaps some instances in which parents declared the use of English and Castilian; English and Catalan or English, Castilian and Catalan involved the use of English 90% of the time and other languages for a relatively low percentage.

Most parents seem to understand the notion of input and engage in distinctly anti-translanguaging practices in an attempt to construct a monolingual interaction environment with strategies similar to those outlined by Lanza (1997) that they believe, based on personal conviction, anecdotal evidence or research into plurilingual development, will encourage their children's greater development in English language abilities. Research conducted using Lanza's strategies confirm this perception, including Juan-Garau and Pérez-Vidal's study on a boy brought up speaking English in Catalonia (2001), indicating that parents intuitively understand or have learnt that the quantity and quality of input is important (De Houwer, 2009b).

However, the importance attributed to English and the dedication of numerous reinforcement strategies to it can be seen to have some surprising counter-effects on host society languages. C1A Hannah explains how her creation of an English bubble, including the choice of an English-medium school and extensive stays in the home country, although well-intended in terms of her daughter understanding her identity and in terms of her establishing an authentic relationship with each other, actually resulted in her daughter being unable to speak Castilian or Catalan by the time of interview when she was four and a half. The mother speaks with considerable regret and highly emotive language to explain how she believes that she has affected her daughter's socioemotional functioning in the host society context. This unintended consequence of what she would now describe as her overzealous strategies for English reinforcement is that she now needs to find untraumatic ways of introducing her daughter to the host society languages.

That said, many parents describe the linguistic composition of the family-internal and family-external contexts of interaction in which their children find themselves and build strategies around their understandings of these that seek to guarantee exposure of all languages to the necessary degree. Parents acknowledge that they exert some influence over their children's cultural consumption through the TV, digital media, books and music that they make available

and over younger children's fields of social interaction. This influence tends to be used in order to guarantee additional sources of English input above and beyond parental language use. Many parents express the belief that peers and motivated engagement in social media and culture are beneficial to children's development in the English language.

10.6 Parents' evaluations of FLM processes

Parents evaluate their children's linguistic attainments so far as a function of their initial expectations because satisfaction or success can perhaps only be evaluated with reference to intentions, something which is missing from Schwartz and Verschik's volume entitled *Successful Family Language Policy* (2013).

Several parents express satisfaction with their children's linguistic attainment so far, with some indicating that their children have already exceeded their expectations and demonstrate an even greater mastery of multiple languages than they could ever have hoped for. In as far as parents' initial intentions are concerned, their goals have been achieved and even reviewed in alignment with their capabilities. One parent mentions how she now encourages her children to learn more languages as she believes them to have a gift for language-learning.

Where parents express dissatisfaction with their children's abilities and uses, there is a sense of emotional distress on behalf of the parent, as reported in Okita (2002). One parent refers to their primary school aged children's failure to understand the capital that English represents, suggesting that his strategies which aim to demonstrate a sense of utility on a global scale for English are inappropriate for his children's ages and motivations. Another parent attributes her children's lack of confidence in and use of English to the damaging socioemotional effects of a high conflict divorce between herself and her ex-husband, demonstrating how intertwined linguistic and emotional development can be (De Houwer, 2006, 2015). For this parent, a rediscovery of her English heritage has become an essential coping mechanism for her to come to terms with her situation (Tannenbaum, 2012).

In parents' evaluations it is possible to see how parents continually monitor their children's linguistic development and, if necessary, revise their family language management processes in accordance with emergent needs or significant changes in the proportion of linguistic input

that they receive. Such findings reinforce interpretations of family language management as dynamic, self-organising and complex (Bastardas Boada, 2016; Spolsky, 2012).

Chapter 11. Conclusions

The conclusions begin with a brief summary of the key findings of the thesis, followed by a discussion of the main contributions of the study, its practical applications, limitations and suggestions for future research.

11.1 Key findings

The introduction to the study outlined a situation of uncertainty and confusion which I have encountered on several other occasions with speakers of varying language combinations since that fateful dinner with family members that sparked my interest in the topic of language transmission in transnational families. The desire to assist in the provision of context-specific advice for transnational anglophone parents raising children in the metropolitan area of Barcelona and the desire to contribute towards the generation of knowledge about intergenerational language transmission and family language management processes have fuelled this doctoral thesis.

In order to contextualise knowledge in this area, the first phase of the project aimed towards a description of the research population in sociodemographic and sociolinguistic terms which would enable the identification of family profiles and thus further contribute towards the generation of knowledge that is specific to actual circumstances. Although the nature of the sample does not allow for claims to true representativity, the results are based on a sample of participants that is as wide as possible within the restraints of the project resources.

The ensuing description coincides with other sociodemographic accounts of anglophone migrants in urban areas of Spain (Turell & Corcoll, 2001, 2007) and situates transnational anglophone parents as migrants of a relatively high socioeconomic status compared to many other migrant populations in the area. Sociolinguistically, transnational anglophone parents tend to have high abilities in Castilian and use it alongside English as a *lingua franca* in interaction with locals and members of other migrant populations. The main differentiating factor between parents in terms of language ability and use can be found with respect to the Catalan language. These differences appear to have some relevance in accounting for the family language use profiles as they indexicalise different language socialisation experiences and orientations towards the host society context.

Similarly to Japanese parents raising children in Barcelona, transnational anglophone parents also exhibit different language use profiles which can be described according to their language socialisation processes, identifications and migratory project (Fukuda, 2009). The four main family language use profiles identified are Castilian-English bilingual families (Cluster one: $n=47$); monolingual English families (Cluster two: $n=94$); English, Castilian and Catalan trilingual families (Cluster three: $n=15$); and Catalan-English bilingual families (Cluster four: $n=8$). The cluster names are based on family language uses rather than parental L1s and take into consideration all interactions between family members.

Castilian-English bilingual families are typically made up of an L1 English speaker and L1 Castilian speaker, often born in non-Catalan-speaking areas in Spain or South America. They use a considerable amount of Castilian and English at home to the exclusion of Catalan which has a somewhat problematic status for some of the parents interviewed from this cluster. Such parents question the relevance of the official language given its relative positioning on what is understood to be a commonsense global language hierarchy that contemplates less widely spoken languages as unimportant. Discourses of cosmopolitanism and universal utility are used by some of the parents in cluster one in an attempt to delegitimise the Catalan language as a relevant choice for themselves or their children. However, contradictions with local language hierarchies can be identified and some of the parents recognise that its role in education in particular means that it is reluctantly valued as a relevant linguistic capital within the host society context at least.

For the remaining three clusters, the relevance and value of the Catalan language within the host society remains unquestioned yet its use varies to a considerable extent. Cluster two, the largest group representing just over half of the sample, contains a diverse range of parental L1 combinations and prioritises the use of the English language at home. Like cluster one, parents in cluster two report high probabilities of onward migration. However, none of the parents interviewed in cluster two question the status of Catalan as a highly valued language within the host society and, as such, as a relevant linguistic capital for their children's social integration and future professional trajectories should they choose to remain in Catalonia.

Clusters three and four are comparatively much smaller in size, collectively representing just 14% of the sample. However, they are interesting as both family language use profiles include the use of Catalan between family members and interview data reveal high values for Catalan as a language of social integration and professional and academic advantage. For families in cluster three, the use of Catalan tends to be restricted to interactions between the Catalan-speaking (although not necessarily Catalan L1) parent and children, with the transnational anglophone parent employing English for interactions with children and Castilian as a *lingua franca* between parents. For families in cluster four, however, Catalan is used to a much greater extent, including between parents and seemingly also in some interactions between transnational anglophone parents and children. In these cases, parents often have affective motivations for acquiring Catalan, envision long-term futures in Catalonia for themselves and their children and demonstrate an interest in learning languages.

In terms of intergenerational language transmission, children's reported levels of ability in and use of English within the family far exceed those of other languages in other contexts and even those of English in other contexts (Héran et al., 2002; Soehl, 2016; Yamamoto, 2001). The incredibly high rate of intergenerational transmission is thought to reflect the high values accorded to the English language on global and local hierarchies and for both instrumental and integrative reasons. In the interviews conducted in the second phase of the study, all parents simultaneously use discourses of authenticity and anonymity to rationalise the importance attributed to English language transmission that conforms to their high expectations for native or native-like levels of both spoken and written abilities. In some cases, the emphasis given to English results in their identification of a significant deficit in their children's abilities in the official languages of the host society. When identified, this is a source of great concern for parents in terms of their children's socio-emotional wellbeing and ability to integrate within the host society context.

Such high levels of transmission reflect the adoption, evaluation and continuous adaptation of conscious family language management efforts in the form of strategies that are oriented towards intended linguistic outcomes for children that are clearly articulated by the vast majority of the parents interviewed. Almost all parents from all clusters explicitly state their desires for their children to acquire English, Castilian and Catalan to high levels. Beyond that, many also indicate a hope that their children will learn other languages, some of which are

part of combined parental linguistic repertoires and others which are not, demonstrating parental beliefs in the value of plurilingualism.

A series of strategies are employed by parents across all clusters in order to reinforce their children's intergenerational language transmission processes. Some strategies involve conscious language decisions in the form of an explicit choice to use a certain language in interaction with certain individuals. In many cases the choice of English is maintained even when their children are reluctant to use the same language in interaction. Other parental actions include literacy support activities designed to aid their children in the acquisition of literacy skills in English.

Besides exclusively parental actions, parents also exert an influence over their children's wider sociolinguistic environment by seeking to consciously alter the balance of linguistic input from other actors in favour of the language deemed to be most in need at any given moment. Friends and family members from the home country, alongside short and extended stays there, are utilised in order to reinforce English language transmission efforts and provide children with situations in which there is a genuine communicative need for the monolingual use of the target language. In addition, social fields including school and extracurricular clubs and activities in particular are carefully selected, indicating that parents are aware of a need to guarantee linguistic input in the languages that they would like their children to acquire and suggesting that family language management exceeds the boundaries of the traditional family unit.

As such, the key findings of the current study reinforce interpretations of family language management as a complex area of interdisciplinary study. In this case conscious choices are made and strategies are developed, reviewed and adapted in order to ensure the intergenerational transmission of English alongside their children's acquisition of the host society languages. Their ongoing informal measurement of their children's linguistic input and performance make for a dynamic process subject to longitudinal change and influence which is in turn defined by parents' own experiences of language socialisation in the host society context and their constantly evolving projects for their own and their families' futures.

11.2 Contributions

The study offers several contributions to different stakeholders including parents, policymakers and the research community.

Contributions for parents

The language use profiles allow parents to assess which profile they might belong to and understand the internal and external factors contributing towards their specific linguistic environment. Much of the advice available to parents in the form of handbooks, websites and blogs is not situated within a specific context. Because of the many possible different language combinations; the different degrees of linguistic proximity between them and the functional and representational differences between them, many parents have considerable doubts about how advice might relate to their specific circumstances. This explains the recent appearance of the role of family language consultant and the popularity of blogs such as Rita Rosenback's *Multilingual Parenting* which offers tailored advice from family language coaches.

The emic insight into parents' accounts of FLM processes are also a valuable contribution for parents who might wish to find examples of shared experiences and consider what strategies might be employed in a particular situation and to what effect. Rather than rely on anecdotal evidence that is often relayed second-hand, the interview participants selected from a wider sample offer greater potential representativity. Although still not directly relevant to specific families' circumstances, parents can assess to what extent the family profile is similar and consider the effects that a similar or adapted strategy might have.

Contributions for local policymakers

Within the local Catalan context, several policymakers may be interested in some of the findings of the study, including representatives from the fields of immigration, language policy and education.

The migratory trajectories of transnational anglophone parents highlight them as one of two profiles of migrant, which are broadly coherent with Turell and Corcoll's descriptions of anglophone migrants to Spain's main cities and their surrounding areas (2001, 2007). The two profiles may be useful for immigration policymakers to gain an understanding of the sociodemographic characteristics of this population. Firstly, there is a mobile group of individuals who form part of a workforce that fulfils the purposes of the late-Capitalist economy. Based on knowledge and information exchange, such an economy renders L1

speakers of English as holders of valuable linguistic capital and enables them to access attractive professional opportunities. For the majority of parents in clusters one and two, the possibility of onward migration is dependent on what career development opportunities they might be able to access in other contexts. The second main profile of anglophone migrants represents individuals who have some sort of affective connection to Spain. This might be related to an interest in learning or using the Castilian language, a relationship with a local partner or a fascination with the city of Barcelona which led them to want to live here. Such migrants also tend to use their L1 in their professional lives, although often alongside the official host society languages and their social circles tend to include locals. This profile of migrant is more abundant in clusters three and four of the present study, although examples can also be found in clusters one and two.

Language policymakers may be interested in the sociolinguistic description of families with at least one transnational anglophone parent in order to gain further insight into the language behaviours of the sizeable population of anglophone migrants. Building on the broad outline already sketched by Turell and Corcoll (2001, 2007) and the micro analysis of interview data from a small sample of lifestyle migrants provided by Codó (2018), the present study provides a description of anglophone parents' language abilities, uses and beliefs. The family language use indexes developed to describe the different clusters in particular are thought to be of interest for those interested in understanding processes of intergenerational language transmission. In addition, the interview data provides emic insight into the transnational anglophone parents' migratory trajectories and language socialisation experiences in Catalonia, allowing the survey data to be contextualised within parents' narratives.

Finally, policymakers in the field of education might be interested in the school choices of families with at least one transnational anglophone parent. Contrary to much popular belief, the majority of parents in this situation in the metropolitan region of Barcelona seem to prefer to send their children to local, wholly or partially state-funded schools whose main vehicular language is Catalan. Most parents seem concerned that their children integrate into the host society and establish stable friendship circles within it. As a result, many schools in the metropolitan region of Barcelona count L1 speakers of English amongst their student bodies. These students might be used as a resource for the delivery of English language education, the standard of which many parents express some dissatisfaction with. Only four of the 26

parents interviewed chose a private international school for their children, one of whom had done so because of the inability of the local schools' *aules d'acollida* [language support programmes] to cater for the specific needs of her children who arrived in Catalonia in late-primary years.

Contributions for researchers in the field of FLM

The present study provides a detailed account of FLM processes in a plurilingual context in which anglophone migrants transmit English to children in an officially bilingual host society. The specific triad of languages under study is of special sociolinguistic interest because of the roles and functions that they play in the host society and beyond. English, in the metropolitan region of Barcelona and on a global scale, represents a highly valued capital which is perceived by many as a necessary skill in order to access employment opportunities and a *lingua franca* that facilitates travel and exchange. In de Swaan's model of a global language hierarchy, it is placed in the most prominent position as the hypercentral language (de Swaan, 2010). Castilian is also highly valued locally and globally as an official language of the Spanish state and another *lingua franca* with high numbers of speakers, situated in de Swaan's hierarchy as a supercentral language. Catalan, on the other hand, is a language which might belong to the central level of de Swaan's hierarchy in Catalonia. It is highly valued by many in Catalonia, yet unequal in status to Castilian. Catalonia does not have a unified linguistic marketplace and different language socialisation experiences can lead to different language acquisition patterns. The present study offers insight into the dynamics of language choice for speakers of the hypercentral language who move to a situation with language contact between a supercentral and central language.

A methodological contribution of the study was to innovate the family language use indexes in order to quantify the proportions of different languages used. The indexes were created from matrices of interactions between dyadic pairs and allow for a visual representation of the proportion of different languages used within each interaction type.

Another methodological contribution was the use of cluster analysis procedure to identify family profiles. Cluster analysis allows for the consideration of multiple variables of different types in order to arrive at language use profiles. It provides an overall breakdown of the data into different groups which can later be described and explored using cross-tabs.

The language beliefs of transnational anglophone parents raising children in Catalonia are explored through the application of various dichotomies that can be found in the theoretical literature. Ideologies of authenticity and anonymity; pride and profit; integrative and instrumental values; local and global scales all apply opposite terms as dichotomous categories in an attempt to explain language beliefs. The present study provides further exemplification of how such terms cannot be applied as polar opposites since they are not mutually exclusive.

The multi-level models developed situate FLM research within the paradigm of language choice and take into account the simultaneous micro, meso and macro influences on language choices. As in previous studies, the initial use of a quantitative survey allowed for the contextualisation of the interview sample's narratives, demonstrating a blend of quantitative and qualitative methods that helped gain insight into the multiple layers of influence. The models developed also reaffirm FLM as a complex process of negotiation between multiple actors that take into account family-internal and family-external influences on language practices.

11.3 Practical applications

It is hoped that the results of the study might be applied in numerous ways in order to improve the quality of advice and support available for parents within the Catalan context and further afield.

For language practitioners hoping to assist families in making language choices that will aid them in attaining their intended linguistic outcomes, it is hoped that the present study will contribute towards the development of consultation frameworks which explicitly request such aims before assessing language practices and contextual specificities. The development of family language use indexes and the encouragement of parental reflection on language input will be important activities in guiding parents towards the ideal solution for their specific circumstances.

During the course of the present study a need has been identified for specialists in the area of home language education, particularly in the development of literacy skills. It appears as though many parents would be interested in services which offer support in the form of

tutoring or specialist extracurricular programmes that is specially designed for children with L1 English-speaking parents.

11.4 Limitations

As is the case with all studies, there are some limitations which should be taken into account before interpreting the results. The main limitations come in the form of claims of representativity and means of eliciting language data.

Firstly, the total population is impossible to delimit. As a result, it is equally impossible to guarantee any form of representativity of it. The sample is necessarily self-selected, which means that some profiles of parent might not have been captured or proportionally represented in the results. Although it is impossible to know whether or not this is true, some observations made during the course of the study should be taken into account.

The first consideration is that the Family Language Questionnaire failed to receive the same proportion of responses from parents of older children (particularly those of secondary school age) as it did pre-school and primary school children. It may be that fewer such families are present because large numbers of them might decide to return to the home country or migrate onwards, perhaps after a divorce or so that their children attend English-medium schools and universities. It may also be that similar numbers of families are present in the metropolitan region of Barcelona. It is suspected that parents of older children are less connected to physical and online anglophone or expat networks. Parents of older children tend to have longer lengths of residence and might be more integrated within local social networks. In addition, secondary school aged children might attend fewer language-specific extracurricular activities. If this is true and such members of the population are under-represented, it is highly likely that the proportion of third and fourth cluster members might be greater. In terms of online activity, many of the Facebook groups where the questionnaire was advertised were aimed at novice parents and newly arrived migrants who might need a support network when making the transition to their newfound parenthood.

Another consideration is that during the interviews, several parents made reference to anglophone friends or acquaintances who were reported not to use any English with their children. However, in the survey no family reported such language behaviour. It could be that parents exaggerated claims about the lack of use of English of the other parents, who might

have used some English with their children alongside other languages. On the other hand, there might be a proportion of the total population who choose not to use English with their children. Given that this is a self-selected sample, it might be that such parents chose not to participate or were disconnected from the channels of communication used to advertise the questionnaire.

Secondly, the question of reported language data must be dealt with as it has been shown on numerous occasions to contain errors and inconsistencies. Reported data was used to measure parents' and children's language abilities and uses, and although some of its limitations were sought to be counterbalanced, it was not possible to avoid others. For language ability data, the ideal means of collecting it would be for the individuals concerned to complete a language test. This would avoid the potential for misrepresentation in the Family Language Questionnaire, which requested one parent to report details of other family members' language abilities, whilst simultaneously providing an objective measure of language ability that would be directly comparable between individuals tested according to the same criteria. However, the cost involved both in terms of the researcher's resources and in terms of the time and effort invested in participation, meant that this was not undertaken.

For language use data, eliciting percentages of language use might have helped the indexes to have reflected the proportions of each language used more accurately. However, it should also be said that the use of percentages does not remove the possibility of error and they can be quite difficult for individuals to provide. The questionnaire item used simply asked parents to declare which language(s) they normally used with a specific interlocutor, without specifying proportions. In the interviews, this led to some observations that declarations of using Catalan might have been restricted to singing songs that children had learnt at school, rather than it being a principle means of communication. Other comments made during the interviews (which were conducted two years after the family language questionnaire was launched) revealed some other inconsistencies between their declared uses at that time and their recollections of their actual practices. Which of the two are likely to be more accurate is difficult to say given that two years had passed since the questionnaire was answered. However, the comparison of uses reported during the interviews and uses reported at the time of questionnaire did lead to some interesting reflections in terms of longitudinal stability and change in family language uses. It also helped gain further insight into the specific

situations in which the different languages were used and added qualitative detail to the necessarily reductionist quantitative data elicited by the questionnaire.

A further reservation related to the use of reported language data might be that participant observation methods were not incorporated in the study. Although this would have been an ideal means of assessing the accuracy of parents' language reports and gaining insight into the specific contexts and situations of the use of different languages, it was ultimately impossible in terms of the practical limitations of time. As one of the main objectives of the study was to identify profiles, it was decided to use the reported data provided in order to draw comparisons between those reports. A larger sample might help overcome such limitations with a greater sense of security. However, the overall impression gained from discussion of language uses in the interviews is that the family language indexes provide at least an approximate representation of the sociolinguistic environment of these families' homes.

Finally, regarding the sociodemographic data related to the family language use profile descriptions, an oversight was made by not eliciting data about whether parents from Spain were born in Catalan-speaking areas or not. In understanding parents' language practices and beliefs, it would have been useful to distinguish between those socialised in Catalan-speaking contexts and those who weren't. The data collected controls for the parents' family language environment yet does not allow for a consideration of the wider context in which they were brought up.

11.5 Suggestions for future research

It is hoped that further research will be undertaken to build on the results of the present study. Now that profiles have been identified, participant observations could be performed in order to gain a different perspective of language use data. In addition, longitudinal follow-up could be undertaken to gain further insight into stability and change in FLM processes.

Another addition to the present study which would be particularly valuable might be to consider the perspectives of other actors involved in the FLM processes. This could involve interviews with the other parent, with the children themselves, as well as with grandparents and other carers. Although this would be time-intensive, it would enable the enrichment of models of FLM in terms of the roles of different actors.

Longitudinal follow-up of the sample or a separate cross-sectional study could serve to investigate whether or not the comparatively high levels of transmission are robust across multiple generations. Models of intergenerational language shift typically show how the language of the home country tends to be lost as a language of active use by the third generation. It would be interesting to see whether the position of English within the global language hierarchy, which may or may not be enduring, might make it more robust to processes of intergenerational shift.

Besides this, a separate study could be designed in a different context to compare the language choice patterns of transnational anglophone migrants who come from relatively favourable socioeconomic backgrounds and represent a mobile workforce that meets the needs of a globalised, late-capitalist economy with those of transnational anglophone migrants of lower socioeconomic backgrounds who work in manual or caring professions which do not value language as highly. It would be interesting to see to what extent such populations might differ from each other in terms of language choice and intergenerational transmission.

Another separate study that would be of considerable interest in its own right and in comparison with the present study is that of parents who introduce English as a language used within the family environment, without either of the parents having English as an L1. To what extent their discursive constructions of the values and functions of English coincide would make an interesting research question. It would also be insightful to analyse similarities and differences in terms of the strategies employed by parents; their children's linguistic outcomes in English; and parents' evaluations of them.

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Appendices

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Appendix 1: Family Language Use Questionnaire

Family Language Questionnaire

Information

Page description:

 299

This is a confidential survey designed for English-speaking parents raising children (aged 0-16) in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area. Please only respond if you are an English-speaking parent resident in or close to Barcelona and have children who are currently aged between 0 and 16.

The questionnaire is intended to understand more about the languages used by families with English-speaking parents in Barcelona and to identify the main characteristics of the population as part of my PhD thesis entitled "Family Language Management and Globalisation: English at Home in Barcelona", Department of English and German Philology, University of Barcelona.

I intend the research to be helpful to parents raising multilingual children in Barcelona, particularly those hoping to support the development of English at home. A report of the main results will be made available to all participants on request and resources, information and reflections on different aspects of this research project can be found on my blog <https://multilingualfamiliesinbarcelona.wordpress.com/> or facebook page <https://www.facebook.com/multilingualfamiliesbcn>.

Please be assured that no information identifying individual respondents will be disclosed under any circumstances, your answers will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and used only for the purposes of this research project. Names are only required to ensure that I do not receive data from the same family twice and for contact purposes. They will be replaced with numbers during data analysis procedures.

If you would like any further information about this study at any time, please feel free to contact me at francescawalls1@gmail.com or on the following number: 653139651.

Thank you very much for your help!

About You

Page description:

ID 2

1. What is your first name? *

ID 180

2. What is your surname? *

ID 3

3. Are you male or female? *

- male
- female

VALIDATION Min = 16 Max = 99 Must be numeric

ID 4

4. How old are you? *

ID 5

5. In which country were you born? *

- Australia
- Canada
- Ireland
- New Zealand
- South Africa
- The United Kingdom
- The United States
- Other

ID 6

6. Is this the same country as your nationality? *

- Yes
- No

ID 7

7. If not, please indicate your current nationality below.

ID 8

8. What language(s) did you acquire at home when you were a child? *

- English
- Irish
- Welsh
- Spanish
- Catalan
- Other
- Other
- Other

ID 9

9. What language(s) do you speak on a regular basis now? *

- English
- Irish
- Welsh
- Spanish
- Catalan
- Other
- Other
- Other

ID 10

10. What level of studies have you completed most recently? *

- Primary education
- Secondary education
- Bachelors degree or equivalent
- Postgraduate studies (Masters, PhD or equivalent)

ID 13

11. What is your current occupation? *

ID 191

12. What is your approximate annual household income (optional)?

no current income
up to 9,000€
9,000€ - 13,999€
14,000€ - 18,999€
19,000€ - 24,001€
25,000€ - 34,999€
35,000€ or more

ID 184

13. Apart from Barcelona, where else have you lived and for how long (including your home country)?

	Place	Years spent living there
Destination 1	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Destination 2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Destination 3	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Destination 4	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Destination 5	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

ID 182

14. How long have you been living in Barcelona? *

Less than 1 year
1-2 years
2-3 years
3-4 years
4-5 years
5-6 years
6-7 years
7-8 years
8-9 years
9-10 years
10-11 years
11-12 years
12-13 years
13-14 years
14-15 years
15-16 years
16-17 years
17-18 years
18-19 years
19-20 years
More than 20 years

ID 183

15. What is your postcode? *

ID 190

16. What was the main reason you came to Barcelona? *

- partner
- work
- education
- learn a language
- other

ID 253

17. How many times a year do you travel back to your home country to visit friends and family?

none
once
twice
three times
four times
five times or more

ID 267

18. How often do you contact friends and family back home (via phone, Skype, social media, emails, letters etc.)?

never
once a month
once a fortnight
once or twice a week
three to five times a week
everyday

ID 293

19. Which of the following activities do you carry out on a regular basis to help your child(ren)'s English?

- reading books in English
- watching TV and DVDs in English
- attending extracurricular classes or activities in English
- attending mother and toddler groups or playdates in English
- having classes with a private tutor
- studying at home with a textbook or other educational resources
- communicating with family and friends in the home country
- attending school for a period in the home country
- visiting the home country
- Other
- Other
- Other

Your child(ren)

Page description:

ID 47

20. How many children do you have? *

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4 or more

ID 49

Your first child

VALIDATION Min = 0 Max = 20 Must be numeric

ID 50

21. How old is your first child? *

ID 51

22. Is your first child male or female?

- male
- female

ID 52

23. What stage of education is your first child currently participating in?

Not currently participating in any educational activities
Informal pre-school activities or clubs
Primary school (including P3, P4 and P5)
Secondary school

ID 53

24. What language(s) does your first child use in these educational activities?

- English
- Spanish
- Catalan

Other

ID 54

Your second child

VALIDATION Min = 0 Max = 20 Must be numeric

ID 55

25. How old is your second child?

ID 56

26. Is your second child male or female?

- male
- female

ID 57

27. What stage of education is your second child currently participating in?

Not currently participating in any educational activities
Informal pre-school activities or clubs
Primary school (including P3, P4 and P5)
Secondary school

ID 58

28. What language(s) does your second child use in these educational activities?

English

Spanish

Catalan

Other

ID 59

Your third child

VALIDATION Min = 0 Max = 20 Must be numeric

ID 60

29. How old is your third child?

ID 61

30. Is your third child male or female?

male

female

ID 62

31. What stage of education is your third child currently participating in?

Not currently participating in any educational activities
Informal pre-school activities or clubs
Primary school (including P3, P4 and P5)
Secondary school

ID 63

32. What language(s) does your third child use in these educational activities?

- English
- Spanish
- Catalan

Other

ID 64

Your other child(ren)

ID 65

33. Please indicate the age, sex, current educational activities and language(s) used in educational activities of your remaining children in the box below

About your child(ren)'s other parent(s) and guardians

Page description:

This section is about other adults who play a significant role in your child(ren)'s lives. Please include information about those parents and guardians currently residing with the children (including step-parents, grandparents etc.), as well as those of any separated parents who may be living at a different address. There is a box below where you can give further information if you consider it necessary.

ID 16

Your current partner

This section is about significant figures living at home in order to gain a complete picture of your child(ren)'s linguistic input.

ID 17

34. Are you currently living with a partner?

- Yes
- No


ID 20

35. Please complete the table with information about your current partner

	Your current partner
Full name (This is just to check I don't have two answers for the same house!)	<input type="text"/>
Gender	<input type="text"/>
Age	<input type="text"/>
Country of birth	<input type="text"/>
Current nationality	<input type="text"/>
Language(s) acquired at home when (s)he was a child	<input type="text"/>
Language(s) (s)he speaks now	<input type="text"/>
Current occupation	<input type="text"/>

ID 30

36. What is your current partner's most recently completed level of studies?

Primary education	
Secondary education	
Bachelors degree or equivalent	
Postgraduate studies (Masters or PhD)	

ID 18

37. Is your current partner the parent of your child(ren)

- Yes
- No

ID 33

Your child(ren)'s other parent

This section is about parents who do not live at home but may affect your child(ren)'s linguistic input.

ID 35

38. Please complete the table to the best of your knowledge about your child(ren)'s other parent

	Your child(ren)'s other parent
Full name (This is just to check I don't have two replies for the same children!)	<input type="text"/>
Gender	<input type="text"/>
Age	<input type="text"/>
Country of birth	<input type="text"/>
Current nationality	<input type="text"/>
Language(s) spoken at home when (s)he was a child	<input type="text"/>
Language(s) (s)he speaks now	<input type="text"/>
Current occupation	<input type="text"/>

VALIDATION Must be numeric

ID 251

39. Please indicate an estimate of how much time per week the child(ren) spend with their other parent

hours per week

ID 44

Other guardians

ID 45

40. Please include any information below about other guardians who spend a significant amount of time with your child(ren) on a regular basis.

ID 46

41. If you mentioned other guardians above, please indicate an estimate of how many hours per week each guardian spends with your child(ren)

hours per week

Parents' languages

Page description:

ID 295

Your language abilities

ID 74

42. Please specify which language(s) **you** can understand, speak, read and write in the table below. You can tick more than one box in each row.

	Can understand	Can speak	Can read	Can write
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spanish/ Castilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Catalan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

ID 207

43. How would you rate **your** overall ability in the following languages?

English	<input type="text" value="4 - native/native-like"/> <input type="text" value="3 - advanced"/> <input type="text" value="2 - fair"/> <input type="text" value="1 - limited"/> <input type="text" value="0 - none"/>
Spanish/Castilian	<input type="text" value="4 - native/native-like"/> <input type="text" value="3 - advanced"/> <input type="text" value="2 - fair"/> <input type="text" value="1 - limited"/> <input type="text" value="0 - none"/>
Catalan	<input type="text" value="4 - native/native-like"/> <input type="text" value="3 - advanced"/> <input type="text" value="2 - fair"/> <input type="text" value="1 - limited"/> <input type="text" value="0 - none"/>

44. Please specify which language(s) **your current partner** can understand, speak, read and write in the table below. You can tick more than one box in each row.

	Can understand	Can speak	Can read	Can write
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spanish/ Castilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Catalan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

45. How would you rate **your current partner's** overall ability in the following languages?

English	<input type="text" value="4 - native/native-like"/> <input type="text" value="3 - advanced"/> <input type="text" value="2 - fair"/> <input type="text" value="1 - limited"/> <input type="text" value="0 - none"/>
Spanish/Castilian	<input type="text" value="4 - native/native-like"/> <input type="text" value="3 - advanced"/> <input type="text" value="2 - fair"/> <input type="text" value="1 - limited"/> <input type="text" value="0 - none"/>
Catalan	<input type="text" value="4 - native/native-like"/> <input type="text" value="3 - advanced"/> <input type="text" value="2 - fair"/> <input type="text" value="1 - limited"/> <input type="text" value="0 - none"/>

46. Please specify which language(s) **your child(ren)'s other parent** can understand, speak, read and write in the table below. You can tick more than one box in each row.

	Can understand	Can speak	Can read	Can write
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spanish/ Castilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Catalan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

47. How would you rate **your child(ren)'s other parent's** overall ability in the following languages?

English	<input type="text" value="4 - native/native-like"/> <input type="text" value="3 - advanced"/> <input type="text" value="2 - fair"/> <input type="text" value="1 - limited"/> <input type="text" value="0 - none"/>
Spanish/Castilian	<input type="text" value="4 - native/native-like"/> <input type="text" value="3 - advanced"/> <input type="text" value="2 - fair"/> <input type="text" value="1 - limited"/> <input type="text" value="0 - none"/>
Catalan	<input type="text" value="4 - native/native-like"/> <input type="text" value="3 - advanced"/> <input type="text" value="2 - fair"/> <input type="text" value="1 - limited"/> <input type="text" value="0 - none"/>

Your child(ren)'s languages

Page description:

ID 297

Your child(ren)'s language abilities

ID 104

48. Please specify which language(s) **your first child** can understand, speak, read and write in the table below. You can tick more than one box in each row.

	Can understand	Can speak	Can read	Can write	not applicable
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spanish/ Castilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Catalan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

49. How would you rate **your first child's** overall ability at **speaking** the following languages?

English

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

Spanish/Castilian

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

Catalan

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

50. How would you rate **your first child's** overall ability at **reading and writing** the following languages?

English

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

Spanish/Castilian

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

Catalan

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

51. Please specify which language(s) **your second child** can understand, speak, read and write in the table below. You can tick more than one box in each row.

	Can understand	Can speak	Can read	Can write	not applicable
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spanish/ Castilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Catalan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

52. How would you rate **your second child's** overall ability at **speaking** the following languages?

English

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

Spanish/Castilian

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

Catalan

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

53. How would you rate **your second child's** overall ability at **reading and writing** the following languages?

English

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

Spanish/Castilian

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

Catalan

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

54. Please specify which language(s) **your third child** can understand, speak, read and write in the table below. You can tick more than one box in each row.

	Can understand	Can speak	Can read	Can write	not applicable
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spanish/ Castilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Catalan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

55. How would you rate **your third child's** overall ability at **speaking** the following languages?

English

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

Spanish/Castilian

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

Catalan

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

56. How would you rate **your third child's** overall ability at **reading and writing** the following languages?

English

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

Spanish/Castilian

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

Catalan

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

57. Please specify which language(s) **your fourth child** can understand, speak, read and write in the table below. You can tick more than one box in each row.

	Can understand	Can speak	Can read	Can write	not applicable
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spanish/ Castilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Catalan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

58. How would you rate **your fourth child's** overall ability at **speaking** the following languages?

English

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

Spanish/Castilian

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

Catalan

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

ID 280

59. How would you rate **your fourth child's** overall ability at **reading and writing** the following languages?

English

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

Spanish/Castilian

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

Catalan

- 4 - native/native-like
- 3 - advanced
- 2 - fair
- 1 - limited
- 0 - none
- not applicable

ID 140

60. Please include any further details about other children here

Family languages

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ID 247

62. **What language(s) do these people normally speak to you?** Complete each column for each person. You can tick more than one box in each column.

	your current partner	your child(ren)'s other parent (if not current partner)	your first child	your second child	your third child	your fourth child
does not speak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spanish/Castilian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Catalan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text" value="Enter another option"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

ID 156

63. Please add details about any other children below

ID 254

64. What language(s) do your children speak with each other?

- English
- Spanish/Castilian
- Catalan
- Other
- Other
- Other

ID 259

65. What language(s) do your child(ren) speak to your current partner?

- English
- Spanish/Castilian
- Catalan
- Other
- Other
- Other

ID 260

66. What language(s) does your current partner speak to your child(ren)?

- English
- Spanish/Castilian
- Catalan
- Other
- Other
- Other

ID 261

67. To the best of your knowledge, what language(s) do your child(ren) speak to their other parent?

- English
- Spanish/Castilian
- Catalan
- Other
- Other
- Other

ID 262

68. To the best of your knowledge, what language(s) does their other parent speak to your child(ren)?

- English
- Spanish/Castilian
- Catalan
- Other
- Other
- Other

ID 263

69. In your home, what language(s) do you watch the television and films in on a regular basis?

- English
- Spanish/Castilian
- Catalan
- Other
- Other
- Other

ID 157

70. Please feel free to elaborate on your answers above by adding any other details you think might be of interest.

Your languages

Page description:

ID 296

Your language use

ID 158

71. What language(s) do you use for conversation on a regular basis? *

- English
- Spanish/ Castilian
- Catalan
- Other
- Other
- Other

ID 159

72. What language(s) do you use on a regular basis with work colleagues?

- not applicable
- English
- Spanish/Castilian
- Catalan
- Other
- Other
- Other

ID 252

73. What language(s) do you use on a regular basis with customers/students?

- not applicable
- English
- Spanish/Castilian
- Catalan
- Other
- Other
- Other

ID 165

Meeting up with friends

Think back to the last three friends you've met up with.

ID 166

74. What language(s) did you use with friend one? *

- English
- Spanish/Castilian
- Catalan
- Other
- Other
- Other

ID 167

75. What language(s) did you use with friend two? *

- English
- Spanish/Castilian
- Catalan
- Other
- Other
- Other

ID 168

76. What language(s) did you use with friend three? *

- English
- Spanish/Castilian
- Catalan
- Other
- Other
- Other

Your contact details

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77. Would you mind being contacted in the future for further details? *

- No, I don't mind being contacted.
- Yes I do mind. Please do no contact me again.

VALIDATION %s format expected

ID 175

78. What is your email address?

ID 176

79. What is your phone number?

ID 177

80. Would you like to receive a report of the main results upon completion?

- Yes, please send them to my email address
- No thank you

VALIDATION %s format expected

ID 178

81. What is your email address?

ID 179

82. If there is anything else that you think is relevant for the survey, feel free to elaborate below.

Thank You!

Thank you very much for taking the time to fill out the survey. I hope this research can contribute to developing more knowledge on the topic of English as a heritage language and that the results will be of use to all parents. Keep an eye on my blog for insights into some of the most interesting results: <https://multilingualfamiliesinbarcelona.wordpress.com/>

If you have any questions at any time, I'd be more than happy to hear from you. You can contact me at francescawalls1@gmail.com or on the following number 653139651.

Please also feel free to let other friends know about the survey to help make the results as representative as possible! You can send them the following link to participate: <http://www.surveygizmo.com/s3/1968022/Family-Language-Questionnaire>

Thanks again!

Appendix 2: Family Language Use Questionnaire supplement

Family Language Questionnaire - additional data

Children's Language Use (in a bit more detail)

1. What is your full name? (To match up this data to the original questionnaire)

2. What language(s) do the following people speak to your current partner?

Your first child

Your second child

Your third child

Your fourth child

3. What language(s) do the following people speak to their other parent (not currently living with you)?

Your first child

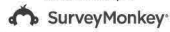
Your second child

Your third child

Your fourth child

Listo

Desarrollado por



Ve lo fácil que es crear una encuesta.

Appendix 3: Call for participation in the Family Language Questionnaire

Family Language Questionnaire

Are you an English-speaker raising children aged 0-16 in or around the Barcelona area? If so, you might be interested in participating in a research project about what languages multilingual families use at home and how they manage them all. It just involves filling out a short questionnaire which can be accessed

here: <http://www.surveymoz.com/s3/1968022/Family-Language-Questionnaire>

The questionnaire is part of my PhD project at the Centre for Sociolinguistics and Communication (CUSC) of the University of Barcelona. The study aims to describe language use in such families, understand how language choices are made and what strategies work best for developing different language combinations at home. All participants will receive a report of the main results and can keep up with reflections on results as they're being analysed on my blog: <https://multilingualfamiliesinbarcelona.wordpress.com/>

For more information please contact Francesca Walls, at fwalls@ub.edu. I'd be delighted to hear from you and very grateful for your participation!

Appendix 4: Code Manual

Variable name	Code	Answers
Missing values	999	no answer/missing data
	888	person doesn't exist
	777	not applicable
Sex	1	female
	2	male
CountryofBirth	1	Australia
	2	Canada
	3	Ireland
	4	New Zealand
	5	South Africa
	6	United Kingdom (England, Scotland, Wales, Britain)
	7	United States
	8	Argentina
	9	Belgium
	10	Chile
	11	China
	12	Colombia
	13	Cuba
	14	Denmark
	15	Ecuador
	16	Egypt
	17	France
	18	Germany
	19	Greece
	20	Guatemala
	21	India
	22	Iran
	23	Israel
	24	Italy
	25	Latvia
	26	Malta
	27	Mexico
	28	Peru
	29	Poland
	30	Russia
	31	South Korea
	32	Spain (Catalonia, España, Catalunya)
	33	Sweden
	34	Switzerland
	35	The Netherlands (Holland)
	36	Venezuela
	37	Zambia
CountryofBirth_Simple	1	Australia
	2	Canada
	3	Ireland

	3	Ireland
	4	New Zealand
	5	South Africa
	6	United Kingdom (England, Scotland, Wales, Britain)
	7	United States
	8	Spain
	9	Other
Nationality	1	Australia
	2	Canada
	3	Ireland
	4	New Zealand
	5	South Africa
	6	United Kingdom (England, Scotland, Wales, Britain)
	7	United States
	8	Argentina
	9	Belgium
	10	Chile
	11	China
	12	Colombia
	13	Cuba
	14	Denmark
	15	Ecuador
	16	Egypt
	17	France
	18	Germany
	19	Greece
	20	Guatemala
	21	India
	22	Iran
	23	Israel
	24	Italy
	25	Latvia
	26	Malta
	27	Mexico
	28	Peru
	29	Poland
	30	Russia
	31	South Korea
	32	Spain (Catalonia, España, Catalunya)
	33	Sweden
	34	Switzerland
	35	The Netherlands (Holland)
	36	Venezuela
	37	Zambia
	38	USA & Germany
	39	USA & Israel
	40	USA & Spain
	41	USA & Venezuela
	42	USA & France

P_Studies	1	Primary education
	2	Secondary education
	3	Bachelors degree or equivalent
	4	Postgraduate studies (Masters or PhD)
All language use variables P_HomeLang P_LangsNow C_EduLang (Note: Language combinations in any order)	1	English
	2	Spanish
	3	Catalan (Valencian)
	4	Chinese
	5	Dutch
	6	French
	7	German
	8	Italian
	9	Russian
	10	Swedish
		89 – Arabic
		112 – Portuguese
		113 – Irish
		114 – Hebrew
		116 – Welsh
		118 – Hausa
		119 – Bengali
		120 – Greek
		121 – Basque
		122 – Croatian
		123 - Galician
		11 English + Spanish
		12 English + Catalan
		13 English + Arabic
		14 English + Bengali
		15 English + Chinese
		16 English + Croatian (Croat)
		17 English + French
		18 English + German
		19 English + Greek
	20 English + Hausa	
	21 English + Hebrew	
	22 English + Hindi	
	23 English + Italian	
	24 English + Irish	
	25 English + Norwegian	
	26 English + Portuguese	
	27 English + Russian	
	28 English + Swedish	
	29 English + Welsh	
	92 – English + Danish	
	93 – English + Polish	
	97 – English + Dutch	
	111 – English + Arabic	
	30 Spanish + Catalan	

31	Spanish + Basque
32	Spanish + French
33	Spanish + Galician
34	Spanish + German
	94 – Spanish + Chinese
	98 – Spanish + Italian
	95 – Catalan + Dutch
	99 – Catalan + Italian
35	French + Croatian
36	French + Flemish
37	German + Italian
38	Latvian + Russian
39	Russian + Polish
	115 – French + German
	117 – French + Irish
40	English + Spanish + Catalan
41	English + Spanish + Chinese
42	English + Spanish + Danish
43	English + Spanish + Dutch
44	English + Spanish + French
45	English + Spanish + Galician
46	English + Spanish + German
47	English + Spanish + Greek
48	English + Spanish + Hausa
49	English + Spanish + Hebrew
50	English + Spanish + Italian
51	English + Spanish + Russian
	125 – English + Spanish + Basque
52	English + Catalan + German
	88 – English + Catalan + Irish
	90 – English + Catalan + Dutch
	91 – English + Catalan + Italian
	132 – English + Catalan + Bengali
53	English + Dutch + German
54	English + German + French
55	English + Irish + French
	104 – English + Dutch + French
	124 – English + French + Flemish
	127 – English + Irish + Italian
	128 – English + Polish + Russian
	131 – English + French + Croat
56	Spanish + Catalan + German
	100 – Spanish + Catalan + Italian
57	Spanish + Italian + German

58	Spanish + Latvian + Russian
59	English + Spanish + Catalan + Chinese
60	English + Spanish + Catalan + Dutch
61	English + Spanish + Catalan + French
62	English + Spanish + Catalan + German
63	English + Spanish + Catalan + Italian
64	English + Spanish + Catalan + Japanese
65	English + Spanish + Catalan + Russian 126 – English + Spanish + Catalan + Portuguese 129 – English + Spanish + Catalan + Greek
66	English + Spanish + French + Arabic
67	English + Spanish + French + Croatian
68	English + Spanish + French + Dutch
69	English + Spanish + French + German
70	English + Spanish + French + Greek
71	English + Spanish + French + Hebrew 96 – English + Spanish + Catalan + Danish 103 – English + Spanish + Catalan + Bengali
72	English + Spanish + German + Dutch
73	English + Spanish + Russian + Polish 102 – English + Spanish + Arabic + German 133 – English + Spanish + Latvian + Russian
74	Spanish + Catalan + Italian + French
75	English + Spanish + Catalan + French + German
76	English + Spanish + Catalan + French + Italian
77	English + Spanish + Catalan + French + Latin
78	English + Spanish + Catalan + French + Portuguese
79	English + Spanish + Catalan + French + Swedish
80	English + Spanish + Catalan + German + Dutch
81	English + Spanish + Catalan + German + Farsi 101 – English + Spanish + Catalan + Italian + German 130 – English + Spanish + Catalan + French + Irish
82	English + Spanish + French + German + Arabic
83	English + Spanish + French + German + Italian
84	Spanish + Catalan + French + German + Dutch
85	English + Spanish + Catalan + French + Japanese + Chinese
86	English + Spanish + Danish + Flemish + French + German
87	English + Spanish + Catalan + French + German + Italian + Swahili (Kiswahili) 110 – English + Spanish + Catalan + French + German + Italian + Portuguese

88	English + Irish + Catalan
89	Arabic
90	English + Catalan + Dutch
91	English + Catalan + Italian
92	English + Danish
93	English + Polish
94	Spanish + Chinese
95	Catalan + Dutch
96	English + Spanish + Catalan + Danish
97	English + Dutch
98	Spanish + Italian
99	Catalan + Italian
100	Spanish + Catalan + Italian
101	English + Spanish + Catalan + Italian + German
102	English + Spanish + Arabic + German
103	English + Spanish + Catalan + Bengali
104	English + Dutch + French
105	Spanish + Catalan + Chinese
106	English + Catalan + Polish
107	English + Catalan + French
108	Danish
109	Polish
110	English + Spanish + Catalan + French + German + Italian + Portuguese
111	English + Arabic
112	Portuguese
113	Irish
114	Hebrew
115	French + German
116	Welsh
117	Irish + French
118	Hausa
119	Bengali
120	Greek
121	Basque
122	Croatian
123	Galician
124	English + French + Flemish
125	English + Spanish + Basque
126	English + Spanish + Catalan + Portuguese
127	English + Irish + Italian
128	English + Polish + Russian
129	English + Spanish + Catalan + Greek
130	English + Spanish + Catalan + French + Italian
131	English + French + Croatian
132	English + Catalan + Bengali
133	English + Spanish + Latvian + Russian

Language Pattern variables	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17	English English + Spanish English + Catalan English + X English + Spanish + Catalan English + Spanish + X English + Catalan + X English + X + Y English + Spanish + Catalan + X (+Y etc) English + Spanish + X + Y (+Z etc) English + Catalan + X + Y (+Z etc) English + X + Y + Z Spanish Catalan X Spanish + Catalan Other combinations without English
P1_HomeMonoBiTriMulti P1_NowMonoBiTriMulti C_EduLangMonoetc	1 2 3 4	Monolingual (1 language) Bilingual (2 languages) Trilingual Multilingual (4 or more language)
Comarca	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Barcelonès Alt Penedès Baix Llobregat Garraf Maresme Vallès Occidental Vallès Oriental
Household_Income	0 1 2 3 4 5 6	No current income Up to 9,000€ 9,000€ - 13,999€ 14,000€ - 18,999€ 19,000€ - 24,999€ 25,000€ - 34,999€ 35,000€ or more
Pn_JobSimple (cf IDESCAT CCO-2011)	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Military personnel (Ocupacions militars) Managers (Directors i gerents) Scientific & intellectual technicians and professionals (Tècnics i professionals científics i intel·lectuals) Support technicians and professionals (Tècnics i professionals de support) Accounting, administrative and other office staff (Empleats comptables, administratius i altres empleats d'oficina) Catering, emergency services and sales staff (Treballadors dels serveis de restauració, personals, protecció i venedors) Qualified agricultural workers (Treballadors qualificats en activitats agrícoles, ramaderes, forestals i pesqueres) Artisans and qualified construction workers (Artesans i treballadors qualificats de les indústries manufactureres i la construcció)

	8	Machine operators (Operadors d'instal·lacions i maquinària, i muntadors)
	9	Basic services (Ocupacions elementals)
P1_PreviousResidence (number of countries previously resided in – including home country, according to questionnaire instructions)	1 2 3 4 5	1 country 2 countries 3 countries 4 countries 5 countries or more
LoR simple	1 2 3 4	0-4 years 5-9 years 10-14 years 15-20 years
LoR	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	Less than 1 year 1-2 years 2-3 years 3-4 years 4-5 years 5-6 years 6-7 years 7-8 years 8-9 years 9-10 years 10-11 years 11-12 years 12-13 years 13-14 years 14-15 years 15-16 years 16-17 years 17-18 years 18-19 years 19-20 years More than 20 years
ReasonforBCN	1 2 3 4 5	partner work education learn a language other
Visits_Home	0 1 2 3 4 5	None Once Twice Three times Four times Five times or more
Contact_friendsandfamily	0 1 2 3 4	Never Once a month Once a fortnight Once or twice a week Three to five times a week

	5	Everyday
Cn_AgeGrp	1 2 3	0-5 years old 6-11 years old 12-16 years old
C_Education (Stage of education that each child is currently participating in)	1 2 3 4	Not currently participating in any educational activities Informal pre-school activities or clubs Primary school (including P3, P4, P5) Secondary school
Short names for languages in language knowledge variables	Arab Beng Chin Croat Dan Dut Far Fr Gal Germ Grk Hau Heb Hin Iri Ital JamCr Jap Lat Mal Mar Nor Pol Russ Swa Swed Tam Tib	Arabic Bengali Chinese (also Mandarin) Croatian Danish Dutch Farsi French Galician German Greek Hausa Hebrew Hindi Irish Italian Jamaican Creole Japanese Latvian Malayalam Marati Norwegian Polish Russian Swahili (Kiswahili) Swedish Tamil Tibetan
P_EngRating P_SpRating P_CatRating	0 1 2 3 4 888	None Limited Fair Advanced Native/native-like Not applicable (ie. doesn't speak or can't read or write yet)

Appendix 5: Creating the family language use indexes

1. Example of initial matrix entries

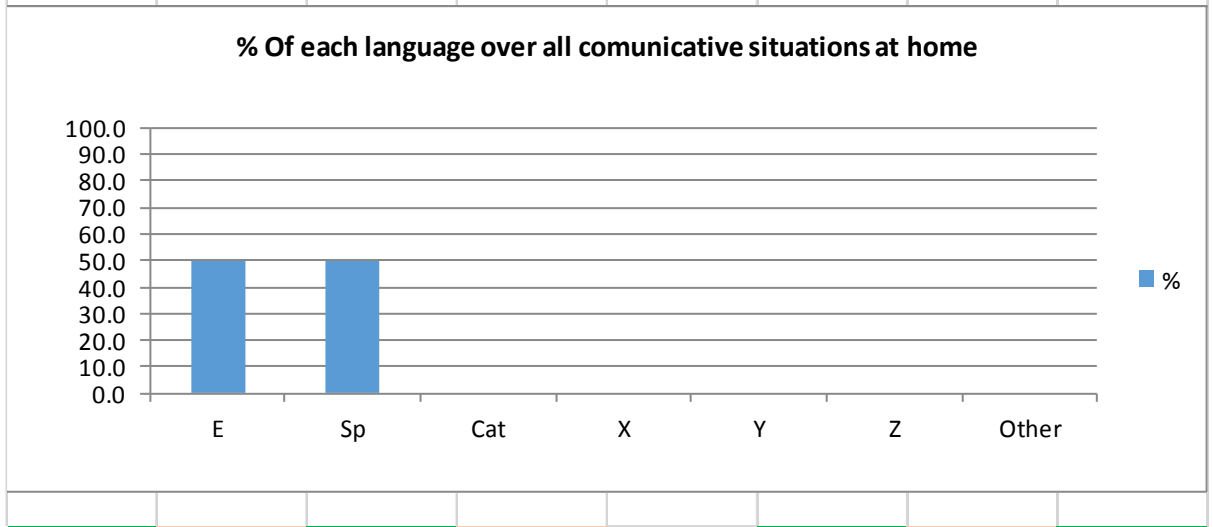
F1		Spoken to											
		P1		P2		PS		C1		C2		C3	
Speaker	P1	888 888		11 2		1 1		888 888		888 888		888 888	
		0 0		0.5 1		1 1		0 0		0 0		0 0	
	P2	888 888		888 888		888 888		888 888		888 888		888 888	
		0 0		0 0		0 0		0 0		0 0		0 0	
	PS	11 2		888 888		2 13		888 888		888 888		888 888	
		0.5 1		0 0		1 1		0 0		0 0		0 0	
	C1	1 1		888 888		2 13		888 888		888 888		888 888	
		1 1		0 0		1 1		0 0		0 0		0 0	
	C2	888 888		888 888		888 888		888 888		888 888		888 888	
		0 0		0 0		0 0		0 0		0 0		0 0	
	C3	888 888		888 888		888 888		888 888		888 888		888 888	
		0 0		0 0		0 0		0 0		0 0		0 0	
	C4	888 888		888 888		888 888		888 888		888 888		888 888	
		0 0		0 0		0 0		0 0		0 0		0 0	

2. Reformatted matrix entries to account for proportion of each language used between each interlocutor (where two languages are reported, each language is worth 0.5)

	N_Speaks	N_Spoken_t	E	Sp	Cat	X	Y	Z	Other
P1	2.0	2.0	1.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
P2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
PS	2.0	2.0	0.5	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
C1	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
C2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
C3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
C4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
N_P_Total	4.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
N_C_Total	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
N_Fam_Total	6.0	6.0	3.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	100.00		50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

3. Overall percentage of use of each language in i) all communicative situations at home (ie. the family language use index), ii) between parents, iii) from parents to children, iv) from children to parents and v) between children

% Of each language over all communicative situations at home							
	E	Sp	Cat	X	Y	Z	Other
%	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0



Appendix 6: Sampling procedure

Proposed sample numbers

Age of oldest child*	Cluster 1 (n=47)	Cluster 2 (n=94)	Cluster 3 (n=15)	Cluster 4 (n=8)	Total
A (0-5)	x3	x3	x 1 or 2	x 1 or 2	x8-10
B (6-11)	x3	x3	x 1 or 2	x 1 or 2	x8-10
C (12-16)	x2 or 3	x 2 or 3	x 1 or 2	x 1 or 2	X6-10
Total	x 8-9	x 8-9	x3-6	x3-6	x22-30

*Age at time of FLQ

Initial sampling grid

Age of oldest child	Cluster 1 (n=47)	Cluster 2 (n=94)	Cluster 3 (n=15)	Cluster 4 (n=8)
A (0-5)	F46 f (SP) Garraf F49 f (CA) BCN F131 f (IRE) Llobregat	F51 f (UK) BCN F89 m (IRE) BCN F22 f (USA) BCN	F27 f (IRE) El Vallès F125 f (IRE) BCN	F80 m (UK) BCN F122 f (SP) El Vallès
B (6-11)	F134 m (USA) BCN F164 f (IRE) El Vallès F3 f (UK) El Maresme	F83 m (USA) BCN F2 f (UK) BCN F78 f (UK) BCN	F23 f (USA) BCN F146 f (UK) El Maresme	F90 f (SP) BCN
C (12-16)	F114 f (USA) BCN F5 m (UK) Llobregat F143 m (UK) BCN	F10 m (CA) BCN F35 f (USA) El Vallès F148 m (UK) BCN	F139 m (UK) BCN F95 f (UK) El Vallès	F135 f (UK) BCN F76 f (UK) El Vallès

Eligibility criteria

- Eldest child still within age group
- Preferably no greater or fewer than two children in family (where possible)
- Available for interview
- Cluster similarity score (participants were contacted in order from those with the closest resemblance to the most typical case to the least using this criterion)

Final sample numbers

Age of oldest child	Cluster 1 (n=47)	Cluster 2 (n=94)	Cluster 3 (n=15)	Cluster 4 (n=8)	Total
A (0-5)	x3	x2	x 2	x2	X9
B (6-11)	X4	x4	x1	0	X9
C (12-16)	x3	x3	x 1	x 1	x8
Total	x 10	x 9	X4	X3	X26

Final sampling grid

Age of oldest child	Cluster 1 (n=47)	Cluster 2 (n=94)	Cluster 3 (n=15)	Cluster 4 (n=8)
A (0-5)	F56 f (USA) El Vallès F74 m (UK) El Vallès F64 f (USA) El Vallès	F36 f (USA) El Maresme F129 m (CA) Garraf	F27 f (IRE) El Vallès F125 f (IRE) BCN	F80 m (UK) BCN F122 f (SP) El Vallès
B (6-11)	F134 m (USA) BCN F93 m (UK) El Vallès F87 f (UK) BCN F150 m (UK) BCN	F83 m (USA) BCN F136 m (UK) BCN F85 f (USA) BCN F104 f (UK) BCN	F156 m (UK) BCN	-
C (12-16)	F114 f (USA) BCN F5 m (UK) Llobregat F143 m (UK) BCN	F10 m (CA) BCN F35 f (USA) El Vallès F57 m (USA) BCN	F95 f (UK) El Vallès	F76 f (UK) El Vallès

Participant details for final sample

Cluster	Name	Sex	Age	Place of residence	L O R	Country of origin	L1	Partner country of origin	Partner L1	Number of children
C1A	Karen	F	39	El Vallès	15	USA	E	Argentina	CAST	1
C1A	Hannah	F	45	El Vallès	13	USA	E	France	FR	1
C1A	Tom	M	45	El Vallès	18	UK	E	SP	CAST	1
C1B	Jeremy	M	44	BCN	16	USA	E	Argentina	CAST	2
C1B	Dennis	M	44	El Vallès	12	UK	E	SP	CAST	2
C1B	Simone	F	47	BCN	4	UK	E	SP	CAST	2
C1B	Daniel	M	40	BCN	17	UK	E	Peru	CAST	2
C1C	Valerie	F	50	BCN	13	USA	E	Italy	ITAL	2
C1C	Robert	M	47	Llobregat	11	UK	E	SP	CAST	2
C1C	Albert	M	63	BCN	22	UK	E	SP	CAST	2
C2A	Eliza	F	36	Maresme	12	USA	E	Italy	ITAL	2
C2A	Karl	M	43	Garraf	12	Canada	E	SP	CAST & CAT	2
C2B	Jim	M	42	BCN	12	USA	E	SP	CAST	2
C2B	John	M	42	BCN	15	UK	E	UK	E	2
C2B	Beth	F	40	BCN	3	USA	E	Greece	GRK	2
C2B	Louise	F	48	BCN	21	UK	E	UK	E	2
C2C	Jack	M	49	BCN	22	Canada	E	SP	CAST	2
C2C	Mary	F	42	El Vallès	4	USA	E	USA	E	2
C2C	Anthony	M	39	BCN	5	USA	E	Russia	Russian	2
C3A	Leah	F	35	El Vallès	13	Ireland	E	SP	CAST & CAT	1
C3A	Jenny	F	48	BCN	10	Ireland	E	SP	CAST & CAT	1
C3B	Jason	M	54	BCN	22	UK	E	SP	CAST	2
C3C	Amanda	F	51	El Vallès	22	UK	E	SP	CAST & CAT	1
C4A	Brian	M	39	BCN	5	UK	E	SP	CAST & CAT	2
C4A	Una	F	38	El Vallès	21	USA	E	SP	CAT	2
C4C	Sarah	F	59	El Vallès	22	UK	E	SP	CAST & CAT	1

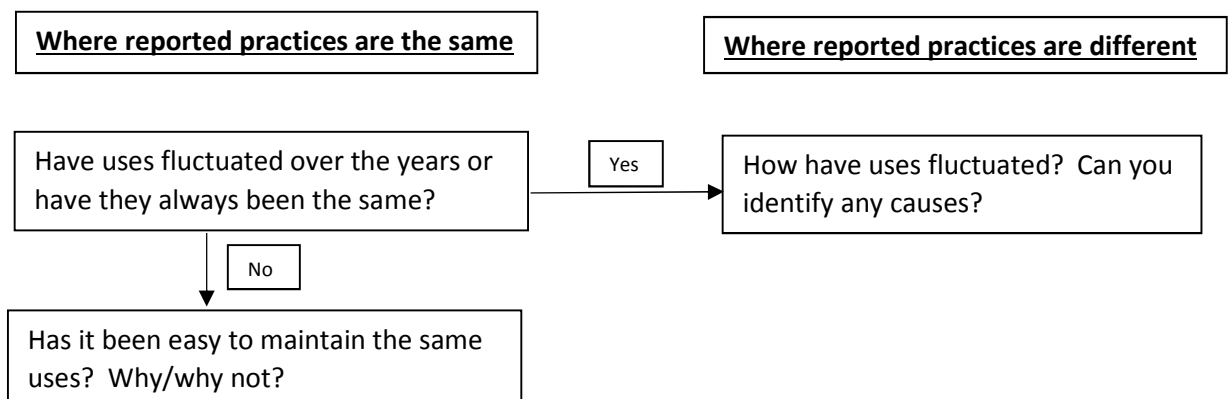
Appendix 8: Interview script

Stage 1: Migration story

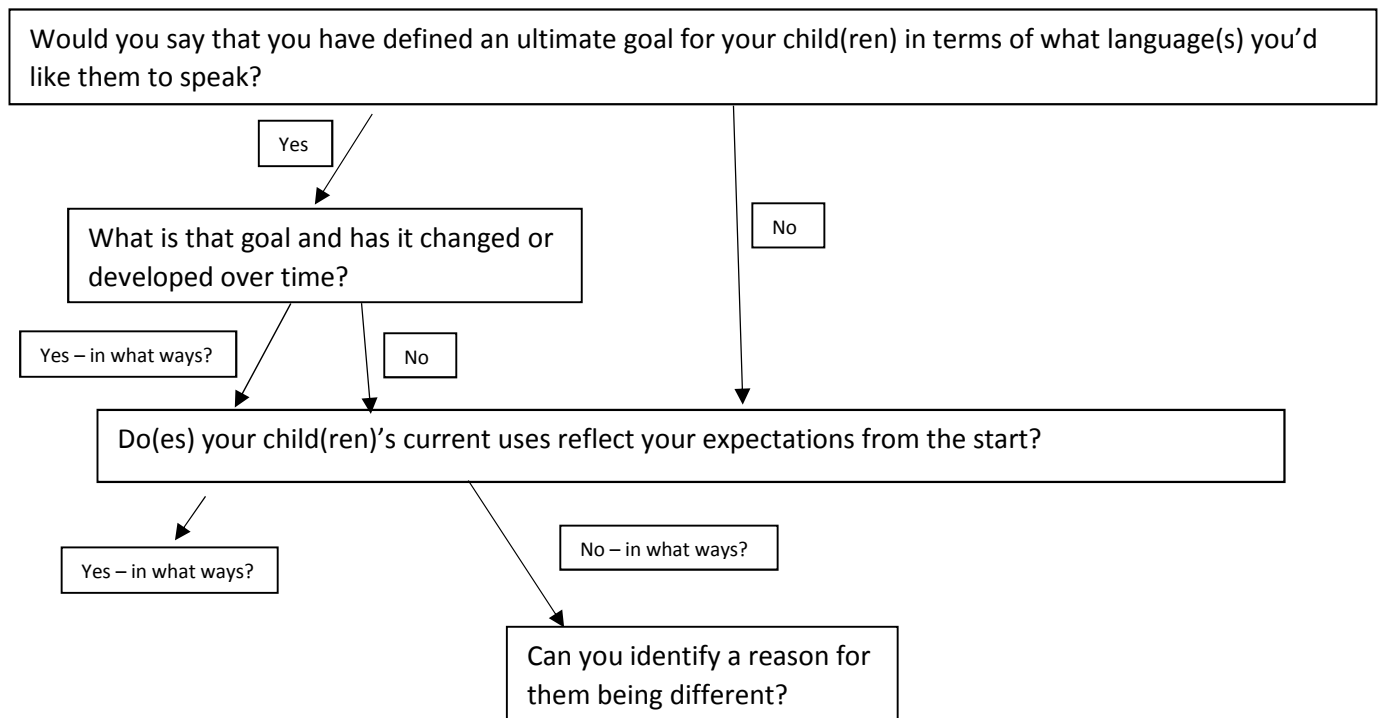
- You've been living here for years. Has that always been in the same place?
- Tell me a bit about how you came to set up home here.
Prompts: partner, work, social networks, language acquisition

Stage 2: Language practices

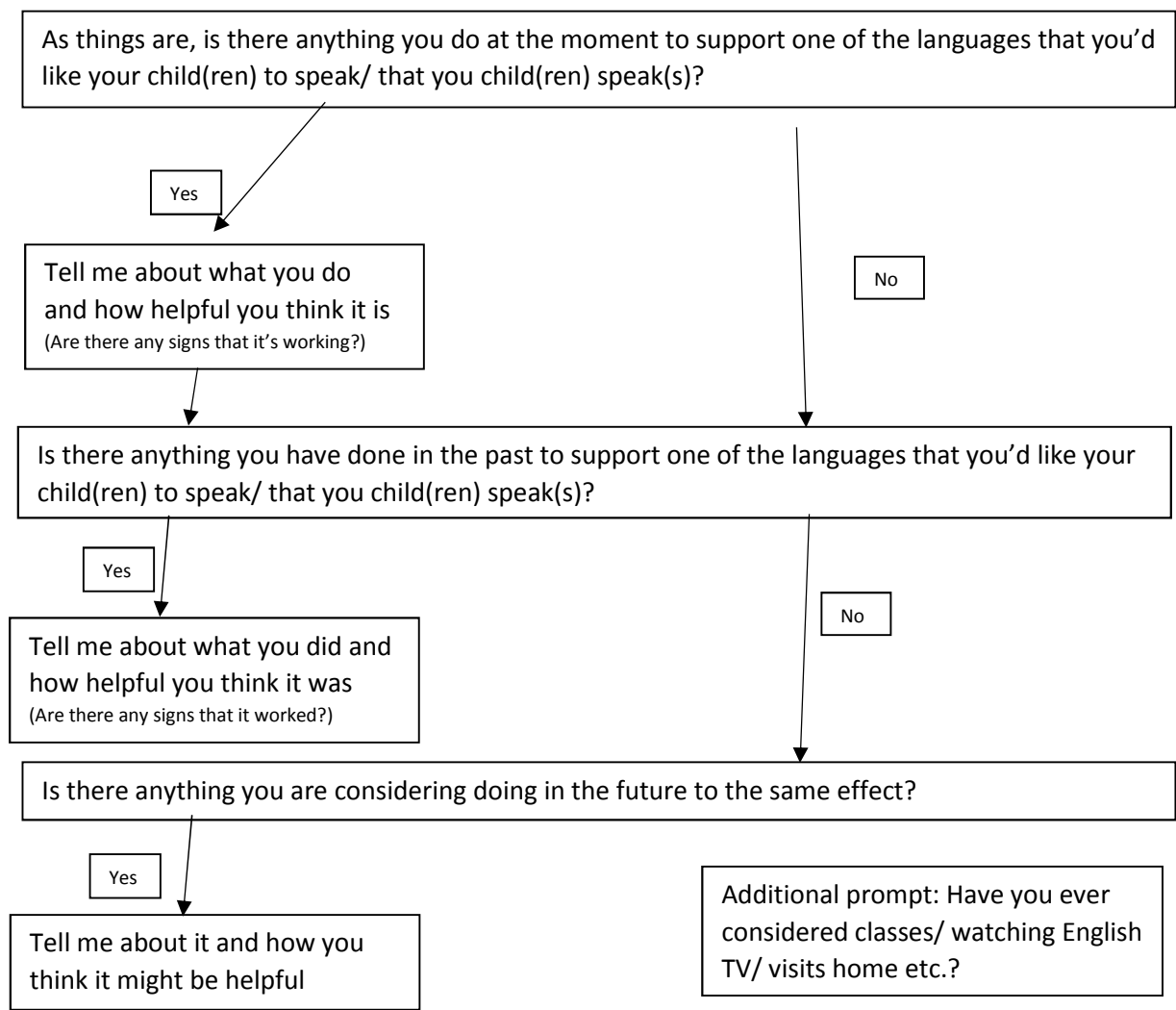
- Ok, so I'd like to know a bit about the language(s) that are normally used in your family. Could you complete this grid for me?
- Here, I have a grid with the language(s) that were normally used two years ago when you completed the family language questionnaire. I wonder if we could have a look at it together and see if there are any differences?
 - First of all, did you make a conscious decision to do things one way or the other from the start?



Stage 3: Language strategies



Stage 3 contd: Language strategies

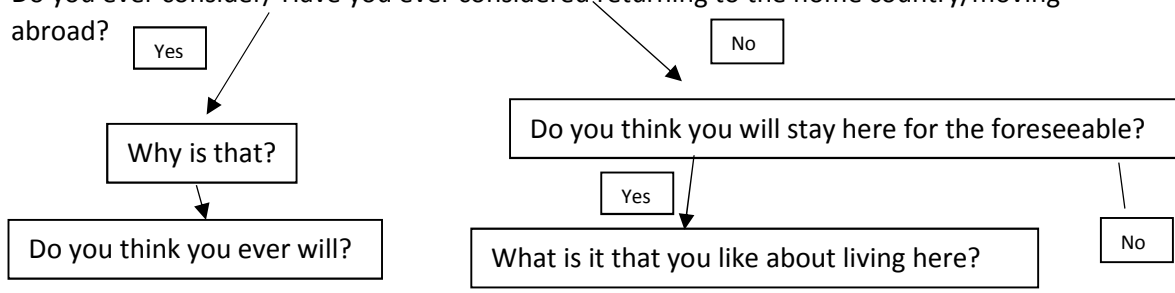


Stage 4: Language beliefs

- How important is it for you for your child(ren) to be competent in different languages? (Prompt English/Spanish/Catalan if one or more is left out)
- Is any one language more important than others for you? Why/why not?

Stage 5: Future orientations

- Do you ever consider/ Have you ever considered returning to the home country/moving abroad?



- How do you see your children's lives developing? Where do you think they will settle?
- Do you have any advice for other parents in a similar situation to you?

Appendix 9: Family language use grid

Please complete the grid with the language(s) used between the members of your family and an indication of what percentage of the time each language is used.

	SPOKEN TO					
	You	Your partner	Your eldest child	Your youngest child	Other (if appropriate)	
SPEAKER						
You	X					
Your partner		X				
Your eldest child			X			
Your youngest child				X		
Other (if appropriate)					X	

Appendix 10: Transcription conventions

Sensitive information

Pseudonyms have been used throughout, alongside a participant code which is made up of the following components:

C1A – short-hand for cluster 1/2/3/4 and children's age range A (0-5) /B (6-11) /C (12-16)

F1 – Family number

XXX - sensitive information which might identify a participant ((followed by a broader, non-identifying description within double parenthesis))

Code-switching

italics – words or utterances in a language other than English [followed by a translation to English within square brackets]

castellano is used by many parents throughout the interviews. It is the term for Castilian in Castilian.

Paralinguistic information

??? – indecipherable chunk

(laughs) – laughter

(sighs) - sigh

... – pause

___ - unfinished utterance

underlined - emphatic

erm/er/hmm – hesitation or doubt

[] – description of gestures, expressions or actions

[[]] – instructions and asides, including conversation with other interlocutors, phone calls etc.

Appendix 11: Codebook

Category	Code	Frequency	Description	Example	
Parents' migratory trajectories	TAP came for work	11	Parents state or allude to work being a reason why they moved to the metropolitan region of Barcelona (MRB)	Tom C1A F74: Well I came over here initially for a work. I came over on a year contract at a university	
	Both parents were internationally mobile prior to moving to MRB	6	Parents state or allude to themselves and their partners having lived in contexts other than that which in they grew up prior to moving to the MRB	Valerie C1C F114: I met my partner in Germany and my partner was Italian, is Italian still. And we moved from Germany to Italy and then from Italy here	
	TAP came for a relationship	5	Parents state or allude to a relationship being a reason why they moved to the MRB	Jack C2C F10: I came with an ex-girlfriend and it was her decision to come here	
	TAP didn't intend to stay long term	3	Parents state or allude to not intending to stay long-term when they initially moved to the MRB	Daniel C1B F150: Well originally I was going to come to Spain to learn Spanish and I was going to be here for two years: one year in Barcelona and one year in Seville or, just somewhere else	
	TAP loved Barcelona	2	Parents state or allude to a love of Barcelona being a reason why they moved to the MRB	Jenny C3A F125: I came to visit Barcelona and I fell in love and tried to figure out how I could move here. So after about another two or three years I ended up moving here with no Spanish and just on a whim started working and little by little started taking off	
	TAP wanted to use languages	1	Parents state or allude to a desire to use foreign languages being a reason why they moved to the MRB	John C2B F136: both my wife and I studied languages at university, French and Spanish and we, well I moved first, six months before her - basically because I wanted to use my languages	
	Lifestyle (reasons given for why TAPs enjoy living in MRB)	Weather	11	Parents state or allude to the weather being a reason why they enjoy living in the MRB	Jenny C3A F125: INT: what is it that you like about living here, I guess apart from the languages? F125: The weather. Erm, the weather, the fact we're outside quite a lot, like when I go back to Ireland and see all my

				brothers and sisters and their kids going out to the park when it's raining.
Geography and the activities that it enables	7	Parents state or allude to the geography of the area and the activities it enables as being a reason why they enjoy living in the MRB	John C2B F136: And we like the fact that there's very accessible areas, sort of natural areas, round about which we can go to and do go to on a regular basis in the area, and there's obviously the sea as well and that creates the opportunity to do lots of outdoor activities with them which I think is really important for kids.	
Languages	7	Parents state or allude to the fact that they can acquire and use foreign languages as a reason why they enjoy living in the MRB	Beth C2B F85: It's a fun to have to switch in and out of different languages all the time, for me I really enjoy that, for me it's fun.	
Social wellbeing	5	Parents state or allude to social wellbeing as a reason why they enjoy living in the MRB	Anthony C2C F57: I think, kind of deeper than that there's, especially when you compare it to where I'm from, it's much more family oriented and people are much more important. The American culture is much more selfish and much more about what you do and what you do is who you are and this kind of thing. It's very work oriented. Here it's, people care about people more, and I like that a lot.	
MRB is an inclusive society for children	4	Parents state or allude to the inclusive nature of the host society as a reason why they enjoy living in the MRB	Brian C4A F80: I think it's a very, I mean, it's a good place to bring up children. I think people are child friendly. I think there's a big emphasis on family. I, the children I see around seem to be very, generally, to be happy and well behaved	
People are open	3	Parents state or allude to how open people in the host society are as a reason why they enjoy living in the MRB	Valerie C1C F114: also like the fact that there's the two language thing going on. because I think Catalans being bilingual makes people more open to foreigners, so they're not so judgemental if you don't speak Catalan perfect or you don't speak Spanish perfect because a lot of them don't either.	
Enjoy living abroad	1	Parents state or allude to their enjoyment of living abroad as a reason why they enjoy living in the MRB	Beth C2B F85: it's like being abroad for both of us which is fun, we both really like that and we'd had that for the previous ten years	

	Near grandparents	1	Parents state or allude to living near their children's grandparents as a reason why they enjoy living in the MRB	Beth C2B F85: And because, my parents had retired here, and his parents were living in XXX [a European country], we thought well let's give Spain a shot
	Low cost of living	1	Parents state or allude to a lower cost of living as a reason why they enjoy living in the MRB	Jeremy C1B F134: the cost of living is favourable.
Membership categories	Child is Catalan	10	Parents state that their children are Catalan.	Tom C1A F74: I don't agree with sending my son who's Catalan to a British school to follow a British curriculum in English
	Roots and attachments	8	Parents state or allude to the motif of roots or attachments to discuss their degree of attachment to the MRB	John C2B F136: I think that they will be, they will have a very strong sort of their roots here in this area, having grown up all their lives here, and they'll have a very strong knit, close-knit community through continuity with school, through the different activities they're sort of part of and the families they're in contact with, so I can see them developing quite strong roots here in that sense
	Expat	7	This is an <i>in vivo</i> code which parents use to refer to migrants living in the MRB, often with a negative connotation that implies parents to be less well-integrated	Louise C2B F104: I didn't want to be an ex, sort of an expat, go and send them to a private school or anything
	Sense of belonging to two parallel communities	5	Parents state that they feel as if they belong to two parallel communities, referred to as expat and local. <i>Community</i> is the term used by parents	Hannah C1A F64: I also have very good friends. but I'm definitely like, I belong to both worlds. The expat world I very much belong to but I also belong to the, like, I have like the native friends because I've known people since I was like 18.
	Child is a foreigner	4	Parents state that their children are foreigner	Karen C1A F56: So he's not going to get that from there but the point is to be able to kind of fit in as a foreigner. Fit in because he'll always be a foreigner just because we're always foreigners but

				find the language in which to communicate and somehow part of the culture
Child is a third culture kid	4	Parents state that their children are third culture kids		Hannah C1A F64: as a third culture kid I've got to really watch her sense of identity. She'll have a lot of other strengths, multilingualism, flexibility, bla bla ba, going to an international school, but the one thing that really is something that you have to support these kids in is like "who am I?". Like my linguistic identity, my self, you know?
Fear of child feeling foreign to parent	2	Parents state that they fear that their children will feel foreign to them if they do not speak their L1 like them.		Hannah C1A F64: I look at that and I'm like I'm glad I've got my girl speaking English over here. No way. Like that would freak me out. like the biggest fear, both I think of her father and I, was to have a Catalan child. That was not cute. That was not like a bonding kind of thing that would happen. That's like, no. We definitely.
The professional foreigner	1	<i>In vivo</i> code used by a parent to refer to her ability to gain work based on having English and an L1		Valerie C1C F114: I feel like I'm the professional foreigner here
Elite Vs 'local' migrants	1	<i>In vivo</i> code used by a parent to refer to a difference she perceives between wealthy TAPs and TAPs who integrate into local networks of lower SES		Simone C1B F87: you see where I work, you know, there are lots of, it's kind of a niche market of you know foreigners in Barcelona. They all have loads of money and these private health insurances and they send their kids to these Benjamin Franklin schools and all the rest and I'm like no! "Where do your kids go to?" And I'm like just the local like (laughs). What advice? I don't know. My situation isn't comparable to at least that section of the foreigners here.
Children's future potentially transnational	30	Parents state or allude to their belief that their children are likely to engage in transnational migration in the future, often explicitly recognising that this belief reflects their own experiences.		Dennis C1B F95: what I'm thinking is they might also want to go abroad and Erasmus. they might want to live abroad as well because I did exactly the same and that was what I wanted to do.
Migratory project				

	No desire to leave now (would be out of necessity if did)	19	Parents state or allude to their contentment living in the MRB and desire to stay. They state or suggest that if they did leave, it would be out of necessity rather than choice.	Daniel C1B F150: if I had a different job, if I was employed by somebody else and I had a normal job you know? And I had a fantastic linkedin profile and somebody came and like fished me and said "hey do you want to come and live in New York for a few years?". I'd go "yeah!" But I can't foresee it happening.
Here to stay	14	Parents state or allude to their desire to stay in the MRB long-term.	Jason C3B F156: INT: Ok, moving on to the last part then. Do you ever consider returning to the UK or F156: No INT: or moving elsewhere abroad? F156: No, never. I mean we've talked about moving elsewhere but I don't think it's ever going to happen	
Mobility an option for professional reasons	6	Parents state or allude to the possibility of onward migration, not because they are unhappy in the MRB, but because they may be offered better professional opportunities elsewhere and would consider taking them.	Karl C2A F129: But leaving Spain to go to another country would be for work reasons	
Here for now but plans might change	5	Parents state or allude to a desire to stay in the MRB, whilst also stating that the future is uncertain and plans might change due to unforeseen events or circumstances.	John C2B F136: INT: So do you ever consider returning to the UK or moving elsewhere abroad? F136: We, yeah, we might consider it. I think at the moment it's not something that is on the cards at the moment. I think we're quite happy, actually very happy bringing up kids in this context, in Catalunya, in Barcelona and yeah, we haven't got any plans to move at the moment.	
Appeal of spending half the year in home country and the other	3	Parents state or allude to the belief that it would be appealing to spend six months in the home country and another six months in the host society.	Jenny C3A F125: Do you ever consider returning to Ireland or moving abroad somewhere else? F125: Erm, for the moment no. But if I won the lotto tomorrow I'd love to live half the time over there and half the time here.	

	half in host society			
TAPs' Castilian language acquisition	University studies	11	Parents state or allude to having studied Castilian at university	Hannah C1A F64: I decided to learn Spanish. So, I mean I was 17 so yeah. And then I did it and got a degree in it and I, you know, so I've been speaking Spanish for 25 years
	at work	6	Parents state or allude to having acquired Castilian through work	Mary C2C F35: we are trying to get to the level where we can lead conferences in Spanish. We're not quite at that level yet but we interact in Spanish with our workers.
	Post-arrival classes	6	Parents state or allude to having acquired Castilian through classes after arriving in Spain	Jenny C3A F125: INT: So you came with no Spanish and have you been learning that since you arrived? F125: Erm, at the beginning I was learning. I went to school - I went to one of the public schools for Spanish - and then I had to stop because I took a full-time job and since then I haven't really done anything with my Spanish. My Spanish is ok but there's a lot of faults
	Pre-arrival classes	3	Parents state or allude to having acquired Castilian through classes before arriving in Spain	Dennis C1B F93: I started learning Spanish at night school and decided I wanted to move here and then after about two years there was an opportunity to move to Barcelona so I came here and stayed here ever since
	Previous travels	3	Parents state or allude to having acquired Castilian through previous travels to primarily L1 Castilian-speaking contexts	Brian C4A F80: In 199, no sorry, 2000, I moved to Madrid for nine months and got quite good at Spanish
	Partner	3	Parents state or allude to having acquired Castilian through their partner	Jack C2C F10: INT: Ok, and when did you learn those? F10: I learnt Spanish after meeting my wife, largely because of the relationship
	Family	1	Parents state or allude to having acquired Castilian through family	Karen C1A F56: I had to learn Spanish basically to talk to his family more than anything

	Friends	1	Parents state or allude to having acquired Castilian through friends	<p>Amanda C3C F95: And I moved into a flat with some Spanish people straightaway even though I was working in the language institute which is this little English speaking island. And that was good because it sort of forced me to get into the Spanish, you know, social life, and not just live like a Brit, like an expat.</p> <p>Leah C3A F27: I enrolled for the Catalan classes here and I've gradually worked up from, I started at elementary level and then have continued up and am now more or less at the nivel D, D level which, I've done the classes but just never done the exam</p> <p>Albert C1C F143: then I picked up a little bit of it and then I got a job at a university and I thought well, now I have to do an exam because it was in a language service, everyone spoke Catalan and that was it from then on I started to speak in Catalan and picked it up very quickly and took some exams in it, I've got level D, so yeah I'm fluent in Catalan.</p> <p>Louise C2B F104: INT: Did you learn Catalan a bit later on? F104: yeah, I suppose Catalan came more when the kids started school, when I realised that it was going to be quite important, Catalan</p> <p>Amanda C3C F95: And obviously when I met my husband - his family are from a small village - and his father really doesn't speak actually any, didn't speak any Spanish - not very well, made mistakes and you become very conscious straightaway if you're marrying in that you're making everybody on that table change language the second you open your mouth. And if you just bumble along a bit in Catalan then they are quite happy about that and it's much more relaxing for them. So I think there was the sort of family pressure to learn Catalan</p> <p>Jason C3B F156:</p>
TAPs' Catalan language acquisition	Classes	8	Parents state or allude to having acquired Catalan through classes	
	Work	7	Parents state or allude to having acquired Catalan through work	
	School	4	Parents state or allude to having acquired Catalan through school	
	Family	2	Parents state or allude to having acquired Catalan through family	
	Children	2	Parents state or allude to having acquired Catalan through their children	

				<p>I've probably sort of learnt more Catalan domestically and felt more comfortable in Catalan since my kids have been born. Simply because there's then much more Catalan around me.</p> <p>Beth C2B F85: then at some point my Mum switched to Catalan, a round aged ten or twelve. She thought the move to the States would be temporary and then I think she realised the longer, that if she didn't start at some point that was the end of Catalan basically so she started pretty late with me. And I didn't, I heard it, so she decided just literally one day she only spoke to me in Catalan.</p> <p>Amanda C3C F95: INT: And has Catalan ever featured? F95: Catalan started featuring in the language institute. This one particular group of friends that I met, they were all 23 and used to go out regularly - in fact we still do once every month - sort of six or seven of them were really really what I could absolutely understand now as being <i>independentistes</i> [separatists], you know the sort of Catalan independence movement, sons and daughters of some big Catalan names and they wouldn't speak to me in anything else. it was either English or Catalan, they would never speak to me in Spanish. It shocked me a bit at first because I was learning Spanish and I didn't speak Catalan so we were forced just to speak in English but I think especially one of my friends in the group, was probably the one who most encouraged me because she gave me the reasons to learn which was poetry, films, books, going out and enjoying the Catalan culture and seeing really truly that that's the way people live.</p> <p>Karl C2A F129: Mostly people from here or other parts of Spain or other Europeans who have lived here and we end up speaking Spanish because it's the neutral language, so they could be French or Italian or what not. And also through ex-colleagues that turn out to be friends, generally if it's not a business</p>
Home language as a child	1	Parents state or allude to having acquired Catalan through it being an L1 of one of their parents and it being used occasionally at home when they were a child		
Friends	1	Parents state or allude to having acquired Catalan through friends		
TAPS' language uses	15	Parents state or allude to a use Castilian as a <i>lingua franca</i> in social situations	Castilian as a social lingua franca	

					associated task you usually conduct yourself at the water cooler in Spanish.
	TAP has experienced linguistic accommodation	5	Parents state or allude to situations in which L1 Catalan speakers have used Castilian in order to accommodate to them. This is not always an accommodation which is actively desired by the TAP.		Albert C1C F143: Initially when I came to Barcelona it was Spanish. I met a lot of people from outside Barcelona and then I met a few Catalan people but we carried on in Spanish. Then I learnt Catalan and had to force them to speak Catalan to me. It was quite a struggle. You've probably experienced it. You say, "No no no, I speak Catalan": "ok, d'acord, yeah" and it last five minutes and they're switching. But in the end yeah, with my Catalan speaking friends we speak in Catalan.
	Inertia condition	3	Based on the term coined by Spolsky & Cooper (1991) to refer to the phenomenon of couples continuing to speak the same language in which they met. Parents state or allude to this being true for them.		Karen C1A F56: my husband and I speak English because we started in English. It's hard to switch. I don't know, if you have a relationship, because once you start in one language it's hard to switch to another even though now I think we might speak both of them the same but when I met him I didn't speak any word of Spanish
TAPs' language beliefs	TAP is interested in language and cultures	13	Parents state or allude to a personal interest in language and cultures		Jim C2B F83: But like I said since I've loved languages, I've always loved the differences between English and Spanish, it's always been something that's interested me.
	Learning Catalan is important for TAPs	9	Parents state or allude to a belief that learning Catalan is important for TAPs		John C2B F136: INT: the last question is if you have any advice for other parents in a similar situation to you? F136: Erm, yeah, I'd say definitely, I think one very important thing is learning to speak the language in which you are in and when it's, when you're in a bilingual, there's a lot of people who only learn Spanish and don't really learn Catalan and I think that closes, well put it this way, I think Catalan opens a lot of doors. The fact that you speak, because it's so culturally important to Catalans and Catalan identity, it opens a lot of doors, being able to speak the language and changes the way you communicate with people so I suppose that would become

				<p>thing. And it's particularly important when you're going into a school where it's a Catalan speaking school. You could certainly speak both but I think people are particularly receptive when you do, it's a lot easier to integrate into that environment if you speak the languages. That would be one bit of advice.</p> <p>Jeremy C1B F134: I figured I probably needed to have a working knowledge of it living here. And it actually has helped me out because the job I'm in now I sell educational software to schools - Catalan in education is really important</p> <p>Jeremy C1B F134: INT: Could you explain how important it is for you for your children to be competent in the different languages? F134: It's one of the top priorities in our raising them because, first of all I think it, multi, being able to speak multi languages both for my wife and myself has been a comp, professional competitive advantage.</p> <p>Amanda C3C F95: but they do appreciate it. I think that's the key isn't it? The fact that you've made the effort and crossed the bridge is really important, you know?</p> <p>Jason C3B F95 (describing his wife as a Catalan speaker): politically has a very kind of strong sense, although kind of let's say slightly less strong than when I met her of kind of identity and language.</p>	
			<p>Parents state or allude to a belief that learning Catalan has been helpful for professional reasons</p>	7	<p>Learning Catalan is helpful for work</p>
			<p>Parents state or allude to a belief that they have benefitted professionally from being an L1 English speaker</p>	6	<p>TAP has benefitted professionally from having English as an L1</p>
			<p>Parents state or allude to a belief that Catalan is a valuable means of social integration for TAPs</p>	4	<p>Catalan is a means of social integration for TAPs</p>
			<p>Parents state or allude to a belief that speaking Catalan might align them with certain political positioning with which they might not feel totally comfortable</p>	3	<p>Speaking Catalan is linked to political positioning</p>

Category	Code	Frequency	Description	Example
FLM goals: ultimate goal	Trilingual with additional foreign languages if possible	12	In answer to the question “would you say that you have defined an ultimate goal for your children?”, parents state or allude to a desire for their children to acquire English, Castilian, Catalan and other foreign languages if possible	John C2B F136: Uhm, I think we had it clear that we were, being here it made sense to become and there was the opportunity to become trilingual. It was a question of creating habits which enabled that. They're also learning - I don't know if I'd say it was a goal - I think certainly languages are important and multilingualism is important so, I suppose in that sense I have an expectation, but it depends a bit as to how they evolve from then on it's up to them. I mean they're learning French at school now so they'll take that to where they want to take it but they'll be encouraged by us
	Trilingual	7	In answer to the question “would you say that you have defined an ultimate goal for your children?”, parents state or allude to a desire for their children to acquire English, Castilian, Catalan	Tom C1A F74: Erm I'd like him to be, well, one thing is the environmental language which is Catalan. He's Catalan, he's born here. I'd like him to be speaking all three languages, all three languages, and that's it, naturally.
	No goal	3	In answer to the question “would you say that you have defined an ultimate goal for your children?”, parents explicitly state that they have not defined a goal for their children.	Louise C2B F104: Well, they're going to speak English Spanish and Catalan so it's not my goal really - it's just what's going to happen. It's not intentional. I haven't thought I want them to speak languages but that's what they're going to speak.
	Quadrilingual with additional foreign languages if possible	3	In answer to the question “would you say that you have defined an ultimate goal for your children?”, parents state or allude to a desire for their children to acquire English, Castilian, Catalan, another parental L1 and additional foreign languages	Eliza C2A F36: Um, yeah the ultimate goal is English and Italian, right now, because we know that Spanish and Catalan are going to happen regardless. I'm sure, if we moved And then we'd like them to learn another language, a fifth language
	Quadrilingual	2	In answer to the question “would you say that you have defined an ultimate goal for your children?”, parents state	Beth C2B F85: I'd like them to speak all four languages , so English Spanish Catalan and Greek , to be comfortable in them.

FLM goals: level of English	Fluent	10	or allude to a desire for their children to acquire English, Castilian, Catalan and another parental L1.	Leah C3A F27: INT: Yeah. Would you say that you've defined an ultimate goal for your daughter in terms of what languages you'd like her to speak? F27: Fluently? Yes, I would love her to speak proper, I mean fluent English.
	NS accent	3	In answer to the question "would you say that you have defined an ultimate goal for your children?", parents state or allude to a desire for their children to attain native or native-like fluency. Includes the use of the terms "fluently", "properly" and "like me" to define how their children speak English.	Eliza C2A F36: my goal isn't that they can just speak English - of course they're going to speak English - it's that they sound like an American. You know so if they go work in the US they will seem for all intents and purposes like Americans even though they're really kind of not
Academic/ professional level	3	3	In answer to the question "would you say that you have defined an ultimate goal for your children?", parents state or allude to a desire for their children to attain a native or native-like accent in English. The accent is directly linked to the parent's place of origin.	Jack C2C F10: Would you say that you've defined an ultimate goal for your children in terms of the languages you'd like them to speak? F10: Yes. The goal from the start is that they'd be highly literate individuals in all three of their languages and be capable of carrying on university level studies in any of their three languages. And accordingly be able to make their lives in a professional environment defined by any three of the languages or any combination of the three languages.
FLM language decisions	Intentional exclusive use	23	Parents state or allude to a conscious decision to make exclusive use of	Jenny C3A F125:

	<p>of English at home with the children</p>		<p>English with their children. In all cases parents report their only exceptions to this rule as being when a non-English speaker is present and needs to be included in the conversation.</p>	<p>INT: but erm, you had a discussion perhaps at the beginning about how you'd do it and you'd always wanted to speak English with her?</p> <p>F125: yeah definitely, because I knew if I didn't she wouldn't have any connection with my family in Ireland. For me it was very important. I thought about, even an English school or even a French school, but it's just so expensive here.</p>
<p>Evidence of explicit discussion and conscious decision-making</p>	<p>22</p>	<p>Parents state or allude to having a discussion with the other parent of the child(ren) in order to decide what language(s) should be spoken by whom and to whom.</p>	<p>Jenny C3A F125: INT: And did you make a conscious decision from the beginning, perhaps with the, with you using English and your ex using Catalan with her? Was that</p> <p>F125: Erm, I think my ex really wanted to speak Catalan with her and I kind of said well maybe Spanish was better because she'd do Catalan in school and in the creche. And he was like very adamant that he wanted to speak Catalan. because he's Spanish / Catalan.</p>	
<p>Conscious decision to focus on English at home</p>	<p>12</p>	<p>Parents state or allude to a conscious decision to reinforce the presence of English at home. This code is different to <i>Intentional exclusive use of English at home with the children</i> in that it does not necessarily include the use of English with children.</p>	<p>Eliza C2A F36: now she goes to school, and she goes to school in Catalan, we've become more concentrated at home [on English]. Because before she was around me in one way or another all day long, and now there really, it's maybe for a very short time in the morning, then it's time in the afternoon and then it's weekends so it's completely changed the dynamic in terms of languages</p>	
<p>Difficulty sticking to initial decision</p>	<p>6</p>	<p>Parents state or allude to experiencing difficulties enacting their initial language choices</p>	<p>Simone C1B F87: INT: So with the, you say you speak mainly English with the children , with a bit of Spanish and Catalan, is that something you'd decided to do from the beginning or did it just come out like that?</p> <p>F87: Erm, not from the beginning actually because you see, I</p>	

				lived, as I say, in Santiago for 16 years and I didn't really speak English, you know, despite being a translator for much of that time but it was all passive, it was all in my head. I wasn't speaking it actively. So when I had a baby it was like "god!". It came out in Spanish! So I really had to make a conscious effort to speak to him in English and at first it just wasn't really happening.
	Parent codeswitches to accommodate for child	4	Parents state that they use an official language of the host society to accommodate their child(ren)'s language preferences.	Dennis C1B F93: With both of them [children], it might actually be 50/50, because sometimes if they're things which are important, I tend to say it more in Spanish than in English just so they understand. And then sometimes I repeat the same in English or vice versa.
	No discussion	3	Parents state or allude to the fact that they did not have a discussion with their partner about which language(s) to use with their child(ren)	Jim C2B F83: INT: Was it a conscious decision to do things a particular way from the start? Did you discuss it? F83: I think it was just always assumed that we would speak English to them. I was always always sure that I was going to speak English to them.
	Subject to reassessment and change	2	Parents state or allude to the fact that their initial language decisions have been and are likely to continue to be reassessed and adapted according to their children's language abilities	Beth C2B F85: reassessing every year where the kids are and what they can handle
FLM expectations	High expectations	16	Parents state or allude to high levels of expectations in terms of their children's language ability, referring to high levels of academic achievement.	John C2B F136: And what I mentioned before about reading and writing, developing that to get up to a sort of native level will require a bit more input at some point, because their development is less far on than somebody in the UK would be at the moment. INT: And that's what you'd be aiming for? F136: I think we would be.

	Initial expectations unmet	10	Parents state or allude to the fact that they perceive their children's current language ability as being beneath their initial expectations.	<p>Dennis C1B F93: INT: And, do their uses at the moment, their language uses at the moment, reflect your expectations from the start?</p> <p>F93: The elder one in terms of understanding. But the younger one, no I don't think so. I think, when they were born. Certainly when the first one was born I thought this would be really easy. I thought it would come naturally to them and to the older one yes, in that he understands but he doesn't want to talk. But again when we talk to other people about this some of them say, it's all in his mind and one day he'll suddenly start speaking which is the part which is missing at the moment so I think it needs to improve but yeah.</p>
	Initial expectations have been exceeded	9	Parents state or allude to the fact that they perceive their children's current language ability as being greater than their initial expectations.	<p>Jim C2B F83: INT: And do their language uses at the moment reflect your expectations from the start?</p> <p>F83: Yes, I didn't think it would be - Like I said, I think I overdid it at the beginning. Or maybe I didn't have such high expectations so I think they've actually - they're more bilingual at this age than I thought they would be.</p>
	Initial expectations met	6	Parents state or allude to the fact that they perceive their children's current language ability as being at the same level as their initial expectations.	<p>Louise C2B F104: INT: Ok, and do your children's language uses at the moment reflect what you expected from the start?</p> <p>F104: Yeah I think so! Yeah! I expect them to be fluent in Spanish and Catalan and they are, maybe not as fluent as a real Catalan Catalan - maybe as fluent but maybe not the vocabulary is not quite as much as them, as a Catalan - but they can, they're perfectly fluent in Spanish and Catalan.</p>
	No need for perfection	5	Parents state or allude to the fact that their children do not need to reach a native speaker level of language ability in English.	<p>Jason C3B F156: That they've got that, if you like platform or an implant there, whatever you want to call it, to function almost let's say completely smoothly as an English language speaker in the same way they do as a Catalan language or a Spanish language speaker. You know ok we'll always, someone will always say, like</p>

						<p>I've got friends who are older who've got kids who are maybe 25 or 30 now. There's always something about what they say but they function completely normally in that language.</p> <p>Karl C2A F129: I do need to do more so my expectation is that I think they need to improve. At four years old should they be doing more? Maybe they should but at the moment I think they're, I've seen marked improvement over the past say year or so. So at the moment I guess I'm content but I also realise that going forward more will need to be done to improve their literacy.</p> <p>Jason C3B F156: It's Catalan and Spanish and English. And as I said before, if there was Russian and there was German or French in there then it would be those languages as well. The more the merrier</p> <p>Karen C1A F56: I think that competent is just so that it can be a useful tool for them in the future. I mean if they end up working or living in a country that speaks any of the two languages great.</p> <p>Eliza C2A F36: Every parent is different; you know, I know a lot of parents who are a lot more relaxed about it but I'm not relaxed about language</p> <p>Jeremy C1B F134: And to me when I see people who, regardless of the language, I don't care if it's Swahili, their children do not speak it, I think it's such a shame, especially when you're talking about a language like English or Spanish, a language that is, let's say, worldwide important be very strict with your kids.</p> <p>Eliza C2A F36: Italian is more of an emotional cultural side</p>
	Initial expectations met so far but potential difficulties foreseen	2	Parents state or allude to the fact that their expectations have been met so far, whilst also predicting future challenges. In both cases the future challenge lies in the area of literacy skills.			
FLM beliefs: languages	The more languages, the merrier	21	In-vivo code taken from Jason the example provided. Parents state or allude to a belief that they would like their children to learn as many languages as possible.			
	Utilitarian view of languages	19	Parents state or allude to a belief that certain languages are useful, instrumental or necessary, often appealing to a language's number of speakers or functions.			
	Language is important for me	8	Parents state or allude to a belief that they value language abilities highly.			
	Despective reference to other non-official languages	5	Parents state or allude to a belief that some languages are inferior to others in a perceived language hierarchy.			
	Other home language is of	3	Parents state or allude to a belief that the other non-official parental L1 is			

	emotional relevance		limited to emotional relevance (often as opposed to utility)	
FLM beliefs: plurilingualism	Easier for their children to learn foreign languages	8	Parents state or allude to a belief that their children's plurilingualism will facilitate their acquisition of additional foreign languages	Anthony C2C F57: because he's getting closer to the age where he might learn another language we think that's great! He's already got four actually and it'll probably be quite easy for him to add another one
	Their children have lower language abilities than other children	7	Parents state or allude to a belief that their children have inferior language abilities to other children. The other children tend to be referred to as native speakers.	John C2B F136: And what I mentioned before about reading and writing, developing that to get up to a sort of native level will require a bit more input at some point, because their development is less far on than somebody in the UK would be at the moment.
	Parents would have liked to be plurilingual from a young age	2	Parents state or allude to a desire that they had been raised plurilingually from a young age.	Jason C3B F156: in a sense what my kids live is, if there's something romanticised about it I think God, if I could have gone back when I was a kid and thought, grow up next to the Mediterranean speaking three languages, what a marvellous thing to be able to do!
FLM beliefs: English	Codeswitching problematic	2	Parents state or allude to a belief that codeswitching is detrimental to their children's linguistic development	Jack C2C F10: I expected less codeswitching in my teenager because when she was young she resisted codeswitching. And at some point around the age of twelve she got into it and she has codeswitched like a pro ever since. I discourage her from doing this and try to keep her English very pure when she's speaking predominantly English with the argument that her ability to call up vocabulary and turns of phrase will sort of wither away if she doesn't use that muscle.
	English for emotional/identity reasons	18	Parents state or allude to a belief that English is a part of their children's emotional heritage and identity. It is considered to be an important aspect of the parent-child relationship.	Tom C1A F74: because one thing's about his heritage, who he is. One language comes from me, one from his mother,

	English for professional and academic reasons	15	Parents state or allude to a belief that English is valuable for their children's academic and professional futures.	<p>Karl C2A F129: and C) professional reasons. You need English in this world. I'm not saying that's a positive or a negative but it's a result. You need to speak English. Daddy's been living in Barcelona for twelve years and almost all of my jobs have needed English. Not only, but as well as so it, the world is this way.</p> <p>Una C4A F122: And English too, I mean it's a global language and you go round the world and I don't have to know Chinese to talk to someone, just knowing English. I don't know if this is going to change in the future, but to be better like that</p> <p>Eliza C2A F36: it's the dominant language in the world in terms of business, education, science, technology, you know, politics, I mean it's kind of like a no-brainer.</p> <p>Jeremy C1B F134: I don't care if it's Swahili, their children do not speak it, I think it's such a shame, especially when you're talking about a language like English or Spanish, a language that is, let's say, worldwide important be very strict with your kids.</p>
FLM beliefs: Castilian	Castilian is a global language	15	<p>Parents state or allude to a belief that Castilian is a global language in terms of</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) number of speakers ii) international prestige (high up in a global language hierarchy) 	<p>Brian C4A F80: Spanish is obviously second spoken language in the world, you know, it opens up kind of, obviously Spain but you've got Latin America</p> <p>Una C4A F122: And Spanish as well. This language I think has got more importance around the world as well.</p>
FLM beliefs: Catalan	Castilian for emotional/identity reasons Catalan important for	1 13	<p>Parents state or allude to a belief that Castilian is valuable as part of their emotional connection to family members</p> <p>Parents state or allude to a belief that Catalan is valuable as part of their</p>	<p>Robert C1C F10: Spanish is the language their Mum speaks, their Spanish family speaks. There's no one else in the Spanish family who speaks English apart from one aunt.</p> <p>Jenny C3A F125: Knowing that she lives here, I wanted her to learn Catalan just to feel that she fitted in anyway</p>

	children's social integration		children's social integration into the host society. The idea of "fitting in" with local children is recurrent.	
Catalan's utility is restricted to Catalonia	9	Parents state or allude to a belief that the value of Catalan is restricted to Catalonia (often stated in opposition to the global value of Castilian/English)	Una C4A F122: I don't think Catalan is very useful out of Catalonia because, I mean, well I have experience from my reality because it's like it's only here. But in here they speak a lot (laughs).	
Catalan important for academic reasons	4	Parents state or allude to a belief that Catalan is valuable for their children's academic futures in Catalonia	Robert C1C F10: And Catalan, they live here so, they at least need to be able to get enough Catalan to get out of the school system, get a certificate from the school system saying that they're educated.	
Catalan for identity	4	Parents state or allude to a belief that the Catalan language forms part of their children's sense of identity and heritage	Amanda C3C F95: having a partner who is Catalan and in the inevitability of him [my son] you know maybe going to Britain to do a degree, getting fed up with the weather and saying "Oh my god, I'm really Catalan " and really probably spending most of his life here is very high and therefore, the better he can get in Catalan and Spanish I think was sort of the goal for me.	
Catalan not given importance	4	Parents state or allude to a belief that Catalan is of little value. This includes excerpts from answers to questions in which parents make no reference to Catalan as a language that they might be concerned about.	Eliza C2A F36: Catalan I don't care about, I mean it only serves them here so if we move from <i>Catalunya</i> I don't think that would be my biggest concern.	
Children have negative attitudes towards Catalan	3	Parents state or allude to a belief that their children have negative attitudes towards Catalan.	Robert C1C F5: And the Catalan speaking kids speak Spanish perfectly and you know they kind of, they're very aware that Catalan is a kind of regional language. You know they've both grown up with an international outlook so the older one wants to live in New York or whatever. And she shrugs her shoulders and rolls her eyes whenever you mention Catalan.	

	Catalan funny	2	Parents state or allude to a belief that Catalan is funny or comical and sometimes the object of ridicule within the family.	Simone C1B F87: his Dad's always going on about Catalan "M'entesos, m'entesos" taking the mickey out of the Catalans and stuff. But my son's best friend is Catalan now as well so he's making up his own mind which is good. But I personally also find Catalan quite funny but I don't, you know, I don't say, I mean I don't, we laugh gently, nicely about it.
	Catalan because it needs more speakers	1	Parents state or allude to a belief that Catalan should be used at home in order to increase its number of speakers	Jack C2C F10: Followed by Catalan, because it needs more speakers. It's in a delicate state.
FLM beliefs: official languages of host society context	Unconcerned about the official host society languages	12	Parents state or allude to a belief that both Castilian and Catalan will be acquired through contact with host society institutions and social fields. As a result they state that they are unconcerned about their children's linguistic development in them.	Beth C2B F85: And I know the Spanish and Catalan will come naturally on its own.
	Official host society languages important for children's integration	10	Parents state or allude to a belief that both Castilian and Catalan are important for their children's social integration	Jim C2B F83: So, you know, we always bought them to public daycare, or Spanish/Catalan daycare and public school right here as well. So they never went to any English-speaking school or anything like that either. That was also clear to us. We wanted the children to be integrated in Barcelona.
FLM beliefs: affordances/ limitations	Public school English language classes do not meet their children's needs	7	Parents state or allude to a belief that the English classes provided in state-funded educational institutions is insufficient to meet their children's English language needs	Leah C3A F27: I think most parents here in Barcelona find that the English classes are not taxing enough for them at all.

<p>FLM beliefs: parental role in linguistic development</p>	<p>Parents should speak a first language to their children</p>	<p>13</p>	<p>Parents state or allude to a belief that parents should use a first language with their children. Often this is referred to be as “natural” or the right thing to do.</p>	<p>Karen C1A F56: well I know a lot, not a lot but quite a few cases of one of the parents speaking English to them but they're not a native English speaker, say some Scandinavian families for example, an Austrian family that the mother speaks English quite well, she studied in the States for a few years and her English is quite good but it's not a native - she makes mistakes with tenses, some tenses, uses the present continuous where we don't use it and things like that. Then the shame is the kids copy those same mistakes and copy - I don't want to say the bad inflection - but it doesn't sound fluid in a way - it doesn't have the same melody, do you know what I mean? INT: Yeah. F56: Yeah, and there's a million different kinds of melodies in English but it's not a native speaker one. So we didn't want to do that ever. And I've seen people do that and, no. (laughs) For sure not. So, and maybe the Scandinavians do it because they feel that English would be more useful than having perfect Danish, or if their partner is not from the same country, do you see what I mean? So probably their partner hasn't learnt that language because it's not, it's a bit more exotic, let's say. And they probably met in a common language which could be usually English and then that's how it gets passed on to their kids, for good and for bad I suppose. They lose their parents language and culture and gain a bad English but anyway.</p>
	<p>More conscious effort involved than just talking to children in English</p>	<p>5</p>	<p>Parents state or allude to a belief that raising their children to use English is more difficult than it might seem. They state that more, conscious effort is involved than just using the language with their children.</p>	<p>Karl C2A F129: We've realised that just by living and speaking to each other is not going to be enough. It's insufficient. And that's my message to you from my experience. Just by having a child and speaking to them in English, even though we live here, would not be enough to develop their English. They will always be a few grades below other NSs. As an English speaker here you need to do conscious efforts to push for, encourage it and be patient and to repeat and to draw things and write things on blackboards and you need to do all that whereas if we were living in Vancouver or England, that would not be required.</p>

	English transmission as good parenting	2	Based on King & Fogle’s concept of “good parenting” (King & Fogle, 2006). Parents state or allude to a belief that English language transmission is part of being a good parent	<p>Jeremy C1B F134: INT: And you've always just used English with your children? F134: Only English. That's one of my best, one of my biggest accomplishments I think as a parent.</p> <p>Karl C2A F129: what do I need to do as a parent in another country to teach English? I'm not a teacher. I don't pretend to be. I don't know what I'm doing. I'm just a father who loves my girls.</p> <p>Louise C2B F104: INT: Could you tell me - maybe it seems really obvious but how important is it for your children to be competent in the different languages? F104: Yeah, well 100%. They have, they will be. That's strange - how important? because they will be and it's important yeah! INT: Ok, F104: There's no question of them not being, I don't think.</p> <p>Simone C1B F87: F87: yeah it's predominantly Spanish I'm afraid. ... INT: You said to me, you said I'm afraid. Do you feel disappointed about it or anything? F87: yeah probably if I'm honest yeah.</p> <p>Mary C2C F35: But that being said, I think my kids have done phenomenally. While they prefer to read in English, they can read novels in Spanish and Catalan as well and so for me, that is huge! because they love to read so the gift of being able to read in multiple languages to me is just phenomenal.</p> <p>Daniel C1B F150: And she was the one who, when my daughter was born, then she would say to my son, don't speak to my daughter in Spanish</p>
FLM beliefs: intended linguistic outcomes for children	Successful transmission inevitable	2	Parents state or allude to a belief that successful transmission of English is inevitable	
	Shame/regret that their children don't speak more English	2	Parents state or allude to a sense of shame or regret that their children do not make more use of English	
FLM beliefs: children's linguistic attainment	Proud of children's attainment	5	Parents state or allude to a sense of pride that their children have attained high levels of ability in several languages	
FLM agents	Supportive role of non-L1	14	Parents state or allude to their perceptions of the non-L1 English-	

	English-speaking parent		speaking parent playing a supportive role in their children's linguistic development in English. This might be attributed to the non-L1 English-speaking parents' use of English with the children, or to their insistence on the L1 English-speaking parent using it with the children.	because she doesn't understand, you have to speak to her in English. And, you know, I thought at the time that actually, you know, don't confuse her anymore than we need to if you know what I mean. But that is, to be fair, all down to her and I'm really pleased that she did do it that way round, if you know what I mean, because I think it, maybe English would have kind of slipped away a little bit more. Because if I'm speaking Spanish to my wife and then if my kids were speaking Spanish, the conversation would just generally be in Spanish.
Grandparents play an important role	13	Parents state or allude to a positive contribution to their children's linguistic development from grandparents. The contribution stems from the fact that their presence exerts the norms of monolingual interaction on children's language uses.	Karen CIA F56: one of the grandparents from one of the sides will come and help us because we have no other family here. So in that case he's surrounded by the real, from that country, because they don't speak the other languages. they're not like us where you pretend you don't understand but you do. So that's, that's what we do	
Parental impact belief	12	Based on De Houwer's concept of parental impact belief: "the parental belief that parents can exercise some sort of control over their children's linguistic functioning" (De Houwer, 1999: 83). Parents state or allude to a belief that their actions will influence their children's language abilities and uses.	Jenny C3A F125: I think I've seen a big change in the English, just because it's up to me and I've started teaching her how to read now and sometimes I'm even surprised if I go back to Ireland for a weekend, she will pick up a word that I would never use and I'll be like "Wow, I'm impressed, you know?". But really now I can see she's come on a lot reading English and stuff, which makes me kind of proud as well that I can teach someone how to read and pronounce.	
Peers influence local languages positively	8	Parents state or allude to a belief that other children reinforce children's linguistic development in official languages of the host society. Parents often link this to a reduction in their	Karl C2A F129: I think if you live outside of an English-speaking environment and you have children that were born in the adopted country, you have to expect or assume that the kids will speak the language of the other children.	

			<p>children's English language ability and/or uses.</p> <p>This includes references to the impact of school environments in which official languages of the host society are used.</p>	<p>INT: Right.</p> <p>F129: So if we were living in Germany and they were born in Germany, even though English is spoken at home, they're going to speak German and not English. And this is what I have heard from all my expat colleagues it's the same worldwide. Kids speak what other kids speak. Especially when they're so young.</p>
<p>Peers influence English positively</p>	<p>7</p>	<p>Parents state or allude to a positive influence of English-speaking peers on their children's English language ability and uses.</p>	<p>Karen C1A F56:</p> <p>I found out about this English-speaking group in [an upmarket neighbourhood of Barcelona] for little kids up to like age two or so. And so it was just English-speaking mothers and there were a couple of Scandinavians but mostly British actually and so I met a lot of other people there. We stayed in touch with a few of them so those relations have always been in English for him so whenever his little friends come over it's kind of and they're always kind of proud of it because we went to visit one in his school just to say hi and he said "no no, I have to speak in English with [her son]" You know to make this big deal, it's something special like their secret language</p>	
<p>Children are considered active agents</p>	<p>2</p>	<p>Parents state or allude to their perceptions of their children as active agents in FLM processes. They give examples of situations in which their children make language decisions for themselves. Parents recognise that this might contradict with their expectations and beliefs about how best to achieve their intended linguistic outcomes.</p>	<p>Mary C2C F35:</p> <p>Like I really feel like for our kids, we've always - we've always asked them if they wanted additional support, we've always made that an option for them and asked them, but we've let them direct it because they can determine if they're feeling ashamed in class, if they feel like they're not keeping up with the others. But instead of putting our expectations on them, kind of letting them self-direct that because ultimately kids want to fit in, and you have to have language to fit in. And so I feel like - if they need it - if you have good lines of communications with your kids, they'll begin to show you that you need some extra support.</p>	

FLM strategies: English	Reading in English	27	Parents state or allude to a conscious effort to spend time reading to/with their children in English in order to develop their English language ability. It is often a daily activity.	<p>Jim C2B F83: INT: Ok, so at the moment is there anything you do consciously to support any of the languages? F83: I, we try to read every night</p>
	TV in English	26	Parents state or allude to a conscious effort to make their children watch television in English in order to develop their English language ability.	<p>Daniel C1B F150: if they want to watch the TV then it has to be in English or like in original version if it's a Spanish cartoon like they'll watch it in Spanish if you know what I mean. And sometimes, then we'll hear and go in English! And they'll go "Ah" and then they'll just change to English and they hadn't even realised.</p>
	TV in English despite reservations about role of TV in family life	2	As above, but in families in which the role of the television in family life is questioned.	<p>Karl C2A F129: But I do not allow them to sit all day watching tv it's done and controlled maybe an hour maximum so I don't allow tv to be the vehicle to learn English because I don't want them to be using technology that much. That's my belief system, which is odd because I work in IT but there you go.</p>
	Literacy activities	22	Parents state or allude to a conscious effort to encourage their children to undertake literacy activities in English. Literacy activities are distinguished from reading in English because the former involves exercises designed with the intention to train children to be able to read and/or write. It includes letter recognition activities, word searches, verbal reasoning exercises and writing activities, including letter drawing and composition writing.	<p>Amanda C3C F95: INT: And did you teach him how to read in English or, how did that work out? F95: I guess I did, yeah, and I think we did, actually I was quite fanatic about it when he was little looking back. I used to buy lots of those sort of "let's" study guides, not study guides but the sort of kiddy ones, you know the ones that I mean with sort of stickers and word game type things, and we used to do a lot of that as well, you know, like in the summer. We used to get through two or three of those and I think that was good for reading and for writing and, you know, we used to do a lot of reading and writing together in the summer, and then he obviously was studying a bit of English at school so he was doing a bit of reading there and a little bit of reading at home</p>

	<p>Visits home to see family and friends</p>	<p>21</p>	<p>Parents state or allude to a conscious effort to visit home in order to develop their children's language ability.</p>	<p>Jeremy C1B F134: and then we send them, try to send them at least once every two years to the US for a month. So that's an investment we make which is not only for the grandparents but there's also a language objective involved in that.</p> <p>Eliza C2A F36: if youngest keeps speaking to me in [Catalan], I repeat again and again and again and again, like lovingly and jokingly, but I'm very insistent that if he says it to me in Catalan I don't understand what he's saying you know? I'm like, youngest I don't know what you're saying, you know</p> <p>Tom C1A F74: One of the things I notice, one of the things I think he misses, is play time in English because he may go to an international school but the majority of his classmates are Spanish Catalan speakers. The language of the <i>patio</i> [playground] is <i>castellano</i> and so he doesn't have the opportunity to interact on a social level with other children in English. I'm trying, I've just recently set up a group here in Barcelona with other parents who are in a similar situation to me where they're looking for opportunities for their children to interact in English with other children naturally, erm, and we're meeting up soon. I've had more than 20 parents who are interested in joining a social group to meet up to play basically in English.</p> <p>Eliza C2A F36: any opportunity like, the horse lessons eldest does, the woman is Dutch so those lessons are in English. You know so any time there's the opportunity to do English it's English.</p>
	<p>Persistence using English, even if children don't reciprocate</p>	<p>18</p>	<p>Parents state or allude to a conscious effort to maintain the use of English with their children, even in cases in which their children do not reciprocate in English. Strategies similar to Lanza's monolingual interaction strategies are described (Lanza, 1997).</p>	
	<p>Conscious management of children's social networks to encourage use of English with others</p>	<p>10</p>	<p>Parents state or allude to a conscious effort to manage their children's social networks with a view to encouraging their use of English with others.</p>	
	<p>Extracurricular activities in English</p>	<p>6</p>	<p>Parents state or allude to a conscious effort to attend extracurricular activities in English in order to develop their children's English language ability.</p>	

	Virtual contact with relatives	6	Parents state or allude to a conscious effort to promote contact between their children and relatives and friends in the home country using Skype, Facetime, Whatsapp and/or email	Beth C2B F83: my son has an email account now so I encourage him to like email his grandparents or my husband and I email him things. So it's a way to encourage him to read and write without him really noticing.
	Music in English	4	Parents state or allude to a conscious effort to encourage children to listen to music in English in order to develop their English language ability	Karl C2A F129: And another one is music videos on Youtube. They're very powerful and it, they really like it. All young kids love to dance, they love music
	Digital media	3	Parents state or allude to a conscious effort to encourage children to use English-medium digital media in order to develop their children's English language ability	Amanda C3C F95: the only thing that I can just, you know, think that's really brought his language on enormously is the amount of exposure on the internet that they get as well. I mean there's just no worry now. It's just, they really want to know about something and the youtube is only in English and they're going to watch that English thing. And he watches lots of Vlogs now so he's got sort of people that he follows in different subject matters. And he's joined up with a video crew in the States and they chat and, they're obviously chatting in English so I mean it's becoming a real thing for him you know, I think that's the thing isn't it when it becomes something real for you is when you start really taking care of it and owning it. And that's what he's doing.
	Study abroad	2	Parents state or allude to a conscious effort to organise periods of study abroad in the home country for their children in order to develop their English language ability	Jack C2C F10: She was in Canada for five months earlier this year. She was going to school in XXX and she was in a French English bilingual programme. The elder of the two was in a French English bilingual program in XXX when she was ten.
	English tutor	2	Parents state or allude to a conscious effort to arrange classes with English tutors in order to develop their children's English language ability	John C2B F136: But it's certainly something that we continue to try and work towards, is getting their reading and writing in English developed in various different ways. So they, one of the things is

FLM strategies: official host society languages	English-medium theatre	1	Parents state or allude to a conscious effort to organise trips to English-medium theatre productions in order to develop their children's English language ability and cultural awareness	<p>having this teacher who's been helping with eldest's reading and writing so that will continue.</p> <p>Amanda C3C F95: And we went to see Lady Macbeth in English the other day and that sort of thing, picking things that we know we're really going to like and going together and just doing that is good, you know?</p>
	English-speaking home help	1	Parents state or allude to a conscious effort to hire L1 English-speaking home help in order to develop their children's English language ability	<p>Eliza C2A F36: I've found a girl who can come to the house for five hours in the morning while I work and that was the biggest, that's been the biggest decision because it basically came down to – and the idea is that they speak in English only</p>
	Support in Castilian and/ or Catalan	4	Parents state or allude to a conscious effort to support their children's development of Castilian and Catalan language abilities, either by means of a tutor or by helping their children with reading and homework	<p>Mary C2C F35: So instead he, we began bribery, so for every, because he likes to read, we give him money for every Catalan book he reads. because Catalan is the language he struggles in most and my thought process is if he's reading in the language the grammar will come more naturally because he'll see it more. So he gets a euro for every book he reads in Catalan and he's quite the schemester. He loves to have a way to earn money all the time so it's working brilliantly and we've seen his marks go up in Catalan. It's coming much more easier for him. And I think that's the biggest struggle, is giving them enough.</p>
	"Spanish day"	1	This is an in-vivo code, which make explicit reference to the term used by the relevant parent to refer to his family's conscious effort to reinforce Castilian within the home by using it together for that day, despite neither parent being an L1 speaker of Castilian.	<p>John C2B F136: we realised that the Spanish was going to be weaker if we didn't. I mean it's taught, it gets up to a reasonable level by the end of primary at the school, but obviously they're not having a lot of opportunity to speak it so we introduced that. It was a day when they'd both had their Spanish lessons and we said right, and there wasn't much resistance actually, they've just sort of adopted it as a rule and they'll pick us up on it.</p>

FLM strategies: future	Travel abroad	10	Parents state or allude to an intention to organise trips abroad for study, visits to family and friends, or to broaden cultural horizons, with the intention of supporting the further development of their children's English language abilities.	Dennis C1B F93: INT: And is there anything you're anticipating doing in the future to help any of the languages? F93: Well I think this idea of travelling with them and getting them to practise more in these kind of situations because they might start to see the importance of English.
	Literacy will need reinforcement	7	Parents state or allude to an intention to organise activities which will reinforce their children's development of literacy skills in English	Beth C2B F85: I think as they get older I will formalise their language studies, especially in English. I do want them to have a good level of reading and writing - at least to be able to work in those languages and I think that'll come as they're a little bit older and as we sort out my son's issues as well to find out what type of support he needs.
	Castilian & Catalan support	5	Parents state or allude to an intention to organise activities which will further develop their children's language abilities in Castilian and Catalan, either in the form of tutoring or enrolment in extracurricular activities	Hannah C1A F64: in terms of Spanish Catalan, you know, I've always said and we've just, she's not really doing a lot of extracurriculars at this point but I've always said that when she does, they will be in Catalan or Spanish.
	Preparation for exams (official accreditation of level)	4	Parents state or allude to an intention to organise activities which will prepare their children for official exams in English in order to gain official accreditation of their level	Sarah C4C F76: in English he will need to do an exam won't he? He'll need to prove that he's got at least a B2 level. He's got a higher level than a B2 level but he needs training because for example, I'm sure he would get, he could get the CAE quite easily but he can't do the grammar exam because he knows so much English that he thinks, well this could go over here and this could go here, and it's not what they're looking for. Do you know what I mean? And I think in that respect the First Certificate exam might be easier for him. And it's also more grammatical. It might be easier to train. Do you know what I mean? So I don't know what we're going to do. We've got to do an exam

	Secondary education with more English	3	Parents state or allude to an intention to find secondary education options which incorporate more English input than state-funded education is considered able to provide. In all three cases, private institutions are proposed.	<p>Eliza C2A F36: So probably I'd want to keep them in the public system as long as I can but I think at some, I don't know if it would be at age 10 or 12 or 14 but at some point I'd probably have to switch them into a private so that they're prepared to do the international baccalaureate, cos that for sure I want them to do.</p>
Encourage additional foreign language learning	2	Parents state or allude to an intention to encourage and support the learning of additional foreign languages	<p>Valerie C1C F114: I'm going to encourage them to learn other languages. Actually, my son was raised with the four languages and then when he started the high school, ESO, he started French and he said that was the first time he really understood - started to understand - the structure of the other languages because he was learning language for the first time from zero. And learning French from the very beginning he understood for the first time some of the structures of the other languages so I think I'll definitely encourage my daughter to learn a fourth language like from zero. I think that would be good for her.</p>	
Summer camps or extracurricular activities in English	1	Parents state or allude to an intention to organise English-medium summer camp activities for their children, either abroad or in Catalonia.	<p>Una C4A F122: INT: Ok, is there anything that you are anticipating doing in the future to support the different languages? F122: Well for now I haven't thought of that but probably I suppose summer camps, some more activities where, when the kids get a little bit older they can play so he can relate with more people in English</p>	

Appendix 12: Informed consent form

Consent to Participate in Research

Project: Family Language Management & Globalisation: English at Home in Barcelona

Researcher: Francesca Walls **Telephone:** 653139651 **Email:** fwalls@ub.edu

Institution: University of Barcelona

Introduction

You are invited to take part in an informal interview that will explore some of the issues raised in the Family Language Questionnaire. This form provides a brief description of the aims of the research, alongside an explanation of your rights as a participant. If you are happy to participate, please sign and date the form below.

Explanation

I am looking at how families with at least one English-speaking parent manage languages at home. It has been two years since you completed the Family Language Questionnaire so I would be interested to know about any changes in the balance of languages spoken at home; any strategies that you have employed or are employing to support one or more of your children's languages; and what your impressions are of the process of raising children bi- or plurilingually.

Confidentiality

All of the information that I collect will be done so confidentially and will only be used for research purposes. Your identity will remain anonymous and will under no circumstances be published or passed on to other entities. The data will be stored on a computer to which only the researcher has access and non-identifying pseudonyms will be used in the case of any quotations from the interviews being used in the thesis or related publications.

Your participation

Your participation in this study is strictly voluntary and you can decide at any time if you would prefer not to continue. In return for your time, I would like to offer you a small gift and a summary of the project findings upon its completion. If you have any questions about the research, please contact me using the telephone number or email address provided above.

Researcher's statement

I have explained this study to the participant and answered all of the questions that have been asked.

Signature of researcher _____

Date _____

Participant's consent

I have read the information provided and all of my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this study.

Your signature _____

Date _____

Appendix 13: Language ability significance tables

Combined parents' ability index: Understand

Descriptive statistics						
	Mean	Standard deviation	N			
Parents_UEng	.9939	.05505	164			
Parents_UCast	.9695	.13217	164			
Parents_UCat	.8171	.31881	164			

Tests for within-subject effects						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
Origin		Sum of squares type III	gl	Average quadratic	F	Sig.
Variable	Language	3.049	2	1.525	42.126	.000
Error(Lleng)	Sphericity assumed	11.654	322	.036		

Pairwise comparisons						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
(I) factor1		Difference of means (I-J)	Standard error	Sig. ^b	95% confidence interval ^b	
					Lower limit	Upper limit
Eng	Cast	.024	.011	.096	-.003	.052
	Cat	,177*	.026	.000	.115	.239
Cast	Eng	-.024	.011	.096	-.052	.003
	Cat	,152*	.023	.000	.097	.208
Cat	Eng	-,177*	.026	.000	-.239	-.115
	Cast	-,152*	.023	.000	-.208	-.097

Based on estimated marginal means

*The difference of means is significant at the level of .05

b. Adjustment for several comparisons: Bonferroni.

Combined parents' ability index: Speak

Descriptive statistics						
	Mean	Standard deviation	N			
Parents_SEng	.9909	.06721	164			
Parents_SCast	.9370	.18302	164			
Parents_SCat	.5061	.40945	164			

Tests for within-subject effects						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
Origin		Sum of squares type III	df	Average quadratic	F	Sig.
Variable	Language	10.290	2	5.145	95.649	.000
Error(Lleng)	Sphericity assumed	17.321	322	.054		

Pairwise comparisons						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
(I) factor1		Difference of means (I-J)	Standard error	Sig. ^b	95% confidence interval ^b	
					Lower limit	Upper limit
Eng	Cast	,054*	.015	.002	.016	.091
	Cat	,485*	.033	.000	.405	.564
Cast	Eng	-,054*	.015	.002	-.091	-.016
	Cat	,431*	.033	.000	.352	.510
Cat	Eng	-,485*	.033	.000	-.564	-.405
	Cast	-,431*	.033	.000	-.510	-.352

Based on estimated marginal means

*The difference of means is significant at the level of .05

b. Adjustment for several comparisons: Bonferroni.

Combined parents' ability index: Read

Descriptive statistics

	Mean	Standard deviation	N
Parents_REng	.9970	.03904	164
Parents_RCast	.9461	.17312	164
Parents_RCat	.7388	.34791	164

Tests for within-subject effects

Measure: MEASURE_1

Origin		Sum of squares type III	gl	Average quadratic	F	Sig.
Variable	Language	6.209	2	3.104	72.778	.000
Error(Lleng)	Sphericity assumed	13.735	322	.043		

Pairwise comparisons

Measure: MEASURE_1

(I) factor1		Difference of means (I-J)	Standard deviation	Sig. ^b	95% confidence interval ^b	
					Lower limit	Upper limit
Eng	Cast	,051*	.014	.001	.017	.085
	Cat	,258*	.028	.000	.192	.325
Cast	Eng	-,051*	.014	.001	-.085	-.017
	Cat	,207*	.024	.000	.148	.267
Cat	Eng	-,258*	.028	.000	-.325	-.192
	Cast	-,207*	.024	.000	-.267	-.148

Based on estimated marginal means

*The difference of means is significant at the level of .05.

b. Adjustment for several comparisons: Bonferroni.

Combined parents' ability index: Write

Write						
Descriptive statistics						
	Mean	Standard deviation	N			
Parents_WEng	.9695	.12001	164			
Parents_WCast	.8750	.26002	164			
Parents_WCat	.4197	.39573	164			
Tests for within-subject effects						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
Origin		Sum of squares type III	gl	Average quadratic	F	Sig.
Variable	Language	28.694	2	14.347	201.588	.000
Error(LIeng)	Sphericity assumed	22.917	322	.071		
Pairwise comparisons						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
(I) factor1		Difference of means (I-J)	Standard error	Sig. ^b	95% confidence interval ^b	
					Lower limit	Upper limit
Eng	Cast	.095*	.023	.000	.038	.151
	Cat	.550*	.033	.000	.469	.630
Cast	Eng	-.095*	.023	.000	-.151	-.038
	Cat	.455*	.031	.000	.381	.530
Cat	Eng	-.550*	.033	.000	-.630	-.469
	Cast	-.455*	.031	.000	-.530	-.381
Based on estimated marginal means						
*The difference of means is significant at the level of .05.						
b. Adjustment for several comparisons: Bonferroni.						

Average parental language ability ratings

Descriptive statistics

	Mean	Standard deviation	N
English	3.66	.688	330
Castilian	3.12	.969	330
Catalan	2.02	1.350	330

Tests for within-subject effects

Measure: MEASURE_1

Origin		Sum of squares type III	df	Average quadratic	F	Sig.
LanguageAbility	Sphericity assumed	460.370	2	230.185	228.922	.000
Error(LanguageAbility)	Sphericity assumed	661.630	658	1.006		

Pairwise comparisons

Medida: MEASURE_1

(I) LanguageAbility		Difference of means (I-J)	Standard error	Sig. ^b	95% confidence interval ^b	
					Lower limit	Upper limit
English	Cast	.542*	.077	.000	.358	.727
	Cat	1.639*	.095	.000	1.411	1.868
Castilian	Eng	-.542*	.077	.000	-.727	-.358
	Cat	1.097*	.058	.000	.957	1.237
Catalan	Eng	-1.639*	.095	.000	-1.868	-1.411
	Cast	-1.097*	.058	.000	-1.237	-.957

Based on estimated marginal means

*The difference between means is significant at the level of .05.

b. Adjustment for several comparisons: Bonferroni.

Individual parental language ability by L1

Descriptive statistics

First language		Mean	Standard deviation	N
English Ability	English	3.99	.076	174
	Castilian	2.91	1.050	46
	Catalan	3.07	.730	14
	English & others	3.94	.232	36
	Castilian & Catalan	2.90	.746	31
	Other languages & combos	3.62	.561	29
	Total	3.66	.688	330
Castilian Ability	English	2.68	.905	174
	Castilian	3.98	.147	46
	Catalan	3.93	.267	14
	English & others	2.97	1.158	36
	Castilian & Catalan	4.00	0.000	31
	Other languages & combos	3.24	.786	29
	Total	3.12	.969	330
Catalan Ability	English	1.54	1.012	174
	Castilian	2.41	1.376	46
	Catalan	4.00	0.000	14
	English & others	1.86	1.477	36
	Castilian & Catalan	3.97	.180	31
	Other languages & combos	1.48	1.056	29
	Total	2.02	1.350	330

Tests for within-subject effects

Measure: MEASURE_1

Origin		Sum of squares type III	gl	Average quadratic	F	Sig.
LanguageAbility by L1	Sphericity assumed	308.506	10	30.851	56.612	.000
Error(LanguageAbility)	Sphericity assumed	353.125	648	.545		

Pairwise comparisons

Measure: MEASURE_1

First language			Difference of means (I-J)	Standard error	Sig. ^b	95% confidence interval ^b	
						Lower limit	Upper limit
L1 English	Eng	Cast	1,310*	.073	.000	1.135	1.486
		Cat	2,454*	.091	.000	2.235	2.673
	Castilian	Eng	-1,310*	.073	.000	-1.486	-1.135
		Cat	1,144*	.072	.000	.971	1.317
	Cat	Eng	-2,454*	.091	.000	-2.673	-2.235
		Cast	-1,144*	.072	.000	-1.317	-.971
L1 Castilian	Eng	Cast	-1,065*	.142	.000	-1.407	-.724
		Cat	,500*	.177	.015	.074	.926
	Castilian	Eng	1,065*	.142	.000	.724	1.407
		Cat	1,565*	.140	.000	1.229	1.902
	Cat	Eng	-.500*	.177	.015	-.926	-.074
		Cast	-1,565*	.140	.000	-1.902	-1.229
L1 Catalan	Eng	Cast	-.857*	.257	.003	-1.476	-.238
		Cat	-.929*	.321	.012	-1.701	-.156
	Castilian	Eng	,857*	.257	.003	.238	1.476
		Cat	-.071	.253	1.000	-.681	.539
	Cat	Eng	,929*	.321	.012	.156	1.701
		Cast	.071	.253	1.000	-.539	.681
L1 English & others	Eng	Cast	,972*	.160	.000	.586	1.358
		Cat	2,083*	.200	.000	1.601	2.565
	Castilian	Eng	-.972*	.160	.000	-1.358	-.586
		Cat	1,111*	.158	.000	.731	1.492
	Cat	Eng	-2,083*	.200	.000	-2.565	-1.601
		Cast	-1,111*	.158	.000	-1.492	-.731
L1 Castilian & Catalan	Eng	Cast	-1,097*	.173	.000	-1.513	-.681
		Cat	-1,065*	.216	.000	-1.584	-.545
	Castilian	Eng	1,097*	.173	.000	.681	1.513
		Cat	.032	.170	1.000	-.378	.442
	Cat	Eng	1,065*	.216	.000	.545	1.584
		Cast	-.032	.170	1.000	-.442	.378
L1 Other languages & combos	Eng	Cast	.379	.179	.104	-.051	.810
		Cat	2,138*	.223	.000	1.601	2.675
	Castilian	Eng	-.379	.179	.104	-.810	.051
		Cat	1,759*	.176	.000	1.335	2.182
	Cat	Eng	-2,138*	.223	.000	-2.675	-1.601
		Cast	-1,759*	.176	.000	-2.182	-1.335

Based on estimated marginal means

*The difference between means is significant at the level of .05.

b. Adjustment for several comparisons: Bonferroni.

Individual parental language ability by length of residence

Descriptive statistics

LoR_Simple		Mean	Standard deviation	N
Eng	0-4 years	3.81	.547	72
	5-9 years	3.66	.801	93
	10-14 years	3.73	.545	82
	15-20 years	3.48	.755	83
	Total	3.66	.688	330
Cast	0-4 years	2.53	1.150	72
	5-9 years	3.11	.878	93
	10-14 years	3.23	.920	82
	15-20 years	3.54	.650	83
	Total	3.12	.969	330
Cat	0-4 years	1.25	1.264	72
	5-9 years	1.85	1.310	93
	10-14 years	2.11	1.207	82
	15-20 years	2.81	1.173	83
	Total	2.02	1.350	330

Tests for within-subject effects

Measure: MEASURE_1

Origin		Sum of squares type III	gl	Average quadratic	F	Sig.
Language * LoR_Simple	Sphericity assumed	75.075	6	12.512	13.909	.000
Error(LanguageAbility)	Sphericity assumed	586.556	652	.900		
	Lower limit	586.556	326.000	1.799		

Pairwise comparisons

Measure: MEASURE_1

LoR_Simple			Difference of means (I-J)	Standard error	Sig. ^b	95% confidence interval ^b	
						Lower limit	Upper limit
0-4 years	Eng	Cast	1,278*	.156	.000	.903	1.653
		Cat	2,556*	.189	.000	2.101	3.010
	Cast	Eng	-1,278*	.156	.000	-1.653	-.903
		Cat	1,278*	.123	.000	.983	1.573
	Cat	Eng	-2,556*	.189	.000	-3.010	-2.101
		Cast	-1,278*	.123	.000	-1.573	-.983
5-9 years	Eng	Cast	,548*	.137	.000	.218	.879
		Cat	1,806*	.166	.000	1.407	2.206

	Cast	Eng	-,548*	.137	.000	-.879	-.218
		Cat	1,258*	.108	.000	.998	1.518
	Cat	Eng	-1,806*	.166	.000	-2.206	-1.407
		Cast	-1,258*	.108	.000	-1.518	-.998
10-14 years	Eng	Cast	,500*	.146	.002	.148	.852
		Cat	1,622*	.177	.000	1.196	2.047
	Cast	Eng	-,500*	.146	.002	-.852	-.148
		Cat	1,122*	.115	.000	.845	1.399
15-20 years	Cat	Eng	-1,622*	.177	.000	-2.047	-1.196
		Cast	-1,122*	.115	.000	-1.399	-.845
	Eng	Cast	-.060	.145	1.000	-.410	.289
		Cat	,675*	.176	.000	.252	1.098
15-20 years	Cast	Eng	.060	.145	1.000	-.289	.410
		Cat	,735*	.114	.000	.460	1.010
	Cat	Eng	-,675*	.176	.000	-1.098	-.252
		Cast	-,735*	.114	.000	-1.010	-.460

Based on estimated marginal means

*The difference between means is significant at the level of .05.

b. Adjustment for several comparisons: Bonferroni.

Pairwise comparisons

Measure: MEASURE_1

Language			Difference of means (I-J)	Standard error	Sig. ^b	95% confidence interval ^b	
						Lower limit	Upper limit
Eng	0-4 years	5-9 years	.150	.107	.974	-.134	.433
		10-14 years	.074	.110	1.000	-.218	.366
		15-20 years	,324*	.110	.020	.033	.615
	5-9 years	0-4 years	-.150	.107	.974	-.433	.134
		10-14 years	-.076	.103	1.000	-.350	.198
		15-20 years	.174	.103	.549	-.099	.447
	10-14 years	0-4 years	-.074	.110	1.000	-.366	.218
		5-9 years	.076	.103	1.000	-.198	.350
		15-20 years	.250	.106	.114	-.032	.531
	15-20 years	0-4 years	-,324*	.110	.020	-.615	-.033
		5-9 years	-.174	.103	.549	-.447	.099
		10-14 years	-.250	.106	.114	-.531	.032
Cast	0-4 years	5-9 years	-,580*	.142	.000	-.958	-.202
		10-14 years	-,704*	.146	.000	-1.093	-.315

		15-20 years	-1,014*	.146	.000	-1.402	-0.627
	5-9 years	0-4 years	,580*	.142	.000	.202	.958
		10-14 years	-.124	.137	1.000	-.489	.240
		15-20 years	-,435*	.137	.010	-.798	-.071
	10-14 years	0-4 years	,704*	.146	.000	.315	1.093
		5-9 years	.124	.137	1.000	-.240	.489
		15-20 years	-.310	.141	.172	-.685	.064
	15-20 years	0-4 years	1,014*	.146	.000	.627	1.402
		5-9 years	,435*	.137	.010	.071	.798
		10-14 years	.310	.141	.172	-.064	.685
Cat	0-4 years	5-9 years	-,599*	.195	.014	-1.117	-.082
		10-14 years	-,860*	.200	.000	-1.392	-.328
		15-20 years	-1,557*	.200	.000	-2.088	-1.027
	5-9 years	0-4 years	,599*	.195	.014	.082	1.117
		10-14 years	-.260	.188	1.000	-.759	.239
		15-20 years	-,958*	.187	.000	-1.455	-.460
	10-14 years	0-4 years	,860*	.200	.000	.328	1.392
		5-9 years	.260	.188	1.000	-.239	.759
		15-20 years	-,697*	.193	.002	-1.211	-.184
	15-20 years	0-4 years	1,557*	.200	.000	1.027	2.088
		5-9 years	,958*	.187	.000	.460	1.455
		10-14 years	,697*	.193	.002	.184	1.211

Based on estimated marginal means

*The difference between means is significant at the level of .05.

b. Adjustment for several comparisons: Bonferroni.

Children's ability index: Understand

Understand						
Descriptive statistics						
	Mean	Standard deviation	N			
Children_UEng	1.0000	0.00000	161			
Children_UCast	.9379	.22884	161			
Children_UCat	.9079	.26803	161			
Tests for within-subject effects						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
Origin		Sum of squares type III	gl	Average quadratic	F	Sig.
Variable	Language	.711	2	.355	10.471	.000
Error(Language)	Sphericity assumed	10.863	320	.034		
Pairwise comparisons						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
(I) Language		Difference of means (I-J)	Standard error	Sig. ^b	95% confidence interval ^b	
					Lower limit	Upper limit
Eng	Cast	.062*	.018	.002	.018	.106
	Cat	.092*	.021	.000	.041	.143
Cast	Eng	-.062*	.018	.002	-.106	-.018
	Cat	.030	.022	.536	-.024	.084
Cat	Eng	-.092*	.021	.000	-.143	-.041
	Cast	-.030	.022	.536	-.084	.024
Based on estimated marginal means						
*The difference of means is significant at the level of .05						
b. Adjustment for several comparisons: Bonferroni.						

Children's ability index: Speak

Speak						
Descriptive statistics						
	Mean	Standard deviation	N			
Children_SEng	.9623	.17382	159			
Children_Scast	.8381	.34350	159			
Children_SCat	.7783	.39040	159			
Tests for within-subject effects						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
Origin		Sum of squares type III	gl	Average quadratic	F	Sig.
Variable	Language	2.801	2	1.400	19.553	.000
Error(Language)	Sphericity assumed	22.630	316	.072		
Pairwise comparisons						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
(I) Language		Difference of means (I-J)	Standard error	Sig. ^b	95% confidence interval ^b	
					Lower limit	Upper limit
Eng	Cast	.124*	.026	.000	.062	.187
	Cat	.184*	.030	.000	.111	.257
Cast	Eng	-.124*	.026	.000	-.187	-.062
	Cat	.060	.033	.227	-.021	.141
Cat	Eng	-.184*	.030	.000	-.257	-.111
	Cast	-.060	.033	.227	-.141	.021
Based on estimated marginal means						
*The difference of means is significant at the level of .05						
b. Adjustment for several comparisons: Bonferroni.						

Children's ability index: Read

Read						
Descriptive statistics						
	Mean	Standard deviation	N			
Children_REng	.5303	.45453	146			
Children_RCast	.5029	.46263	146			
Children_RCat	.5086	.45902	146			
Tests for within-subject effects						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
Origin		Sum of squares type III	gl	Average quadratic	F	Sig.
Variable	Language	.061	2	.031	1.261	.285
Error(Language)	Sphericity assumed	7.013	290	.024		
Pairwise comparisons						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
(I) Language		Difference of means (I-J)	Standard error	Sig. ^a	95% confidence interval ^a	
					Lower limit	Upper limit
Eng	Cast	.027	.021	.594	-.024	.079
	Cat	.022	.020	.815	-.026	.069
Cast	Eng	-.027	.021	.594	-.079	.024
	Cat	-.006	.013	1.000	-.036	.025
Cat	Eng	-.022	.020	.815	-.069	.026
	Cast	.006	.013	1.000	-.025	.036
Based on estimated marginal means						
a. Adjustment for several comparisons: Bonferroni.						

Children's ability index: Write

Write						
Descriptive statistics						
	Mean	Standard deviation	N			
Children_WEng	.4819	.45670	147			
Children_WCast	.4660	.45201	147			
Children_WCat	.4841	.45511	147			
Tests for within-subject effects						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
Origin		Sum of squares type III	gl	Average quadratic	F	Sig.
Variable	Language	.029	2	.014	.313	.731
Error(Language)	Sphericity assumed	13.397	292	.046		
Pairwise comparisons						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
(I) Language		Difference of means (I-J)	Standard error	Sig. ^a	95% confidence interval ^a	
					Lower limit	Upper limit
Eng	Cast	.016	.027	1.000	-.050	.082
	Cat	-.002	.027	1.000	-.067	.063
Cast	Eng	-.016	.027	1.000	-.082	.050
	Cat	-.018	.020	1.000	-.067	.030
Cat	Eng	.002	.027	1.000	-.063	.067
	Cast	.018	.020	1.000	-.030	.067
Based on estimated marginal means						
a. Adjustment for several comparisons: Bonferroni.						

Children's average ability ratings (understanding and speaking)

Descriptive statistics

	Mean	Standard deviation	N
English	3.2	1.08486	255
Castilian	3.2	1.08486	255
Catalan	2.7	1.38429	255

Tests for within-subject effects

Measure: MEASURE_1

Origin		Sum of squares type III	df	Average quadratic	F	Sig.
Language	Sphericity assumed	31.347	2	15.674	26.322	.000
Error(Language)	Sphericity assumed	302.486	508	.595		

Pairwise comparisons

Measure: MEASURE_1

(I) Language		Difference of means (I-J)	Standard error	Sig. ^b	95% confidence interval ^b	
					Lower limit	Upper limit
Eng	Cast	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000
	Cat	,429*	.084	.000	.228	.631
Cast	Eng	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000
	Cat	,429*	.084	.000	.228	.631
Cat	Eng	-,429*	.084	.000	-.631	-.228
	Cast	-,429*	.084	.000	-.631	-.228

Based on estimated marginal means

*The difference between means is significant at the level of .05.

b. Adjustment for several comparisons: Bonferroni.

Appendix 14: Language use significance tables

Comparison of family language use indexes by language

English language indexes

English						
Descriptive statistics						
	Mean	Standard deviation	N			
Pns_Cn_Index100_Eng	63.74	24.584	98			
Cn_Pns_Index100_Eng	59.18	27.245	98			
Pns_Pns_Index100_Eng	65.36	41.546	98			
Cn_Cn_Index100_Eng	46.71	33.647	98			
Tests for within-subject effects						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
Origin		Sum of squares type III	gl	Average quadratic	F	Sig.
Interaction	Sphericity assumed	20937.684	3	6979.228	12.083	.000
Error(Interaction)	Sphericity assumed	168083.316	291	577.606		
Pairwise comparisons						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
(I) Interaction		Difference of means (I-J)	Standard error	Sig. ^b	95% confidence interval ^b	
					Lower limit	Upper limit
Pns_Cn	Cn_Pns	4.561	1.804	.078	-.298	9.420
	Pns_Pns	-1.612	3.531	1.000	-11.123	7.899
	Cn_Cn	17,031*	3.404	.000	7.863	26.198
Cn_Pns	Pns_Cn	-4.561	1.804	.078	-9.420	.298
	Pns_Pns	-6.173	3.654	.566	-16.016	3.670
	Cn_Cn	12,469*	2.944	.000	4.540	20.399
Pns_Pns	Pns_Cn	1.612	3.531	1.000	-7.899	11.123
	Cn_Pns	6.173	3.654	.566	-3.670	16.016
	Cn_Cn	18,643*	4.626	.001	6.184	31.102
Cn_Cn	Pns_Cn	-17,031*	3.404	.000	-26.198	-7.863
	Cn_Pns	-12,469*	2.944	.000	-20.399	-4.540
	Pns_Pns	-18,643*	4.626	.001	-31.102	-6.184
Based on estimated marginal means						
*. The difference between means is significant at the level .05.						
b. Adjustment for several comparisons: Bonferroni.						

Castilian language indexes

Castilian						
Descriptive statistics						
	Mean	Standard deviation	N			
Pns_Cn_Index100_Cast	17.84	23.972	98			
Cn_Pns_Index100_Cast	20.54	27.538	98			
Pns_Pns_Index100_Cast	25.26	39.058	98			
Cn_Cn_Index100_Cast	25.46	33.145	98			
Tests for within-subject effects						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
Origin		Sum of squares type III	gl	Average quadratic	F	Sig.
Interaction	Sphericity assumed	4089.110	3	1363.037	2.834	.039
Error(Interaction)	Sphericity assumed	139955.140	291	480.945		
Pairwise comparisons						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
(I) Interaction		Difference of means (I-J)	Standard error	Sig. ^a	95% confidence interval ^a	
					Lower limit	Upper limit
Pns_Cn	Cn_Pns	-2.704	1.533	.485	-6.832	1.424
	Pns_Pns	-7.418	3.418	.194	-16.623	1.787
	Cn_Cn	-7.622	2.832	.050	-15.251	.006
Cn_Pns	Pns_Cn	2.704	1.533	.485	-1.424	6.832
	Pns_Pns	-4.714	3.692	1.000	-14.659	5.230
	Cn_Cn	-4.918	2.240	.183	-10.952	1.116
Pns_Pns	Pns_Cn	7.418	3.418	.194	-1.787	16.623
	Cn_Pns	4.714	3.692	1.000	-5.230	14.659
	Cn_Cn	-.204	4.265	1.000	-11.691	11.283
Cn_Cn	Pns_Cn	7.622	2.832	.050	-.006	15.251
	Cn_Pns	4.918	2.240	.183	-1.116	10.952
	Pns_Pns	.204	4.265	1.000	-11.283	11.691
Based on estimated marginal means						
*. The difference between means is significant at the level .05.						
b. Adjustment for several comparisons: Bonferroni.						

Catalan language indexes

Catalan						
Descriptive statistics						
	Mean	Standard deviation	N			
Pns_Cn_Index100_Cat	11.00	19.383	98			
Cn_Pns_Index100_Cat	13.57	22.845	98			
Pns_Pns_Index100_Cat	7.19	22.330	98			
Cn_Cn_Index100_Cat	23.26	31.689	98			
Tests for within-subject effects						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
Origin		Sum of squares type III	gl	Average quadratic	F	Sig.
Interaction	Sphericity assumed	13810.551	3	4603.517	20.242	.000
Error(Interaction)	Sphericity assumed	66179.949	291	227.423		
Pairwise comparisons						
Measures: MEASURE_1						
(I) Interaction		Difference of means (I-J)	Standard error	Sig. ^b	95% confidence interval ^b	
					Lower limit	Upper limit
Pns_Cn	Cn_Pns	-2,571*	.886	.027	-4.957	-.186
	Pns_Pns	3.806	1.772	.205	-.965	8.578
	Cn_Cn	-12,255*	2.539	.000	-19.094	-5.416
Cn_Pns	Pns_Cn	2,571*	.886	.027	.186	4.957
	Pns_Pns	6,378*	1.852	.005	1.390	11.365
	Cn_Cn	-9,684*	2.294	.000	-15.864	-3.504
Pns_Pns	Pns_Cn	-3.806	1.772	.205	-8.578	.965
	Cn_Pns	-6,378*	1.852	.005	-11.365	-1.390
	Cn_Cn	-16,061*	2.964	.000	-24.044	-8.078
Cn_Cn	Pns_Cn	12,255*	2.539	.000	5.416	19.094
	Cn_Pns	9,684*	2.294	.000	3.504	15.864
	Pns_Pns	16,061*	2.964	.000	8.078	24.044
Based on estimated marginal means						
*. The difference between means is significant at the level .05.						
b. Adjustment for several comparisons: Bonferroni.						

Other language indexes

Other						
Descriptive statistics						
	Mean	Standard deviation	N			
Pns_Cn_Index100_X	6.38	15.686	98			
Cn_Pns_Index100_X	5.83	14.385	98			
Pns_Pns_Index100_X	2.21	9.393	98			
Cn_Cn_Index100_X	4.41	14.784	98			
Tests for within-subject effects						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
Origin		Sum of squares type III	gl	Average quadratic	F	Sig.
Interaction	Sphericity assumed	1014.008	3	338.003	3.993	.008
Error(Interaction)	Sphericity assumed	24630.242	291	84.640		
Comparaciones por parejas						
Measure: MEASURE_1						
(I) Interaction		Difference of means (I-J)	Standard error	Sig. ^a	95% confidence interval ^a	
					Lower limit	Upper limit
Pns_Cn	Cn_Pns	.551	.525	1.000	-.864	1.966
	Pns_Pns	4.163	1.572	.057	-.071	8.398
	Cn_Cn	1.969	1.154	.546	-1.138	5.077
Cn_Pns	Pns_Cn	-.551	.525	1.000	-1.966	.864
	Pns_Pns	3.612	1.463	.092	-.330	7.554
	Cn_Cn	1.418	1.155	1.000	-1.691	4.528
Pns_Pns	Pns_Cn	-4.163	1.572	.057	-8.398	.071
	Cn_Pns	-3.612	1.463	.092	-7.554	.330
	Cn_Cn	-2.194	1.677	1.000	-6.710	2.322
Cn_Cn	Pns_Cn	-1.969	1.154	.546	-5.077	1.138
	Cn_Pns	-1.418	1.155	1.000	-4.528	1.691
	Pns_Pns	2.194	1.677	1.000	-2.322	6.710
Based on estimated marginal means						
*. The difference between means is significant at the level .05.						
b. Adjustment for several comparisons: Bonferroni.						

Appendix 15: Correlations table

	English			Castilian			Catalan			Other			
	Parent-parent	Parent-child	Child-child	Parent-parent	Parent-child	Child-child	Parent-parent	Parent-child	Child-Parent	Child-child	Parent-parent	Parent-child	Child-child
English	Parson correlation Sig. (bilateral)	.532	.320	-.857	-.315	-.266	-.262	-.380	-.340	-.140	-.078	-.171	-.116
	Parent-parent	1	.500	.000	.000	.000	.001	.000	.000	.075	.325	.029	.064
	Parent-child		162	162	162	162	162	162	162	162	162	162	162
	Parson correlation Sig. (bilateral)	.532	.455	-.438	-.547	-.442	-.272	-.323	-.262	-.126	-.038	-.226	-.139
	Parent-parent		1	.755	.000	.000	.000	.000	.001	.108	.635	.004	.057
	Parent-child			162	164	164	164	164	164	164	162	164	164
	Parson correlation Sig. (bilateral)	.500	.755	-.400	-.457	-.448	-.214	-.297	-.360	-.223	-.027	-.042	-.074
	Parent-parent		1	.000	.000	.000	.000	.006	.000	.004	.738	.590	.048
	Parent-child			162	164	164	164	164	164	164	162	164	164
	Child-child				1	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683
Castilian	Parson correlation Sig. (bilateral)	.320	.455	-.213	-.220	-.366	-.545	-.206	-.266	-.376	-.083	-.077	-.224
	Parent-parent		1	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683
	Parent-child			162	164	164	164	164	164	164	162	164	164
	Parson correlation Sig. (bilateral)	.455	.683	-.213	-.220	-.366	-.545	-.206	-.266	-.376	-.083	-.077	-.224
	Parent-parent		1	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.001	.000	.293	.325	.004
	Parent-child			162	164	164	164	164	164	164	162	164	164
	Parson correlation Sig. (bilateral)	.683	.683	-.213	-.220	-.366	-.545	-.206	-.266	-.376	-.083	-.077	-.224
	Parent-parent		1	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.293	.325	.004
	Parent-child			162	164	164	164	164	164	164	162	164	164
	Child-child				1	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683
Catalan	Parson correlation Sig. (bilateral)	-.286	-.442	-.545	-.662	-.822	-.822	-.357	-.358	-.381	-.121	-.219	-.173
	Parent-parent		1	.419	.419	.419	.419	.419	.419	.419	.419	.419	.419
	Parent-child			162	162	162	162	162	162	162	162	162	162
	Parson correlation Sig. (bilateral)	-.442	-.545	-.662	-.822	-.822	-.822	-.357	-.358	-.381	-.121	-.219	-.173
	Parent-parent		1	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	Parent-child			162	164	164	164	164	164	164	162	164	164
	Parson correlation Sig. (bilateral)	-.545	-.662	-.822	-.822	-.822	-.822	-.357	-.358	-.381	-.121	-.219	-.173
	Parent-parent		1	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	Parent-child			162	164	164	164	164	164	164	162	164	164
	Child-child				1	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683
Other	Parson correlation Sig. (bilateral)	-.197	-.191	-.176	-.200	-.197	-.161	-.564	-.546	-.412	-.052	-.103	-.047
	Parent-parent		1	.025	.011	.012	.041	.000	.000	.000	.513	.193	.240
	Parent-child			162	162	162	162	162	162	162	162	162	162
	Parson correlation Sig. (bilateral)	-.191	-.176	-.200	-.197	-.161	-.564	-.546	-.412	-.415	-.006	-.197	-.109
	Parent-parent		1	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.941	.011	.021
	Parent-child			162	164	164	164	164	164	164	162	164	164
	Parson correlation Sig. (bilateral)	-.176	-.200	-.197	-.161	-.564	-.546	-.412	-.415	-.415	-.002	-.090	-.234
	Parent-parent		1	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.980	.254	.450
	Parent-child			162	164	164	164	164	164	164	162	164	164
	Child-child				1	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683	.683

**. The correlation is significant at the level of 0.01 (2-tailed).

*. The correlation is significant at the level of 0.05 (2-tailed).

Appendix 16: Intergenerational language transmission significance table

Can understand			Can speak			Use		
English	Cast	0.005*	English	Cast	0.003*	English	Cast	0.000*
	Cat	0.002*		Cat	0.000*		Cat	0.000*
	X	0.000*		X	0.000*		X	0.000*
Castilian	Eng	0.005*	Castilian	Eng	0.003*	Castilian	Eng	0.000*
	Cat	0.741		Cat	0.194		Cat	0.208
	X	0.000*		X	0.000*		X	0.050
Catalan	Eng	0.002*	Catalan	Eng	0.000*	Catalan	Eng	0.000*
	Cast	0.741		Cast	0.194		Cast	0.208
	X	0.000*		X	0.000*		X	0.004*
X	English	0.000*	X	English	0.000*	X	English	0.000*
	Cast	0.000*		Cast	0.000*		Cast	0.050
	Cat	0.000*		Cat	0.000*		Cat	0.004*

Z tests (two-tailed)